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All correspondence concerning this publication should be addressed to:
EPC Bulletin,
European University Institute,
CPN 2330
I-50100 Firenze Ferrovia
(Italy)

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Foreword

This eleventh issue of the EPC Documentation Bulletin covers the term of office of the Irish Presidency (1 January to 30 June 1990) and the Italian Presidency (1 July to 31 December 1990). It includes:

- the official declarations of the European Council, of the Foreign Ministers and of the Twelve, including statements in international conferences and organizations;
- all documents related to the European Parliament, i.e. replies to oral and written questions, reports presented by the Presidency (or abstracts thereof) on matters of EPC.

In addition, an attempt is made to bring into chart the attitudes of the Member States with regard to United Nations resolutions. To this effect, besides the documents relating to the 45th session of the United Nations General Assembly, this issue contains a section on the voting behaviour of the Twelve in the General Assembly and the Security Council.

Two major changes have taken place since the publication of the last issue. All documents and index information published in the EPC Documentation Bulletin are now accessible on-line as a full-text database at the Commission of the European Communities. This database allows for searches on all index-terms and on the texts themselves. It also contains recent documents not yet published in the printed Bulletin. We hope that public access to this database via telecommunication networks will be possible in the near future. Secondly, it was decided to publish one single issue per year from this volume on, in order to catch up on the backlog in coverage of EPC activities.

We would also like to thank all those who helped us in collecting material for this issue. Our gratitude also goes to Ms Emir Lawless from the European Documentation Centre at the EUI, and to Marica Ricci, Anne Bremner and Julia Valerio, who helped in the preparation of this issue.

Lastly, the first Managing Editor of this publication, Ms Nanette Neuwahl, has left the European University Institute to take up a teaching position at a British university. The editors would like to take this opportunity to thank her for her assistance in the setting up of this project and to wish her good luck in her new career. As from volume No 7, she will be replaced by Ms Sieglinde Schreiner-Linford.

The Editors

How to use the EPC Bulletin

The documents issued in the framework of European political cooperation are normally published in English or in French if no official English version is available.

They have been given a unique document number for quick reference in the index of the Bulletin and for purposes of citation. It is our hope that the EPC Documentation Bulletin will become the standard reference work for public domain EPC documents.

The document number indicates the year in which the document is issued, as well as the place of that document in the EPC Bulletin. Documents are ordered chronologically, and numbered consecutively throughout the volume covering one year.

The cumulative index of the EPC Bulletin refers to document numbers, and therefore to the place of a document in a given volume. If for technical reasons a document cannot be included in the volume concerning the year in which it was issued, it will be published in a later volume. In the cumulative index a reference to such a document will be accompanied by a reference to the volume in which the document can be found.

At the beginning of each document basic information concerning the date of issue, the city of issue, the country holding the Presidency, the source of the document, and its status can be found.

At the end of each issue the cumulative index can be found, which contains different classes of information for which the documents have been specifically analysed. This index has been developed by members of the European Policy Unit and the Institut für Europäische Politik, aided by a group of experts which includes senior diplomats and scholars of several European Community Member States. It is designed to cover all aspects of European political cooperation, its structure and activity. Thus one will find the following classes of information:

- The category *EPC structure and procedure* contains all references to statements of EPC which comment on or illustrate the working of EPC or its relation with the European Communities.
- The category *Contacts* reports all official relations with third countries, international organizations and political groupings.
- *Geographical reference* categories indicate countries, regions and subregions, whenever these are intrinsically dealt with.
- The category *International organizations and political groupings* does the same for all international organizations, political groupings and conferences of relevance to EPC.
- Finally, issues are classified by subject matter in the general *Issues* category.

The index is open-ended to enable the inclusion of new issues as they arise on the agenda of European political cooperation. It is cumulative from one issue of the EPC Bulletin to the next. By consulting the index in the most recent issue, the user should thus be able to trace all EPC documents relating to a specific country or subject matter and issued during the entire period covered by the Bulletin.

List of abbreviations

A-ALC	Asian-African Legal Consultative Committee
ABM	Anti-ballistic missile
ACABQ	Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions
ACC	Administrative Committee on Coordination
ACP	African, Caribbean and Pacific States
A.C.P.	Pays d'Afrique, des Caraïbes et du Pacifique
A.E.L.E	Association européenne de libre-échange
AEMM	ASEAN/EC Ministerial Meeting
A.G.	Assemblée générale
A.I.D.	Association internationale de développement
A.I.E.A.	Agence internationale de l'énergie atomique
A.N.A.S.E.	Association des nations de l'Asie du Sud-Est
ANC	African National Congress (South Africa)
A.N.C.	Congrès national africain (Afrique du Sud)
A.P.D.	Assistance publique au développement
ARC	Groupe arc-en-ciel (PE); Rainbow Group (EP)
A.S.E.	Agence spatiale européenne
ASEAN	Association of South-East Asian Nations
Azapo	Azanian People's Organization (South Africa)
B	Belgium; Belgique
BLEU	Belgo-Luxembourg Economic Union
Bull. EC	Bulletin of the Commission of the European Communities; Bulletin des Communautés européennes
C.A.C.	Comité administratif de coordination
C.A.E.M.	Conseil d'assistance économique mutuelle (Comecon)
CAP	Common agricultural policy
CARICOM	Caribbean Community and Common Market
C.C.I.	Corps commun d'inspection (O.N.U.)
C.C.Q.A.B.	Comité consultatif pour les questions administratives et budgétaires
CDE	Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe
C.D.H.	Commission des droits de l'homme
CDU	Christlich-Demokratische Union (Deutschland)
C.E.	Communautés européennes
C.E.E.	Communauté économique européenne
CERD	Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination
C.F.P.I.	Commission de la fonction publique internationale
C.I.J.	Cour internationale de justice
CMEA	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon)

List of abbreviations

CMO	Comprehensive multidisciplinary outline
C.N.U.C.E.D.	Conférence des Nations unies sur le commerce et le développement
C.N.U.D.	Commission des Nations unies du désarmement
COCOM	Coordinating Committee for Export Controls
COM	Communist and Allies Group (EP); Groupe communiste et apparentés (PE)
Comecon	See C.A.E.M., CMEA
COSATU	Council for South African Trade Unions
CPA	Comprehensive plan of action
CPC	Committee for Programme and Coordination
C.P.C.	Commission pour le programme et la coordination
C.P.E.	Coopération politique européenne
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union; Parti communiste de l'Union soviétique
CSCE	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
C.S.C.E.	Conférence sur la sécurité et la coopération en Europe
CSU	Christlich-Soziale Union (Bayern)
D	Federal Republic of Germany; République fédérale d'Allemagne
DK	Denmark; Danemark
Doc.	Document
DR	Group of the European Right (EP); Groupe des droites européennes (PE)
DR	Drachma
E	Spain; Espagne
EBRD	European Bank for Reconstruction and Development
EC	European Communities
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
E.C.O.S.O.C.	Conseil économique et social
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
Ecu	Unité monétaire européenne
ECU	European currency unit
ED	European Democratic Group (EP); Groupe des démocrates européens (PE)
EDF	European Development Fund
EEC	European Economic Community
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
EIB	European Investment Bank
EMS	European Monetary System
EMU	European Monetary Union
EP	European Parliament
EPC	European political cooperation
EPP	European People's Party; Group of the European People's Party (Christian Democratic Group) (EP)
ESA	European Space Agency

F	France
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FICSA	Federation of International Civil Servants Associations
F.I.C.S.A.	Fédération des associations de fonctionnaires internationaux
F.I.D.A.	Fonds international de développement agricole
F.I.N.U.L.	Force intérimaire des Nations unies pour le Liban
F.I.S.E.	Fonds des Nations unies pour l'enfance
F.M.I.	Fonds monétaire international
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
G.A.T.T.	Accord général sur les tarifs douaniers et le commerce
GDR	German Democratic Republic
GNP	Gross national product
GR	Greece; Grèce
GSP	Generalized System of Preferences
H.C.R.	Haut-Commissariat des Nations Unies pour les réfugiés
HRD	Human Resource Development
I	Italy; Italie
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IATA	International Air Transport Association
ICAO	International Civil Aviation Organization
ICARA	International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa
I.C.A.R.A.	Conférence internationale sur l'assistance aux réfugiés en Afrique
ICJ	International Court of Justice
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
ICSC	International Civil Service Commission
ICSU	International Council of Scientific Unions
IDA	International Development Association
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
ILC	International Law Commission
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMO	International Maritime Organization
INF	Intermediate-range nuclear forces
IRA	Irish Republican Army
IRL	Ireland; Irlande
JIU	Joint Inspection Unit
JO	Journal officiel (des Communautés européennes)
KGB	Komitet Gosudarstvdnnoi Bezopasnosti; Committee of State Security (USSR); Comité de la sécurité d'État (U.R.S.S.)
L	Luxembourg
L	Liberal and Democratic Group (EP); Groupe libéral et démocratique (PE)
LAIA	Latin American Integration Association

List of abbreviations

LDC	Less developed countries, developing countries
LLDC	Least developed countries
MBFR	Mutual and balanced force reductions
MEP	Member of European Parliament
MFN	Most favoured nation
MNR	Mozambique National Resistance
MPE	Membre du Parlement européen
MTN	Multilateral trade negotiations
NASA	National Aeronautics and Space Administration (United States)
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NDP	New Democratic Party
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NI	Non-inscrits (PE); Non-attached (EP)
NL	The Netherlands; Pays-Bas
N.P.F.	Nation la plus favorisée
N.P.S.A.	Nouveau programme substantiel d'action
NPT	Non-Proliferation Treaty, Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons
O.A.C.I.	Organisation de l'aviation civile internationale
OAS	Organization of American States
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OCT	Overseas countries and territories
ODA	Official development assistance
O.E.A.	Organisation des États américains
OIC	Organization of the Islamic Conference
O.I.T.	Organisation internationale du travail
OJ	Official Journal (of the European Communities)
O.L.P.	Organisation pour la libération de la Palestine
O.M.I.	Organisation maritime internationale
O.M.S.	Organisation mondiale de la santé
O.N.G.	Organisation non gouvernementale
O.N.U.	Organisation des Nations unies
O.N.U.D.I.	Organisation des Nations unies pour le développement industriel
OPANAL	Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean
O.T.A.N.	Organisation du traité de l'Atlantique Nord
O.U.A.	Organisation de l'unité africaine
P	Portugal
PAC	Pan-Africanist Congress
PE	Parlement européen
PFPP	Progressive Federal Party of South Africa; Parti progressiste fédéral (Afrique du Sud)
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
P.M.A.	Pays les moins avancés

P.M.D.	Pays les moins développés
P.N.U.D.	Programme des Nations unies pour le développement
PPE	Parti populaire européen; Groupe du parti populaire européen (Groupe démocrate-chrétien) (PE); Group of the European People's Party (Christian Democratic Group) (EP)
P.V.D.	Pays en voie de développement (developing countries)
QC	Queen's Council
RDE	Groupe des rénovateurs et du rassemblement des démocrates européens (PE); Group of the European Renewal and Democratic Alliance (EP)
Res.	Resolution(s); Résolution(s)
R.F.A.	République fédérale d'Allemagne
RSA	Republic of South Africa
R.S.A.	République sud-africaine
R.S.F.Y.	République fédérale socialiste de Yougoslavie
S	Socialist Group (EP); Groupe socialiste (PE)
SADCC	Southern African Development Coordination Conference
SALT	Strategic Arms Limitation Talks; Négociations sur la limitation des armements stratégiques
SARC	South Asia Regional Cooperation
SDI	Strategic Defence Initiative
SELA	Latin American Economic System
SFRY	Social Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
SLL	Supplemented living level
S.M.E.	Système monétaire européen
SNAP	Substantial new programme of action
SSOD	Special Session on Disarmament
SWAPO	South West African People's Organization
T.N.P.	Traité de non-prolifération, traité sur la non-prolifération des armes nucléaires
TPA	Turkish Peace Association
TREVI	Terrorisme, radicalisme et violence international
TWA	Trans-World Airlines
UDF	Union Defence Force (South Africa)
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence; Déclaration unilatérale d'indépendance
U.E.B.L.	Union économique belgo-luxembourgeoise
U.E.O.	Union de l'Europe occidentale
UK	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland; Royaume-Uni
UN	United Nations
UNCITRAL	United Nations Commission on International Trade Law
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDC	United Nations Disarmament Commission
UNDOF	United Nations Disengagement Observer Force

List of abbreviations

UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNDRO	Office of the United Nations Disaster Relief Coordinator
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
U.N.E.S.C.O.	Organisation des Nations unies pour l'éducation, la science et la culture
UNFDAC	United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNGOMAP	United Nations Good Offices Mission for Afghanistan and Pakistan
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organization
UNIFIL	United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon
UNIIMOG	United Nations Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group
Unisa	University of South Africa; Université de l'Afrique du Sud
UNITAR	United Nations Institute for Training and Research
U.N.I.T.A.R.	Institut des Nations unies pour la formation et la recherche
UNPAAERD	United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East
U.N.R.W.A.	Office de secours et de travaux des Nations unies pour les réfugiés de Palestine dans le Proche-Orient
UNTAG	United Nations Transition Assistance Group
UNTSO	United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine
U.R.S.S.	Union des républiques socialistes soviétiques
US; USA	United States of America
U.S.A.	États-Unis d'Amérique
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WEU	Western European Union
WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organization
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union

Table of Contents

90/001. Statement on the Programme of Activities of the Irish Presidency Date of Issue: 16 January 1990	47
90/002. Question No H-548/89 by Ms Ewing concerning the Kampuchean representa- tives to the United Nations Date of Issue: 16 January 1990	51
90/003. Question No H-560/89 by Ms Giannakou-Koutsikou concerning the human rights of Greeks from the Black Sea area living in the Soviet Union Date of Issue: 16 January 1990	52
90/004. Question No H-583/89 by Mr Alavanos concerning the follow-up to Parlia- ment's resolution on Kampuchea Date of Issue: 16 January 1990	52
90/005. Question No H-610/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru concerning the killings in Palestine Date of Issue: 16 January 1990	53
90/006. Question No H-11/90 by Mr De Rossa concerning Central America Date of Issue: 16 January 1990	54
90/007. Questions No O-108/89, No O-109/89, No O-123/89, No O-124/89, No O-138/89, No O-142/89, No O-143/89 and No O-148/89 concerning the situation in Central America Date of Issue: 16 January 1990	54
90/008. Question No H-267/89 by Mr Pesmazoglou concerning the looting of objects forming part of the Christian cultural heritage of northern Cyprus Date of Issue: 17 January 1990	57
90/009. Question No H-540/89 by Ms Pollack concerning tropical rainforests Date of Issue: 17 January 1990	57
90/010. Question No H-543/89 by Ms Dury concerning Oral Question No H-148/89 about the ratification of the Convention on the Rights of the Child Date of Issue: 17 January 1990	58
90/011. Question No H-545/89 by Mr Garaikoetxea Urizza concerning the situation in the Baltic Republics Date of Issue: 17 January 1990	58
90/012. Question No H-559/89 by Mr Nianias concerning the liberation of Famagusta in Cyprus Date of Issue: 17 January 1990	59
90/013. Question No H-562/89 by Mr Vandemeulebroucke concerning human rights in Turkey Date of Issue: 17 January 1990	59

Table of Contents

90/014. Question No H-575/89 by Ms Santos concerning the agreement between Indonesia and Australia on oilfield development in East Timor Date of Issue: 17 January 1990	60
90/015. Question No H-580/89 by Mr Ephremidis concerning torture and assassination carried out by the military government of Sudan Date of Issue: 17 January 1990	60
90/016. Question No H-599/89 by Mr Romeos concerning the verification of reductions and withdrawal of conventional weapons Date of Issue: 17 January 1990	61
90/017. Question No H-616/89 by Mr Cooney concerning submarines Date of Issue: 17 January 1990	61
90/018. Question No H-17/90 by Mr Wynn concerning human rights in Tibet Date of Issue: 17 January 1990	62
90/019. Question No H-20/90 by Mr Mahon concerning El Salvador Date of Issue: 17 January 1990	63
90/020. Statement concerning Colombia Date of Issue: 18 January 1990	63
90/021. Statement concerning Kampuchea Date of Issue: 18 January 1990	63
90/022. Statement concerning the killings in Guatemala Date of Issue: 18 January 1990	64
90/023. Statement concerning the lifting of martial law in Beijing Date of Issue: 18 January 1990	64
90/024. Statement concerning Ethiopia and the attacks on civilian shipping Date of Issue: 23 January 1990	65
90/025. Statement concerning the <i>démarche</i> by the Twelve in Port-au-Prince Date of Issue: 30 January 1990	65
90/026. Statement at the special session of the General Assembly to consider the question of international cooperation against illicit production, supply, demand, trafficking and distribution of narcotic drugs Date of Issue: 30 January 1990	65
90/027. Statement concerning the settlement of Jewish immigrants in the Occupied Territories Date of Issue: 31 January 1990	68
90/028. Question No 382/89 by Ms Ferrer i Casals (PPE-E) concerning the European Parliament's agreement on Iran Date of Issue: 1 February 1990	68

90/029. Question No 404/89 by Ms van Putten (S-NL) concerning human rights violations in Turkey Date of Issue: 1 February 1990	69
90/030. Question No 428/89 by Mr Iversen (GUE-DK) concerning Eritrea Date of Issue: 1 February 1990	70
90/031. Question No 452/89 by Mr Robles Piquer (PPE-E) concerning violations of human rights in Nicaragua Date of Issue: 1 February 1990	70
90/032. Question No 503/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the attack on the Central American University Date of Issue: 1 February 1990	71
90/033. Statement at the 46th Session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights Date of Issue: 2 February 1990	72
90/034. Question No 539/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the conviction of Alaattin Sahin, editor of a Turkish political weekly Date of Issue: 2 February 1990	76
90/035. Question No 540/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the arrest of Julius Mwandawiro in Kenya Date of Issue: 2 February 1990	76
90/036. Question No 542/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the detention of Dr Laxmi Narayan in Nepal Date of Issue: 2 February 1990	76
90/037. Question No 543/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning two years of solitary confinement for Jack Mapanje in Malawi Date of Issue: 2 February 1990	77
90/038. Question No 545/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the eight-year prison sentence for Ibrahim Ismailov Arifov in Bulgaria Date of Issue: 2 February 1990	77
90/039. Question No 547/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the disappearance of peasants in Guatemala Date of Issue: 2 February 1990	78
90/040. Question No 548/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the detention of Abdullah Kubali, a Turkish journalist Date of Issue: 2 February 1990	78
90/041. Question No 549/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the disappearance of peasants in Peru Date of Issue: 2 February 1990	79
90/042. Question No 668/89 by Ms Simons (S-D) concerning new direct investments in South Africa Date of Issue: 2 February 1990	79

Table of Contents

90/043. Question No 1017/89 by Mr Robles Piquer (PPE-E) concerning executions in Burkina Faso and Sierra Leone Date of Issue: 2 February 1990	80
90/044. Question No 1024/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the execution of drug pedlars in Iran Date of Issue: 2 February 1990	80
90/045. Question No 1025/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning prisoners of Turkish origin in Bulgaria Date of Issue: 2 February 1990	81
90/046. Question No 1026/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the Turkish political prisoner Servinc Tekekeli-Oztas Date of Issue: 2 February 1990	82
90/047. Question No 1032/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning political prisoners in Jordan Date of Issue: 2 February 1990	82
90/048. Question No 1034/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the imprisonment without trial of Atondi Mormondjo Lecas in the Congo Date of Issue: 2 February 1990	82
90/049. Question No 1056/89 by Ms van Putten (S-NL) concerning northern Cyprus Date of Issue: 2 February 1990	83
90/050. Statement concerning the fighting in the Christian areas of Lebanon Date of Issue: 5 February 1990	83
90/051. Statement concerning South Africa Date of Issue: 5 February 1990	84
90/052. Question No 507/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the demonstrators killed in the USSR Date of Issue: 5 February 1990	84
90/053. Question No 508/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the people imprisoned and killed in Yugoslavia Date of Issue: 5 February 1990	84
90/054. Question No 509/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the release of six members of the Islamic Liberation Party of Libya Date of Issue: 5 February 1990	85
90/055. Question No 510/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning freedom for Houmphannh Norasing, a former member of the Laos Parliament Date of Issue: 5 February 1990	85
90/056. Question No 512/89 by Mr Romera i Alcàzar (PPE-E) concerning political prisoners in Turkey Date of Issue: 5 February 1990	85

90/057. Question No 532/89 by Mr Titley (S-UK) concerning the Carmelite convent at Auschwitz Date of Issue: 5 February 1990	86
90/058. Question No 534/89 by Mr Ford (S-UK) concerning the imprisonment of Kemal Goyluler in Turkey Date of Issue: 5 February 1990	86
90/059. Question No 536/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the unconstitutional methods used by the army in Colombia Date of Issue: 5 February 1990	87
90/060. Question No 537/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning compulsory sterilization in Brazil Date of Issue: 5 February 1990	87
90/061. Question No 538/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning death sentences in the Yemen Arab Republic Date of Issue: 5 February 1990	88
90/062. Statement concerning the attack on a bus carrying Israeli tourists in Egypt Date of Issue: 6 February 1990	88
90/063. Question No 669/89 by Ms Simons (S-D) concerning oil exports to the Republic of South Africa Date of Issue: 8 February 1990	89
90/064. Question No 670/89 by Mr Newton Dunn (ED-UK) concerning the bilateral agreements between Member States and the Socialist Republic of Romania Date of Issue: 8 February 1990	89
90/065. Question No 690/89 by Sir James Scott-Hopkins (ED-UK) concerning help for Poland Date of Issue: 8 February 1990	90
90/066. Question No 715/89 by Mr Newton Dunn (ED-UK) concerning a young boy, Saba Szilagy, detained by the Romanian authorities Date of Issue: 8 February 1990	90
90/067. Question No 804/89 by Mr Gutiérrez Díaz (GUE-E) concerning the imprisonment of the Spanish journalist Jorge Sanchez García in Afghanistan Date of Issue: 8 February 1990	91
90/068. Question No 866/89 by Mr Vandemeulebroucke (ARC-B) concerning a European political cooperation initiative on the treatment of the Kurds Date of Issue: 8 February 1990	91
90/069. Question No 906/89 by Ms Reding (PPE-L) concerning an exit visa for Mikhail Kazachkov Date of Issue: 8 February 1990	92
90/070. Question No 1023/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning Bernard Rennie, sentenced to death in Swaziland Date of Issue: 8 February 1990	92

Table of Contents

90/071. Question No 1027/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning political detainees in Sudan Date of Issue: 8 February 1990	93
90/072. Question No 1035/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning extrajudicial executions in Zaïre Date of Issue: 8 February 1990	93
90/073. Statement concerning South Africa Date of Issue: 13 February 1990.	94
90/074. Statement concerning a unified Germany Date of Issue: 14 February 1990.	94
90/075. Question No H-468/89 by Ms Ewing concerning the mandatory repatriation of 44 000 boat people to Vietnam Date of Issue: 14 February 1990.	96
90/076. Question No H-25/90 by Mr Alavanos concerning the United States intervention in Panama Date of Issue: 14 February 1990.	97
90/077. Question No H-27/90 by Mr Dessylas concerning the US military intervention in Panama Date of Issue: 14 February 1990.	97
90/078. Question No H-35/90 by Mr Robles Piquer concerning human rights in Namibia Date of Issue: 14 February 1990.	98
90/079. Question No H-36/90 by Mr Cooney concerning security policy: the Poettering resolution Date of Issue: 14 February 1990.	98
90/080. Question No H-37/90 by Mr Cano Pinto concerning Europe's new political structure Date of Issue: 14 February 1990.	99
90/081. Question No H-40/90 by Mr Cabezón Alonso concerning the death of the Spanish journalist Juan Antonio Rodriguez in Panama Date of Issue: 14 February 1990.	100
90/082. Question No H-42/90 by Mr Pierros concerning the improvement of the living conditions of the Greek minority in Albania Date of Issue: 14 February 1990.	100
90/083. Question No H-65/90 by Ms Elmalan concerning the exclusion from public sector employment in Germany Date of Issue: 14 February 1990.	101
90/084. Question No H-71/90 by Mr Avgerinos concerning the Programme of Action of the Irish Presidency and the Cyprus problem Date of Issue: 14 February 1990.	101

90/085. Question No H-73/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru concerning lethal torture in Bihar Date of Issue: 14 February 1990.	102
90/086. Question No H-80/90 by Mr Bandrés Molet concerning the United States invasion of Panama Date of Issue: 14 February 1990.	102
90/087. Question No H-81/90 by Mr McMartin concerning Panama Date of Issue: 14 February 1990.	103
90/088. Question No H-97/90 by Mr Langer concerning the arrest of Feisal Hussein Date of Issue: 14 February 1990.	103
90/089. Question No H-99/90 by Mr Valverde López concerning the stage reached in the Council's negotiations with the Arab League and the Kingdom of Spain on the creation of the Euro-Arab University Date of Issue: 14 February 1990.	104
90/090. Question No H-140/90 by Mr Ephremidis concerning the arrest of Aishek Kutlu by the Turkish authorities Date of Issue: 14 February 1990.	105
90/091. Question No H-147/90 by Mr Barros Moura concerning the situation in East Timor Date of Issue: 14 February 1990.	105
90/092. Question No H-157/90 by Mr Elles concerning the CSCE process Date of Issue: 14 February 1990.	106
90/093. Joint political declaration of the eighth meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the European Community and its Member States and of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) in Kuching, held on 16 and 17 February 1990 Date of Issue: 16/17 February 1990.	106
90/094. Statement concerning Angola Date of Issue: 19 February 1990.	117
90/095. Statement concerning the CSCE Date of Issue: 20 February 1990.	117
90/096. Statement concerning the extension of Jewish settlements in the Occupied Territories Date of Issue: 20 February 1990.	118
90/097. Statement concerning the Horn of Africa Date of Issue: 20 February 1990.	118
90/098. Statement concerning Kampuchea Date of Issue: 20 February 1990.	119
90/099. Statement concerning Namibian independence Date of Issue: 20 February 1990.	120

Table of Contents

90/100. Statement concerning the Ninth Synthesis Report on the Code of Conduct for Community Companies with Subsidiaries in South Africa Date of Issue: 20 February 1990.	120
90/101. Ninth Synthesis Report on the Application of the Code of Conduct by Community Companies with Subsidiaries, Branches or Representation in South Africa (1 July 1987 to 30 June 1988) Date of Issue: 20 February 1990.	121
90/102. Statement at the 46th session of the Commission on Human Rights on the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in any part of the world with particular reference to colonial and other dependent countries and territories Date of Issue: 21 February 1990.	125
90/103. Question No 504/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning Manuel Gonzalez and Lidia Gonzalez García, prisoners of conscience in Cuba Date of Issue: 21 February 1990.	132
90/104. Question No 505/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning people killed or imprisoned in Benin Date of Issue: 21 February 1990.	132
90/105. Question No 506/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning senior public servants held in detention in Malawi Date of Issue: 21 February 1990.	133
90/106. Question No 725/89 by Mr Ford (S-UK) concerning aid to Vietnam and Kampuchea Date of Issue: 21 February 1990.	133
90/107. Statement concerning the <i>démarche</i> by the Twelve in Liberia Date of Issue: 23 February 1990.	134
90/108. Statement concerning the outcome of the Nicaraguan elections Date of Issue: 27 February 1990.	134
90/109. Questions No 714/89 by Ms Daly (ED-UK), No 770/89 by Mr Ford (S-UK) and No 907/89 by Ms Ewing (ARC-UK) concerning the refusal of exit visas to the Alexandrovsky family by the Soviet Union Date of Issue: 5 March 1990	134
90/110. Question No 908/89 by Ms Ewing (ARC-UK) concerning the respect of freedom for Soviet Jews Date of Issue: 5 March 1990	135
90/111. Question No 960/89 by Mr Amendola, Mr Bettini and Mr Falqui (V-I) concerning Italian arms reaching South Africa Date of Issue: 5 March 1990	136
90/112. Question No 1211/89 by Mr McMahon (S-UK) concerning El Salvador Date of Issue: 5 March 1990	136
90/113. Statement concerning the <i>démarche</i> by the Twelve in Jakarta Date of Issue: 9 March 1990	137

90/114. Question No H-41/90 Mr Cabezón Alonso concerning the assault on the Nicaraguan Embassy in Panama Date of Issue: 14 March 1990	137
90/115. Question No H-74/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru concerning the imprisonment of Vincent Cheng in Singapore Date of Issue: 14 March 1990	137
90/116. Question No H-113/90 by Mr Cooney concerning the Baltic States Date of Issue: 14 March 1990	138
90/117. Question No H-120/90 by Mr Alavanos concerning the violation of human rights in Iran Date of Issue: 14 March 1990	138
90/118. Question No H-166/90 by Ms Ewing concerning the Decade of Anti-Colonialism Date of Issue: 14 March 1990	139
90/119. Question No H-171/90 by Mr Simeoni on initial talks under way for the sale of military equipment by France to Hungary Date of Issue: 14 March 1990	139
90/120. Question No H-178/90 by Ms Giannakou-Koutsikou concerning drug trafficking in the occupied northern sector of Cyprus Date of Issue: 14 March 1990	140
90/121. Question No H-181/90 by Mr Pierros concerning the mobilization of Islamic extremists in Europe Date of Issue: 14 March 1990	141
90/122. Question No H-206/90 by Mr Romeos concerning the initiatives for the reunification of Germany Date of Issue: 14 March 1990	141
90/123. Question No H-208/90 by Mr Newton Dunn concerning the Parliamentary elections in Romania Date of Issue: 14 March 1990	142
90/124. Question No H-210/90 by Mr McCartin concerning European security Date of Issue: 14 March 1990	142
90/125. Question No H-223/90 by Mr Papoutsis concerning the Community's reaction to the appeal by Yasser Arafat Date of Issue: 14 March 1990	143
90/126. Question No H-227/90 by Mr Cassidy concerning COCOM Date of Issue: 14 March 1990	144
90/127. Question No H-229/90 by Mr Ephremidis concerning the arrest of Communists in Turkey Date of Issue: 14 March 1990	144

Table of Contents

90/128. Question No H-235/90 by Mr McMahon concerning the continuation of sanctions on South Africa by Member States of the Community following the release of Nelson Mandela Date of Issue: 14 March 1990	144
90/129. Question No H-246/90 by Mr Tsimas concerning direct Community monitoring of elections in the Comecon countries Date of Issue: 14 March 1990	145
90/130. Question No H-258/90 by Mr Cano Pinto concerning EEC coordination in UN votes Date of Issue: 14 March 1990	146
90/131. Question No H-262/90 by Mr Livanos concerning Amnesty International exposure of torture in Turkey Date of Issue: 14 March 1990	146
90/132. Question No H-265/90 by Mr Gollnisch concerning the lifting of economic sanctions imposed on the Republic of South Africa Date of Issue: 14 March 1990	147
90/133. Question No H-277/90 by Mr De Rossa concerning Nicaragua Date of Issue: 14 March 1990	147
90/134. Question No H-281/90 by Mr Elles concerning US-EC relations Date of Issue: 14 March 1990	148
90/135. Statement concerning Ethiopia Date of Issue: 15 March 1990	149
90/136. Statement concerning the execution of Mr Farzad Bazoft Date of Issue: 15 March 1990	149
90/137. Head of Delegation's opening address at the CSCE Economic Conference in Bonn Date of Issue: 19 March 1990	149
90/138. Question No 1265/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning Alami Bouti Hassan, Boukourou Abdelfattah and Adelilah Benabdessalem, political prisoners in Morocco Date of Issue: 20 March 1990	153
90/139. Question No 1268/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the execution of high-ranking officials in Sierra Leone Date of Issue: 20 March 1990	153
90/140. Question No 1337/89 by Mr Mazzone, Mr Fini, Mr Rauti and Ms Muscardini (NI-I) concerning the emergence of chauvinistic and separatist demands in Europe Date of Issue: 20 March 1990	154
90/141. Message of goodwill at the occasion of Namibian independence Date of Issue: 21 March 1990	154

90/142. Statement concerning the situation in Lithuania Date of Issue: 24 March 1990	155
90/143. Statement concerning the assassination in Colombia of Bernard Jamarillo Date of Issue: 26 March 1990	155
90/144. Report of the Irish Presidency on the cooperation of the Twelve during the 46th Session of the Commission on Human Rights Date of Issue: 29 March 1990	155
90/145. Statement concerning Lithuania Date of Issue: 4 April 1990	160
90/146. Question No H-141/90 by Mr Cabezón Alonso concerning the Great Maghreb and the Western Sahara Date of Issue: 4 April 1990	161
90/147. Question No H-190/90 by Mr Cooney concerning the Austrian application to join the European Community Date of Issue: 4 April 1990	161
90/148. Question No H-230/90 by Mr Alavanos concerning the execution of political prisoners in Indonesia Date of Issue: 4 April 1990	162
90/149. Question No H-263/90 by Mr Livanos concerning the protection of the cultural heritage of the Turkish-occupied part of Cyprus Date of Issue: 4 April 1990	162
90/150. Question No H-287/90 by Mr Garaikoetxea Urriza concerning the relations between the Community and the Baltic Republics Date of Issue: 4 April 1990	163
90/151. Question No H-296/90 by Mr Beazley concerning economic sanctions against South Africa Date of Issue: 4 April 1990	164
90/152. Question No H-300/90 by Ms Crawley concerning Vladimir Tsivkin Date of Issue: 4 April 1990	164
90/153. Question No H-306/90 by Mr Blaney concerning neutrality Date of Issue: 4 April 1990	165
90/154. Question No H-310/90 by Ms García Arias concerning the fight against drugs Date of Issue: 4 April 1990	165
90/155. Question No H-313/90 by Mr Bandrés Molet concerning violation of inter- national law by the Israeli Government Date of Issue: 4 April 1990	165
90/156. Question No H-316/90 by Ms Ruíz-Gimenez Aguilar concerning relations between the European Community, the countries of Eastern Europe and Latin America Date of Issue: 4 April 1990	166

Table of Contents

90/157. Question No H-322/90 by Mr Pagoropoulos concerning the illegal arrest and detention of two Greek-Cypriot students by the Turkish occupying forces in Cyprus Date of Issue: 4 April 1990	167
90/158. Question No H-326/90 by Mr Cassidy concerning the Code of Conduct for European Companies in South Africa Date of Issue: 4 April 1990	167
90/159. Question No H-331/90 by Mr Langer on preserving Antarctica Date of Issue: 4 April 1990	168
90/160. Question No H-343/90 by Mr Kostopoulos concerning the European responsibility for the Palestinian problem Date of Issue: 4 April 1990	168
90/161. Question No H-347/90 by Mr Papoutsis concerning measures to bring about an end to apartheid Date of Issue: 4 April 1990	169
90/162. Question No H-350/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru concerning the Jewish settlements on the West Bank Date of Issue: 4 April 1990	170
90/163. Question No H-382/90 by Mr Ephremidis and Question No H-434/90 by Mr Papayiannakis concerning Cyprus Date of Issue: 4 April 1990	170
90/164. Question No H-385/90 by Mr Crampton concerning NATO's programme of nuclear weapon modernization Date of Issue: 4 April 1990	171
90/165. Question No H-395/90 by Sir James Scott-Hopkins concerning a diplomatic mission to Kampuchea Date of Issue: 4 April 1990	171
90/166. Question No H-411/90 by Mr De Rossa concerning the boundaries of EC States Date of Issue: 4 April 1990	172
90/167. Question No H-412/90 by Mr McCartin concerning hostages in Lebanon Date of Issue: 4 April 1990	172
90/168. Question No H-435/90 by Mr Lomas concerning Haydar Kutlu and Nihat Sargin Date of Issue: 4 April 1990	173
90/169. Questions No O-105/90, No O-106/90, and No O-107/90 by the Temporary Committee on German Unification concerning German unification Date of Issue: 4 April 1990	173
90/170. Statement concerning Angola Date of Issue: 5 April 1990	180

90/171. Question No 1266/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the imprisonment of the Romanian writer Dan Petrescu Date of Issue: 6 April 1990	181
90/172. Question No 1267/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the extermination of the Bolivian Yuqui Indians Date of Issue: 6 April 1990	181
90/173. Question No 1270/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning acts of violence committed against Nahua Indians in Mexico Date of Issue: 6 April 1990	181
90/174. Question No 1271/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the possible extermination of the Huaorani Indians in Ecuador Date of Issue: 6 April 1990	182
90/175. Question No 106/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the torture of opposition members in Egypt Date of Issue: 6 April 1990	182
90/176. Question No 202/90 by Mr Ford (S-UK) concerning human rights in Colombia Date of Issue: 6 April 1990	183
90/177. Joint political declaration of the Dublin Ministerial Conference on political dialogue and economic cooperation between the European Community and its Member States, the countries of Central America and Panama, and Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela as cooperating countries, held on 9 and 10 April 1990 Date of Issue: 10 April 1990	183
90/178. Statement concerning the dispute between Senegal and Mauretania Date of Issue: 12 April 1990	190
90/179. Statement concerning Nepal Date of Issue: 12 April 1990	190
90/180. Statement concerning the tension between India and Pakistan Date of Issue: 12 April 1990	191
90/181. Statement concerning the threatened use of weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East Date of Issue: 20 April 1990	191
90/182. Statement concerning Lithuania Date of Issue: 21 April 1990	191
90/183. Statement concerning the <i>démarche</i> by the Twelve in Liberia Date of Issue: 26 April 1990	192
90/184. Statement concerning the assassination in Colombia of the presidential candidate, Carlos Pizarro Date of Issue: 27 April 1990	192

Table of Contents

90/185. Conclusions of the special meeting of the European Council in Dublin, held on 28 April 1990 (Extracts only) Date of Issue: 28 April 1990	192
90/186. Declaration concerning guidelines on the CSCE Date of Issue: 28 April 1990	195
90/187. Declaration concerning Cyprus Date of Issue: 28 April 1990	196
90/188. Statement concerning the ministerial meeting with US Secretary of State Baker Date of Issue: 30 April 1990	196
90/189. Statement at the first regular session of ECOSOC concerning the implementation of the programme of action for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (Agenda Item 2) Date of Issue: 9 May 1990	197
90/190. Memorandum on the activities of the Twelve in the field of human rights Date of Issue: 15 May 1990.	199
90/191. Question No H-381/90 by Mr Alavanos concerning the convocation of a Helsinki II conference Date of Issue: 15 May 1990.	202
90/192. Question No H-453/90 by Mr Christensen and Question No H-544/90 by Ms Muscardini concerning measures in support of Lithuanian independence Date of Issue: 15 May 1990.	203
90/193. Question No H-509/90 by Mr Stavrou concerning the CSCE and Albania Date of Issue: 15 May 1990.	204
90/194. Questions No H-543/90 by Mr Papayannikis, No H-591/90 by Mr Pierros and No H-592/90 by Mr Pagoropoulos concerning the Greek Orthodox patriarchate in Jerusalem Date of Issue: 15 May 1990.	204
90/195. Statement concerning the Dublin European Council meeting of 28 and 29 April 1990 Date of Issue: 16 May 1990.	206
90/196. Question No H-325/90 by Ms Crawley concerning German immigration authorities withholding information Date of Issue: 16 May 1990.	210
90/197. Question No H-351/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru concerning Palestinians murdered by Palestinians Date of Issue: 16 May 1990.	211
90/198. Question No H-386/90 by Mr Crampton concerning the Irish Presidency Date of Issue: 16 May 1990.	211

90/199. Question No H-437/90 by Mr Livanos concerning the threat of reconversion of the church of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul into a mosque Date of Issue: 16 May 1990.	212
90/200. Question No H-451/90 by Mr Jackson concerning the relations between India and Nepal Date of Issue: 16 May 1990.	212
90/201. Question No H-464/90 by Mr Bandrés Molet concerning the referendum on self-determination for the Western Sahara Date of Issue: 16 May 1990.	213
90/202. Question No H-467/90 by Mr Cabezón Alonso concerning the death in Panama on 21 December 1989 of the Spanish photographer Juan Antonio Rodriguez Date of Issue: 16 May 1990.	213
90/203. Question No H-469/90 by Mr Chabert concerning the violation of human rights in Cuba Date of Issue: 16 May 1990.	214
90/204. Question No H-472/90 by Mr Maher concerning the reduction in military expenditure Date of Issue: 16 May 1990.	214
90/205. Question No H-477/90 by Mr Cravinho concerning the violation of human rights in East Timor Date of Issue: 16 May 1990.	215
90/206. Question No H-486/90 by Ms Dury concerning the transfer of nuclear resources by Member States of the Community Date of Issue: 16 May 1990.	215
90/207. Question No H-488/90 by Ms Ruiz-Giménez Aguilar on increasing aid to developing countries Date of Issue: 16 May 1990.	216
90/208. Question No H-513/90 by Mr McMahan concerning security policy involving EFTA countries Date of Issue: 16 May 1990.	216
90/209. Question No H-523/90 by Mr Ephremidis concerning the new measures taken by Ankara against the Kurds Date of Issue: 16 May 1990.	217
90/210. Question No H-528/90 by Ms Ewing concerning Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty review Date of Issue: 16 May 1990.	217
90/211. Question No H-550/90 by Mr Bowe concerning human rights in El Salvador Date of Issue: 16 May 1990.	218
90/212. Question No H-552/90 by Mr Melandri concerning Kampuchea's seat at the United Nations and the role of the EEC Date of Issue: 16 May 1990.	218

Table of Contents

90/213. Question No H-554/90 by Mr Simeoni concerning the policy of the Community Member States <i>vis-à-vis</i> the Iraqi regime, particularly as regards cooperation and trade in military hardware Date of Issue: 16 May 1990.	219
90/214. Question No H-573/90 by Mr Gutiérrez Díaz concerning the assassination of Ignacio Ellacuria in El Salvador Date of Issue: 16 May 1990.	220
90/215. Question No H-574/90 by Mr Hughes concerning the Sahara air disaster Date of Issue: 16 May 1990.	221
90/216. Question No H-581/90 by Sir James Scott-Hopkins concerning deals with terrorists Date of Issue: 16 May 1990.	221
90/217. Question No H-589/90 by Mr Langer concerning intolerance towards ethnic minorities in the Member States Date of Issue: 16 May 1990.	222
90/218. Questions No O-30/90, No O-133/90, No O-134/90, No O-138/90, No O-144/90 and No O-165/90 concerning the relations between the EEC and Vietnam Date of Issue: 16 May 1990.	222
90/219. Declaration concerning Burma Date of Issue: 18 May 1990.	225
90/220. Statement concerning the Palestinian deaths in Israel and the Occupied Territories since 20 May Date of Issue: 22 May 1990.	225
90/221. Statement concerning the situation in Israel and the Occupied Territories Date of Issue: 2 June 1990	226
90/222. Statement at the Copenhagen Conference on the Human Dimension (CSCE) Date of Issue: 5 June 1990	227
90/223. Statement concerning Burma Date of Issue: 6 June 1990	230
90/224. Statement concerning South Africa Date of Issue: 9 June 1990	231
90/225. Statement concerning the term-in-office of the Irish Presidency and concerning the second Dublin Summit Date of Issue: 13 June 1990	231
90/226. Question No H-456/90 by Mr Kostopoulos concerning the illegal Turkish dam on the river Evros Date of Issue: 13 June 1990	235
90/227. Question No H-480/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru concerning the murder of the rector of the Central American University in El Salvador Date of Issue: 13 June 1990	236

90/228. Question No H-520/90 by Mr Alavanos concerning proposals by Mr Havel concerning European security Date of Issue: 13 June 1990	236
90/229. Question No H-529/90 by Ms Ewing concerning human rights in Chile Date of Issue: 13 June 1990	237
90/230. Question No H-561/90 by Mr Livanos concerning the steady increase in the number of settlers in the occupied part of Cyprus by every possible means Date of Issue: 13 June 1990	237
90/231. Question No H-576/90 by Mr Hughes concerning the human rights situation in Iran Date of Issue: 13 June 1990	238
90/232. Question No H-598/90 by Ms Crawley on securing the release of ANC women Date of Issue: 13 June 1990	239
90/233. Question No H-606/90 by Mr van der Waal concerning the situation of the Papuan inhabitants of Irian Jaya Date of Issue: 13 June 1990	239
90/234. Question No H-611/90 by Mr Lataillade concerning human rights and genocide Date of Issue: 13 June 1990	240
90/235. Question No H-618/90 by Mr Wynn concerning the funding of the Kagiso Trust Date of Issue: 13 June 1990	240
90/236. Question No H-619/90 by Mr Gutiérrez Díaz concerning threats against the Spanish Embassy in Guatemala Date of Issue: 13 June 1990	241
90/237. Question No H-630/90 by Ms Ruiz-Giménez Aguilar concerning Latin American immigrants in the context of 1993 Date of Issue: 13 June 1990	241
90/238. Question No H-633/90 by Mr Robles Piquer concerning the European meeting in Bratislava Date of Issue: 13 June 1990	242
90/239. Question No H-644/90 by Mr Medina Ortega on the EPC meeting with the Rio Group in Dublin Date of Issue: 13 June 1990	243
90/240. Question No H-646/90 by Mr Langer concerning trade in arms with Iraq Date of Issue: 13 June 1990	243
90/241. Question No H-652/90 by Ms Elmalan concerning the repeated violations of human rights in Morocco Date of Issue: 13 June 1990	244

Table of Contents

90/242. Question No H-654/90 by Ms Ainardi on the sentencing of Rim Sou Kyeong and Moun Kyou Hyeun in South Korea Date of Issue: 13 June 1990	245
90/243. Question No H-671/90 by Mr Bandrés Molet and Question No H-702/90 by Mr Papoutsis concerning the Israeli-occupied territories Date of Issue: 13 June 1990	245
90/244. Question No H-677/90 by Mr Dessyllas concerning the release of the unlawfully imprisoned Palestinian freedom fighter, Hamdan Date of Issue: 13 June 1990	246
90/245. Question No H-681/90 by Mr Cabezón Alonso concerning the death of the Spanish photographer Juan Antonio Rodriguez in Panama on 21 December 1989 Date of Issue: 13 June 1990	247
90/246. Question No H-693/90 by Mr De Rossa concerning US entry restrictions on AIDS sufferers Date of Issue: 13 June 1990	247
90/247. Question No H-699/90 by Mr Ephremidis concerning human rights in South Africa Date of Issue: 13 June 1990	248
90/248. Question No H-703/90 by Mr Pierros concerning the revival by Yugoslavia of the spurious 'Macedonian question' Date of Issue: 13 June 1990	249
90/249. Question No O-98/90 by Mr Poettering and others concerning the Irish Presidency's views on security policy cooperation in the context of EPC and the realignment of relations between States in Europe Date of Issue: 13 June 1990	249
90/250. Statement concerning Ethiopia Date of Issue: 18 June 1990	251
90/251. Statement concerning Romania Date of Issue: 18 June 1990	252
90/252. Question No 1033/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning murders and missing persons in Sri Lanka Date of Issue: 22 June 1990	252
90/253. Question No 1036/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning executions for drug trafficking in Malaysia Date of Issue: 22 June 1990	252
90/254. Question No 1059/89 by Mr Ford (S-UK) concerning the Law of the Sea Convention Date of Issue: 22 June 1990	253
90/255. Question No 1060/89 by Mr Ford (S-UK) concerning the prisoner of conscience Soh Sung in South Korea Date of Issue: 22 June 1990	253

90/256. Question No 1167/89 by Mr de Vries (LDR-NL) concerning genocide in Kampuchea Date of Issue: 22 June 1990	254
90/257. Question No 1172/89 by Mr Robles Piquer (PPE-E) concerning refugees from Bulgaria Date of Issue: 22 June 1990	254
90/258. Question No 1264/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning torture and possible execution of Tseten Norgye in Tibet Date of Issue: 22 June 1990	255
90/259. Question No 1269/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning mass killings by the army in Somalia Date of Issue: 22 June 1990	255
90/260. Question No 1287/89 by Mr Deprez (PPE-B) concerning German reunification Date of Issue: 22 June 1990	256
90/261. Question No 84/90 by Ms Piermont (ARC-D) concerning the issuing of a map of Europe by international airline companies showing the 'German Reich' with its 1937-39 borders Date of Issue: 22 June 1990	256
90/262. Question No 454/90 by Mr Langer (V-I) concerning the repression of Slovenian demonstrations in Italy Date of Issue: 22 June 1990	257
90/263. Conclusions of the European Council meeting in Dublin, held on 25 and 26 June 1990 (Extracts only) Date of Issue: 25/26 June 1990.	258
90/264. Statement concerning anti-Semitism, racism and xenophobia Date of Issue: 25/26 June 1990.	260
90/265. Statement concerning Cyprus Date of Issue: 25/26 June 1990.	261
90/266. Statement concerning the Iranian earthquake Date of Issue: 25/26 June 1990.	261
90/267. Statement concerning the Middle East Date of Issue: 25/26 June 1990.	262
90/268. Statement concerning nuclear non-proliferation Date of Issue: 25/26 June 1990.	263
90/269. Statement concerning Southern Africa Date of Issue: 25/26 June 1990.	264
90/270. Statement concerning Haiti Date of Issue: 29 June 1990	266

Table of Contents

90/271. Statement concerning Albania Date of Issue: 5 July 1990	266
90/272. Questions No H-715/90 by Mr Melandri and No H-759/90 by Ms Ewing concerning South Africa Date of Issue: 10 July 1990	266
90/273. Question No H-739/90 by Mr Carvalhas concerning the repression in Zaire Date of Issue: 10 July 1990	270
90/274. Statement concerning the European Council meeting in Dublin, held on 25 and 26 June 1990 (Extracts only) Date of Issue: 11 July 1990	271
90/275. Question No H-457/90 by Mr Kostopoulos concerning the violent clashes between Montenegrins and ethnic Albanians and Romanians and ethnic Hungarians Date of Issue: 11 July 1990	276
90/276. Question No H-537/90 by Mr Alavanos concerning the occupation of a Greek Orthodox church building by Israeli settlers Date of Issue: 11 July 1990	277
90/277. Question No H-599/90 by Ms Crawley concerning the Devrimci Sol trial in Istanbul Date of Issue: 11 July 1990	277
90/278. Question No H-737/90 by Mr Moorhouse concerning Ahmed Abd Al-Karim, Syrian prisoner of conscience Date of Issue: 11 July 1990	278
90/279. Question No H-750/90 by Ms Dury concerning talks between the EEC and the Iranian Republic Date of Issue: 11 July 1990	278
90/280. Question No H-760/90 by Mr Barros Moura concerning the right to self- determination of the Sahrawi people Date of Issue: 11 July 1990	279
90/281. Questions No H-769/90 by Mr De Rossa and No H-676/90 by Mr Dessylas concerning the Occupied Territories Date of Issue: 11 July 1990	280
90/282. Question No H-787/90 by Ms Pollack concerning tropical rain forests Date of Issue: 11 July 1990	282
90/283. Question No H-798/90 by Ms Ruiz-Giménez Aguilar concerning the political support for Colombia's constitutional reform Date of Issue: 11 July 1990	282
90/284. Questions No H-802/90 by Mr Ephremidis and No H-809/90 by Ms van Putten concerning human rights in Indonesia and East Timor Date of Issue: 11 July 1990	283

90/285. Question No H-813/90 by Mr Papoutsis concerning acts of violence by Turkish troops against Kurdish civilians Date of Issue: 11 July 1990	284
90/286. Question No H-826/90 by Mr Papayannakis concerning Community policy in the Mediterranean Date of Issue: 11 July 1990	285
90/287. Statement concerning the Programme of the Italian Presidency (Extracts only) Date of Issue: 12 July 1990	285
90/288. Statement concerning Angola and Mozambique Date of Issue: 13 July 1990	292
90/289. Statement concerning the situation in Somalia Date of Issue: 13 July 1990	293
90/290. Statement concerning Liberia Date of Issue: 25 July 1990	293
90/291. Statement at the occasion of the investiture of the President-elect of Peru on 28 July 1990 Date of Issue: 27 July 1990	294
90/292. Statement concerning Ethiopia Date of Issue: 2 August 1990.	294
90/293. Statement concerning the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq Date of Issue: 2 August 1990.	294
90/294. Statement concerning Liberia Date of Issue: 2 August 1990.	295
90/295. Statement concerning Nigeria Date of Issue: 2 August 1990.	295
90/296. Statement concerning Burma Date of Issue: 3 August 1990.	295
90/297. Statement concerning the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq Date of Issue: 4 August 1990.	296
90/298. Question No 102/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the disappearance of Guillermo Ramírez, a trade unionist in Colombia Date of Issue: 8 August 1990.	297
90/299. Question No 103/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning disappearances in Peru Date of Issue: 8 August 1990.	297
90/300. Question No 107/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the safety of Juan Ajanel Pixcar in Guatemala Date of Issue: 8 August 1990.	298

Table of Contents

90/301. Question No 639/90 by Mr Kostopoulos (S-GR) concerning justice and equal treatment for the Republic of Cyprus Date of Issue: 8 August 1990.	298
90/302. Question No 850/90 by Mr Robles Piquer (ED-E) concerning the interest of the European Community in Latin America Date of Issue: 8 August 1990.	299
90/303. Question No 950/90 by Mr Köhler (S-D) on the restructuring in arms supplies and garrisons Date of Issue: 8 August 1990.	300
90/304. Question No 1134/90 by Ms Ewing (ARC-UK) concerning the growth of anti-Semitism in the USSR Date of Issue: 8 August 1990.	300
90/305. Statement concerning Mozambique Date of Issue: 9 August 1990.	300
90/306. Statement concerning South Africa Date of Issue: 9 August 1990.	301
90/307. Statement concerning the situation in the Gulf Date of Issue: 10 August 1990.	301
90/308. Statement concerning South Africa Date of Issue: 20 August 1990.	302
90/309. Statement concerning the situation of foreign nationals in Iraq and Kuwait Date of Issue: 21 August 1990.	302
90/310. Statement concerning Lebanon Date of Issue: 5 September 1990	303
90/311. Statement concerning EC-Arab relations Date of Issue: 7 September 1990	304
90/312. Statement concerning foreign citizens in Iraq and Kuwait Date of Issue: 7 September 1990	304
90/313. Statement concerning the Gulf crisis Date of Issue: 7 September 1990	305
90/314. Explanation of vote in the Plenary Session of the UN General Assembly (Agenda Item 36) Date of Issue: 11 September 1990	306
90/315. Statement concerning the situation in the Gulf Date of Issue: 12 September 1990	306
90/316. Statement at the Plenary Session of the UN General Assembly on the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa (Agenda Item 28) Date of Issue: 12 September 1990	314

90/317. Statement concerning Angola and Mozambique Date of Issue: 13 September 1990	316
90/318. Statement concerning Somalia Date of Issue: 13 September 1990	316
90/319. Statement concerning the embassies in Kuwait Date of Issue: 14 September 1990	317
90/320. Statement concerning Ethiopia Date of Issue: 14 September 1990	317
90/321. Statement concerning the Gulf crisis Date of Issue: 17 September 1990	318
90/322. Statement concerning Kampuchea Date of Issue: 18 September 1990	319
90/323. Question No 104/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the imprisonment of Dr George Mtafu, a neurosurgeon in Malawi Date of Issue: 20 September 1990	319
90/324. Question No 105/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the imprisonment of Aung Din, a student leader in Burma Date of Issue: 20 September 1990	320
90/325. Question No 203/90 by Mr Glinne (S-B) concerning the French Embassy in Kabul Date of Issue: 20 September 1990	320
90/326. Question No 280/90 by Mr Robles Piquer (PPE-E) concerning the further violation of human rights in Burkina Faso Date of Issue: 20 September 1990	320
90/327. Question No 282/90 by Ms Piermont (ARC-D) concerning teaching material defining Germany in terms of its 1937 borders Date of Issue: 20 September 1990	321
90/328. Question No 324/90 by Ms Ewing (ARC-UK) concerning the embargo on trade in arms with China Date of Issue: 20 September 1990	322
90/329. Question No 325/90 by Ms Ewing (ARC-UK) concerning independent observers at trials in China Date of Issue: 20 September 1990	322
90/330. Question No 326/90 by Ms Ewing (ARC-UK) concerning martial law in Tibet Date of Issue: 20 September 1990	323
90/331. Question No 414/90 by Mr Verhagen (PPE-NL) concerning unlawful killings in Liberia Date of Issue: 20 September 1990	323

Table of Contents

90/332. Question No 423/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the detention of the Catholic bishops Liu Guangdong and Habei Li Side, and of Protestant leaders in China Date of Issue: 20 September 1990	324
90/333. Question No 677/90 by Ms Miranda de Lage (S-E) concerning the CSCE Conference in Bonn Date of Issue: 20 September 1990	324
90/334. Question No 1133/90 by Ms Ewing (ARC-UK) concerning the CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension Date of Issue: 20 September 1990	325
90/335. Question No 1156/90 by Mr Robles Piquer (PPE-E) concerning Franco-German diplomatic cooperation Date of Issue: 20 September 1990	325
90/336. Question No 1374/90 by Mr Robles Piquer (PPE-E) concerning the encouragement of democratization in Mexico Date of Issue: 20 September 1990	326
90/337. Statement at the Plenary Session of the UN General Assembly on problems affecting the international community Date of Issue: 25 September 1990	327
90/338. Memorandum to the Plenary Session of the UN General Assembly Date of Issue: 25 September 1990	333
90/339. EC-USSR joint statement Date of Issue: 26 September 1990	357
90/340. Joint communiqué of the European Community, its Member States and the Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf (GCC) and its Member States Date of Issue: 27 September 1990	358
90/341. Question No 132/90 by Mr Carvalhas, Mr Barros Moura, Mr Wurtz and Mr Miranda da Silva (CG-P,F) concerning the American intervention in Angola Date of Issue: 28 September 1990	359
90/342. Question No 911/90 by Sir James Scott-Hopkins (ED-UK) concerning an interim role for the United Nations in Kampuchea Date of Issue: 28 September 1990	360
90/343. Question No 1335/90 by Mr Glinne (S-B) concerning the requirement for Member State nationals to obtain an entry visa for the United States Date of Issue: 28 September 1990	360
90/344. Question No 1342/90 by Mr Stevenson (S-UK) concerning the state of emergency regulations in South Africa, as applied to Gazankulu Date of Issue: 28 September 1990	361
90/345. Question No 1413/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the imprisonment of Father Thadeus Nguyen Van Ly in Vietnam Date of Issue: 28 September 1990	362

90/346. Question No 1414/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning political detainees in Somalia Date of Issue: 28 September 1990	362
90/347. Question No 1460/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the response of the Government of Guatemala to European Parliament resolutions Date of Issue: 28 September 1990	363
90/348. Question No 1461/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning new initiatives with regard to the Kurdish problems Date of Issue: 28 September 1990	363
90/349. Question No 1568/90 by Lord O'Hagan (ED-UK) concerning the Royal Family of the United Kingdom Date of Issue: 28 September 1990	364
90/350. Question No 1598/90 by Mr Verhagen (PPE-NL) concerning the situation in Ethiopia Date of Issue: 28 September 1990	365
90/351. Question No 1670/90 by Ms Oddy (S-UK) concerning Kashmir Date of Issue: 28 September 1990	366
90/352. Question No 1765/90 by Mr Cooney and others (PPE,S-IRL,UK) concerning submarine traffic in the Irish Sea Date of Issue: 28 September 1990	366
90/353. Statement concerning German unification Date of Issue: 2 October 1990	367
90/354. Statement concerning the Philippines Date of Issue: 5 October 1990	367
90/355. Statement in the Third Committee of the UN General Assembly concerning racism, racial discrimination and self-determination Date of Issue: 8 October 1990	368
90/356. Statement concerning the recent bloody events in Jerusalem Date of Issue: 9 October 1990	371
90/357. Statement concerning security and cooperation in Europe Date of Issue: 9 October 1990	372
90/358. Questions No H-839/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru and No H-698/90 by Mr Alavanos concerning peace and security in the Middle East and the Occupied Territories Date of Issue: 9 October 1990	377
90/359. Question No H-942/90 by Mr Livanos concerning the implementation of United Nations Resolutions on Cyprus and Palestine Date of Issue: 9 October 1990	380

Table of Contents

90/360. Questions No O-191/90/rev.3, No O-192/90/rev. and No O-193/90/rev.2 by Mr Gorla concerning the situation in Kampuchea Date of Issue: 9 October 1990	382
90/361. Questions No O-227/90 by Mr Nordmann and others, No O-228/90 by Mr Nordmann and others, and No O-226/90 by Mr Nordmann and others concerning racism and xenophobia Date of Issue: 9 October 1990	385
90/362. Question No H-712/90 by Mr Dessylas concerning the illegal arrest and detention of Jaime Tadeo, President of the Philippines Farmers' Movement (KMP) Date of Issue: 10 October 1990	387
90/363. Question No H-718/90 by Mr Bandrés Molet concerning the accreditation to the EC of a fugitive from Spanish justice Date of Issue: 10 October 1990	388
90/364. Question No H-844/90/Rev. by Mr Pesmazoglou concerning the freedom to express and practise religious beliefs in Albania Date of Issue: 10 October 1990	388
90/365. Question No H-852/90 by Mr Desmond concerning the Namibian debt Date of Issue: 10 October 1990	389
90/366. Question No H-855/90 by Mr Pierros concerning the murder of 27 Kurds in the village of Cefrimli Date of Issue: 10 October 1990	389
90/367. Question No H-861/90 by Mr Gutiérrez Díaz concerning the murder of six Jesuits in El Salvador Date of Issue: 10 October 1990	390
90/368. Question No H-862/90 by Ms Ruiz-Giménez Aguilar concerning the bank for the reconstruction of Central America Date of Issue: 10 October 1990	391
90/369. Question No H-867/90 by Mr Barros Moura concerning the speech by General Moerdani in Dili Date of Issue: 10 October 1990	391
90/370. Question No H-883/90 by Mr Falconer concerning the terrorist acts perpetrated in Europe by the Iranian Rafsanjani regime Date of Issue: 10 October 1990	392
90/371. Questions No H-884/90 by Mr Newens, No H-885/90 by Mr Simpson and No H-886/90 by Ms Díez de Rivera Icaza concerning human rights in Iran Date of Issue: 10 October 1990	392
90/372. Question No H-893/90 by Mr Melandri concerning the unstable situation in Africa Date of Issue: 10 October 1990	393

90/373. Question No H-908/90 by Mr Papoutsis concerning the illegal population settlement by Turks in Cyprus Date of Issue: 10 October 1990	394
90/374. Question No H-910/90 by Mr McMahon concerning South Africa Date of Issue: 10 October 1990	395
90/375. Question No H-913/90 by Mr Seligman concerning the restoration of peace in Lebanon Date of Issue: 10 October 1990	396
90/376. Question No H-937/90 by Mr Crampton concerning the declaration on nuclear non-proliferation Date of Issue: 10 October 1990	397
90/377. Question No H-947/90 by Mr Kostopoulos concerning the differing responses to similar situations in Iraq and Cyprus Date of Issue: 10 October 1990	397
90/378. Question No H-958/90 by Mr Avgerinos concerning problems facing travellers crossing the Greek-Yugoslav border Date of Issue: 10 October 1990	398
90/379. Question No H-969/90 by Mr Lalor concerning EC-US relations Date of Issue: 10 October 1990	398
90/380. Question No H-972/90 by Mr Killilea concerning the EC-Eastern Europe-Soviet Union Summit Date of Issue: 10 October 1990	399
90/381. Question No H-980/90 by Mr Andrews concerning hostages in Lebanon Date of Issue: 10 October 1990	400
90/382. Question No H-984/90 by Mr Fitzgerald concerning Amnesty International Date of Issue: 10 October 1990	400
90/383. Question No H-992/90 by Mr Price concerning the European Parliament resolution on the kidnapping and imprisonment of Mr Mordechai Vanunu Date of Issue: 10 October 1990	401
90/384. Question No H-998/90 by Mr Beazley concerning Article 51 of the Geneva Convention Prohibiting the Conscription of Inhabitants of Occupied Territories to Serve in the Armed Forces of the Occupying Power Date of Issue: 10 October 1990	401
90/385. Question No H-1006/90 by Mr De Rossa concerning the Kampuchean seat at the United Nations Date of Issue: 10 October 1990	402
90/386. Question No H-1025/90 by Ms Dury concerning the influx of Soviet workers onto Community employment markets Date of Issue: 10 October 1990	402

Table of Contents

90/387. Question No H-1032/90 by Mr Elliott concerning human rights abuses in Kashmir and Punjab Date of Issue: 10 October 1990	403
90/388. Statement on the occasion of the Day of Solidarity with South African political prisoners Date of Issue: 11 October 1990	403
90/389. Explanation of vote in the Fourth Committee of the UN General Assembly – Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries (Agenda Item 112) Date of Issue: 12 October 1990	404
90/390. Statement in the First Committee of the UN General Assembly Date of Issue: 15 October 1990	405
90/391. Statement before the Plenary Session of the UN General Assembly concerning cooperation between the United Nations and the Asian-African Legal Consultative Committee (Agenda Item 20) Date of Issue: 16 October 1990	409
90/392. Statement concerning Rwanda Date of Issue: 18 October 1990	410
90/393. Statement concerning Sri Lanka Date of Issue: 22 October 1990	410
90/394. Statement in the Fourth Committee of the UN General Assembly concerning self-determination Date of Issue: 22 October 1990	411
90/395. Statement concerning topical political questions in the Community and at the international level Date of Issue: 23 October 1990	413
90/396. Conclusions of the special meeting of the European Council in Rome, held on 27 and 28 October 1990 (Extracts only) Date of Issue: 27/28 October 1990	418
90/397. Statement concerning the CSCE Date of Issue: 28 October 1990	420
90/398. Statement concerning the Middle East Date of Issue: 28 October 1990	420
90/399. Statement concerning the Gulf crisis Date of Issue: 28 October 1990	421
90/400. Statement in the Special Political Committee of the UN General Assembly concerning UNRWA (Agenda Item 74) Date of Issue: 29 October 1990	422
90/401. Statement in the Third Committee of the UN General Assembly concerning drug abuse and related illicit production and trafficking Date of Issue: 1 November 1990	424

90/402. Statement in the Fifth Committee of the UN General Assembly concerning the respect for privileges and immunities of officials of the United Nations (Agenda Item 126 [B]) Date of Issue: 1 November 1990	427
90/403. Statement in the First Committee of the UN General Assembly concerning regional disarmament Date of Issue: 2 November 1990	428
90/404. Statement before the Plenary Session of the UN General Assembly concerning cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (Agenda Item 30) Date of Issue: 7 November 1990	430
90/405. Questions No 1873/90 and No 1874/90 by Ms van Putten (S-NL) concerning human rights and religious freedom in Singapore and Malaysia Date of Issue: 12 November 1990.	431
90/406. Statement concerning El Salvador Date of Issue: 16 November 1990.	432
90/407. Intervention à l'occasion de la réunion au sommet des pays participant à la CSCE Date of Issue: 19 November 1990.	432
90/408. Statement before the Plenary Session of the UN General Assembly concerning the situation in Central America (Agenda Item 28) Date of Issue: 20 November 1990.	435
90/409. Question No H-1093/90 by Mr Dessylas concerning the fresh acts of barbarism committed by Israel against Palestinians Date of Issue: 20 November 1990.	437
90/410. Question No H-1125/90 by Mr Cooney concerning the Commission's foreign policy initiatives Date of Issue: 20 November 1990.	440
90/411. Question No H-1169/90 by Mr Seligman concerning the restoration of peace in Lebanon Date of Issue: 20 November 1990.	441
90/412. Question No H-1177/90 by Mr Kostopoulos concerning Europe-America's 'stooge' in the Gulf crisis Date of Issue: 20 November 1990.	442
90/413. Statement concerning the meeting of the European Council in Rome on 27 and 28 October 1990 Date of Issue: 21 November 1990.	444
90/414. Question No H-868/90 by Mr Barros Moura concerning the report by Amnesty International on executions in East Timor Date of Issue: 21 November 1990.	451

Table of Contents

90/415. Question No H-927/90 by Mr Alavanos concerning threats to colonize Famagusta Date of Issue: 21 November 1990.	452
90/416. Question No H-1017/90 by Mr De Rossa concerning the proposal to merge European political cooperation and WEU Date of Issue: 21 November 1990.	452
90/417. Questions No H-1021/90 by Mr Melandri and No H-1066/90 by Mr Taradash concerning the economic relations between the EEC and China Date of Issue: 21 November 1990.	453
90/418. Questions No H-1049/90 by Mr Ephremidis, No H-1137/90 by Mr Papoutsis and No H-1138/90 by Mr Romeos concerning the absence of Greece from the Conference on Security and Cooperation in the Mediterranean Date of Issue: 21 November 1990.	454
90/419. Question No H-1053/90 by Ms Banotti concerning Raoul Wallenberg Date of Issue: 21 November 1990.	455
90/420. Question No H-1060/90 by Mr Bandrés Molet concerning the ratification of the Convention on the Rights of the Child by the EEC Member States Date of Issue: 21 November 1990.	455
90/421. Question No H-1081/90 by Mr Newton Dunn concerning Romania Date of Issue: 21 November 1990.	456
90/422. Question No H-1096/90 by Mr Van der Waal concerning the situation of the Papuan population in Irian Jaya and Papua New Guinea Date of Issue: 21 November 1990.	456
90/423. Question No H-1107/90 by Mr Pompidou concerning children in Romania suffering from AIDS Date of Issue: 21 November 1990.	457
90/424. Question No H-1109/90 by Mr Cot concerning a postage stamp issued by the United Nations Date of Issue: 21 November 1990.	458
90/425. Question No H-1116/90 by Mr Blaney concerning security Date of Issue: 21 November 1990.	458
90/426. Question No H-1129/90 by Ms Pollack concerning Antarctica Date of Issue: 21 November 1990.	459
90/427. Question No H-1156/90 by Mr Bowe concerning Sri Lanka Date of Issue: 21 November 1990.	459
90/428. Question No H-1183/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru concerning the political importance of Parliament resolutions on human rights Date of Issue: 21 November 1990.	460

90/429. Question No H-1185/90 by Mr Hughes concerning the visit to Iran by UN Special Representative Galindo Pohl Date of Issue: 21 November 1990.	460
90/430. Question No H-1186/90 by Mr Newman concerning Dr Ismail Beskici, Kurdish scholar awaiting trial in Turkey Date of Issue: 21 November 1990.	460
90/431. Declaration on EC-Canada relations Date of Issue: 22 November 1990.	461
90/432. Declaration on EC-US relations Date of Issue: 23 November 1990.	463
90/433. Question No 1893/90 by Mr Gutiérrez Díaz (GUE-E) concerning the murder of six Jesuit priests in El Salvador Date of Issue: 23 November 1990.	466
90/434. Question No 1912/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning human rights in Haiti Date of Issue: 23 November 1990.	466
90/435. Question No 1915/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning human rights in Guatemala Date of Issue: 23 November 1990.	467
90/436. Question No 2012/90 by Mr Langer (V-I) concerning violent incursions by 'Garimpeiros' into Yanomani native territory in the state of Roraima in Brazil Date of Issue: 23 November 1990.	467
90/437. Question No 2066/90 by Mr Glinne (S-B) concerning the restoration of a Duvalier-style regime in Haiti Date of Issue: 23 November 1990.	468
90/438. Statement in the Third Committee of the UN General Assembly concerning the report by the ECOSOC (Agenda Item 12) Date of Issue: 26 November 1990.	469
90/439. Statement in the First Committee of the UN General Assembly concerning international security (Agenda Items 68, 69 and 70) Date of Issue: 27 November 1990.	479
90/440. Statement before the Plenary Session of the UN General Assembly concerning the question of Palestine (Agenda Item 23) Date of Issue: 30 November 1990.	482
90/441. Message to President Menem of Argentina Date of Issue: 4 December 1990	484
90/442. Statement before the Plenary Session of the UN General Assembly concerning the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa (Agenda Item 34) Date of Issue: 6 December 1990	485

Table of Contents

90/443. Statement before the Plenary Session of the UN General Assembly concerning the situation in the Middle East (Agenda Item 35) Date of Issue: 7 December 1990	487
90/444. Statement in the Fifth Committee of the UN General Assembly on the financing of activities of the Centre for Human Rights (Agenda Item 118) Date of Issue: 7 December 1990	490
90/445. Statement in the Fifth Committee of the UN General Assembly concerning administrative and budgetary aspects of peace-keeping operations (Agenda Item 134) Date of Issue: 7 December 1990	491
90/446. Statement in the Fifth Committee of the UN General Assembly concerning administrative and budgetary coordination of the United Nations with the specialized agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency (Agenda Item 122) Date of Issue: 10 December 1990	493
90/447. Statement concerning the situation in the Gulf Date of Issue: 11 December 1990	495
90/448. Question No H-1221/90 by Mr Musso concerning the Gulf crisis Date of Issue: 11 December 1990	499
90/449. Question No H-1264/90 by Mr Elles concerning the immigration from Central and Eastern Europe Date of Issue: 11 December 1990	501
90/450. Question No H-922/90 by Mr Dessylas concerning the colonization of Famagusta and EEC funding for Turkey Date of Issue: 12 December 1990	502
90/451. Question No H-1084/90 by Mr Melandri concerning the situation in the Dominican Republic Date of Issue: 12 December 1990	503
90/452. Question No H-1147/90 by Mr Kostopoulos concerning the brutal violation of human rights in Turkey Date of Issue: 12 December 1990	504
90/453. Question No H-1172/90/rev. by Mr Alavanos concerning Israel's rejection of the Security Council Resolution Date of Issue: 12 December 1990	504
90/454. Question No H-1194/90 by Ms Jackson concerning the imprisonment of Basil Hourani in Syria Date of Issue: 12 December 1990	505
90/455. Question No H-1195 by Ms Dury concerning the political repression in Zaïre Date of Issue: 12 December 1990	505
90/456. Question No H-1202/90 by Mr Nianias concerning economic and military aid to Turkey Date of Issue: 12 December 1990	505

90/457. Questions No H-1228/90 by Mr Falconer, No H-1229/90 by Mr Simpson, No H-1240/90 by Mr Newens and No H-1257/90 by Ms Oddy concerning Iran and human rights Date of Issue: 12 December 1990.	506
90/458. Question No H-1230/90 by Mr Blaney concerning security Date of Issue: 12 December 1990.	507
90/459. Question No H-1232/90 by Ms Ewing concerning the Indian brutality against Kashmiri people Date of Issue: 12 December 1990.	507
90/460. Question No H-1235/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru concerning relations with the countries of the Mediterranean Date of Issue: 12 December 1990.	508
90/461. Question No H-1241/90 by Mr Bandrés Molet concerning a representation by EPC to El Salvador to throw light on the murder of six Jesuits Date of Issue: 12 December 1990.	508
90/462. Question No H-1244/90 by Ms Ruiz-Giménez Aguilar concerning support for the Central American Parliament Date of Issue: 12 December 1990.	509
90/463. Question No H-1248/90 by Mr Landa Mendibe concerning the violation of workers' rights in the Dominican Republic Date of Issue: 12 December 1990.	510
90/464. Question No H-1256/90 by Mr Cushnahan concerning the situation in Ethiopia Date of Issue: 12 December 1990.	510
90/465. Question No H-1258/90 by Mr Pierros concerning the dissemination of ballistic missiles in the Eastern Mediterranean Date of Issue: 12 December 1990.	511
90/466. Questions No H-1269/90 by Mr Roumeliotis and No H-1270/90 by Mr Pagoropoulos concerning the Turkish violation of human rights of the Greek Orthodox minorities and the violation of the Treaty of Lausanne Date of Issue: 12 December 1990.	511
90/467. Statement before the Plenary Session of the UN General Assembly concerning the review of the efficiency of the administrative and financial functioning of the United Nations (Agenda Item 117) Date of Issue: 13 December 1990.	512
90/468. Conclusions of the European Council meeting in Rome, held on 14 and 15 December 1990 (Extracts only) Date of Issue: 14/15 December 1990.	514
90/469. Statement concerning the Gulf crisis Date of Issue: 14/15 December 1990.	517

Table of Contents

90/470. Declaration concerning the Middle East Date of Issue: 14/15 December 1990	518
90/471. Statement concerning Lebanon Date of Issue: 14/15 December 1990	519
90/472. Statement concerning South Africa Date of Issue: 14/15 December 1990	519
90/473. Statement on the activity of the Community and its Member States in the field of human rights in 1990 Date of Issue: 15 December 1990	520
90/474. Declaration concerning relations between the European Community and the Rio Group, adopted at the Rome Conference, held on 20 December 1990, between the EC and its Member States and the member countries of the Rio Group Date of Issue: 20 December 1990	521
90/475. Statement concerning the resignation of Mr Shevardnadze Date of Issue: 20 December 1990	528
90/476. Statement concerning the agreement on Massawa Date of Issue: 24 December 1990	528
90/477. Statement concerning the elections in Haiti Date of Issue: 28 December 1990	528
UN voting	531
Index	541

90/001. Statement on the Programme of Activities of the Irish Presidency

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Mr Collins, President-in-Office of the Council and of the Foreign Ministers: Mr President, distinguished Members of the European Parliament, it is a privilege to come before you today to present the Irish Presidency work programme at the start of a new decade. A century which began under the gathering clouds of war draws to a close under breaking skies of hope. Ireland assumes the Presidency of the Council at a time of great opportunity for all Europeans, East and West. Old moulds are breaking on our continent. Patterns that have been fixed for over 40 years are shifting and changing before our eyes.

The events of the past months in Central and Eastern Europe and the changes that have taken place are the most significant in our recent history. They carry with them a historic responsibility for our Community and for its Member States. They also carry uncertainties. We do not underestimate them, but the climate of confidence in our Community is soundly based. It rests on all that has been achieved since the Community's foundation, on the innovations of recent years, on the major objectives we have set ourselves for the near future and on those still to be articulated which we can see increasingly closer on our horizon.

Some have seen the developments in Central and Eastern Europe as presenting the Community with a fundamental choice between deeper integration and wider cooperation with our European neighbours. We see no such choice, Mr President. Our destiny as Europeans is a shared destiny. We share a continent and we can now dare to share a future. The Community has no alternative but to press ahead towards greater unity and, at the same time, we must support the emergence of new democracies in Eastern Europe and create new and better forms of cooperation with them and with our European neighbours.

Against this background what will be the overall aims of the Irish Presidency in the coming months? First, we must continue on the road to European integration. This is imperative. For the past 30 years the Community has helped to give Western Europe a period of unprecedented peace, stability and prosperity. It would be a betrayal of the hopes of all Europeans, East and West, if now, at the moment when the success of our Community is most manifest, we were to fail in our resolution or falter before the tasks ahead. We must therefore press on with the completion of the single market and work steadily towards economic and monetary union.

Second, we must work to make our Community relevant to all our citizens. European integration will mean little if it does not bring real and tangible benefits to our people and improvements in their living and working conditions. At the heart of this lies the promotion and development of the social dimension, greater employment opportunities and better social conditions together with our policies in other areas: a cleaner and healthier environment, cheaper and better transport, and the removal of barriers to free movement will transform the integration process into a Community in the fullest sense of that word. I know that we shall have the full support of Parliament in making the Community more relevant to the everyday concerns of our people and making its institutions more responsive to their needs.

Third, we must develop our relations with our European neighbours and the world beyond. At a time when the walls in men's minds are coming down as surely as the Berlin Wall, we must not fail to grasp the historic opportunities open to us to reach out to our fellow Europeans and to build new structures of assistance and cooperation. This will require imagination and generosity. We must strive to make the 1990s a decade when democracy, individual freedom, respect for human rights and the rule of law flourish throughout our continent to build a Europe of economic achievement, political harmony and stability. An informal meeting of Foreign Ministers will take place on Saturday next in Dublin to consider the common policy of the

Twelve in relation to Central and Eastern Europe. This early initiative of the Irish Presidency is an indication of our determination to ensure that the Community is in a position to respond rapidly to the pace of events.

Fourth, we shall use the instruments of European political cooperation to examine and address the major issues of international life. We must match the dynamism and drive of our economic cohesion with a unified and coherent approach to issues in the international arena. We will give special attention to ensuring that consistency is maintained between the Community's external relations and the policies developed within European political cooperation. This is essential to the success of the Community's action in the world.

The contribution of your own institution, Mr President, will be crucial to the Community's future and to achieving the aims I have outlined. Parliament has been alert to the need to build on the reforms of the mid-1980s and you yourself, Mr President, outlined your hopes for the future course of the Community at the Strasbourg European Council in December. The Irish Presidency will devote its fullest energies to cooperation with Parliament. We shall do so because only thus will the institutional synergy vital to the Community's advance be achieved. We shall do so because we recognize that the role and responsibilities of the Parliament are a cornerstone of European construction. I say to you clearly today that major institutional advance in the Community is indissolubly linked with the strengthening of the role of this Parliament. [...]

The Community's activities in the EPC area have developed considerably. The renewed dynamism of the Community in recent years has created a general expectation that the Twelve can, and should, play an effective role in international affairs, making a substantial contribution to peace, stability and justice in the world.

Our first and most immediate priority is the establishment of a new climate of cooperation and security on our continent. Events of the past months have put this objective within our reach. The Twelve intend to develop with the countries of Eastern Europe, in so far as they are committed to the path of democratic change, closer and more substantial relations, based upon an intensification of political dialogue and increased cooperation in all areas. A major aim of this policy is support and encouragement for the establishment of free, open and democratic societies in which the full enjoyment of human rights is guaranteed by the rule of law.

The CSCE process constitutes a major pillar in our efforts to overcome the divisions of Europe. The vitality of this process has already contributed greatly to the welcome events that have taken place in recent months on our continent and the Twelve are committed to its continued development as an integral part of future European equilibrium.

The Vienna follow-up meeting of the CSCE, which ended one year ago, provided further proof of the vitality of the CSCE process, particularly in the field of human rights.

Two further meetings under the CSCE umbrella will take place in the coming six months. We hope that the changed situation in Europe will be reflected in the level of cooperation between the participating States at these meetings. The Bonn Economic Conference is an ambitious meeting. The contribution of the Community must be imaginative and forward-looking. In each of our countries we must bring home to the private sector the opportunities that the Bonn Conference will provide. The challenge we face in Copenhagen at the Conference on the Human Dimension is to continue to develop and enrich our dialogue on the protection of human rights within CSCE participating States, even though there will be fewer and fewer instances — or so we firmly hope and expect — of systematic, government-led denials of basic civil rights.

The negotiations in Vienna on measures aimed at fostering confidence and security and on conventional armed forces in Europe are continuing. Hopes for early agreement are higher than ever. Such agreement will allow far-reaching force reductions in Europe as well as greater military transparency and confidence.

As I have already mentioned, we welcome the support which the United States and President Bush in particular have expressed for European integration. It is clear that the US fully shares our appreciation of the European Community as a force for stability in Europe. The United

States has an essential role in Europe as evidenced not least by its participation, along with Canada, in the CSCE process. The importance of that role is now acknowledged even by the Soviet Union. When I met with Secretary Baker a few days ago I explored with him the ideas which he outlined in his Berlin speech on 12 December. We shall be exploring within the Community how best we can respond to the US proposal for a new transatlantic partnership so as to ensure that our intensified cooperation with the US will work to the benefit of all. A productive relationship with the US in all forums, including in the trade field, is essential.

The Irish Presidency will also emphasize the regular dialogue pursued by the Twelve with like-minded Western countries and Japan. Regular coordination meetings between the EC and the Council of Europe have been taking place since last July. The Irish Presidency welcomes this development and looks forward to continuing this cooperation between the two organizations and in particular to the forthcoming quadripartite meeting on 15 March.

The protection of human rights has long been a cornerstone of European political cooperation and will continue to be so. Each of us has been moved in a personal way, I believe, by the expression of the popular will we have seen in recent months on the streets of cities like Leipzig, Prague and Bucharest. We should not underestimate the extent and significance of popular insistence on certain values — the values of freedom, democracy, respect for human rights, prosperity, social justice and peace. It is for political authorities to give practical expression to such sentiments. The Irish Presidency is determined to pursue and reinforce the activity of the Twelve in the field of human rights, making use of all of the channels set out in the Strasbourg statement of the European Council.

In this enterprise the Presidency counts on the support and assistance of the European Parliament which, over the years, has played a significant part on the international stage in the struggle to promote and ensure respect for human rights.

The Twelve have repeatedly stated their support for the peace process aimed at resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict, notably in the Madrid and Strasbourg declarations, whose elements remain fully valid. It is in the spirit of the Madrid declaration, and with the guarantees that it spells out, that the Twelve support the proposal for elections in the Occupied Territories, considered as a step in the process towards an overall settlement. We also encourage efforts which seek to establish dialogue between the parties directly concerned. We will continue through our own contacts with all the parties to press for acceptance of the principles on which a political settlement of the conflict must be based, namely security for Israel and self-determination for the Palestinian people.

The Twelve are seriously concerned at the situation in the Occupied Territories with the consequent loss of life, impoverishment and violation of the most elementary rights of the population. Our policy is to do what we can to bring the occupying power to fulfil its obligations to the people of the territories and to comply with its international responsibilities, notably in the areas of education and health.

The Community and its Member States will continue to assist the Palestinian inhabitants of these territories. The programme of direct access for Palestinian produce to the Community market appears to be working satisfactorily this season, although there have been some incidents of administrative hurdles being placed in its way by the Israeli authorities. We shall be monitoring the operation of the programme carefully.

The Euro-Arab Ministerial Conference held in Paris on 22 December was a major initiative and success of the French Presidency. We will build on the impetus which it gave to the dialogue between the Community and the Arab world. We look forward to hosting in Dublin the sixth meeting of the General Committee of the Dialogue. Concerning Lebanon, the Twelve reaffirm their commitment to the implementation of the Ta'if Agreements. I would echo to [the] European Council in recalling the very positive role played by UNIFIL, under whose flag the cause of peace has claimed the lives of so many of our own European citizens. The Twelve support the UNIFIL operation, which is playing a valuable role in keeping the peace in southern Lebanon.

The Community and its Member States will pursue their active policy in Africa designed to end apartheid and promote respect for human rights, encourage the peaceful settlement of conflicts and contribute to the social and economic development of the countries of the continent. The objective of the Twelve remains the achievement, through peaceful means, of a democratic and multiracial system in South Africa. We will maintain our pressure on the South African Government in order to promote the profound and irreversible changes which we have repeatedly stood for. We will reconsider it only when there is clear evidence that these changes have been obtained. It is the firm belief of the Twelve that only broad-based negotiations bringing together the true leaders of the South African people can result in a lasting settlement.

The Community and its Member States are determined to pursue their constructive role in the Horn of Africa. We are convinced that the conflicts in Ethiopia, Sudan and Somalia can only be solved by peaceful means and through negotiated political settlements. We will spare no effort in assisting the populations affected by famine and will continue to urge all parties concerned to facilitate the delivery and distribution of humanitarian assistance and emergency aid.

As in the past, the Twelve are determined to play their role in Latin America. We look forward to meeting the Central American countries next April, in Dublin, and we hope that the situation will allow constructive, in-depth discussion and the prospects for an end to conflict and for a new focus on the needs of the peoples of the area. San José VI has to be, as we expect it to be, a ministerial conference which will mark the beginning of a new era for Central America.

Furthermore, the Irish Presidency will welcome to Dublin, for an informal meeting, the ministers of the Rio Group in Latin America. Positive developments such as progress in regional integration, the return of Chile to democratic rule, and the consolidation of democracy in other countries in the area, constitute a landmark in the history of South America.

The European Community has been steadily developing its relations with the countries of Asia. The Irish Presidency, with the help of its partners, will actively pursue the political dialogue of the Twelve with India, as well as with ASEAN, whose members we will meet at the forthcoming EEC-ASEAN meeting in Malaysia.

It is well known that since the tragic events of Tiananmen Square last June, our relations with China have not flourished as we would wish. The Twelve will continue to urge the pursuit of internal policies of economic and political reform, respect for human rights and openness to the outside world.

Public opinion in Europe, as reflected notably in this Parliament, has been particularly moved by the predicament of the Kampuchean people. It is imperative that the international community, with the involvement of the United Nations, make the maximum effort to take advantage of the opportunity afforded by the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops to achieve a lasting settlement. The Twelve gave their full support to the convening of the Paris Conference last August. We will continue to encourage all efforts to promote a political solution that will prevent the return to power of the Khmer Rouge, ensure the unity and independence of Kampuchea and establish a democratic government representative of the people's will.

On Afghanistan the Twelve will continue to support the role of the United Nations Secretary-General and to encourage the Afghan parties to seek a political solution to the conflict.

The many regional problems I have reviewed have the common feature that the concern of outside parties, including the Community, is seen as a positive factor, whether that concern is expressed through dialogue, mediation, or economic support for a negotiated settlement. The Irish Presidency attaches great importance to the Twelve's support for the United Nations Charter and for the role of the United Nations in the solution of disputes and the lowering of international tensions. We recognize also that the United Nations can provide the forum for handling broad multilateral issues. Our goal is to bring about an international environment responsive to the possibilities for constructive change and marked to a greater and greater degree by the values we find it natural to pursue within our own societies.

Pursuing the foreign policy objectives of the Twelve in a rapidly changing and increasingly complex world will require the full commitment of the Presidency. In fulfilling this task the Presidency knows that it will be able to count on the encouragement and support of the European Parliament.

We live at a time of radical, historic modifications of the political landscape. In the words of Abraham Lincoln: 'As our case is new, so we must think anew, and act anew'. It is our common task to make sure that out of this time of opportunity there results a safer and better world.

[After the ensuing debate, Mr Collins stated, moreover:]

Some Members, Mr President, have placed great emphasis on instances in which the Twelve have failed to reach a common position in EPC. The obligation we have accepted in the Single European Act is to attempt to harmonize our positions as far as possible. Instead of focusing on individual cases where a common position has not been achieved I would look more optimistically to the number of cases where the Twelve have acted together to very great effect.

As regards our overall approach to Central America the Twelve have at all times adopted a common position which we know has had a positive effect on developments in that region. The common position of the Twelve in the Middle East sustained over many years is a further clear illustration of the ability of the Twelve to articulate a common position of principle and to bring about an ever-widening acceptance of those principles by the international community. These examples, Mr President, could be multiplied but they show, I believe, that EPC methods and procedures are working well and have permitted the progressive development of common positions. Although some of our discussions have been protracted — not surprising in view of the complex nature of the subject matter — the consensus finally achieved can enjoy a wide credibility for that very same reason.

We had many speakers on Eastern Europe. It is a fact, of course, that we are witnessing in Eastern Europe the most fundamental changes in European political life now for over 40 years. The peoples of Eastern Europe have taken their destiny into their own hands and what more eloquent witness to this than the presence here in Strasbourg in these days of Alexander Dubcek who will address you tomorrow.

It is for the people of these countries to decide on their future. But our Community has a special responsibility to help in whatever way we can to ensure that these changes take place peacefully. Much has been done already and I would not share the view of those who have criticized the Commission's actions. It is testimony to the strength of the Community and its role in international life that the Commission should have been given the task of coordinating the Western aid effort. I believe that it has responded magnificently to that challenge.

As to the future, Mr President, we now need to look in a coordinated and structural way at our relations with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Our meeting in Dublin on Saturday will take up this task. It must make a political evaluation of recent developments and look at the further reactions open to us on trade, cooperation and financial assistance. Beyond this we must begin to examine whether and what kind of new structures we need with the countries involved. Certainly, Mr President, none of this is going to be easy. It will, as I said in my programme address earlier this morning, require imagination and generosity. In the past the Community has risen to great challenges and met them. I am confident that it can meet the historic challenges now facing it.

90/002. Question No H-548/89 by Ms Ewing concerning the Kampuchean representatives to the United Nations

Date of Issue: 16 January 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Will the President-in-Office of the Council of Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation now make representations to the United Nations, based on the European Parliament's resolution, that the present representatives for Kampuchea be disqualified?

Answer:

In response to Mr Wynn's question on 12 December, the then Presidency outlined a number of aspects of current Twelve policy towards Kampuchea.

Like other members of the international community, the Twelve are actively considering how best to contribute in present circumstances to a comprehensive political solution of the Kampuchean problem. I can assure the honourable Member that the resolution of the Parliament on Kampuchea is being duly taken into consideration in the course of discussions within the EPC framework.

90/003. Question No H-560/89 by Ms Giannakou-Koutsikou concerning the human rights of Greeks from the Black Sea area living in the Soviet Union

Date of Issue: 16 January 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

There are now more than 1 million Greeks from the Black Sea area living in the Soviet Union. Their human rights situation is appalling and they are unable freely to exercise the basic right of choosing where they wish to live, as they have been living in the steppes of Kazakhstan and other deserted areas of the USSR since 1937 when they were banished there by Stalin. These Greeks do not even enjoy the basic human rights accorded to the other inhabitants of the USSR.

Will the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation make official representation to the leaders of the USSR to remedy this flagrant violation of the rights of the Black Sea Greeks?

Answer:

The Twelve welcome the positive developments in the Soviet Union concerning the exercise of human rights.

However, they remain vigilant, as was the case during the first meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE held in Paris in June 1989 concerning the promotion of all fundamental freedoms included in the final document of the Vienna meeting. The meetings scheduled in June 1990 in Copenhagen and Moscow in 1991 of the Conference on the Human Dimension will provide the opportunity for a further review of the manner in which commitments in the field of human rights have been observed.

90/004. Question No H-583/89 by Mr Alavanos concerning the follow-up to Parliament's resolution on Kampuchea

Date of Issue: 16 January 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

At its November part-session the European Parliament adopted a resolution on Kampuchea calling on the Community's Member States to withdraw their military, economic and political support for the opposition forces in Kampuchea, among them the Khmer Rouge who are once again threatening the people of that country with genocide, and to assist the Phnom Penh Government, following the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces, in its efforts to achieve reconciliation and rebuild the country.

What action have the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation taken along the lines of Parliament's proposals?

Answer:

I would refer the honourable Member to my answer to Ms Ewing's question,¹ in which I said that the Twelve are taking the Parliament's resolution into account in their current assessment of the situation in Kampuchea.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 90/003.

90/005. Question No H-610/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru concerning the killings in Palestine

Date of Issue: 16 January 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

What reactions have there been in the 12 Community Member States to the continued killings of Palestinians, especially young people and children, in Palestine over the last two years? Do not the Ministers consider that, in addition to verbal condemnations and preparations for the peace conference, they should have taken further steps to prevent the loss of so many lives?

Answer:

As the honourable Member is well aware, the Twelve have in the course of the last two years followed very closely the continuing deterioration of the situation in the Occupied Territories, marked by the constant increase in the number of dead and wounded and the suffering of the population, which seriously affects the living conditions of the people, compromises in a lasting fashion the future of Palestinian society and prevents the economic and social development of the Territories. In their opinion this situation is the dramatic result of the lack of progress in the search for a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Israeli practices in the Occupied Territories have led the Twelve to stress repeatedly to the Israeli authorities that violence and repression have to stop and that human rights have to be respected. I have just had confirmation that following a decision taken by the Twelve last week a Troika *démarche* to the Israeli authorities on these issues was made on 14 January.

At the European Council meeting held in Madrid, the Heads of State and Government launched an urgent appeal to the Israeli authorities to put an end to repressive measures in the Occupied Territories and to implement Resolutions 605 (1987), 607 (1988), 608 (1989) and 636 (1989) of the Security Council. At their meeting in Strasbourg, seriously concerned by violations of human rights in the Occupied Territories, they recalled the need for the occupying power to observe strictly its obligations under the Fourth Geneva Convention on the Protection of Civilian Populations in Times of War to which it has notably not conformed in such basic areas as health and education.

At the same time, the Community and its Member States announced their decision to increase substantially their aid to the inhabitants of these territories, in particular establishing as an

objective the doubling of the Community's direct aid. They thus intend to contribute to the economic and social development of the Occupied Territories and help to preserve the common future of the Palestinian people.

90/006. Question No H-11/90 by Mr De Rossa concerning Central America

Date of Issue: 16 January 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

What steps are being taken to ensure that substantive progress on political and economic issues will be made at the forthcoming meeting with Foreign Ministers of the Central American States under the San José framework?

Answer:

The honourable Member's question will be answered more fully in the context of the debate on Central America later today.

I would only say at this stage that it has been the policy of the Twelve for a number of years to encourage the efforts of the Central American countries to achieve peace in the region and through our dialogue in the San José framework we have sought to be a catalyst for progress. In this perspective, we are encouraged by the agreement of the Central American countries on 10 and 11 December last aimed at resolving several serious problems of the region and notably the demobilization of the Contras.

I can assure the honourable Member that the necessary political and economic contacts to ensure a successful outcome of San José are ongoing. As has been made clear to the Central American countries on a number of occasions, our goal is to see the type of progress at San José VI which would permit the further development of economic and technical cooperation between the Community and the countries of the region.

90/007. Questions No O-108/89, No O-109/89, No O-123/89, No O-124/89, No O-138/89, No O-142/89, No O-143/89 and No O-148/89 concerning the situation in Central America

Date of Issue: 16 January 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Ms Geoghegan-Quinn, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: Mr President, the Presidency welcomes this opportunity to outline the Twelve's approach to Central America and to Parliament's views on the issues involved. Ever since the 1983 Stuttgart European Council expressed its full support for attempts to find a prompt and negotiated solution to the Central American conflict, the Twelve have attempted to establish a number of political and economic criteria for negotiations. These include respect for the principles of non-interference, the inviolability of frontiers, the need for the establishment of democratic conditions, the strict observance of human rights and support for regional solutions. The Twelve also expressed their concern about the economic and social conditions in many parts of the region, in the light of the tensions created by deprivation.

At the first meeting between the Community and its Member States and the Central American States, the countries of the region indicated their support for the Twelve's approach. This encouraged us to continue our efforts to promote political dialogue in the region and to develop our economic and development cooperation with Central America. The cooperation agreement between the Community and the countries of Central America signed on 30 June 1986 has resulted in the allocation of considerable amounts of aid and assistance to the region. The Irish Presidency looks forward to the further development of economic and technical cooperation between the Community and countries of Central America.

In the last five years, between 1985 and 1989, the Twelve have acted as a catalyst for change in Central America. They can claim to have brought the main actors of the Central American scene closer to each other for serious exchanges of views, for example, at the annual ministerial meetings as well as on the margin of the United Nations General Assembly. We have regularly made our position clear, expressing our readiness to support any action which would aim at restoring peace in the area and reasserting our firm belief that it is essential for any country which is either linked to or has interests in the region to aid the establishment of peace and democracy in Central America and contribute towards its social and economic development. Regional governments should concentrate their efforts on promoting the renewal of dialogue and national reconciliation in the countries concerned in line with the Esquipulas and Tela Agreements.

The Twelve believe that the OAS and the United Nations have an important role to play in promoting a just, stable and lasting peace in the region. In their statement of 10 November 1989 the Twelve expressed their support for the Secretary-General of the United Nations and welcomed the establishment of the United Nations Observer Group on Central America, UNOCA, which by working to ensure the impartial verification of the commitments entered into by the Central American Presidents should renew confidence in the peace process and assist in the recovery of the momentum generated by the Tela Summit.

To come to the specific points raised by honourable Members in their questions: as far as El Salvador is concerned, the Twelve on 27 November 1989 expressed their deep concern about the general deterioration of the situation in Central America and condemned the renewal of violence in El Salvador. The Twelve are particularly dismayed at the deplorable loss of a great number of innocent civilian lives. On 30 November 1989 the ambassadors of the Troika called on President Cristiani, stating the Twelve's profound dismay at the assassination of six Jesuit priests and asking the Head of State to hold an inquiry into the circumstances of this barbaric act. The Troika also urged the Salvadorean authorities to make every effort to identify and punish the murderers. The Twelve were encouraged by President Cristiani's forthcoming response and by the first results of the inquiry but, none the less, intend to continue following the issue closely to ensure that this matter is brought to an appropriate conclusion.

The case of El Salvador cannot be considered out of the context of the general conditions in Central America. For this reason the Twelve's 27 November declaration was followed up by *démarches* at the highest level in each of these Central American States, expressing our concern about the deteriorating situation and identifying the particular problems which the Twelve see as preventing resumption of the progress achieved through the Esquipulas Agreements and the Costa del Sol and Tela Summits.

The Twelve welcome the agreement reached by the Heads of State of the Central American countries in San Isidro de Coronado on 10 and 11 December 1989 aimed at resolving several serious problems of the region and notably the demobilization of the Contras. It is our belief that the time has come for all parties both within and outside the area to assist the implementation of the decisions of the five presidents by refraining from actions that further complicate the situation. The Twelve will continue to support the efforts of the Central American countries to achieve peace in the region. We believe that the best way forward is for the countries principally concerned to take the initiative in relaunching the peace process.

We look forward to meeting the Central American countries in Dublin in the spring of 1990. In the meantime, we hope that dialogue will prevail over violence so that the San José meeting can mark the starting point of a new era in the relationship between the EEC and Central America.

[After the ensuing debate, Ms Geoghegan-Quinn stated, moreover:]

Mr President, I first of all express my thanks to all of the Members of Parliament who have contributed to the debate. Contrary to what the honourable Member, Mr Sakellariou, thought, I was listening very attentively indeed to his contribution and to that of others. I was glad to hear Mr Berton's comment in relation to the debate here today. I think what he said is important and perhaps bears repeating now: Lest the members of the public outside this Parliament and outside the Council and Commission might feel that all of us were preoccupied entirely with developments important as they are in Eastern Europe, it is a great indication that today we have a debate which is as important as this particular debate on Central America.

I was also very glad to be present for the contribution by a Member of this House who served the Commission and the European Community so well for so long as a Member of the Commission. I refer to the honourable Member, Mr Cheysson. I think that Parliament is privileged to have somebody who has the in-depth knowledge of an area that has been discussed here this afternoon. I would like to commend him for the excellent overview of the situation in Central America which he gave.

We in the Twelve have encouraged President Cristiani's efforts to track down the murderers of the Jesuits and indeed also in all efforts to hold discussions with the FMLN. We also would call for the early demobilization and resettlement of the Contras and consider that aid to the Contras should be used to that end. We would hope that free and fair elections can be held in Nicaragua and hope that the presence of observers, including those from EC countries, will be of positive benefit to that end. In particular your own observers from the European Parliament would have a particular reference to all of the Members here today.

The Twelve have never stood passively by in regard to Central America and will not do so in the future. The countries of the region have shown their own ability to reach a common approach under very difficult circumstances, as they showed as recently as December last. The Twelve have at all times taken the position that the impulse for peace and the resolutions of the problems of the region can best come, as Mr Cheysson said, from the region itself. We stand ready to assist in every way possible this peace process and would call on the international community to do likewise. We have called on all countries to cease any interference in the internal affairs of Central America and support a democratic process in the region. We would call also for the end of hostilities and a return to the negotiation table. It is a good sign, Mr President, that we have seen in El Salvador in recent days the arrest of an army colonel and eight other members of the armed forces for the murder of the six Jesuit priests and, let us not forget, their cook and her 15-year-old daughter as well.

As representing the Irish Presidency I would confirm that we intend between now and the San José meeting in Dublin in April to intensify our contacts between the Community and Central America. A number of honourable Members mentioned EC aid to Central America and I would just like to remind Members, if that is necessary, that EC aid last year to Central America amounted to ECU 110 million. This was more per capita than the EC gave to any other region of the world and that is concrete indication, I feel, of EC commitment to support the resolution of the problems of Central America.

I referred to human rights in my initial contribution and suffice it that I should repeat now that the Twelve feel that respect for human rights is fundamental to all efforts to solve the problems of the region.

In conclusion, Mr President, we have three political instruments in Central America. Firstly, the structured dialogue that we hold with countries of the region, complemented by the constant

diplomatic contact with and influence on them; secondly, cooperation; and thirdly support for the action of the United Nations and the OAS. We will make full use of all three, Mr President, in order to bring about a peaceful solution alongside progress and democracy.

90/008. Question No H-267/89 by Mr Pesmazoglou concerning the looting of objects forming part of the Christian cultural heritage of Northern Cyprus

Date of Issue: 17 January 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

On 3 August 1989 a court in Indianapolis (southern Indiana) ruled in favour of the Government and Church of Cyprus and ordered that four mosaics from the Church of Kanakaria which had been illegally exported from the island be returned to the Church of Cyprus. These mosaics had been stolen in 1979 and were found in the possession of an art dealer in southern Indiana.

Will the Foreign Ministers say what action they have taken on the proposal contained in the resolution by Mr Coste-Floret adopted by the European Parliament on 20 May 1988¹ that UNESCO should be entrusted with the task of protecting the Christian and Hellenic cultural heritage in the occupied part of the island?

Answer:

Aware of the Coste-Floret resolution dated 20 May 1988, the Twelve reiterate their firm stance that the cultural heritage in general ought to be duly protected. May I take this opportunity of paying tribute to the late Mr Coste-Floret, that respected Parliamentarian, European, and citizen of this city of Strasbourg. The position of the Twelve certainly applies to the Christian and Hellenic patrimony of the northern part of the Isle of Cyprus; the Twelve would wish to encourage initiatives by specialized United Nations bodies such as UNESCO to go ahead with a mission of preserving this precious heritage.

¹ OJ C 167, 26.6.1988, p. 416.

90/009. Question No H-540/89 by Ms Pollack concerning tropical rainforests

Date of Issue: 17 January 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

What influence can the Foreign Ministers acting in political cooperation have on the United Nations Tropical Forest Action Plan (TFAP), to ensure better management of forests and reforestation of degraded lands?

Answer:

The subject to which the honourable Member refers, although it is not specifically discussed in the framework of European political cooperation, is given very considerable attention by the Community. The honourable Member will recall that it was mentioned in the conclusions of the European Council in Madrid in June of last year. Detailed studies are in progress in the Council.

The Irish Presidency would wish to acknowledge the appositeness of the honourable Member's question. Global environmental issues are an increasingly important part of inter-State relations and must find their place in an overall view of international relations. To give one example, I will be ready at next month's EC-ASEAN ministerial meeting to hear any views of the authorities of the host country, Malaysia, on this issue which is of pressing national concern to them. As the Taoiseach Mr Haughey has stated on a number of occasions, one of the priorities of the Irish Presidency is to further define a common approach to environmental issues in which their international dimension will be fully taken into account.

90/010. Question No H-543/89 by Ms Dury concerning Oral Question No H-148/89 about the ratification of the Convention on the Rights of the Child

Date of Issue: 17 January 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Since the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation failed to answer my earlier question, I am obliged to table it again.

Do the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation intend to take steps to ensure that the Convention on the Rights of the Child is ratified quickly and in a uniform manner in all the Member States?

Answer:

Subsequent to the submission of Question No H-148/89,¹ the Convention on the Rights of the Child was adopted by consensus by the General Assembly of the United Nations, a development which the Twelve welcome.

As regards signature, ratification, or accession to the Convention, this is a matter for individual Member States in accordance with their national procedures.

A coordinated Twelve approach to ratification has not been discussed within the framework of EPC.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 89/286.

90/011. Question No H-545/89 by Mr Garaikoetxea Urizza concerning the situation in the Baltic Republics

Date of Issue: 17 January 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

In view of the recent decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union to grant economic independence to the three Baltic Republics, do the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation envisage taking some kind of action with a view to assisting them?

Answer:

The Twelve follow with great attention developments in the Baltic Republics, including their moves to secure a greater degree of political and economic autonomy. While the Twelve have no

plans at present to provide assistance specifically to these Republics, individual Member States undertake numerous projects and joint ventures which foster economic cooperation with these areas.

90/012. Question No H-559/89 by Mr Nianias concerning the liberation of Famagusta in Cyprus

Date of Issue: 17 January 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Mr Vassiliou, President of the Republic of Cyprus, speaking recently on the subject of his forthcoming talks with the United Nations Secretary-General and the representatives of the five permanent members of the Security Council, stated that the liberation of Famagusta would constitute a significant step towards a solution to the Cyprus problem, since it would create a climate of confidence and promote economic cooperation between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. What steps do the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation intend to take to support this initiative at a time when there is an irresistible movement towards reconciliation and *entente* and the overcoming of divisions in Europe?

Answer:

The honourable Member will be aware that the European Council of Strasbourg has urgently asked all parties to the Cyprus conflict not to miss the present opportunity for a just and lasting settlement that will safeguard the unity, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

In this spirit, the Twelve are willing to cooperate with the Secretary-General and his Special Representative in encouraging any positive step likely to create and foster the necessary climate of confidence and cooperation between Greek and Turkish Cypriots and to end the tragic division of the Island of Cyprus.

90/013. Question No H-562/89 by Mr Vandemeulebroucke concerning human rights in Turkey

Date of Issue: 17 January 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

The report on Turkey 'Torture and unfair trial of political prisoners' again features accounts of systematic torturing during police interrogations of political prisoners.

There are also on this occasion reports of torture in military and civilian prisons. Nor can those accused always expect a trial worthy of the name.

Will the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation inform me as to what reactions to this report they have made known, or intend to make known, to the Turkish authorities?

Answer:

The Twelve continue to monitor very closely the question of human rights in Turkey. Accordingly, the Turkish authorities are well aware of the special importance the Twelve attach

to the strict respect and implementation by Turkey of the whole range of engagements which this country has freely subscribed to by its adhesion to international conventions in the field of human rights.

90/014. Question No H-575/89 by Ms Santos concerning the agreement between Indonesia and Australia on oilfield development in East Timor

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Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Yesterday, on board a Boeing 707 the Indonesian and Australian Ministers of Foreign Trade signed an agreement prepared a number of years ago concerning the development of oilfields in East Timor, whose deposits are estimated at more than 1 billion barrels. This agreement clearly constitutes a violation of international law since it concerns East Timor, a non-autonomous territory which the United Nations considers as coming under Portugal's administrative authority.

A number of protests took place on the day on which this illegal act was committed, notably the repudiation signed by 19 organizations from various parts of the world supporting East Timor and the appeal by the Committee for the Rights of the Indigenous People of East Timor calling on the Portuguese Government to request the opinion of the Hague Tribunal on the validity of the agreement.

In view of the gravity of this situation, will the Ministers meeting in political cooperation agree to help oppose this violation by taking all the necessary emergency measures open to them?

Answer:

The issue to which the honourable Member refers has not been addressed by Ministers meeting in the framework of political cooperation.

Portugal informed partners of the steps it was taking in reaction to the agreement, which it considers as a serious violation of international law, and of its position concerning the defence of the rights of the East Timorese people in this issue.

The honourable Member would recall that the Twelve's position concerning East Timor was referred to in the report on progress towards European union as regards European political cooperation of December 1989.

90/015. Question No H-580/89 by Mr Ephremidis concerning torture and assassination carried out by the military government of the Sudan

Date of Issue: 17 January 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

According to the Amnesty International report published at the beginning of December 1989, the military government of the Sudan is continuing to torture and assassinate villagers and detainees in its operations in the south of the country.

So far the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation have merely expressed their concern for human rights in the Sudan and the Community has failed to take any specific and effective measures; is this the best way of protecting the thousands of innocent persons in Sudan whose very lives are at risk?

Answer:

I thank the honourable Member for this opportunity to inform the European Parliament on the action taken by the Twelve in Sudan.

The Twelve, in their statement of 10 November 1989,¹ deplored the resumption of fighting in the south and the resulting suffering and loss of life and called for respect for human rights in Sudan, in particular for displaced persons, prisoners of war and other persons in detention.

In addition the Twelve have carried out a number of urgent *démarches* to the Sudanese authorities — the most recent on 5 and 14 December 1989 — on the need to ensure that relief supplies are speedily delivered by air to the affected populations.

The Twelve will continue to impress upon the Sudanese authorities the need to respect human rights.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 89/264.

90/016. Question No H-599/89 by Mr Romeos concerning the verification of reductions and withdrawal of conventional weapons

Date of Issue: 17 January 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

The conventions on disarmament and the reduction of conventional forces in Europe provide for the withdrawal of considerable quantities of conventional weaponry.

How do the Ministers meeting in political cooperation propose to approach this problem given that verification of withdrawal is considered essential on both security and economic grounds?

Answer:

The Twelve have on many occasions explained to the European Parliament their commonly held views on problems concerning disarmament and arms control in Europe. The question posed by the honourable Member concerning verification of reductions and withdrawal of conventional weapons in Europe does not fall within the competence of European political cooperation and has not been discussed by the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation.

90/017. Question No H-616/89 by Mr Cooney concerning submarines

Date of Issue: 17 January 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Will the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation raise for discussion within the organs for political cooperation the subject of an approach by them to naval powers whose submarines

make passage through the Irish Sea with a view to requesting such powers to order their submarines to make a passage on the surface thereby obviating the danger of collision with fishing vessels and pleasure craft?

Answer:

While the Twelve are aware of the problem in the domain of maritime safety to which the honourable Member refers, it is not under discussion in the framework of European political cooperation.

90/018. Question No H-17/90 by Mr Wynn concerning human rights in Tibet

Date of Issue: 17 January 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

On 27 June 1989¹ at a meeting in Madrid the European Council made a declaration on China which, in the circumstances, applies to Tibet.

On 14 September 1989 the UK Government issued permits to GEC Marconi to sell radar equipment for China's fighter planes.

Is this not a direct contravention of the Council declaration?

In the same declaration the European Council agreed to raise the issue of human rights in the international forums and to ask for admittance of independent observers to attend the trials and to visit the prisons. No evidence is forthcoming that this has been done in such places as the United Nations. Lhasa Radio reported that at a mass rally on 30 November the People's Court sentenced 11 Tibetan men for distributing counter-revolutionary propaganda and other purely political offences which mainly concerned mimeographing leaflets in support of Tibetan independence. Five received sentences of over 17 years.

Is the European Council aware that these trials were taking place and what formal requests in international forums were made for independent observers to attend them?

Answer:

The Twelve have fully conformed with the decision taken by the European Council to raise the issue of human rights in China in the appropriate international forums. I would draw the attention of the honourable Member in particular to the statement made by my predecessor, Mr Dumas, to the United Nations General Assembly.

The Twelve closely monitor the human rights situation in Tibet, and in 1989, before the events of 4 June, had made a *démarche* to the Chinese authorities on human rights aspects of the situation there.

The Chinese authorities are fully aware of the Twelve's position that respect for human rights is an integral part of the development of relations between States.

The specific question of the sale of radar equipment has not been addressed by Ministers meeting in the framework of European political cooperation but Member States continue of course to be bound by the commitments undertaken in the Madrid Declaration.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 89/180.

90/019. Question No H-20/90 by Mr Mahon concerning El Salvador

Date of Issue: 17 January 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Have the Ministers meeting in political cooperation had the opportunity to state the outcome of the December meeting of the leaders of Central America and do they foresee any further developments of the peace process in Central America?

Answer:

The December meeting of the Heads of State of the Central American countries which resulted in the San Isidro de Coronado agreement aimed at resolving several serious problems of the region and notably the demobilization of the Contras has met with the Twelve's approval.

Noting the firm rejection of any resort to the use of force and the reaffirmation of support for processes of democracy and pluralism, the European Community and its Member States consider that this step confirms the will of the countries of Central America to define, themselves, solutions capable of re-establishing dialogue and negotiation and of restoring peace, efforts which the Community has consistently supported.

It is now up to all of the parties, both within and outside the region, to refrain from taking positions which would form an obstacle to the implementation of the decisions taken by the five Presidents.

The abovementioned agreement adds to the number of instruments which could ensure the success of the peace process generally and of the San José VI meeting more specifically.

90/020. Statement concerning Colombia

Date of Issue: 18 January 1990
 Place of Issue: Brussels, Dublin
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: The Twelve
 Status of Document: Declaration

The Community and its Member States, recalling the statement by the Strasbourg European Council, which saluted the courageous action taken by the Colombian Government against drug trafficking, welcome the announcement by the Government of Colombia of the special programme of cooperation. They intend to respond positively to the programme.

90/021. Statement concerning Kampuchea

Date of Issue: 18 January 1990
 Place of Issue: Brussels, Dublin
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: The Twelve
 Status of Document: Declaration

The Twelve have on several occasions expressed their full support for efforts to find a comprehensive, just and lasting political solution to the Kampuchean problem. The ongoing conflict in that country with its attendant loss of life and widespread human misery continues to cause them deep concern.

The withdrawal of Vietnamese troops, although it needs to be officially verified and confirmed, has provided an opportunity for political progress. This opportunity must be seized.

The Twelve call on all the concerned parties to turn to dialogue and negotiation as the means to find a solution to the conflict. The Twelve call on the parties to the conflict to cease hostilities immediately and to return to the negotiating table to build on the progress achieved at the International Conference on Kampuchea held in Paris in August 1989. The cessation of hostilities should be accompanied by the ending of all forms of external military assistance to the belligerents.

The Twelve seek a comprehensive political settlement which must ensure the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and neutrality of Kampuchea, as well as the fundamental right of Kampucheans to choose their own Government in free, fair and internationally supervised elections. The Twelve once again express their total rejection of the genocidal policies of the Pol Pot Khmer Rouge who were responsible for the extermination of hundreds of thousands of Kampucheans. Their non-return to power remains a central element of Twelve policy on Kampuchea.

The Twelve note with interest and appreciation various initiatives, notably that put forward by Australia, which would involve the strengthening of the role envisaged for the United Nations in a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean conflict. The Twelve urge all the concerned parties to examine such proposals in a positive spirit in order to facilitate the attainment of the peace so earnestly desired by Kampucheans.

The Twelve welcome the encouraging outcome of the meeting of the five permanent members of the Security Council held in Paris on 15 and 16 January to discuss the Kampuchean problem.

90/022. Statement concerning the killings in Guatemala

Date of Issue: 18 January 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Dublin
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The Twelve express their dismay and indignation at the killing in Guatemala of Mr Hector Oqueli, of El Salvador, and Ms Gilda Flores, of Guatemala, members of movements which have espoused a peaceful and democratic path to political change. The Twelve express their concern at this violation of elementary human rights in Guatemala and recall their previous expressions of concern about the human rights situation there. They welcome the promise by President Cerezo that the killings will be investigated. In their view this should be done fully and swiftly and the authors of this outrage brought to justice.

These assassinations not only threaten progress towards dialogue and national reconciliation in Guatemala and El Salvador but imperil the peace process in Central America as a whole. The Twelve reaffirm their belief in the necessity for a negotiated settlement to the conflict, and for the resumption of dialogue and negotiation to this end immediately. The Twelve also call for the adoption of policies in the region which will ensure respect for human rights.

90/023. Statement concerning the lifting of martial law in Beijing

Date of Issue: 18 January 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Dublin
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The Community and its Member States note the announcement by the Chinese authorities of their decision to lift martial law in Beijing. They hope that this decision will lead to an improvement of the human rights situation in China.

90/024. Statement concerning Ethiopia and the attacks on civilian shipping

Date of Issue: 23 January 1990
 Place of Issue: Brussels, Dublin
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: The Twelve
 Status of Document: Declaration

The Community and its Member States strongly deplore recent attacks on merchant ships in the region of the Horn of Africa. As well as violating accepted standards of international conduct, such attacks on shipping risk undermining the international effort to relieve the threat of famine. The Community and its Member States call for the cessation of all such attacks.

The Community and its Member States reaffirm their determination to assist in the relief of suffering in Ethiopia and repeat their urgent appeal to all parties to facilitate the delivery and distribution of humanitarian assistance and emergency aid in the afflicted areas.

90/025. Statement concerning the *démarche* by the Twelve in Port-au-Prince

Date of Issue: 30 January 1990
 Place of Issue: Brussels, Dublin
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: The Twelve
 Status of Document: Press Statement, Press Release

The Twelve made a *démarche* on 26 January 1990 to the Government in Haiti to express their concern at the imposition of a state of siege and other measures adopted by that Government.

They urged that these restrictions be lifted, civil liberties restored and the calendar for elections maintained.

90/026. Statement at the special session of the General Assembly to consider the question of international cooperation against illicit production, supply, demand, trafficking and distribution of narcotic drugs

Date of Issue: 30 January 1990
 Place of Issue: Vienna
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: Irish Delegation to the United Nations
 Status of Document: Statement in International Forum

Mr Small: Mr President, I have the honour today to speak on behalf of the European Community and its 12 Member States. This session of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs, in addition to its usual heavy agenda, has been asked to transmit its views to the special session of the General Assembly called to consider the question of international cooperation against illicit production, supply, demand, trafficking and distribution of narcotic drugs.

This year's special session of the Commission takes place at a particularly important time. The menace of drug abuse which has been with us for many years has reached major proportions, threatening not only the lives and dignity of millions of human beings but also whole population groups and even societies and economies in some countries. Counter offensives of a new dimension are needed at the national and international levels to respond to this threat.

Primary responsibility for dealing with drug abuse and illicit trafficking rests with each State, for it is States which take the necessary legislative action and ensure its implementation in their

own territories. We would like to pay tribute to the action taken by those States, among them several Latin American countries, for their efforts to eliminate the illicit production and transit of drugs from their territories. The European Council of Heads of State and Government at its meeting on 8 and 9 December 1989 warmly welcomed the courageous action taken by certain countries, notably Colombia, and urged that everything possible be done to contribute to the success of their efforts. Since then the EC Political Committee has issued a statement welcoming the announcement by the Government of Colombia of the special programme of cooperation and indicating that the Twelve intend to respond positively to that programme.

It is clear that to be successful, national action needs to be supported and complemented by action at the regional and international levels. This need has been manifested in the active role played by the United Nations in combating drug abuse during the past 40 years. It has achieved important results. Under the auspices of the UN, the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs 1961 as amended by the 1972 Protocol and the 1971 Convention on Psychotropic Substances have created a system of international control for licit trade in drugs. The adoption in 1988 of the Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances, which has been signed by 80 countries including all 12 EC Member States as well as the European Community, constitutes an important advance in a number of areas, e.g. confiscation, extradition, mutual legal assistance and control of substances used in the illicit manufacture of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances. We urge early ratification and implementation of the 1988 Convention and pending its formal entry into force favour its provisional implementation to the extent possible. Action by Member States in the form of bilateral agreements and other forms of cooperation, to enable law enforcement agencies to exchange information and improve cooperation in combating drug trafficking, is also desirable.

In addition to these legal instruments, the declaration of the ICDAIT Conference in 1987 and the comprehensive multidisciplinary outline (CMO) set forth an ensemble of practical, multidisciplinary measures which can make a significant contribution to the fight against drug abuse and the suppression of illicit trafficking.

As we look to the special session of the General Assembly and consider ways by which we can redouble our efforts to face the growing threat from drug abuse, it is important not to neglect the achievements of the past but rather to give priority to strengthening and making more effective existing UN mechanisms. To do this, increased resources are required by the Division of Narcotic Drugs and the Secretariat of the International Narcotics Control Board to enable them to carry out their responsibilities under the Conventions as well as their operational and other activities. We believe that resources should be reallocated within the UN budget to reflect the priority attached by Member States to drug abuse control. Furthermore, States should consider increasing contributions to the United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control. The European Community and its Member States at present account for more than 75% of contributions to the United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control which carries out in practical terms a significant part of the measures advocated by the comprehensive multidisciplinary outline in developing countries.

While recognizing the valuable work of the UN in the area of drug abuse control, it is nevertheless true that the current crisis demands new and innovative approaches on the part of the international community. Effective action will require initiatives in all areas, namely demand reduction, supply reduction, suppression of illicit trafficking, treatment and rehabilitation as well as the financial aspects of the illegal drug trade, backed up by appropriate institutional and financial arrangements to carry out these tasks.

The Member States of the European Community attach a very high priority to the fight against drug abuse in all its aspects, for example through the work of the TREVI group which brings together Ministers and public agencies concerned with security for the purpose of combating drug-related crime. This approach is also reflected in the recent establishment, on the initiative of President Mitterrand of France, of a high-level Group of Coordinators on drug issues. This Group has been charged by the European Council with the task of ensuring that the

actions of the Community and its Member States against drug abuse are coordinated and that they make the most effective contribution possible to wider international cooperation in this area. It was further decided in recent weeks to establish a Working Group within the framework of European political cooperation which will, in close cooperation with the Group of Coordinators, provide a forum for ongoing consideration of the international aspects of the drug problem.

In the draft resolution sponsored by the Member States of the European Community we have set out the kinds of action which we feel deserve particular attention by the special session. In this context, measures to reduce demand for illicit drugs are of key importance. Each of the European Community Member States has taken action in this area through preventive education and well-targeted information campaigns as well as through treatment and rehabilitation. The World Ministerial Summit to reduce demand for drugs and to combat the cocaine threat which will be held in London from 9 to 11 April 1990 should give further impetus to increasing the international commitment to reducing demand and strengthening the effectiveness of demand reduction policies.

In the area of supply reduction, special measures are required to combat the abusive use of precursors through the application of Article 12 of the Convention Against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances of 1988, as well as to identify, eliminate and prevent illicit narcotic plant cultivation. In this context, comprehensive programmes of rural development including programmes aimed at encouraging alternative marketable crops are needed. International assistance from the United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control (UNFDAC) as well as from other competent specialized organizations such as the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the World Bank should be provided.

Treatment leading to the drug addict's return to a drug-free life, as well as risk and harm reduction approaches, are important elements in the overall fight against drug abuse. Successful treatment mitigates the health and social consequences of drug abuse and thus reduces the use of drugs. At the international level there is an important role for specialized agencies such as the World Health Organization (WHO) in disseminating knowledge about the way in which national treatment policies can be established and strengthened.

The European Community and its Member States believe that special attention needs to be given to the financial aspects of the illegal drug trade. States should take steps to ensure that their economies do not benefit from illicit trafficking and should take measures to prevent their banking and financial systems from being used to launder drug-related money. In this context, we suggest that Member States should consider the possibility of introducing domestic legislation and negotiating bilateral and multilateral agreements to trace, freeze and confiscate the proceeds of drug trafficking. We also suggest that States which are in a position to do so consider the possibility of increasing the funds allocated to the United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control and to those national and intergovernmental bodies specializing in activities against illicit trafficking and in combating drug abuse to an extent corresponding to the increased confiscation of assets derived from illicit trafficking. We also look forward to the outcome of the financial action task force established at the Paris Economic Summit, which will contain recommendations for possible future action to combat money laundering.

In order to enable the UN to play an enhanced role in the fight against drug abuse and to deal with the new tasks assigned to it, the European Community Member States believe that it will be necessary to adapt the structure of the UN drugs bodies. However, we do not wish to prejudice the outcome of the Expert Group which will consider the enhancement of the efficiency of the UN structure for drug abuse control. Any restructuring should, however, aim to establish clear and commonly held objectives within the context of effective and well coordinated structures having the necessary resources, status and influence. It is also important to enhance the effectiveness of inter-agency coordination within the United Nations system.

Mr President, we have reached an important point in the international fight against drug abuse and illicit trafficking. While the current situation represents a serious threat, it also presents us

with an opportunity to capitalize on the political will and determination expressed by States to intensify international cooperation to combat drug abuse and illegal trafficking at national, regional and global levels. We are confident that with determination and a spirit of cooperation the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly will make an important contribution to this effort. Finally, we would like to stress the essential and continuing role of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs in pursuit of a more effective and strengthened function for the United Nations in the fight against drug abuse.

90/027. Statement concerning the settlement of Jewish immigrants in the Occupied Territories

Date of Issue: 31 January 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Dublin, Tel Aviv
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The 12 members of the European Community are seriously concerned at recent suggestions that immigrants to Israel may be settled in the Occupied Territories. In this context, the Twelve recall their long-standing view that Jewish settlements in the Occupied Territories, including East Jerusalem, are illegal.

While the Twelve warmly welcome the liberalization of Soviet emigration controls, including the freedom of Soviet Jews to emigrate to Israel and elsewhere, they hope that the Israeli Government will not jeopardize the prospects for bringing peace to the region by either allowing or encouraging Jewish immigrants to settle in the Occupied Territories.

90/028. Question No 382/89 by Ms Ferrer i Casals (PPE-E) concerning the European Parliament's agreement on Iran

Date of Issue: 1 February 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 7 September 1989

On 24 May 1989 the European Parliament adopted a written declaration calling for an embargo on the sale of arms to, and the purchase of oil from, Iran in response to continuing violation of human rights in that country.

To date the Twelve have taken none of the measures called for by Parliament, and the subject was not even mentioned in the statement issued by the European Council after the summit meeting in Madrid.

Recently (*El Pais*, 26 June 1989), Spanish diplomatic sources declared that MEPs were adopting positions on foreign policy that were 'unrealistic' and damaged the credibility of the European Parliament, which diplomats in the Member States 'did not take seriously'.

What are the intentions of the French Presidency regarding Iran and the measures called for by Parliament? Does the Presidency of European political cooperation consider statements such as those quoted in *El Pais* to be acceptable? Does the Presidency of European political cooperation believe that Parliament's positions as regards foreign policy are indeed 'unrealistic' and not to be taken seriously?

Answer:

The Ministers for Foreign Affairs meeting within the framework of European political cooperation pay the greatest attention to the statements of the European Parliament in its various areas of competence. The French Presidency for its part takes the utmost account of such statements.

As regards the policy defined by the Twelve in respect of Iran, the measure suspending high-level official visits adopted on 20 February is still in force.

The Madrid European Council (22 to 27 June 1989) expressed the hope as a precondition for any change in the European position 'that the Iranian leaders will prove, by concrete actions, their willingness to develop constructive relations with the Community and its Member States'. The position of the Twelve has since been reiterated in the course of the address made on their behalf by the French Foreign Minister in New York which expressed 'the hope that the Iranian leaders will demonstrate their readiness to contribute to international life in a constructive and peaceful manner consonant with the norms governing relations among States so that this country can again take up its rightful place in its region and in the international community at large'.

This attitude of firmness and openness has not gone unheeded. The Twelve note that the Iranian authorities have agreed to invite the special rapporteur of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, Mr Galindo Pohl, to visit Iran and have undertaken to guarantee him total freedom of contact, both public and private. They hope that this decision is an indication of Iran's readiness to return to the strict observance of the relevant international norms.

90/029. Question No 404/89 by Ms van Putten (S-NL) concerning human rights violations in Turkey

Date of Issue: 1 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 3 October 1989

Have the Ministers noted the recent Amnesty International reports on the ill-treatment of detainees in Turkey (AI Index, 44/61/89, 44/33/89, 44/54/89)?

Are the Ministers prepared to express to the Turkish authorities their concern at the treatment of prisoners in Turkey?

Do the Ministers propose to call upon the Turkish authorities to release prisoners from whom confessions have been extracted by torture, such as Mazhan Kara?

Will the Ministers take further action to counter the continuing violation of human rights in Turkey?

Answer:

The honourable Member is referred to the replies to Questions No 548/89¹ put by Mr Victor Arbeloa Muru and No 534/89² put by Mr Ford.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 90/039.

² *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 90/058.

90/030. Question No 428/89 by Mr Iversen (GUE-DK) concerning Eritrea

Date of Issue: 1 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 3 October 1989

Are the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation prepared to take measures to ensure that the conflict between Eritrea and Ethiopia is placed on the agenda of the UN General Assembly, so that the first step towards a peaceful political solution can be taken? In this connection, mention could be made of the peace proposal first put forward by the EPLF (Eritrean People's Liberation Front) on 22 November 1980.

Answer:

In the framework of the peace initiative launched by President Mengistu in June 1989, the Ethiopian authorities have opened negotiations with the representatives of the principal Eritrean opposition movement, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front.

Talks have taken place, under the supervision of Mr Carter, first in Atlanta and then in Nairobi. They are due to resume in January 1990.

The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Twelve consider that for the moment both sides should be left to seek together a negotiated settlement to a conflict which has gone on for more than 28 years. They support any efforts to reach a successful conclusion to the current negotiations between Ethiopians and Eritreans.

90/031. Question No 452/89 by Mr Robles Piquer (PPE-E) concerning violations of human rights in Nicaragua

Date of Issue: 1 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 12 October 1989

The Nicaraguan pro-human rights association based in San José, Costa Rica (PO Box 292-2120) is constantly reporting crimes which it says are committed by the Nicaraguan authorities. For example:

(i) the farm worker Adolfo Salgado Ruíz, aged 25, was arrested by a patrol of the Sandinista People's Army and later hanged in La Guitarra, in the district of Rama, in the department of Zelaya on 6 March 1988;

(ii) another farm worker, Samuel Saenz, was tortured and murdered in Condega in the department of Estelí by a patrol of the Sandinista People's Army on 19 July 1988;

(iii) another farm worker, Rafael Martínez González, aged 27, was murdered in the district of Kisaurita in the Department of Chontales at 3 a.m. on 15 April 1989;

(iv) Mariano Pravia Guillén, Fausto Dávila Salgado and Róger Castellon were captured in Dipinia in the department of Zelaya Central on 13 May 1989 and subsequently disappeared;

(v) another farm worker, Adolfo Chavarría Blandón, was captured by members of the State security forces and his body was found near the Rio Viejo in Esquipulas in the department of Matagalpa on 14 June 1989.

Since the Ministers have access to various embassies in San José and Managua, can they ascertain whether these allegations are true or false and, more generally, whether the reports issued by the Nicaraguan pro-human rights association referred to above should be believed?

Answer:

As the honourable Member is aware, the Twelve attach great importance to the respect of human rights everywhere in the world. In particular they consider that in the current situation in Central America, the respect for human rights and democratic principles should be the basis for a peaceful and negotiated settlement of the crisis.

As regards the seven cases mentioned, the Presidency has made enquiries to the competent authorities in Nicaragua.

The Commission on Human Rights in Nicaragua (CPDH), which is close to the opposition, the Pro-Government Mission (CNPPDH) and a collaborator of Cardinal Obando have informed us that the seven cases in question have never been drawn to the attention of their departments.

Similarly, none of the violations denounced appears in the latest report (October 1989) of American Watch, the North American organization for the protection of human rights, which has a presence in Nicaragua.

As regards the Nicaraguan Human Rights Association, the CPDH has informed us that it was set up in 1986, as a result of a USD 3 million grant accorded by the United States Congress to promote the respect of human rights by the Contra forces. However, the objectives pursued by this association quickly changed and it devoted its efforts more and more to denouncing the acts of the Sandinista army as it lacked, according to CPDH, any independence *vis-à-vis* the Nicaraguan resistance. It is run by Doctor Marta Patricia Baltodano, a former CPDH collaborator in exile in Costa Rica, with whom the CPDH has no longer any connection. Only the Catholic hierarchy continues to have contact with the Association.

90/032. Question No 503/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the attack on the Central American University

Date of Issue: 1 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 13 October 1989

Have the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation approached the Government of El Salvador to call for an investigation into the causes of the attack on the José Simeón Cañas Central American University run by the Jesuits in El Salvador, which destroyed the composers' office and other property belonging to the University? Since the University has accused ultra right-wing groups connected with various sectors in both government service and private enterprise, can the Ministers also ask the Salvadorean Government to take steps to control the vigorous campaign being waged in those sectors against the Company of Jesus and the Central American University?

Answer:

According to the information obtained by the Presidency, the José Simeón Cañas Central American University does not appear to have lodged a complaint against the attack which damaged its printing plant during the night of 21 to 22 July.

The incident must be seen in the context of a series of attacks, the perpetrators of which, for the most part, have not yet been properly identified.

However, in view of the upsurge of violence in El Salvador epitomized by the killing of the six Jesuit priests, the Twelve have made two *démarches* to President Cristiani to convey their concern to him. They have called for the inquiry into the killing to be carried through and for the guilty parties to be punished in accordance with the law. The President has expressed his

willingness to proceed along these lines and has promised an exhaustive inquiry. The Twelve will continue to be particularly attentive to the follow-up to this tragic event and more generally to respect for human rights and civil liberties in El Salvador.

90/033. Statement at the 46th Session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights

Date of Issue: 2 February 1990

Place of Issue: Geneva

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Irish Delegation to the United Nations

Status of Document: Statement in International Forum

Mr Collins:

'The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the UN Charter, the international covenants on human rights, the Helsinki Final Act — all of these can either be worthless pieces of paper or very real and binding instruments of guidance, a true standard. Whether these documents will be one or the other does not depend on governments alone. It is up to all of us to determine how seriously these guidelines will be taken, how they will be implemented and made real. We believe that the time is ripe for us to recall these truths urgently again and try with new energy to act in their spirit. If we wait until social conflicts assume such catastrophic proportions that some changes will have to occur, we will be acting against ourselves. We will all pay dearly for an escalation of conflicts and for the consequences of an explosion that might one day result.'

These ringing and prophetic words are not new, but were written in and about Czechoslovakia by the human rights group Charter 77 to commemorate its first decade of existence three years ago. That one of the writers of these words, Vaclav Havel, is no longer persecuted for uttering them but is now President Havel of Czechoslovakia is testimony to their truth: the people of Czechoslovakia and of other countries in Central and Eastern Europe have determined for themselves that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the international covenants and the Helsinki Final Act are to be taken seriously and are true standards against which government practices are measured.

Madam President, I address this body on behalf of the 12 Member States of the European Community at a time when the cause of human rights is advancing dramatically. If I dwell on the historic changes that are taking place in Central and Eastern Europe, it is not because of a narrow European perspective. It is because we believe that what is happening there has far-reaching implications for strengthening peace and security in the world. We are witnessing in country after country profound and rapid change from a rigid one-party system to a political order based on the inalienable human rights of the individual. We welcome this process wholeheartedly.

The readiness for political and economic reform which had its first flowering in Hungary, Poland and the Soviet Union has spread to Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and Romania. The extraordinary courage and resolution shown by the citizens of those countries demonstrates once again the inextinguishable strength of the human spirit and the inability of States to violate human rights unchallenged. The full harvest has yet to be reaped and it is our hope that, before too long, all the countries of Europe will enjoy its benefits.

All of the great spiritual and intellectual movements which have sought to define the nature of human relations have contributed to the evolution of a concept of society which, in the opening words of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, accepts that 'recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world'. Thus, we do not interpret the recent changes as the adoption of a Western European way of thinking and acting. The values whose

resurgence we celebrate are not the exclusive preserve of a single region nor have they emerged from one specific philosophical, religious or cultural tradition. They are values which we hold and proclaim in common with, for instance, the African, Caribbean and Pacific States who are our partners in the Fourth Lomé Convention. Together, in this agreement, we specifically 'reiterate our deep attachment to human dignity and human rights which are legitimate aspirations of individuals and peoples'.

In Vienna last year, the 35 States participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe adopted a concluding document which embodied important new provisions on what is called the 'human dimension' of the CSCE, i.e. the full enjoyment of human rights, including human contacts. The Paris Conference on the Human Dimension, held in June 1989, was the occasion for an in-depth review of the implementation of the human rights commitments undertaken in the CSCE, as well as for the consideration of further measures in this domain. A second meeting of the Conference in Copenhagen in June will enable a further review of implementation and the further consideration of these proposals.

The preamble to the Universal Declaration states the self-evident truth that:

'It is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law.'

The popular uprisings in Central and Eastern Europe were a rebellion against such oppression. They are paralleled elsewhere. We have only to consider the wave of democracy which swept through South America in the past decade and which will culminate in a few weeks with the installation of a new government in Chile.

A little later, we shall see the birth of the newly independent Namibian nation. Here, again, the popular will, supported by international pressure for the observance of human rights within the country, has finally triumphed. There is a lesson there which is only slowly being learned by its neighbour, South Africa. How much longer will it be before the people of that country can, in the words of Nelson Mandela, 'lay the foundations for a new era ... in which racial discrimination and prejudice, coercion and confrontation, death and destruction will be forgotten'?

Others, too, must heed the warnings that popular pressure for freedom and democracy can be contained only for so long. The Palestinian people of the Occupied Territories continue to insist on their right to self-determination, despite repression, often violent, which is a constant subject of protest by the Twelve.

As the European Council made clear in December, the interventions of the Twelve in international forums, as well as the positions we take and the *démarches* we make, are testimony to our determination to support in every way the observance of human rights. In pursuit of this policy, the Member States of the European Community will, in this forum, as we do in the Third Committee of the General Assembly and elsewhere, address particular country situations as they arise on the agenda, notably under Item 12.

Nevertheless, I wish to record at this point the deep dismay of and firm rejection by the international community of the repression last year of peaceful demonstrations by China. The Twelve expressed their concern at the highest level in the European Council in Madrid. We continue to follow that situation closely and call upon the Chinese authorities, in keeping with their international obligations, to guarantee full respect for the human rights of their citizens throughout China, including Tibet. We hope that the recent decision to lift martial law in Beijing will be but a first step and that other substantive measures will soon follow.

The changes sweeping the world are an affirmation, if one was needed, that — as governments — we are not arbiters but custodians and trustees of human rights. Human rights belong to individuals. As governments it falls to us not only to document and catalogue them, but also to guard and, above all, to adhere to and implement them. But, should we fail in our task, we must

be clear that we do not have the final say. Recent events serve to remind us that the people can appeal over the heads of governments and have demonstrated in the most direct and effective way that 'the will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government'.

The annual session of the Commission on Human Rights is the forum where collectively we governments give an account of our stewardship. In a very real sense, each session of the Commission provides the community of nations with an annual opportunity to reaffirm and renew our commitment to the values and ideals enshrined in the Universal Declaration and to the achievement of a social and international order in which human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized. The Commission session allows us to review our performance in implementing human rights in the past year, to use its procedures to ensure our compliance and to elaborate further the mechanisms which will enable us to improve our observation of these rights.

We participate voluntarily in this collective procedure because we accept that the obligation to respect human rights is not limited by national boundaries and that their observance is an international responsibility. Debate as to whether international concern for the protection of individual rights constitutes interference in the internal affairs of States is redundant. An impressive body of international instruments has evolved over the years to protect the rights of the individual through the medium of international law. It is now widely recognized that, far from constituting interference, it is the duty of the international community to cry 'Stop' where there is clear evidence of human rights violations anywhere in the world.

This is not only a moral duty: the all-important political dimension must also be considered. It is essential that stable relations exist between States in this increasingly interdependent world. But an order which is sustained 'at the price of a paralysis of the spirit, a deadening of the heart and devastation of life' is inherently unstable. Experience has demonstrated that the systematic violations of fundamental human rights in one society invariably breeds conflict, which in turn is rarely confined to that society. It is, therefore, imperative that all States are fully committed legally, politically and morally to the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

All human rights and fundamental freedoms are indivisible and inter-related. The promotion of economic, social and cultural rights as well as of civil and political rights is of paramount importance for the full realization of human dignity and for the attainment of legitimate aspirations of every individual. Emphasis on one category of rights over another cannot be justified and States must acknowledge that the international community can assess their performance in relation to all categories of human rights.

Satisfaction at recent advances in the observance of human rights cannot blind us to the fact that, regrettably, many States have signally failed to honour their commitments or have remained passive in the face of flagrant violations of basic rights by extra-legal groups. We note with appreciation the valuable role played by non-governmental organizations in bringing these violations to wider attention. As I have indicated, the Twelve do not accept that their concern to protect the fundamental rights of all persons can be construed as interference in the internal affairs of States. Rather, the international human rights instruments impose a legal obligation on governments to protect their individual citizens' rights and a moral and political obligation on all States to bring pressure to bear to correct abuses wherever they occur. It is our conviction, born from experience, that effective international protection of the basic human rights of all persons is a prerequisite for international peace.

Because of this conviction, the Twelve attach great importance to the work of this Commission and feel that, within the UN budget, further resources should be provided for the promotion and protection of human rights. Many of the international legal instruments which have evolved in this area have emerged from this Commission's deliberations. Most recently, the General Assembly further extended the scope of human rights protection by the adoption of two important new instruments forwarded by the Commission at its last session — the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Second Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights aiming at the abolition of the death penalty.

However, the elaboration of international instruments cannot of itself ensure the eradication of those practices against which they are directed. Effective supervisory mechanisms and implementation procedures are required. The monitoring role of the Commission has been strengthened over the years by the introduction of important mechanisms in addition to the treaty bodies, including the 1503 procedure, the appointment of special rapporteurs and the provision of advisory services.

These valuable and flexible procedures cannot function effectively without the full cooperation of governments. Regrettably, recourse to these procedures has on occasion been prevented by members of this Commission for reasons which are incompatible with the solemn obligation on all members to safeguard human rights. Human rights issues are now a major factor in international relations and one of the cornerstones of the Twelve's interaction with the rest of the world. States will increasingly be judged by international public opinion on their willingness to accept international scrutiny of their domestic human rights record.

This is one key reason why the deliberations of the Commission on Human Rights have assumed such importance in the public consciousness and within the UN system. This Commission will have before it valuable reports from its rapporteurs on particular country situations as well as on abuses of specific human rights presented under thematic headings. While the Commission has done valuable work in highlighting violations in certain countries, it has also received a considerable amount of disquieting information about human rights abuses in a number of other countries upon which action has been prevented for what can only be seen as unacceptable political considerations.

The commitment of the Commission at this session to the advancement of human rights will to a great extent be measured by how it responds to this tendency. The mandates of the thematic special rapporteurs come up for renewal this year. In the 10 years since this mechanism was first introduced, it has proved an extremely effective and valuable addition to the work of the Commission. It is our hope therefore that their mandates will be renewed for a further period.

Ways of strengthening the machinery and effectiveness of the Commission are being discussed, together with the enlargement of the Commission. The Twelve will consider positively, with the aim of achieving consensus, all proposals which have as their aim the practical defence of human rights.

Among the more practical ideas being considered are the rationalization of the Commission's agenda, the strengthening of the mandates of the special rapporteurs, particularly those on thematic headings, a wider role for advisory services in assisting reforming governments, and the establishment of an inter-sessional mechanism to address urgent matters. It is essential that the Centre for Human Rights should be allocated a higher proportion of the UN budget than its present figure of less than 1%.

These mechanisms can surely be of benefit not only in support of the achievement of human rights, but also in support of their expansion and protection in this time of rapid and heartening change.

Madam President, in December the world suffered the loss of the renowned human rights campaigner Dr Andrei Sakharov. We join with the people of the Soviet Union in mourning his passing. His life was a mirror of the fate of human rights in his country and we can be pleased that he lived to see it launched on a radically new approach in which the need to comply with universal standards is officially acknowledged. He had the happiness of seeing the beginning of an acceptance of his ideas and as a legislator he was in a position to help implement them. I should like to finish by quoting from his writing this apt admonition:

The ideology of human rights is probably the only one which can be combined with such diverse ideologies as communism, social democracy, religion, technocracy and those ideologies which may be described as national and indigenous. It can also serve as a foothold for those ... who have tired of the abundance of ideologies, none

of which have brought ... simple human happiness. The defence of human rights is a clear path toward the unification of people in our turbulent world, and a path toward the relief of suffering.'

Madam President, that is the path which we must all take together.

90/034. Question No 539/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the conviction of Alaattin Sahin, editor of a Turkish political weekly

Date of Issue: 2 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency with other actors

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 13 October 1989

Can the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation take an interest in the fate of Alaattin Sahin, editor of a Turkish political weekly newspaper until 1977, who was sentenced to 36 years' imprisonment for his journalistic work in opposition to the régime?

Answer:

We would refer the honourable Member to the reply to his Written Question No 548/89.¹

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 90/040.

90/035. Question No 540/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the arrest of Julius Mwandawiro in Kenya

Date of Issue: 2 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 13 October 1989

Can the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation take an interest in the fate of Julius Mwandawiro Mghanga, headmaster of a secondary school in Kenya, who has been sentenced to five years' imprisonment for possessing 'subversive literature'?

Answer:

The Twelve are keeping a close watch on the situation in Kenya and attach great importance to respect for human rights in that country. The authorities are aware of the Twelve's position. The specific case raised by the honourable Member has not, however, been raised in the framework of European political cooperation.

90/036. Question No 542/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the detention of Dr Laxmi Narayan in Nepal

Date of Issue: 2 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 13 October 1989

Can the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation inquire into the fate of Dr Laxmi Narayan Jha of Nepal, who was arrested in June 1985 and has not been heard of since?

Answer:

As the honourable Member is aware, the promotion of full respect for human rights is one of the cornerstones of the political action of the Twelve. As regards Doctor Laxmi Narayan, information obtained on the spot at the Presidency's request indicates that he died in detention.

90/037. Question No 543/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning two years of solitary confinement for Jack Mapanje in Malawi

Date of Issue: 2 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 13 October 1989

Can the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation inquire into the fate of Jack Mapanje, Director of the Department of Language and Literature at the University of Malawi and the country's best-known poet, who has been held in solitary confinement for two years without charges and without trial?

Answer:

The specific case raised by the honourable Member has not been discussed within the framework of European political cooperation. However, the Government of Malawi is aware of the importance the Twelve attach to respect for human rights.

90/038. Question No 545/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the eight-year prison sentence for Ibrahim Ismailov Arifov in Bulgaria

Date of Issue: 2 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 13 October 1989

Can the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation inquire into the fate of a Bulgarian doctor, Ibrahim Ismailov Arifov, sentenced to eight years' imprisonment in June 1986 for urging the ethnic group to boycott the elections in protest against the Bulgarian Government's policy of forced assimilation?

Answer:

The Twelve are keeping a close watch on the events taking place in Bulgaria and on developments in human rights.

As the honourable Member will be aware, the Twelve take whatever measures are most appropriate in the interest of the persons concerned.

The specific case of Mr Arifov has not been raised in the framework of European political cooperation. The Presidency's Embassy will attempt to obtain information concerning his fate.

90/039. Question No 547/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the disappearance of peasants in Guatemala

Date of Issue: 2 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 13 October 1989

Can the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation inquire into the fate of Luis Ruíz, Macario Pu Chivalan, Agapito Pérez Lucas and Nicolas Mateo, members of the Council of Ethnic Communities 'Runujel Junam' (CERJ) in Guatemala, who were abducted in April 1989 by uniformed soldiers with blackened faces, an event to which President Cerezo promised to respond?

Answer:

The Twelve were alerted some months ago of the threats to certain members of the CERJ, in particular its President, and have been at pains to remain in contact with the people involved to help guarantee their safety.

The Twelve are concerned by the recent upsurge in violence and attacks carried out in Guatemala against persons or institutions active on the political scene or belonging to the press or human rights organizations.

On 29 August 1989 they made representations to the Vice-President of the Republic, Mr Roberto Carpio Nicole, expressing their concern at these events. Furthermore, aware of the efforts made by President Cerezo's Government to re-establish democratic institutions, the Twelve appealed to the Guatemalan authorities to take every possible step within the law to ensure the safety of the people and movements under threat.

As regards the four members of the CERJ in question, the Presidency has carried out an inquiry on the spot to no avail. The missing persons have still not reappeared.

90/040. Question No 548/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the detention of Abdullah Kubali, a Turkish journalist

Date of Issue: 2 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 13 October 1989

Can the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation inquire into the fate of Abdullah Kubali, a Turkish journalist, who was detained together with some 50 other persons in Kars (Turkey) at the beginning of July 1989?

Answer:

The Twelve are attentive to the democratization process and to developments in human rights in Turkey. They expect the new President of the Republic to honour the commitments he gave in his inaugural address. Furthermore, they will not fail to bring to the Turkish Government's attention cases of violation of human rights and civil liberties in Turkey.

90/041. Question No 549/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the disappearance of peasants in Peru

Date of Issue: 2 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 13 October 1989

Can the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation request information about the condition and whereabouts of five members of the peasant communities of Pucarocco and Quilcaccasa (Peru), among them Saturnino Arone and Juan Limasca, who were detained by army patrols in February 1989?

Answer:

According to information obtained by the Presidency from human rights associations in Lima, Mr Saturnino Arona (38), a farmer, and Mr Juan Limasca Jarhivas (40), also a farmer, were arrested by the army on 26 February in Puca-Orcco (Janayca district, Aymaraes province, department of the Apurimac). Mr Arona was last seen at the military base at Chalhuanca and Mr Limasca at the Abancay garrison.

The human rights associations have had no news of these two detainees following their arrest and are very pessimistic as to their fate. They consider there is little chance of finding them alive.

90/042. Question No 668/89 by Ms Simons (S-D) concerning new direct investments in South Africa

Date of Issue: 2 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 6 November 1989

Pursuant to the Decision of the Representatives of the Governments of the Member States meeting within the Council on 27 October 1986, new direct investments by natural or legal persons resident within the Community in the Republic of South Africa are prohibited (86/517/EEC).¹

According to data from the Deutsche Bundesbank, total Federal German direct investment at first or second hand in the Republic of South Africa rose by DM 303 million to DM 1 669 million between the end of 1986 (DM 1 366 million) and the end of 1987.

1. What Federal German undertakings have made direct investments at first or second hand in the Republic of South Africa since 1986? How much has been invested by each?
2. Do the Foreign Ministers share the view that the Federal German undertakings concerned are infringing the 1986 EC Decision, and that consequently the steps taken to implement that Decision in the Federal Republic of Germany must be regarded as inadequate?
3. Have the Foreign Ministers already drawn up proposals for amending the EC Decision so as to require its legally binding implementation in all the Member States?

Answer:

The ban on new direct investment in South Africa is strictly applied by the Member States. The respective national authorities have taken appropriate measures to ensure compliance with this decision and to monitor its application.

In its Declaration of 9 December the Strasbourg European Council refers to the decision of the Community and its Member States to maintain the pressure that they exert on the South

African authorities in order to promote the profound and irreversible changes which they have repeatedly stood for and to reconsider it in the light of clear evidence that these changes are being obtained.

¹ OJ L 305, 31.10.1986, p. 45.

**90/043. Question No 1017/89 by Mr Robles Piquer (PPE-E)
concerning executions in Burkina Faso and Sierra Leone**

Date of Issue: 2 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 18 December 1989

On 19 September 1989 it was announced that an alleged military coup in Burkina Faso had failed. The Government immediately had two ministers who it considered responsible shot, one of them a major and the other a captain in the armed forces.

On 10 October 1989 it was announced in Sierra Leone that six people responsible for an attempted *coup d'état* in 1987 had been hanged. The Government did not state where the bodies of those executed had been buried.

Mr Albert Tevoedjre, a former Director-General of the ILO, recalled in connection with the first of these cases the international community's 'right to intervene' (*Le Monde*, 27 September 1989) — a right which it would undoubtedly have exercised had similar cases occurred elsewhere.

Have the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation expressed any view on these events to the governments concerned? Do they feel it would be appropriate in this context to invoke the principle of respect for human rights, or even to make the benefits which both governments receive under the Lomé Convention conditional upon respect for these rights?

Answer:

1. The Twelve have given sustained attention to the cases of the 12 people who were tried and condemned to death in Sierra Leone in November 1987 for their involvement in the attempted assassination of President Momoh on 23 March 1987. After the death sentences were upheld by the Supreme Court on 30 September 1989, the Troika of the Ambassadors of the Twelve in Freetown asked the President of Sierra Leone on 5 October 1989 to exercise clemency towards the condemned persons on humanitarian grounds. Several partners also made direct representations to the President to this end. The death sentence on six of the condemned persons was commuted to a prison sentence.
2. The Twelve are continuing to give close attention to the situation in Burkina Faso following the latest events.
3. As regards the Lomé Convention, the honourable Member may wish to note that the new Convention signed on 15 December 1989 contains specific provisions on respect for human rights.

**90/044. Question No 1024/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E)
concerning the execution of drug pedlars in Iran**

Date of Issue: 2 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 18 December 1989

Having regard to the resolutions adopted recently by the European Parliament, have the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation made any representations to the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran following the large-scale (and in some cases public) executions for drug-related crimes — to enquire, for example, whether the defendants were allowed to call witnesses in their defence, whether they were legally represented and whether the verdicts and sentences were reviewed by a higher court?

Answer:

For several years the Twelve have been keeping a close watch on the human rights situation in Iran. They were thus particularly alert to the information concerning the many executions carried out under the law against drug trafficking which came into force on 21 January 1989.

The Twelve have associated themselves with the calls from the international community for Iran to return, especially in this matter, to rigorous observance of universal standards. Since 1985 they have co-sponsored all the UN General Assembly Resolutions denouncing human rights violations in Iran and reminding the authorities of that country of their obligations. The Twelve have also made good use of their bilateral contacts, which still exclude high-level official visits, to emphasize to Iran that the normalization of their relations with it cannot be fully guaranteed unless that country complies with the rules governing international relations.

Although the human rights situation in Iran continues to be a source of concern, it would appear that the efforts of the international community have begun to bear fruit, since the Iranian Government has agreed to invite the special rapporteur of the UN Commission on Human Rights, Mr Galindo Pohl, to visit Iran and has promised to allow him total freedom in his public or private contacts.

**90/045. Question No 1025/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E)
concerning prisoners of Turkish origin in Bulgaria**

Date of Issue: 2 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 18 December 1989

Will the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation inquire into the fate of a group of people of Turkish origin possibly held in Plovdiv prison on account of their non-violent opposition to the policy of forced assimilation of the minority of Turkish origin in contravention of Article 27 of the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights ratified by Bulgaria in 1970? Will they seek information regarding the possible death in that prison of Mustafa Aliev following his participation in a hunger strike?

Answer:

The Twelve are following closely the current changes in Bulgaria and the developments in the sphere of human rights.

As the honourable Member will be aware, they are acting in the most appropriate manner in the interests of the persons concerned.

The particular cases mentioned have not been discussed in European political cooperation. However, the Embassy of the Presidency will endeavour to obtain information on their fate.

**90/046. Question No 1026/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E)
concerning the Turkish political prisoner Servinc Tekekeli-Oztas**

Date of Issue: 2 February 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 18 December 1989

Will the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation take an interest in the case of the Turkish political prisoner, Servinc Tekekeli-Oztas, 41, who is serving a four-year sentence in the closed-regime provincial prison of Yozgat for belonging to the illegal Communist Party of Turkey?

Answer:

The honourable Member is referred to the replies given to Written Questions No 534/89¹ and No 548/89.²

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 90/058.

² *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 90/040.

**90/047. Question No 1032/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E)
concerning political prisoners in Jordan**

Date of Issue: 2 February 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 18 December 1989

Can the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation enquire about the fate of a number of prisoners of conscience, accused of belonging to illegal organizations, being held without charge or trial in al-Swaqa prison, under the state of emergency in force since 1939, following the riots in protest at the government's economic measures?

Answer:

The Jordanian authorities are aware of the Twelve's position on human rights and, in particular, of the importance they attach to respect for them in relations with third countries. However, the specific case mentioned by the honourable Member has not been discussed in the context of European political cooperation. It should be noted that on 10 December 1989 the new Prime Minister, Mr Badrane, announced his intention of studying with the Parliament ways of putting an end to martial law. He also undertook to free all political detainees. Forty-eight political prisoners were freed on 2 December 1989. Other similar measures should be taken soon.

**90/048. Question No 1034/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E)
concerning the imprisonment without trial of Atondi Mormondjo
Lecas in the Congo**

Date of Issue: 2 February 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 18 December 1989

Can the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation enquire about Atondi Mormondjo Lecas, former director of the Office national des librairies populaires, who has been imprisoned without trial since 1 August 1987, possibly as a result of his criticism of government policy?

Answer:

The specific case raised by the honourable Member has not been discussed in the context of European political cooperation. However, the Congolese Government is aware of the importance which the Twelve attach to respect for human rights. Indeed, France has made approaches to the Congolese authorities about the situation of Mr Atondi Momondjo Lecas and there might be developments in the near future.

90/049. Question No 1056/89 by Ms van Putten (S-NL) concerning northern Cyprus

Date of Issue: 2 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 18 December 1989

Do the Ministers agree with the statement made by the Spanish Prime Minister in his talks with Turkish Prime Minister Ozal to the effect that no violations of human rights are taking place in northern Cyprus (*El Pais*, 16 September 1989), despite reports by various human rights organizations?

Answer:

The question put by the honourable Member has not been discussed in the context of European political cooperation. However, it must be emphasized that the well-known and firm stance adopted by the Twelve on the Cyprus problem is fully shared by all partners.

90/050. Statement concerning the fighting in the Christian areas of Lebanon

Date of Issue: 5 February 1990

Place of Issue: Brussels, Dublin, Beirut

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: The Twelve

Status of Document: Declaration

The European Community and its Member States are gravely concerned at the latest developments in the tragic conflict in Lebanon with the outbreak of fighting in the Christian areas, which has resulted in over 170 deaths and many hundreds of injuries. They appeal to the protagonists to cease hostilities immediately.

They declare their readiness to provide humanitarian assistance to the Lebanese population. They also recall the need for all parties to resume the search for national reconciliation on the basis of the Ta'if Agreements.

90/051. Statement concerning South Africa

Date of Issue: 5 February 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Dublin
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Foreign Ministers
Status of Document: Declaration

Ministers for Foreign Affairs welcomed the reforms announced by President De Klerk on 2 February. They look forward to the implementation of these measures in the very near future. They also expect further measures leading to the complete abolition of apartheid. To the degree that dialogue is instituted in South Africa, the Twelve will be prepared to reconsider their position in accordance with the declaration made by the Heads of Government in Strasbourg on 9 December. They agreed to discuss developments in South Africa on this basis at their next meeting which will be devoted to issues of European political cooperation, in Dublin on 20 February.

90/052. Question No 507/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the demonstrators killed in the USSR

Date of Issue: 5 February 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 13 October 1989

Do the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation have information regarding what really happened during the demonstration held in Tbilisi, Georgia, on 9 April this year, when at least 19 or, according to other sources, more than 60 people were killed at the hands of special units of Georgian troops deployed by the Soviet Ministry of the Interior?

Answer:

Current developments in the Soviet Union and in particular the situation in Georgia have been the subject of close and constant examination within European political cooperation.

Furthermore, the political dialogue initiated at the beginning of the year with the Soviet Union enables the Twelve, among other points, to be better informed of the Soviet authorities' intentions and the proposed reforms and also to restate the principles and values of the Twelve. The problem of the various nationalities was raised at the meeting of the 12 Foreign Ministers with Mr Shevardnadze in New York on 27 September 1989.

90/053. Question No 508/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the people imprisoned and killed in Yugoslavia

Date of Issue: 5 February 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 13 October 1989

Have the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation approached the Yugoslav Federal Government to inquire about the people killed and arrested during the dramatic events which occurred in Kosovo in March and April this year?

Answer:

The Twelve have acted in the most appropriate manner to apprise the Yugoslav Government of the concern occasioned by the situation in Kosovo and the importance the Twelve attach both to the maintenance of the country's unity and respect for human rights.

90/054. Question No 509/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the release of six members of the Islamic Liberation Party of Libya

Date of Issue: 5 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 13 October 1989

Can the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation do anything to help the six members of the Islamic Liberation Party of Libya, if they are still alive, who were arrested in April 1973, kept in custody until the beginning of 1977 and sentenced at a trial held *in camera* on 19 February of that year to 15 years' imprisonment and then life imprisonment, and are apparently still serving this sentence in the military prison of Abu Salim in Tripoli?

Answer:

In their statement of 21 July 1986 on human rights, the Foreign Ministers affirmed that 'respect for human rights is an important element in relations between third countries and the Europe of the Twelve'.

The Libyan Government is apprised of the Twelve's position. The specific question raised by the honourable Member has not been discussed within European political cooperation.

90/055. Question No 510/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning freedom for Houmphannh Norasing, a former member of the Laos Parliament

Date of Issue: 5 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 13 October 1989

Can the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation do anything to bring about the release of Houmphannh Norasing, a former member of the Laos Parliament, who has been confined in a 're-education camp' since 1975 without being either charged or tried?

Answer:

The Laotian authorities are well aware of the position of the Twelve on respect for human rights. The specific case of Mr Norasing referred to here has been discussed within European political cooperation. The Presidency has raised the matter with the Laotian authorities.

90/056. Question No 512/89 by Mr Romera i Alcàzar (PPE-E) concerning political prisoners in Turkey

Date of Issue: 5 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 13 October 1989

According to a report by Amnesty International, a Turkish citizen, Arif Coskuncan, 29 years of age and an accountant by profession, was arrested on 1 November 1986 simply for being a member of the Turkish Communist Party. He was immediately tried and imprisoned under Article 141 of the Turkish Penal Code, which prohibits membership of associations aiming to impose the authority of a particular class. He is still in prison.

In view of the fact that this article is incompatible with the European Convention on Human Rights, of which Turkey is a signatory State, and that Turkey has declared its wish to be admitted to the European institutions, has the Council considered the need to require the Turkish Government to immediately release this citizen and any others imprisoned for the same reasons?

Answer: The honourable Member is referred to the replies given to Written Questions No 548/89¹ put by Mr Victor Manuel Arbeloa Muru and No 534/89² put by Mr Ford.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 90/040.

² *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 90/058.

90/057. Question No 532/89 by Mr Titley (S-UK) concerning the Carmelite convent at Auschwitz

Date of Issue: 5 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 13 October 1989

Given the intense anguish the Carmelite convent at Auschwitz has caused the Community's Jewish population and given that the Polish Catholic Church has failed to honour its promise to remove the convent by 22 February 1989, will the Ministers inform me:

1. What view they take of the action of the Polish Catholic Church?
2. What action they have taken on the matter in the past?
3. If they are prepared to make representations to the new Polish Government with a view to resolving this conflict?

Answer:

The question put by the honourable Member has not been addressed within European political cooperation.

90/058. Question No 534/89 by Mr Ford (S-UK) concerning the imprisonment of Kemal Goyluler in Turkey

Date of Issue: 5 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 13 October 1989

Have the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation considered the case of Kemal Goyluler, who at the age of 28 has so far since 1982 served 13 months' pre-trial detention, and was subsequently sentenced to 5 years 10 months' imprisonment, for non-violent political

activities, the charge being membership of the Turkish Communist Party? Do the Ministers not consider that this and other detentions under Article 141 of the Turkish Penal Code are incompatible with Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights, to which Turkey is a State party?

Answer:

In their statement of 21 July 1986 on human rights,¹ the Foreign Ministers of the Twelve clearly set out the principles of their policy in this area. In particular, they stated that neither a conviction nor an ideology may justify the refusal of civil and political rights and that respect for human rights is an important element in relations between third countries and the Europe of the Twelve. In this context the Twelve are following closely the question of human rights in Turkey. The Turkish authorities are aware of the special importance which the Twelve attach to strict observance of all undertakings freely entered into by Turkey through its accession to international conventions on human rights.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 86/230.

90/059. Question No 536/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the unconstitutional methods used by the army in Colombia

Date of Issue: 5 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 13 October 1989

Can the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation take steps to prevent the Colombian army from searching property, arresting suspects without a warrant and imprisoning them illegally on army and police premises, practices which were declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of Justice in March 1988?

Answer:

Guerilla activities, paramilitary groups and above all drug dealers constitute a real threat to Colombian democracy. On 18 August 1989 President Barco adopted 11 decrees under the state of emergency. The Supreme Court, which has the responsibility of verifying the constitutionality of laws and decrees, ratified them on 3 October 1989, with the exception of one, that referred to by the honourable Member, authorizing military judges to carry out searches on private property.

Despite the upsurge in violence, the Colombian Government under the authority of President Barco has always attempted to maintain acts of repression within the framework of the state of law to which Colombia is attached. In addition, the activities of the army in the field in its fight against the guerilla movement have been subject to close and increased supervision since 1988 by the Attorney-General of the nation.

90/060. Question No 537/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning compulsory sterilization in Brazil

Date of Issue: 5 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 13 October 1989

Can the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation make representations to the Brazilian Government to stop certain large multinational companies from forcing their female workers to be sterilized in order to avoid having to grant them the 120 days' maternity leave provided for in the Constitution?

Answer:

The honourable Member is aware of the importance which the Twelve attach to respect for human rights, in accordance with their Declaration of 21 July 1986.

In this connection, the Embassy of the Presidency in Brasilia has made enquiries regarding the specific case of the violations mentioned by Mr Arbeloa Muru.

Despite its efforts, the Embassy has found no trace of accusations made against the multinational companies suspected of imposing sterilization on their female workers.

On the other hand, the Union of Workers of Cleaning and Health Enterprises of the Federal District has recently accused 80% of these companies of requiring a sterilization certificate from female workers on taking up employment. This claim has been denied by the employers and no complaint has yet been lodged by the Union.

90/061. Question No 538/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning death sentences in the Yemen Arab Republic

Date of Issue: 5 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 13 October 1989

Can the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation make representations to the Government of the Yemen Arab Republic to commute the death sentences recently passed on six people currently being held in the central prison of Ta'izz, members of the National Democratic Front (NDF) who returned to their country in 1983 under a general amnesty but were then arrested, tried and found guilty of involvement in the murders alleged to have occurred in 1982, during confrontations between the NDF and government forces?

Answer:

In their statement of 21 July 1986 on human rights, the Foreign Ministers affirmed that 'respect for human rights is an important element in relations between third countries and the Europe of the Twelve'.

The Government of the Yemen Arab Republic is apprised of the Twelve's position.

The specific question raised by the honourable Member has not been discussed within European political cooperation.

It will be examined at a later meeting, on the understanding that any action in respect of non-nationals of the Twelve requires to be particularly discreet if it is to succeed or to avoid being possibly counter-productive for the persons concerned.

90/062. Statement concerning the attack on a bus carrying Israeli tourists in Egypt

Date of Issue: 6 February 1990

Place of Issue: Brussels, Dublin

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: The Twelve

Status of Document: Declaration

The Twelve unreservedly condemn the attack on a bus carrying Israeli tourists near Ismailiya in Egypt on Sunday 4 February which resulted in 11 deaths and many injuries. They extend their sympathy to the injured and their condolences to the families and friends of those killed.

The Twelve have always stated that they are against violence from wherever it comes. This brutal attack underlines again that violence does nothing to bring about peace. It stands in stark contrast to the efforts to promote a dialogue between the parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Twelve reiterate their appeal for an urgent negotiated and global solution to this conflict.

90/063. Question No 669/89 by Ms Simons (S-D) concerning oil exports to the Republic of South Africa

Date of Issue: 8 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 6 November 1989

The Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation decided at their meeting of 10 September 1985 to suspend oil exports to the Republic of South Africa.

How do the Foreign Ministers assess the fact that since September 1985 on instructions from the Federal German firm Marimpex Mineralöl-Handelsgesellschaft crude oil has been delivered to South Africa on at least five occasions? (*Source: Shipping Research Bureau: Oil to South Africa, September 1988.*)

What measures will the Foreign Ministers adopt to monitor adherence to the oil embargo effectively in future?

Answer:

The ban on oil exports to South Africa is strictly applied by the Member States. The respective national authorities have taken appropriate steps to ensure that this decision is complied with and its application monitored.

In its statement of 9 December, the Strasbourg European Council noted the decision by the Community and its Member States to maintain pressure on the South African authorities in order to foster profound and irreversible change — as advocated by them on numerous occasions in the past — and to review such changes once it is clear that they have taken place.

90/064. Question No 670/89 by Mr Newton Dunn (ED-UK) concerning the bilateral agreements between Member States and the Socialist Republic of Romania

Date of Issue: 8 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 6 November 1989

Following the suspension of the Community's Cooperation Agreement with Romania and a recent parliamentary question concerning the Agreement between the Kingdom of Spain and Romania on nuclear technology, will the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation list all bilateral agreements between individual Member States on the one hand and Romania on the other, indicating the date for scheduled renewal or termination of each agreement?

Answer:

European political cooperation is not competent in the area of bilateral agreements.

**90/065. Question No 690/89 by Sir James Scott-Hopkins (ED-UK)
concerning help for Poland**

Date of Issue: 8 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 6 November 1989

What steps are being taken to help facilitate the economic development of Poland? What assistance has been offered to the Government of Poland? Does he agree with me that the Community has a clear moral responsibility to do all it can to help the new Polish Government in its most immediate and difficult task — to improve living standards?

Answer:

In a statement on 7 June,¹ the Community and its Member States indicated the importance which they attach to the success of the political and economic reforms undertaken in Poland and welcomed the democratization process under way.

On 12 September,² they again stated their determination to support the new Government's efforts to establish a more democratic and prosperous society.

The attitude of the Community and its Member States towards the countries of Eastern Europe, and Poland in particular, was also discussed at the dinner given for the Twelve at the Elysée Palace on 18 November. At the close of that informal meeting, the President of the European Council stated in particular that 'we are willing to cooperate in any action which may assist the recovery of East European countries suffering an economic crisis of sometimes dramatic proportions. We are willing to cooperate and to help, by all means available to us, to bring about this recovery and establish a healthy economy, subject, naturally, to evidence of a return to democracy through the observance of human rights and the holding of universally free and secret elections.'

We have dealt more especially with Poland and Hungary, two countries which have made the greatest advances in this area and have already given an earnest [sic] of their commitment to the direction which they have chosen to follow. A series of practical measures has been examined in connection with these countries. We noted in passing that the cooperation of 24 countries agreed on at the 'Arche' Summit of the industrialized countries had left it to the President and the European Commission to arrange a whole series of measures. What should be a decisive meeting on the subject will take place on 13 December. Already, however, decisions on food aid, investment, aid for training and environmental measures have been taken.

Details of these measures and of decisions taken at the ministerial meeting on 13 December can be provided by the Commission.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 89/172.

² *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 89/202.

**90/066. Question No 715/89 by Mr Newton Dunn (ED-UK)
concerning a young boy, Saba Szilagyi, detained by the Romanian
authorities**

Date of Issue: 8 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 14 November 1989

The young boy Csaba Szilagyí was detained in a psychiatric clinic in Oradea, Romania, following an unsuccessful attempt to rejoin his parents and brother, refugees now living in Hungary, who left Romania with exit visas but were obliged to leave Csaba as a hostage. Csaba Szilagyí is now living at Strada Slatinei 27, Blac D, 41-42 ap. 55, Oradea 3700, Romania. His father, Elemer Szilagyí, has appealed for help in reuniting his family.

Will the French Presidency take this case up urgently with the Romanian authorities so that the family Szilagyí can be reunited before Christmas 1989?

Answer:

As the honourable Member is aware, the Twelve are seriously concerned over the human rights situation in Romania.

Despite the continuing negative attitude adopted by the Romanian authorities, particularly in the context of implementing the mechanism on the human dimension provided for in paragraph 9 of the third basket of the Vienna Closing Document, the Twelve are pursuing their efforts to ensure that the Romanian authorities honour in full all undertakings entered into by them under the CSCE.

The particular case of the young boy Csaba Szilagyí has not been discussed within European political cooperation. The Presidency will, however, endeavour to obtain information on this case so as to enable the Twelve to decide on their attitude with a view to a possible *démarche*.

**90/067. Question No 804/89 by Mr Gutiérrez Díaz (GUE-E)
concerning the imprisonment of the Spanish journalist Jorge Sanchez
García in Afghanistan**

Date of Issue: 8 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 28 November 1989

The Spanish journalist Jorge Sanchez García, who was arrested on 1 August 1989 in Kandahar on the charge of illegal residence, has received a five-year prison sentence from the Kabul special court. Since there is no Spanish embassy in the Afghan capital, is the Council prepared to make representations to the President of the Afghan Republic with a view to securing the journalist's release?

Answer:

The Afghan authorities are well aware of the Twelve's position on human rights. Following approaches by the Spanish authorities, the Spanish journalist Jorge Sánchez García was released on 12 November 1989 and immediately left Afghanistan.

**90/068. Question No 866/89 by Mr Vandemeulebroucke (ARC-B)
concerning a European political cooperation initiative on the
treatment of the Kurds**

Date of Issue: 8 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 29 November 1989

Belgium has taken the initiative of making representations to the Bulgarian Government referring it to the Helsinki accords and calling for fair treatment of the Turkish minority in

Bulgaria. Will a parallel initiative be taken within the framework of European political cooperation to refer Turkey to the Helsinki Final Act and to urge it to ensure fair treatment of the Kurdish minority in Turkey?

Answer:

As the Presidency has stated in replies to other questions, the Twelve are very mindful of the human rights situation in Turkey. The Ankara authorities are aware of the importance which the Twelve attach to strict compliance with all the undertakings freely entered into by Turkey through its accession to international human rights conventions.

90/069. Question No 906/89 by Ms Reding (PPE-L) concerning an exit visa for Mikhail Kazachkov

Date of Issue: 8 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 1 December 1989

Mr Mikhail Kazachkov, a Soviet physicist, was arrested when he applied for an immigration visa for the United States.

He was accused of treason and sentenced to 15 years' hard labour.

In early August 1989 two representatives of the United States Administration visited Mr Kazachkov. Shortly before their visit he had been charged under Article 188 (infringement of prison regulations) because he had tried to set up a group to monitor the Helsinki agreements and because he had refused to have his head shaved. After a trial inside the prison on 15 August 1989 when he was sentenced to a 'change of regime' he was transferred to Chistopol prison where conditions are known to be particularly severe. It is understood that he has been punished by the authorities for talking to a journalist from the *New York Times* who visited the camp in February 1989.

Can the Foreign Ministers make representations to the authorities with the aim of reviewing Mikhail Kazachkov's case and allowing him to emigrate to a country of his choice?

Answer:

On many occasions, particularly in the CSCE, the Twelve have emphasized the need for the undertakings entered into [by] the USSR in the field of human rights to be honoured in full. The Twelve, both individually and collectively, are carefully monitoring current developments in the Soviet Union. They note with satisfaction that the Soviet authorities have recently applied positive solutions in many humanitarian cases.

The specific case referred to by the honourable Member has not been discussed within European political cooperation. One or more members of the Twelve have, however, more than once already requested further information from the Soviet authorities on Mikhail Kazachkov. Thus far, no satisfactory reply has been received. The Presidency will endeavour to obtain fresh information on Mr Kazachkov's case so that the Twelve can decide on their approach.

90/070. Question No 1023/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning Bernard Rennie, sentenced to death in Swaziland

Date of Issue: 8 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 18 December 1989

In view of the fact that no executions have been carried out in Swaziland for the last five years, and pending the total abolition of the death penalty, could the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation make representations to secure the commutation of the sentence passed on Bernard Rennie, a young man condemned to death on the basis of the 'common purpose' shared in committing the crime with another person who has in fact been acquitted?

Answer:

The specific case raised by the honourable Member has not been discussed in European political cooperation. However, the Government of Swaziland is aware of the importance which the Twelve attach to respect for human rights.

**90/071. Question No 1027/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E)
concerning political detainees in Sudan**

Date of Issue: 8 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 18 December 1989

Have the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation been taking a close interest in the fate of political detainees in Sudan following the *coup d'état* of 30 June, which overthrew the Government of Prime Minister Sadiz al-Mahdi and following which the new regime banned all political parties and trade unions, dissolved the National Assembly and suspended the constitution?

Answer:

The Twelve have followed with concern recent events in Sudan, and in particular the *coup d'état* of 30 June 1989 which brought General Bechir to power.

In their frequent discussions on the situation in Sudan, the Twelve pay very special attention to the human rights policy pursued by the Khartoum authorities. The declaration of 10 November 1989, in which the Twelve called for the observance of human rights in Sudan, particularly in the case of displaced persons, prisoners of war and other detainees, together with the *démarche* by the Troika of Ambassadors in Khartoum on 19 December in favour of those condemned to death, are evidence of this concern.

**90/072. Question No 1035/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E)
concerning extrajudicial executions in Zaire**

Date of Issue: 8 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 18 December 1989

Can the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation make representations to the authorities of the Republic of Zaire to prevent the public execution of 20 people, including soldiers and civilians, who were sentenced to death on 19 September 1989?

Answer:

The cases mentioned by the honourable Member have not been discussed in the context of European political cooperation. However, the Zairean Government is aware of the importance which the Twelve attach to respect for human rights.

90/073. Statement concerning South Africa

Date of Issue: 13 February 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Dublin
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The Twelve warmly welcome the release of Nelson Mandela, one of South Africa's longest serving political prisoners. They commend the South African Government on this step. Mr Mandela's release has been one of the basic demands of the Twelve over the years. Taken with the steps announced by President De Klerk on 2 February, this is without doubt a most important contribution to the establishment of that climate which the Twelve consider necessary for the initiation of genuine negotiations with the black community. The Twelve repeat their view that these negotiations must be aimed at the total abolition of apartheid and the establishment of a new, democratic, united and non-racial South Africa.

Nelson Mandela has remained a potent symbol of freedom for all those struggling for the eradication of apartheid. His release comes at a crucial time in the history of South Africa when expectations are high that the Government has accepted that radical change to the structures of South African society can no longer be delayed.

The Twelve hope that all parties in South Africa will now seize the opportunity to achieve the end of apartheid by peaceful means through negotiation.

90/074. Statement concerning a unified Germany

Date of Issue: 14 February 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Report to European Parliament

Ms Geoghegan-Quinn, President-in-Office of the Council and of the Foreign Ministers: Mr President, in making this statement I am responding to your very recent request for a contribution by the Presidency to this important debate. I wish to preface my remarks by saying that the subject of your debate today is of central importance for the Community and for Europe as a whole. The European Council agreed a position in Strasbourg on 7 and 8 December last. The question is of such importance that it will no doubt engage the attention of our Heads of State or Government again soon.

The Presidency has been considering the matter for some time. We have been conscious that the rapid developments affecting not just Germany but the future of the whole Community may require an early meeting of Heads of State or Government. Of course the convening of such a meeting is a matter for the Presidency to decide and not the Commission. In the meantime the debate held here on the subject will be of great interest. The events we are witnessing in these days of accelerating change in Europe are momentous and historical. The Stalinist system which has kept part of our continent in bonds since the Second World War is being broken up with a rapidity which defies the imagination. Twelve months ago — even six months ago — who would have thought it possible that this Parliament would be debating today the subject of German unification. Yet that is precisely what is happening in response to the dramatic changes which have taken place in Eastern Europe in the space of a few short months.

The European Council held here in Strasbourg in December set out the basic framework for these developments. It sought the strengthening of peace in Europe in which the German people will regain its unity through free self-determination. The European Council stressed that this process should take place in a peaceful and democratic manner. Since then a date has been fixed for democratic elections in the GDR. Furthermore, placing this situation in the wider European

context, the European Council noted that this process should take place in full respect of the relevant agreements and treaties and of all the principles defined by the Helsinki Final Act, in a context of dialogue and East-West cooperation and noted that it also has to be placed in the perspective of European integration. The wider European context is all important. This debate is evidence of this importance.

We start from the premise that the restoration of full democracy with respect for human rights and for the rule of law in East Germany, indeed in Eastern Europe generally, will itself be a positive contribution to the situation of Europe as a whole. We should also bear in mind that the events we are witnessing in Central and Eastern Europe are testimony to the historical and cultural unity of Europe. The structures put in place after 1945 only disguised this. They did not succeed in stifling the essential unity of the continent. The Federal Chancellor has declared that he sees the need for taking account in the new European architecture which we shall have to embark upon of the legitimate security interests of every country, however small and wherever situated, and of all Europeans. The German Government has reiterated its commitment to our Community of which it will remain one of the motors to completion of the internal market in 1992 and to the goals of economic and monetary union and eventual political union. Chancellor Kohl who addressed this Parliament in November has recently returned from his visit to Moscow where he held very important discussions with President Gorbachev concerning the future of Germany. The Prime Minister of East Germany, Hans Modrow, who is also committed to German unification on the basis of free self-determination, is in Bonn these days for talks with the Federal Government on aspects of that unification. Chancellor Kohl will visit Washington later this month for further important talks. Our debate therefore takes place in the middle of developing events. All the Twelve are committed to the CSCE process as the forum within which relations between all the European countries together with the United States and Canada can be regulated. I would recall that the German Government has declared that a solution to the German question can only be achieved within the framework of the CSCE process and by the continuation of disarmament and arms control negotiations.

The Irish Presidency convened a special informal meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs in Dublin on 20 January to take stock of the Community's position in face of the rapid changes taking place in Central and Eastern Europe. At the Dublin meeting ministers examined the question of convening a CSCE Heads of Government meeting and agreed in principle that in view of its significance in relation to the future of Europe this meeting should be convened this year. This decision, which has since been the subject of general agreement, underlines the confidence of the Twelve in the capacity of the CSCE to provide a framework for resolving important issues and a structure for enhanced cooperation between all the participating States.

The Helsinki Final Act sets out a comprehensive list of principles by which the participating States agree their relations will be governed. These include provisions relating to sovereign equality of States, refraining from threat or use of force, inviolability of frontiers, territorial integrity of States, respect for human rights, and equal rights and self-determination of peoples. The meeting of Heads of Government later this year will no doubt reaffirm the commitment of all participating States to these principles and go on to consider how the process might be further developed. The CSCE is, of course, an ongoing process and the schedule of meetings agreed on at the last follow-up meeting in Vienna plays its part in ensuring that climate of confidence in our continent within which we can look at developments such as the subject of this motion.

Next month the Community will be playing an active role in the Bonn Conference on Economic Cooperation, the aim of which is to give a new impetus to economic relations between the CSCE participating States. The Community sees the Bonn Conference as an opportunity to demonstrate in a concrete way its readiness to respond to change in Eastern Europe and to strengthen moves towards political and economic reform. The Bonn Conference comes at a particularly opportune moment in that it coincides with a period of major economic transformation in Eastern Europe which is associated with the political developments we are considering. The active involvement of business circles and representatives of economic organizations which

will be a feature of the conference should lend a practical dimension to the proceedings. The Copenhagen Conference on the Human Dimension which will take place in June will serve to underline further the importance of human rights and human contacts in the CSCE process as well as the value of the CSCE as a vehicle for the promotion of respect for human rights throughout the whole continent of Europe.

Ever since the beginning of the CSCE process the Twelve have laid particular emphasis on this aspect and on the need to ensure that commitments adopted in this field are fully implemented. It is gratifying to note that with the development of pluralist democracies in Eastern Europe and their increasing adherence to the concept of the rule of law, there has been a great improvement in the extent to which the human rights provisions of the CSCE documents are being complied with. The Copenhagen Conference will enable us to ensure that this progress continues and will give us the opportunity to consider ways in which the human dimension of the CSCE can be further developed as an integral part of the new structure of Europe which we are seeking to create.

Two sets of negotiations are at present under way in Vienna which are of the greatest importance for the future security of Europe. Agreements on both conventional forces in Europe and security- and confidence-building measures will serve to increase significantly the degree of confidence of all the States in Europe and promote the establishment of that lasting peace and security which is essential to our future relations. We welcome the fact that present progress enables us to envisage the conclusion of agreements on these matters in the autumn and we believe that the signature of these accords should be a major element on the agenda of the meeting of Heads of State and Government. It will also be important that that meeting should agree to initiating the next phase of these negotiations as soon as possible.

The Community has displayed its determination to support the political and economic reforms in Eastern Europe through a variety of measures, including intensification of political dialogue and increased cooperation in all areas. This commitment of the Community applies also to East Germany, pending any decisions it might make in the exercise of its people's right to self-determination. The European Parliament has invited the Commission and the Council to join in this debate on the issue of German unity. The role of political parties and the political process which this House and national parliaments embody will offer a vital encouragement to the people of East Germany and the rest of Eastern Europe as they rebuild a tradition of democracy.

The vitality of our democratic institutions and their contribution to peace, prosperity and development in Europe have played a significant part in the evolution of events in Eastern Europe. What this Parliament has to say on this process is important and will be listened to, not just in the Community but in Europe as a whole. The Council will wish to take account of the views expressed in this debate as it continues its own deliberations. For, of course, the momentous events in Germany do continuously engage the attention of the Council and I have no doubt, as I said at the beginning, that the European Council will before long occupy itself once again with the implications for the Community of these developments.

90/075. Question No H-468/89 by Ms Ewing concerning the mandatory repatriation of 44 000 boat people to Vietnam

Date of Issue: 14 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Britain and Vietnam have reached agreement on the mandatory return of 44 000 Vietnamese boat people presently living in Hong Kong. The future consequences of this proposed action are

widely regarded as catastrophic and have already been strongly criticized by the US Government and the United Nations. However, the repatriation process is due to start soon unless further pressure is put on the British Government to alter its policy.

Will the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation issue a formal request to the British and Vietnamese Governments to abandon this repatriation plan and start negotiations on an alternative solution with international cooperation and assistance?

Answer:

In fact there is an internationally negotiated approach to the problem of Indochinese refugees set out in the comprehensive plan of action agreed at the International Conference on Indochinese Refugees (ICIR) in June 1989. At a meeting of the Steering Committee of the Conference on 23 and 24 January, it was confirmed that those not qualifying as refugees should return to their country of origin in accordance with the stipulations of the comprehensive plan of action. No agreement was reached at this stage on the date when repatriation could start of those who did not volunteer to return. The January agreement applies to the Vietnamese boat people in all places of first asylum, including Hong Kong, a territory for which one partner remains responsible. The Government of the United Kingdom has kept its partners in the Twelve informed of its policies in relation to the Vietnamese in Hong Kong.

90/076. Question No H-25/90 by Mr Alavanos concerning the United States intervention in Panama

Date of Issue: 14 February 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Do the Foreign Ministers meeting in EPC intend to censure the US intervention in Panama and to call for the withdrawal of US forces in accordance, in particular, with the decisions taken at the Strasbourg Summit which advocated dialogue, the preservation of human rights and respect for democracy?

Answer:

On the abovementioned subject I would ask the honourable Member to refer to the 22 December 1989 Declaration by the Foreign Ministers on Panama, which reads:

'Deeply concerned by the situation in Panama and by the loss of human lives, the Twelve express their strong wish that an early restoration of civil peace and safety can be achieved so that a return to constitutional and democratic order is secured.

The European Community and its Member States are ready to extend emergency aid to the victims of the events.'

The question has furthermore been discussed at the occasion of the 16 January 1990 oral question with debate session on Central America.

90/077. Question No H-27/90 by Mr Dessylas concerning the US military intervention in Panama

Date of Issue: 14 February 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

The high-handed US military invasion of Panama, an independent State and a member of the United Nations, the installation of a puppet government, the bombardment of military targets and installations, the acts of violence and the hundreds of deaths constitute brutal violations of international law, United Nations resolutions and human rights.

Will the Foreign Ministers meeting in EPC condemn this act of US piracy and call for the immediate withdrawal of the troops occupying Panama?

Answer:

I would ask the honourable Member to kindly refer to the answer which I gave to Oral Question No H-25/90¹ raised by Mr Alavanos.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 90/076.

90/078. Question No H-35/90 by Mr Robles Piquer concerning human rights in Namibia

Date of Issue: 14 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Numerous areas of the media, nearly all of them traditionally opposed to apartheid, have reported serious accusations against SWAPO of assassinations and torture carried out between 1977 and 1989 on people from its own racial community whom it considered to be traitors to the cause. A United Nations mission found that more than 300 SWAPO detainees had disappeared.

Could the Foreign Ministers give details of this situation, and do they not believe that Community aid should be made conditional on respect by the authorities of newly-independent Namibia for the human rights of all inhabitants of the territory?

Answer:

Respect for human rights remains a constant concern of the Twelve. We have paid close attention to the situation in Namibia and to allegations of human rights abuses and have noted the investigations into them by the United Nations.

More generally, the Twelve have appealed to the sense of responsibility of all parties concerned and have called on them to take the necessary steps to ensure a smooth and peaceful transition to independence.

As confirmed by the European Council in Strasbourg last December, the independent Namibia will be welcomed into the Lomé Convention as soon as it expresses a wish to join it. The honourable Member will be aware that the new Convention, signed on 15 December 1989, contains specific provisions concerning human rights in order to encourage their respect and promotion, which the Community and its Member States consider necessary for real development.

90/079. Question No H-36/90 by Mr Cooney concerning security policy: the Poettering resolution

Date of Issue: 14 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Have the Foreign Ministers in political cooperation discussed this resolution and, if so, what steps are contemplated to secure its implementation? If not yet discussed, when will such a discussion take place?

Answer:

The Resolution to which the honourable Member refers has not been specifically discussed in the framework of European political cooperation. However, as the honourable Member will be aware, resolutions adopted by the European Parliament are brought to the attention of Ministers.

The military aspects of security do not come within the purview of European political cooperation. However, under the terms of the Single European Act common positions in a number of areas relating to political and economic aspects of security have been defined by the Twelve. Common positions on a wide range of questions on the international disarmament agenda are expressed in the United Nations General Assembly and in other relevant forums in which the Twelve participate. The Twelve have expressed support for the US-Soviet negotiations leading to the INF Treaty as well as the current negotiations on a 50% reduction of their strategic forces; for the negotiations on the reduction of conventional armed forces in Europe and on security- and confidence-building measures taking place within the framework of the CSCE process; and for the negotiations taking place in Geneva on the abolition of chemical weapons. There is careful consultation among the Twelve on developments in Eastern Europe, which Ministers discussed at an informal meeting on 20 January and will be discussing again next week. The Twelve are also studying carefully the new prospects that are opening up for the CSCE process as a result of the political changes in Europe. On all of these questions the stated views of the European Parliament are duly taken into account by Ministers of the Twelve meeting in the framework of European political cooperation.

90/080. Question No H-37/90 by Mr Cano Pinto concerning Europe's new political structure

Date of Issue: 14 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Following events in a number of Central and East European countries over recent months, which led to them changing their political and economic systems, the President-in-Office made a number of public statements at the end of 1989 about the need for a new political structure in Europe.

Could the Foreign Ministers develop and elaborate this idea of a new structure in Europe as a result of changes in Central and Eastern Europe? In what way do they believe that these changes will affect the present structure of the Community and its achievement of political union?

Answer:

As the honourable Member's question implies, we are living at a moment of opportunity when it is reasonable to hope that we can transform relationships in our continent significantly for the better. The Community has repeatedly stated its aims and has indicated the means it intends to use in their pursuit. The honourable Member is kindly referred to the declaration of the European Council in Strasbourg in which the Community and its Member States clearly expressed their support for rapid progress in our integration, for the establishment of open and constructive relations with the EFTA countries and the countries of Eastern and Central Europe and emphasized the role of the CSCE and the Council of Europe. It is difficult to say now what

precise shape future relations in Europe will take. The Community intends however to continue to give its full contribution to the creation of a situation of peace, prosperity, cooperation and freedom, in which the Community itself will remain a cornerstone.

90/081. Question No H-40/90 by Mr Cabezón Alonso concerning the death of the Spanish journalist Juan Antonio Rodríguez in Panama

Date of Issue: 14 February 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

On 21 December 1989 the Spanish photographer Juan Antonio Rodríguez died in Panama after being fired on by US troops in the course of his work as a photo-journalist.

What action has been taken by the Ministers meeting in political cooperation concerning this brutal and deplorable behaviour leading to the death of a journalist from a Member State?

Answer:

The Twelve deeply deplore the death of Mr J. A. Rodríguez, citizen of a Member State, who died in Panama in the course of his work as a photographer-journalist.

As to the Twelve's position on the events during which the tragic accident occurred, I would ask the honourable Member to kindly refer to the answer given to Oral Question No H-25/90¹ raised by Mr Alavanos.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 90/076.

90/082. Question No H-42/90 by Mr Pierros concerning the improvement of the living conditions of the Greek minority in Albania

Date of Issue: 14 February 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

In breach of the relevant positions of the United Nations Charter, the precepts of international law and the conventions entered into in the past, the Stalinist regime in Albania continues to violate flagrantly the human rights of the 400 000 Greek minority. Recently, according to reports, four members of that minority, the Prassou brothers, were arrested, tortured and executed for trying to escape to Greece. Do the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation intend to put pressure on Albania to improve the living conditions of the Greek minority?

Answer:

The Twelve are closely following events in Albania, which as the honourable Member will be aware, does not participate in the CSCE process. We note that Albania is now engaging in closer contacts with some of its Balkan neighbours in the context of the inter-Balkan process. The

Albanian authorities are aware of the position of the Twelve that respect for human rights, including the rights of those who belong to ethnic minorities, is a fundamental obligation of all States, and is essential for the development of trust and cooperation at international level.

90/083. Question No H-65/90 by Ms Elmalan concerning the exclusion from public sector employment in Germany

Date of Issue: 14 February 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

The practice of exclusion from public sector employment ('Berufsverbot') still persists in Germany in spite of the condemnations voiced by the International Labour Organization. Wolfgang Repp, for instance, a Frankfurt postman, has been under investigation since 1975 in proceedings connected with his exclusion and has faced over 20 years of litigation on account of his membership of the German Communist Party! A further suit is to be heard in West Berlin in February. Will the Ministers call for the reinstatement of Wolfgang Repp and the ending of the proceedings instituted against him? More generally, will they call for an end to all politically based discrimination at the workplace?

Answer:

The question raised by the honourable Member does not fall within the competence of European political cooperation.

90/084. Question No H-71/90 by Mr Avgerinos concerning the Programme of Action of the Irish Presidency and the Cyprus problem

Date of Issue: 14 February 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

When the President-in-Office of the Council unveiled the Irish Presidency's programme of action on 16 January 1990, we were surprised to note that, for the first time in 10 years, the programme did not list support for the United Nations in seeking a solution to the Cyprus problem as one of the priorities of European political cooperation.

In view of the fact that at the last two summit meetings in Madrid and Strasbourg the Community reiterated its desire for a just and lasting settlement which would ensure the unity, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus; in view of the fresh proposals put forward by Mr Perez de Cuellar, the United Nations Secretary-General, following the suspension of negotiations for which the Turkish Cypriots are to blame; and in view, finally, of the recent signature of a new financial protocol with the Republic of Cyprus and the close links it enjoys with the Community through the customs union: will the Foreign Ministers say whether a solution to the Cyprus problem has ceased to be a priority of European political cooperation and whether the Community no longer feels responsible for implementing its repeated decisions to support the United Nations initiatives for a peaceful solution to the problem, the withdrawal of Turkish troops from the northern part of the island and respect for human rights?

Answer:

The position of the Twelve on Cyprus remains unchanged. The honourable Member will recall that this position was recently reaffirmed at the Strasbourg European Council which reiterated an appeal to all parties to cooperate with the Secretary-General of the United Nations and not to miss the opportunity that now presents itself for a just and lasting settlement that will safeguard the unity, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. The Twelve strongly support the proposal of the United Nations Secretary-General for a high-level meeting between the Cypriot parties at an early date.

90/085. Question No H-73/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru concerning lethal torture in Bihar

Date of Issue: 14 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Following the report by Amnesty International on continuing reports of human rights violations in Bihar, many victims of which belong to the scheduled castes, have the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation had occasion to make representations of any kind to the Bihar State Government or the Government of India?

Answer:

The question raised by the honourable Member has not been discussed within the EPC framework. In general, the position of the Twelve, which is well known to other Governments, is that the respect of human rights is at all times a legitimate matter of international concern. Specific initiatives of the Twelve must take into account both the circumstances of the case and the likely effect of Twelve action, whether such action is taken publicly or remains confidential.

90/086. Question No H-80/90 by Mr Bandrés Molet concerning the United States invasion of Panama

Date of Issue: 14 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Quite apart from the innocent victims and the widespread destruction caused by the aerial bombardment, the invasion of Panama by the US marines was carried out in flagrant contravention of international law and has cast doubt on the world-wide prospect of growing *détente* between the power blocs.

How have the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation responded to the invasion of Panama, and what action have they taken as a result?

Answer:

The Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation responded to the US invasion of Panama by their 22 December 1989 Declaration which indicated their deep concern at the

situation in Panama and at the loss of human lives, while at the same time expressing their strong wish that an early restoration of civil peace and safety could be achieved so that a return to constitutional and democratic order would be secured.

The honourable Member is doubtlessly aware that, in the Panamanian context, the European Community and its Member States proclaimed their readiness to extend emergency aid to the victims of the events.

90/087. Question No H-81/90 by Mr McMartin concerning Panama

Date of Issue: 14 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

The failure of the Foreign Ministers of the Twelve to adopt a common position on the invasion of Panama by the United States was a serious breakdown in political cooperation. Does the Presidency have any proposals to prevent such embarrassing disagreements within EPC in the future?

Answer:

In reply to the question raised by the honourable Member, I would like to:

- (i) recall the provision of the Single European Act on cohesion in international forums;
- (ii) recall that, in observance of that provision, the Twelve are striving to coordinate their positions, for instance in the United Nations, and that in an increasing number of cases they present common positions, not only and not necessarily in votes, but also in explanations of and/or declarations on votes;
- (iii) underline that different views among the Twelve still occur, as it is natural with sovereign countries; and finally
- (iv) emphasize that the Twelve agree on the need to further improve their cohesion within the United Nations, on the basis of their shared values and principles.

90/088. Question No H-97/90 by Mr Langer concerning the arrest of Feisal Hussein

Date of Issue: 14 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

What steps do the Foreign Ministers intend to take to impress upon the Israeli Government the great anxiety aroused in many Community citizens and politicians by the arrest of Feisal Hussein, regarded as an eminent leader of the peace movement that is seeking to bring about a dialogue and coexistence between Palestinians and Jews? How will they express the anguish which no friend of the Israeli people can fail to feel in the light of the fact that when he was arrested, Feisal Hussein was surrounded by groups of persons who — according to press reports — spat at him and hurled insults such as ‘stinking Arab’?

Answer:

The Twelve were deeply concerned at the actions taken by the Israeli Government against Feisal Hussein.

Last December, when he was banned from travelling both abroad and in the Occupied Territories for the duration of six months, the Presidency raised the question with the Israeli Government and expressed the deep concern of the Twelve at those measures, stressing that they seemed to be particularly inopportune when all efforts were seeking a dialogue with the Palestinians.

Again, on 14 January, a Troika *démarche* was carried out to the Israeli authorities and referred *inter alia* to the measures previously taken against him and other inhabitants of the Occupied Territories, noting that they were not conducive to the climate of confidence necessary to any negotiation. This *démarche* was made public by the Twelve, and notably by the Presidency on 16 January in replying to the Oral Question No 610/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru on the killings in Palestine.¹

On 19 January Feisal Hussein was arrested and remanded in custody. The Ambassador of the Presidency to Israel was instructed to reiterate the concern of the Twelve to the Israeli authorities. The Twelve understand that on 22 January Feisal Hussein was released on bail.

On the basis of the declaration of the European Council in Strasbourg, the Twelve recall the need to open dialogue in order to reach a peace settlement which alone can ensure the rights and legitimate aspirations of each of the parties. In this connection, continuing freedom for Feisal Hussein and personalities like him to express moderate and constructive views is essential for the free elections to be held in the Occupied Territories, in the perspective of a global, just and lasting solution of the Middle East conflict.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 90/005.

90/089. Question No H-99/90 by Mr Valverde López concerning the stage reached in the Council's negotiations with the Arab League and the Kingdom of Spain on the creation of the Euro-Arab University

Date of Issue: 14 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

On the basis of the European Parliament's resolution of 30 March 1984, a tripartite meeting was held in Brussels on 29 and 30 October 1986 with a view to setting up a Euro-Arab University. At the end of the meeting a final communiqué was issued by the three delegations (the Spanish State Secretary for Universities and Research, the Arab League and the Commission of the European Communities). Nevertheless, the Council has said that the final arrangements for the project, in particular the financial and legal details, have not yet been drawn up. Since this subject was on the agenda of the Euro-Arab Conference held in Paris at the end of December, can the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation give a detailed account of the agreements reached on the Euro-Arab University project at that conference, since the project is relevant to relations with the whole Arab world in the context of Euro-Arab Dialogue?

Answer:

The proposal for the establishment of a Euro-Arab University was not on the agenda of the Euro-Arab Conference, held in Paris on 22 December 1989, which successfully relaunched the Euro-Arab Dialogue and decided on its restructuring. The proposal was however raised in that framework by some Arab and European Ministers.

The Twelve noted that on the occasion of the European coordination meetings for the preparation of the Conference, Spain announced that it will put forward a proposal on this project to be examined by the General Committee.

90/090. Question No H-140/90 by Mr Ephremidis concerning the arrest of Aishek Kutlu by the Turkish authorities

Date of Issue: 14 February 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

In the light of the arrest of Aishek Kutlu, wife of H. Kutlu, General Secretary of the United Turkish Communist Party, who returned to her country of her own free will, what practical measures will the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation take to stop the Turkish authorities once and for all from imprisoning, torturing and convicting their citizens for their ideas?

Answer:

Although the specific issue raised by the honourable Member has not been discussed in European political cooperation, the Twelve are very closely monitoring the situation of human rights in Turkey, attaching special importance to the respect, by this country, of the whole range of obligations it has of its own free will subscribed to when adhering to international conventions in the field of human rights.

90/091. Question No H-147/90 by Mr Barros Moura concerning the situation in East Timor

Date of Issue: 14 February 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Are the Foreign Ministers aware of the latest incidents in East Timor in which two students and a child were killed by Indonesian soldiers suppressing a pro-independence demonstration during a visit by the US Ambassador to Jakarta on 17 January? Are they also aware that this increase in repression — which according to the Timor resistance movement has even gone as far as mass executions — is a response to the renewed military resistance to the Indonesian forces of occupation? What measures do the Foreign Ministers intend to take? What action have they taken in respect of successive Parliament resolutions, and notably the Van den Heuvel report?

Answer:

The specific incidents raised in the honourable Member's question have not been discussed within the framework of EPC.

According to our information nobody was killed during the recent incidents in Dili. Previous rumours to that effect were not confirmed.

As regards the general question of East Timor, the Twelve have reiterated their support for contacts between Portugal and Indonesia under the auspices of the United Nations Secretary-General. They have expressed the hope for early progress opening the way to a fair, comprehensive and internationally accepted settlement that fully respects the interests of the East Timor population.

90/092. Question No H-157/90 by Mr Elles concerning the CSCE process

Date of Issue: 14 February 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

What does the President of the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation consider to be the role of the European Community in the upcoming meeting planned for later this year for the CSCE process (Helsinki process)?

Does the President-in-Office agree, for example, that the European Commission should participate in such a conference as principal negotiator representing all the EC Member States?

Answer:

As the honourable Member will be aware, the Foreign Ministers of the Twelve at their informal meeting in Dublin agreed in principle on a meeting of the Heads of State or Government of the 35 CSCE participating States in the course of 1990.

Since the start of the CSCE process, the Member States of the Community have maintained close cooperation on the wide range of items covered in the CSCE. Nevertheless, since the participants in the CSCE process are sovereign States, the Community itself is not formally a participant.

At the signature of the Helsinki Final Act in 1975, the Prime Minister of the Italian Republic, Mr Aldo Moro, in his capacity as President-in-Office of the Council of the European Communities, declared that, according to the subject, the Communities could be involved, in accordance with their competences and their own procedures, in the work of the Conference and that the implementation of the results of the negotiations on these subjects would depend on an agreement by the Communities. Mr Moro informed the Conference that the Communities had examined, and accepted, the conclusions of the Conference on these subjects. In consequence, Mr Moro signed the Final Act in his double capacity as Representative of Italy and as President-in-Office of the Council of the European Communities.

Mr Moro declared further that, in those matters which came within the competences of the Communities, the term 'Member States' would be understood as applying also to the European Communities.

The Member States of the Community and the Commission will continue to coordinate their positions closely and to develop common approaches in the CSCE process as a whole. In this regard, the Council on 5 February considered that the Community should play a dynamic role at the Bonn Economic Conference.

90/093. Joint political declaration of the eighth meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the European Community and its Member States and of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) in Kuching, held on 16 and 17 February 1990

Date of Issue: 16/17 February 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Kuching
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Foreign Ministers with other actors
Status of Document: Joint declaration

The eighth meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the European Community (EC) was held in Kuching, Malaysia on 16 and 17

February 1990. The Chief Minister of the State Government of Sarawak, His Excellency Datuk Patinggi Tan Sri Haji Abdul Taib Mahmud, welcomed the Ministers and the delegates to Kuching. His Excellency Dato' Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad, the Prime Minister of Malaysia, addressed the opening session of the meeting.

The Ministers had a comprehensive exchange of views on political and economic subjects. The Ministers reviewed the progress of ASEAN-EC relations since their last meeting which was held in Düsseldorf on 2 and 3 May 1988.¹ The Ministers expressed their satisfaction at the continued cooperation that exists between ASEAN and the EC both in international forums and on a bilateral basis. Being cognizant of the impact of the European single market in 1992 and of recent political, social, and economic developments in Eastern Europe, both ASEAN and the EC were in agreement that greater efforts should be made to enhance cooperation between the two regions.

International political issues

International situation

The ASEAN and EC Ministers had a wide-ranging discussion on the latest international developments. They noted with satisfaction the existing disposition towards *rapprochement* and mutual accommodation among States, especially between the major powers, which has led to a visible relaxation of international tensions and to even more vigorous efforts in resolving regional conflicts through dialogue and negotiations. The exchange of views also focused on the fundamental changes presently taking place in Central and Eastern Europe and on the new opportunities as well as new challenges that these may entail.

While welcoming these developments as hopeful auguries for greater global peace and improved East-West relations, the Ministers recognized that imbalances and uncertainties still exist *inter alia* in the North-South relationship. They therefore resolved to enhance their cooperation in addressing the global problems of an increasingly interdependent and integrated world economy.

Disarmament and arms control

The Ministers welcomed recent progress in the areas of nuclear, chemical and conventional disarmament and arms control and noted that prospects are favourable for further progress. Through disarmament, new opportunities could be created for facilitating increased cooperation for development and for the safeguarding of the resources of the environment.

Kampuchea

The Ministers had an extensive exchange of views on the latest developments regarding the Kampuchean question and the continuing efforts to find a comprehensive, just and durable solution to the tragic conflict in that country, which can only be achieved through a comprehensive political settlement. Such a settlement should include, *inter alia*, the total withdrawal of foreign forces verified by the UN, a cease-fire, the ending of all forms of external military assistance to the belligerents, the introduction of an effective international control mechanism under UN auspices, the creation of a UN interim authority and the promotion of national reconciliation among the Kampuchean, ensure respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and neutral and non-aligned status of Kampuchea, as well as the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination free from outside interference, and ensure also the non-return of the universally condemned policies and practices of a recent past. They stressed the fundamental right of Kampuchean to choose their own government in free, fair and UN-supervised elections, in which all Kampuchean parties should be allowed to participate. The Kampuchean parties should commit themselves to honouring the results of these elections. They reaffirmed their condemnation of those responsible for the policies and practices which led to

the extermination of hundreds of thousands of Kampuchians from 1975 to 1978 and expressed the view that neither the Khmer Rouge nor any other Kampuchian group should be allowed to seize or retain power through force of arms.

They shared the view that, while the Paris Conference had not as yet succeeded in achieving a comprehensive solution, it has made progress in elaborating a wide range of principal elements necessary for reaching a comprehensive settlement. They therefore urged the two co-chairmen of the Conference to continue their consultations with a view to resuming the negotiating process and the reconvening of the Paris Conference at an appropriate time.

The Ministers noted with satisfaction that parties directly involved in the conflict and other concerned countries now have accepted the central idea of a United Nations interim administration for Kampuchea in the transitional period leading up to the holding of free and fair elections. They recognized that, on the modalities and actual forms of such UN interim administration, divergence of views still exists, thus requiring further detailed negotiations.

The Ministers were greatly encouraged by the results of the recent meeting of the five Permanent Members of the UN Security Council and welcomed the sixteen-point summary of conclusions adopted at the first meeting which specifically endorsed an enhanced UN role in the resolution of the Kampuchian question. They noted the further progress achieved at the meeting of the Five in New York on 12 and 13 February and welcomed the decision of the UN Secretary-General to set up under his chairmanship an intra-secretariat task-force.

In view of the aforementioned developments, the Ministers expressed their full support for the forthcoming informal meeting on Kampuchea, to be convened in Jakarta within the framework of the Paris Conference. They expressed their hope that this meeting, together with the work currently under way among the five Permanent Members of the UN Security Council, will succeed in taking the negotiating process forward, thus paving the way for the reconvening of the Paris Conference.

Indochinese asylum seekers and displaced persons

The Ministers shared the view that the plight of those who have fled from Indochina, including those still in camps in ASEAN countries and Hong Kong and civilians displaced on the Thai-Kampuchian border, remained a cause of serious international concern.

The Ministers affirmed that the continuing influx of asylum seekers and displaced persons from Indochinese countries imposes an intolerable burden on countries and places of first asylum in the region. They reaffirmed their commitment to the comprehensive plan of action (CPA) as adopted at the International Conference on Indochinese Refugees held in Geneva in June 1989 as a multilateral arrangement for the durable solution of this problem. They emphasized that a humanitarian solution to this problem lies in the balanced and coordinated implementation of all elements of the CPA by all parties concerned.

Towards this end, they called on the principal country of origin to take effective measures to deter clandestine departures and ensure that the orderly departure programme be the sole mode of departure. They urged resettlement countries to maintain the agreed momentum of resettlement of refugees in first asylum countries. They agreed that, as a matter of priority, there must be an early implementation of the CPA as regards the repatriation of those not qualifying for the status of refugees to the country of origin in a phased, orderly and safe manner. They welcomed the fact that on 23 and 24 January 1990, the Steering Committee set up under the CPA reached agreement on modalities for the return of all non-refugees to their country of origin and called upon the parties directly concerned to settle, as soon as possible, the outstanding issue, namely the date prior to which voluntary return alone should take place.

The Ministers also agreed that the implementation of the provisions of the CPA must lead to the durable solution of the problem of the Indochinese asylum seekers within a definite time-frame.

The Ministers noted with appreciation the offer of the Philippine Government to host a new processing and transit centre for refugees. They called on the other countries concerned to extend the fullest possible cooperation to the Philippine Government to enable it to undertake this new burden of the new centre.

Afghanistan

The Ministers expressed their concern over the protracted conflict in Afghanistan, two years after the Geneva Agreement on the Settlement of the Situation Relating to Afghanistan and one year after the completion of the withdrawal of Soviet troops. The Ministers called on all parties concerned to intensify their efforts towards a comprehensive political settlement based on the full and consistent implementation of the Geneva Agreements. They stressed the need for an intra-Afghan dialogue with a view to establishing a fully representative government in which all segments of the Afghan people would take part. They confirmed their support for the United Nations Secretary-General in the efforts he is making to facilitate a settlement.

Middle East

The Ministers discussed the recent developments in the Middle East and in particular the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian question. They expressed their grave concern over the deterioration of the situation in the Occupied Territories. They stressed the urgency of a settlement which would uphold the right to security of all States in the region, including Israel, that is to say, to live within secure, recognized and guaranteed frontiers, and would uphold justice for all the peoples of the region, which includes recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination with all that this implies, in accordance with UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

They noted that since their last meeting significant developments have taken place on the international political scene, which have opened up new opportunities for action by the international community with a view to achieving a comprehensive and just solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. In this context, the ASEAN Ministers welcomed the positive approach of the EC as set out in the Madrid and Strasbourg Declarations.

The Ministers reaffirmed their support for an international conference, under the auspices of the United Nations, which would provide an appropriate forum for negotiations on a peace settlement.

The Ministers voiced their deep concern over the continuing tragedy in Lebanon. They reaffirmed their support for the full sovereignty, territorial integrity and national unity of Lebanon. They considered that there is no alternative to the national reconciliation envisaged in the Ta'if Agreement and urged that all will contribute to its peaceful achievement through dialogue.

On the Iran-Iraq situation, the Ministers noted that, while the cease-fire which entered into force in 1988 was still being observed, progress towards an overall resolution of the conflict remained stalled due to continuing differences in interpreting the implementation of the provisions of Security Council Resolution 598. They called upon the two States to resume the negotiations under the auspices of the UN and expressed their support for the efforts of the UN Secretary-General.

Southern Africa

The Ministers reiterated their total rejection of the system of apartheid which represents a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind and reaffirmed their commitment to its complete eradication, so that in its place a new, non-racial, united and democratic society could be built. They observed that the initiation of a national dialogue with the genuine representatives of the black majority of the South African people has become increasingly urgent. While welcoming

the recent lifting of the ban on the ANC and other organizations and the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, they were of the view that more needed to be done in order to establish a climate conducive to a meaningful dialogue. The Ministers reaffirmed that their common objective was the complete and peaceful eradication of the apartheid system and that, pending evidence of clear and irreversible change to this end, appropriate pressure should be maintained on the South African Government.

The Ministers rejoiced at the successful implementation of the UN plan for Namibian independence, based on UN Security Council Resolution 435, thus ending one of the longest and most difficult chapters in the annals of decolonization. They looked forward to the imminent accession of Namibia to full sovereignty and independence and welcomed the prospect of Namibia joining the UN as its 160th member State.

ASEAN-EC relations

The Ministers reviewed the activities being implemented within the framework of their bilateral relations and noted with satisfaction the progress made in the various fields. The Ministers were encouraged that the ASEAN-EC Cooperation Agreement was renewed for another period of two years effective from October 1989, demonstrating the strong commitment of the two sides to strengthen further their relations. In this regard, the Ministers agreed that the private sector should assume a greater role in enhancing ASEAN-EC economic cooperation.

The Ministers noted that sustained growth in both regions was closely linked to open market policies and to trade and continued efforts to further liberalize the multilateral trading system under the GATT.

The Ministers recognized that the completion of a European single market could constitute a major opportunity for trading partners, including ASEAN countries, as a source of economic growth and trade opportunities. The Ministers welcomed the information workshops on 1992 held in ASEAN under Community sponsorship and agreed to exchange information on a continuing basis.

The Ministers noted the progress made in the general economic development of ASEAN countries and noted the growing importance played by industrial and services sectors in furthering national development.

While recognizing that ASEAN-EC relations have diversified and registered impressive progress, the Ministers agreed that a review of existing cooperation was needed to chart the course of ASEAN-EC relations to meet the challenges of the 1990s, notably by on the one hand strengthening the impact of economic, financial and industrial cooperation, human resource development and science and technology programmes and by increasing trade flows and investments, and by encouraging participation of the private sector, and on the other hand, continuing to stress assistance to the poorer segment of the rural population. The Ministers noted with interest the formation of a private sector Steering Committee on the European side for the European-ASEAN Business Council. The Ministers also agreed that participation of women in the development process and environmental protection should be given special attention.

Market access and trade promotion

The Ministers noted the positive sign in EC-ASEAN relations demonstrated by the increase in trade flows between the two regions since the seventh ministerial meeting, particularly for industrial products. In order to take advantage of the new opportunities in both regions the Ministers shared the view that efforts should be intensified to improve market access in both regions.

The ASEAN Ministers requested the EC to provide better market access and a more open trade policy for textiles and clothing, tropical vegetable oils, cocoa products, canned pineapple, timber products, tapioca products, abaca, pulp, and fuel wood through reduction of tariffs,

elimination of non-tariff barriers and elimination of tariff escalation. The ASEAN Ministers also requested the EC to take into account agricultural products of export interest to ASEAN in its implementation and review of the CAP.

The EC Ministers considered that market access questions are an element of the global process of trade liberalization within the Uruguay Round.

The EC Ministers requested ASEAN to sign the MTN agreements (technical barriers, government procurement, etc.) and to provide improved market access for products such as motor cars, personal computers, paper, textiles and clothing, fertilizers, pharmaceuticals and chemical products through reduction of tariffs and elimination of non-tariff barriers.

The EC Ministers also requested that access to supplies of ASEAN raw materials for manufacturing in the EC be maintained.

The Ministers agreed that problems or shortcomings in bilateral trade relations should be taken up by the ASEAN-EC Joint Trade Experts Group at JCC meetings.

The Ministers agreed that the EC GSP scheme was an important tool to diversify and increase ASEAN exports to the EC. The ASEAN Ministers noted the greater flexibility made in the EC's 1989 and 1990 GSP schemes, notably the move towards a Community-wide system and further access in some EC sensitive sectors. The Ministers noted that the cumulative rule of origin for ASEAN in the EC GSP scheme has just come into force. The ASEAN Ministers requested that the donor country content be included in the GSP scheme.

The ASEAN Ministers expressed appreciation to the EC for its assistance in ASEAN's trade promotion programmes which were intended to enhance ASEAN exports to the EC and third countries. The Ministers agreed that in future fewer, but more in-depth, pluriannual programmes should be launched.

Industrial cooperation and investment promotion

The Ministers noted that ASEAN was a vital component in the vibrant and dynamic Asia-Pacific region and represented a rapidly expanding area of special interest to European investors. The Ministers expressed their conviction that many opportunities are available in the ASEAN region and advantage could be taken of the privileges granted under the ASEAN industrial programmes. The economic and investment environment has improved in ASEAN since the seventh ministerial meeting. There was agreement that favourable investment conditions would further stimulate private sector investment in ASEAN countries. The Ministers recognized that industrial cooperation should be accorded high priority in the ASEAN-EC dialogue relations as it would be instrumental in forging constructive economic ties that would be mutually beneficial to both regions.

Further to the plan of action proposed in the EC-ASEAN joint memorandum on industrial cooperation, the Ministers noted the intensification of initiatives taken to strengthen business and investment contacts between the ASEAN and EC through seminars, exchange programmes and industry workshops, specially directed at the medium and small business. The Ministers directed that the next JCC should integrate the various projects into a coherent industrial cooperation programme. In view of the new incentives provided under the ASEAN industrial joint ventures (AIJV) scheme, the Ministers urged the active participation from private sectors of both sides in developing viable AIJV projects.

The Ministers noted the role of the Joint Investment Committees in each ASEAN capital in promoting joint activities. The Ministers agreed that ASEAN and the EC should encourage their respective private sectors to assume a greater role in the JICs. A comprehensive data bank of available industry sector studies will be soon completed for each ASEAN country and put at the disposal of ASEAN and EC business communities to encourage their involvement in the industrial development in ASEAN.

The Ministers noted with satisfaction that the 'EC International Investment Partners' is now operational in its pilot phase and promotes the establishment of joint-ventures together with

ASEAN or EC financial institutions. The ASEAN region has been the major user of the facility since it started. The Ministers also noted that the facility could be actively promoted for ASEAN-initiated projects with the participation of ASEAN merchant banks and other financial institutions.

Science and technology cooperation

The Ministers recalled that since 1987 emphasis has been placed on the generation and support of joint scientific research projects, the ultimate goal of which is to create permanent links between the scientific communities of the two regions. The Community has placed at the disposal of ASEAN research institutes and scientists two preparatory instruments to facilitate the definition of joint research projects: the post-doctoral fellowship scheme and the organization of workshops. A series of workshops in biotechnology, quality of life and natural resources has been identified.

In addition, a considerable thrust has been given specifically to EC-ASEAN joint research in tropical medicine and tropical agriculture with the support of the Community's 'Science and technology for development' programme.

The ASEAN Ministers expressed their appreciation for the continuing contributions made by the EC to the ASEAN-EC cooperation in science and technology. Given its importance, the Ministers emphasized the need to further develop programmes in this field. To this end, they recommended that the ASEAN plan of action on science and technology be used as a basis.

Human resource development

The Ministers agreed that, in view of the rapid economic and technological changes and the need of ASEAN for qualified personnel such as scientists and engineers to support their economic development, human resource development should continue to be accorded priority and therefore an assessment and review of ASEAN-EC HRD programmes be undertaken expeditiously.

Following decisions taken at the seventh ministerial meeting steps have been taken to establish the EC-ASEAN Management Centre, based in Brunei Darussalam. The Ministers noted that the establishment agreement will be signed soon.

Recalling the importance of the participation of women in the development process, the Ministers agreed that all opportunities to promote the role of women should be taken.

The Ministers noted that [the] EC-ASEAN Energy Centre in Jakarta had started its programme of activities. They believed that these and other centres would further strengthen the EC presence in the region.

Regional projects

The ASEAN Ministers expressed their appreciation for the important contribution by the EC in the field of development cooperation and hoped that this cooperation would be expanded both in scope and depth in regional projects open to all its member States.

The Ministers noted that two regional cooperation projects have become operational since the seventh ministerial meeting: the ASEAN aquaculture development programme, to improve productivity through know-how and technology transfer in fish farming and the EC-ASEAN industrial standards and quality control programme.

ASEAN-EC ministerial meeting on economic and trade matters

The ASEAN Ministers proposed that, given the rapidly changing international economic situation and the expansion of ASEAN-EC economic and trade relations, an ASEAN-EC ministerial meeting on economic and trade matters be convened as soon as possible.

Taking note of this proposal, the EC Ministers stated that the Community is in principle open to participate in such an *ad hoc* meeting. It was agreed that each side would designate its Ministers according to the traditions in the various States participating.

The two sides would discuss through the appropriate channels the remaining details such as the date, agenda, and how best to integrate the work of the meeting with that of the AEMM.

Regional economic issues

The European single market of 1992

The ASEAN Ministers noted that the EC was actively working towards the establishment of the European single market by 1992 and that by the beginning of 1990 some 60% of the programme had been achieved.

While welcoming the trade and investment opportunities created as a result of the removal of internal barriers, the ASEAN Ministers expressed concern over possible adverse impact of the single market on ASEAN trade with the EC. The EC Ministers assured them that the EC would remain open to its trading partners because of its commitment to the multilateral trading system and that the Single Market would lead to an improvement of EC competitiveness and further stimulate the liberalization of world trade. The ASEAN Ministers welcomed this assurance and agreed that ASEAN and the EC were dependent on export-led growth and therefore any move towards liberalizing trade could only be beneficial to both regions.

The Ministers noted that the 'Colloquium on ASEAN and Europe 1992: Implications and responses' was held in Kuala Lumpur on 10 and 11 July 1989. The Ministers agreed that sector-specific workshops on the impact and opportunity of the single market on ASEAN's trade and investment interests with the EC be held in ASEAN capitals. The ASEAN Ministers informed their EC counterparts that an ASEAN Technical Experts Group is being established to monitor and appraise developments on the evolution and harmonization of standards in the EC which will involve [an] exchange of views.

Asia-Pacific economic cooperation

The ASEAN Ministers informed the EC Ministers on the outcome of the initial exploratory ministerial-level consultative meeting on the Asia-Pacific economic cooperation (APEC) which was held in Canberra on 6 and 7 November 1989.

The Community indicated that as a major trade partner of the Asia-Pacific region, it has followed the discussions on this issue with great interest.

International economic issues

The Ministers had a wide-ranging exchange of views on the current international economic situation.

The Ministers noted the European Community's commitment to support the countries of Central and Eastern Europe which are seeking a new direction towards democratically based open market economies. Concerns were expressed that trade, investment and development assistance flows from the EC might now be diverted from ASEAN to Eastern Europe. Assurances were given that the new relations between the Community and Central and Eastern Europe would not in any sense lessen the Community's long-standing commitment to ASEAN. The two sets of relationships are complementary.

The Ministers welcomed the convening of the special session of the General Assembly in New York from 23 to 27 April 1990 devoted to international economic cooperation, in particular to the revitalization of the economic growth and development of the developing countries. The Ministers agreed that, besides providing policy guidelines for the economic activities of the

United Nations system, this special session is also another effective means of promoting multilateral cooperation, embodying new approaches and reflecting a new spirit in international cooperation.

Uruguay Round

The Ministers acknowledged that the current Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations (URMTN) was approaching its final and crucial stage and that it was an important avenue towards trade liberalization and expansion as well as to counteract protectionism. They recognized that a successful conclusion of the URMTN would have an important bearing on the future of GATT and the multilateral trading system. They reaffirmed their strong commitment to the conclusion of the Round by December 1990, taking into account the areas of interest to the developing countries. To this end, the Ministers agreed that ASEAN and the EC will continue to be constructive in the final phase of the negotiations and urged other participants to do likewise. To ensure the success of the Round, considerable joint efforts must be undertaken so that its outcome could be meaningful and beneficial to all participants

The ASEAN Ministers expressed their concern that progress in the various negotiating groups had been severely imbalanced. Negotiations on areas which are of particular interest to developing countries have lagged far behind those which are of interest to developed countries. They stressed the need to redress such imbalance immediately. In this regard, the ASEAN Ministers expressed the hope that negotiations will be expedited in the areas of their concern, particularly tropical products, agriculture, textiles and clothing and international trading rules, including anti-dumping and countervailing measures, and sought the cooperation of the EC to achieve this objective; in particular they requested further concessions on tropical products as a matter of first priority.

The EC Ministers took note of these concerns. The Community approach was to achieve a balanced overall result covering all sectors including new areas such as trade in services, trade-related aspect of intellectual property rights (TRIPs) and trade-related investment measures (TRIMs). The EC Ministers recalled the Community's substantial contribution to the first liberalization package on tropical products and its commitment to further liberalization in this sector on the basis of contributions from all participants. With a view to achieving a better balance of obligations among all contracting parties, the Community expected the developing countries, especially the most advanced, to make effective market openings such as tariff reductions and bindings, and to conform to existing GATT disciplines — suitably reinforced in certain fundamental aspects, thus ensuring fair and equitable competition.

The ASEAN Ministers reiterated their support for the Cairns Group's comprehensive proposals on agriculture, which they considered to be the most reasonable and realistic basis for further negotiations in this area. While taking note that the EC had also tabled a proposal on agriculture recently, they expressed concern that the introduction of the concept of rebalancing in this proposal would have very serious adverse effects on some of ASEAN's major exports, such as tropical vegetable oils and tapioca products.

The EC Ministers took note of this concern. The concept of rebalancing was one of the major elements of the Community's negotiating position on agriculture in the Uruguay Round. It had been put forward by the Community with a view to a better balance of obligations amongst all the contracting parties.

The Ministers agreed that special and differential treatment for developing countries was an integral element of the negotiations as expressed in the Punta del Este Declaration and reaffirmed at the mid-term review meeting, and was particularly important to the meaningful and active participation of the developing countries in the Round.

Commodities

The Ministers noted that instability in market prices for some commodities had produced adverse effects on the export earnings of some developing countries. They stressed the need for international cooperation and national efforts to deal effectively with commodity problems.

The Ministers underscored the importance of enhancing cooperation on the development of resource-based industries in the ASEAN region to intensify downstream activities towards achieving more value-added products. The ASEAN Ministers sought the EC's continued support on this development process in terms of providing investment and project financing, transfer of technology and marketing for such processed and semi-processed products. The Ministers agreed to continue to encourage small and medium-sized EC industries which utilized such raw commodities to invest in this region.

The Ministers placed high priority on cooperation towards the development of the mineral sector, particularly in training and transfer of technology. For this purpose, the ASEAN Ministers requested the EC to jointly organize and finance seminars and workshops on the development of the mineral sector in this region.

The Ministers recognized the importance of intensifying research and development activities to find new uses and applications for commodities and therefore agreed to enhance cooperation in these efforts. The ASEAN Ministers sought the EC's cooperation and support on such research and development efforts.

The Ministers noted that the European Council meeting at Strasbourg in December 1989, had urged a resumption of negotiations on the renewal of the International Coffee Agreement as soon as possible. The Community, for its part, affirmed its resolution to adopt a flexible approach and to have regard to the economic and political importance of arriving at an appropriate solution.

Drugs

The Ministers underlined their deep apprehension and concern over the growing problem of drug abuse and the escalation of illicit trafficking in drugs. The Ministers expressed their resolve to undertake concerted and coherent action to tackle this deadly scourge. The Ministers were informed of the principal elements of the Community's programme on North-South cooperation in this field and agreed that over and above the action being taken at regional level an effective solution had to be sought at international level. They welcomed the adoption of the 1988 UN Convention Against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances and called for its prompt and effective application. They urged the signatory parties to immediately proceed to the process of ratification and urged those countries that have not yet signed to do so.

The Ministers also welcomed the initiative taken by the Commonwealth Heads of Government at their meeting in Kuala Lumpur from 18 to 24 October 1989. They expressed strong support for the Commonwealth's decision to promote more effective national and international action on a number of key issues, especially those related to the enactment of appropriate legislation on drug trafficking, money laundering, the confiscation of illicit assets of convicted drug traffickers, crop substitution programmes and mutual legal assistance. In addition to these actions to curb the availability of drugs, they agreed that an equally important element that should be addressed urgently was the question of global demand for drugs.

The Ministers also welcomed and pledged their full support for the recent UNGA resolution to hold a special session of the General Assembly from 20 to 23 February 1990 in New York to consider the question of international cooperation against drugs. They further agreed that the special session should produce a political declaration and a concrete and realistic global programme of action which would deal with all aspects of the drugs problem.

The Ministers commended and welcomed the initiative of the British Government to host a World Ministerial Summit to reduce demand for drugs and to combat the cocaine threat from 9 to 11 April 1990 in London.

The Ministers noted with satisfaction the continued cooperation and collaboration between ASEAN and the EC on drug matters. The ASEAN Ministers expressed their appreciation to the EC for its assistance to the ASEAN-EC drug related projects in the areas of drug prevention, treatment and rehabilitation.

Environment

The Ministers recognized that the threat to the global environment is a shared responsibility which requires urgent and appropriate international action. They agreed that the protection of the environment should be viewed in a balanced perspective and that due emphasis be accorded to promoting economic growth and sustainable development.

The Ministers noted that the ASEAN Heads of Government, at their third summit in Manila in December 1987, had adopted the principle of sustainable development, including the incorporation of environmental concerns into economic planning and policies, and agreed to integrate sustainable development into economic activities of ASEAN.

The Ministers also noted that the European Environment Agency would become operational in the current year and will provide a valuable source of advice, expertise and assistance.

The ASEAN Ministers were informed that the EC has taken, or is in the process of taking, a number of decisions of immediate effect, in particular with regard to global environmental protection:

- (i) the early implementation, and at a faster rate, of the Helsinki decisions on the eradication of chlorofluorocarbons;
- (ii) the launching of a programme of action on the greenhouse effect;
- (iii) accession to the Basle Convention on movements of dangerous waste and its strict application in respect of the export of such waste to the developing countries;
- (iv) the drawing up of a programme for tropical forest assistance.

These actions, coupled with support for international negotiations and the integration of environmental issues into mutually beneficial cooperation with developing countries, were indicative of the European Community's strong commitment to the preservation of global environment.

The Ministers agreed that to ensure a more integrated approach to environmental and development problems, developing countries' ability to respond to environmental concerns must be strengthened. In this context, they agreed that environmental concerns should be a major issue but should not be used to introduce a new form of conditionality in aid and development financing. The EC Ministers also agreed to consider assisting the upgrading of ASEAN's facilities, capabilities and expertise in the areas of management of natural resources and environment monitoring through technical and financial assistance.

The Ministers noted with great interest the Langkawi Declaration on Environment issued by the Heads of Government of the Commonwealth in October 1989, and strongly welcomed the programme of action contained in the Declaration and the convening of the UN Conference on Environment and Development in 1992. They also welcomed the convening of the Asia-Pacific Ministerial Conference on the Environment organized by ESCAP which is scheduled to take place in Thailand in the latter half of 1990.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 88/114.

90/094. Statement concerning Angola

Date of Issue: 19 February 1990
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 Country of Presidency: Ireland
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 Status of Document: Declaration

The Twelve are disturbed at the recent escalation in fighting in Angola. They are concerned at the threat the continuing conflict poses to the prospects for a lasting settlement within Angola and to the stability of Namibia and the wider region. They urgently appeal therefore for the effective implementation of a cease-fire and for the parties to work actively towards negotiations leading to a durable political settlement.

90/095. Statement concerning the CSCE

Date of Issue: 20 February 1990
 Place of Issue: Brussels, Dublin
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: The Twelve
 Status of Document: Declaration

At a time of rapid and profound change in Europe, the Twelve emphasize the fundamental role of the CSCE process in fostering cooperation in Europe and advocate its further development and strengthening as a framework of far-reaching reform and stability in the perspective of achieving a just and lasting order of peace in Europe.

In the declaration of the European Council at Strasbourg the Twelve recalled the aims of the Helsinki Final Act to establish new relations between European countries whether in the area of security, economic and technical cooperation, or the human dimension.

On that occasion, the Twelve recalled the importance of the Community as a mooring for a future European equilibrium. In this spirit, they reaffirm their commitment to further Community integration towards European Union as being of central importance to the future of Europe. The Community and its Member States are determined to assume their responsibilities wholeheartedly and play a full part in the CSCE process. They will examine appropriate modalities as far as the Community is concerned in order to achieve that end.

The meeting of the Heads of State or Government of the CSCE participating States in the course of this year will mark the starting point for a new, more advanced stage of the CSCE process and give it new directions.

The Twelve consider that the meeting should:

- (i) discuss current developments and give the political guidance necessary to strengthen stability in Europe;
- (ii) reaffirm the validity of the principles enshrined in the Final Act and of subsequent CSCE commitments, and confirm their determination to respect these and put them into practice, as well as underlining the importance of maintaining balanced progress in all aspects of the CSCE process;
- (iii) welcome the outcome of the Vienna negotiations and affirm the importance of continuing negotiations in the field of arms control and the building of security and confidence in Europe, in the light of political developments, with a view to achieving a lasting framework for security in Europe;
- (iv) welcome the results of all intersessional meetings and conferences which will have taken place within the CSCE framework;
- (v) underline the need for full observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms, for economic, financial, technical and environmental cooperation, and for further cooperation in the Mediterranean, as factors of security and stability;

(vi) mandate Foreign Ministers of the 35 to implement decisions of the meeting of Heads of State or Government, in particular:

(a) to supplement the CSCE commitments by the right to vote at free elections and a better protection of minorities, and to explore the possibility of expanding existing institutional guarantees for human rights to other participating States;

(b) to consider new institutional arrangements within the CSCE process – without however modifying the schedule of meetings already agreed in a number of fields – and focus attention on the specific tasks which the new developments call upon these meetings to perform;

(c) to formulate proposals which would define the future role of the CSCE in establishing new relations between the participating States.

They consider that a preparatory committee of the 35 CSCE participating States should begin meeting as soon as possible and not later than July 1990 to consider the agenda and organization of the summit meeting.

The Twelve will begin consultations with the other CSCE participating States to discuss and agree on the date, venue and agenda of the meeting as well as on the organization of the preparatory committee. This will include consultations with other Western countries.

The Twelve consider that the fourth main follow-up meeting of the CSCE which will take place in Helsinki in 1992 could be held at the level of Heads of State or Government.

90/096. Statement concerning the extension of Jewish settlements in the Occupied Territories

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Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: The Twelve

Status of Document: Declaration

The Twelve reiterate their view that Jewish settlements in the Occupied Territories, including East Jerusalem, are illegal under international law. They are seriously concerned at the possibility that immigrants to Israel may be settled in the Occupied Territories. The further call made in recent days for increased Jewish settlement in the West Bank and Gaza Strip only increases this concern. The Twelve deplore the Israeli settlement policy in the Occupied Territories. The Israeli statements on this matter are not conducive to establishing the climate of confidence necessary to make the progress which is urgently needed in the peace process.

As they made clear in their statement of 31 January, the Twelve warmly welcome the liberalization of Soviet emigration controls, including the freedom of Soviet Jews to emigrate to Israel and elsewhere. They believe that this sentiment is very widely shared in the international community, on the basis that the right of everyone to leave any country, including his own, is enshrined in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. The attainment by Soviet Jews of this right must not, however, be at the expense of the rights of the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories.

The Twelve urge the Israeli Government not to jeopardize the prospects of bringing peace to the region by either allowing or encouraging Jewish immigrants to settle in the Occupied Territories.

90/097. Statement concerning the Horn of Africa

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Status of Document: Declaration

The Community and its Member States continue to follow closely developments in the Horn of Africa. They express their disappointment that the various mediation efforts being undertaken have so far produced few concrete results. They draw attention to the negative effects on the region of external military assistance and call on all concerned to refrain from actions which could seriously undermine attempts to achieve peaceful solutions.

The Community and its Member States reiterate their conviction that just and durable solutions to the problems in the region can only be found by peaceful means and through negotiated political settlements.

The plight of the many throughout the region who face repeated threats to their existence by reason of both natural disasters and of the deprivation caused by internal conflicts remains a source of much concern to the Community and its Member States. They have shown their willingness to respond in a practical and caring way to the needs of those affected through the provision of extensive food and other emergency aid.

As regards the situation in Ethiopia, the Community and its Member States are deeply disturbed by recent military confrontations at a time when internationally supported peace efforts were under way and when measures to provide much needed humanitarian assistance to the stricken people of Eritrea and Tigray were well advanced.

The Community and its Member States appeal for a cessation of hostilities and urge the parties most strongly to resume their efforts for peace and national reconciliation. They also call urgently on all parties concerned to take all necessary steps to ensure that food and emergency supplies reach the threatened populations. Recalling their statement of 23 January, the Community and its Member States are very concerned at renewed reports of attacks on civilian vessels off the coast of Ethiopia, including at least one ship carrying Community famine relief supplies. They call again for the cessation of such attacks.

The Community and its Member States remain deeply concerned also at the situation in Somalia, including reports of violations of human rights, and stress the urgent necessity of a political solution to the internal conflict in the country as the only guarantee of peace and future stability. In this context they welcome proposals for constitutional reform and express the hope that this could also lead to an improvement in the field of human rights.

Finally, the Community and its Member States urgently appeal for an end to hostilities in southern Sudan and for all necessary steps to be taken promptly to launch the second phase of Operation Lifeline Sudan, the first phase of which was successful in preventing a disaster of even greater proportions.

90/098. Statement concerning Kampuchea

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The Twelve recall their statement of 18 January 1990 and emphasize the urgency of an end to conflict in Kampuchea and the achievement, through negotiation, of a just and lasting political solution. The Twelve call on all parties to the conflict to cease hostilities immediately. The cessation of hostilities should be accompanied by the ending of all forms of external military assistance to the belligerents.

The Twelve will only support a political solution that would also protect and promote the human rights of all the Kampuchean people. They underline that the non-return to power of the Pol Pot Khmer Rouge remains a central element of [the] Twelve's policy.

They express their appreciation for recent efforts to advance the peace process, in particular those of the co-chairmen of the Paris Conference, France and Indonesia. They also recall the

fruitful discussions held with ASEAN Ministers in Kuching on 16 and 17 February and the welcome consensus on the question of Kampuchea reflected in the Joint Declaration issued after the meeting.

They welcome the discussions that are taking place among the five Permanent Members of the United Nations Security Council and the active part that the Secretariat of the United Nations is playing. They also welcome the proposals promoted by the Foreign Minister of Australia for an enhanced role for the United Nations in a comprehensive political settlement. Furthermore, the Twelve express their appreciation for the efforts of Canada and Japan to advance the peace process.

The Twelve look forward to the establishment of fruitful relations with the democratically elected Kampuchean Government which must result from a comprehensive political settlement. On the achievement of a political settlement, the Twelve affirm their willingness to contribute to the reconstruction and development of Kampuchea.

90/099. Statement concerning Namibian independence

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The Twelve, welcoming the formal adoption on 9 February by the Constituent Assembly of the new Constitution of Namibia, express their immense satisfaction at the effective completion of the process of self-determination for the Namibian people. They applaud the manner in which the Constituent Assembly has carried out its task in a spirit of understanding and reconciliation. They now look forward to welcoming Namibia formally as a fully sovereign, democratic and independent State into the community of nations on 21 March.

90/100. Statement concerning the Ninth Synthesis Report on the Code of Conduct for Community Companies with Subsidiaries in South Africa

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Country of Presidency: Ireland
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Status of Document: Declaration

The Ministers for Foreign Affairs approved the ninth synthesis report on the application of the Code of Conduct for companies from the EC with subsidiaries, branches or representation in South Africa. They decided to forward it to the European Parliament and to the Economic and Social Committee of the European Community.

The report covers the period from 1 July 1987 to 30 June 1988 and analyses reports on the activities of 250 companies with more than 88 000 black employees. It also takes into account the annual report by representatives of the Twelve in Pretoria on implementation of the Code.

The Twelve noted with satisfaction:

- (i) that it is now a firmly established policy among the great majority of European companies to allow their workforces to choose freely their own representation;
- (ii) that objective non-racial criteria are employed by all companies in determining wages and filling vacancies;
- (iii) that most companies have achieved total desegregation;
- (iv) that, in line with the objective of encouraging black businesses, very many companies are members of, or support, local organizations established to promote black entrepreneurs.

The Twelve believe that the measures taken by European companies in implementation of the Code of Conduct have contributed to furthering their policy aimed at achieving the elimination of apartheid by peaceful means. They reaffirm their determination to promote the full implementation of the Code to this end.

90/101. Ninth Synthesis Report on the Application of the Code of Conduct by Community Companies with Subsidiaries, Branches or Representation in South Africa (1 July 1987 to 30 June 1988)

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The response from companies

The ninth synthesis report on the application of the Code of Conduct by European companies with subsidiaries, branches or representation in South Africa covers the period from 1 July 1987 to 30 June 1988. It embraces the national reports presented by Member States as well as the second annual report drawn up by Community ambassadors in Pretoria on the observance of the Code.

The ambassadors reported that, during the period under review, membership of black trade unions further increased. Protracted strikes took place in the mining, transport and post office sectors. Against the background of the continuing state of emergency, first introduced in 1986, the South African authorities clamped down on the activities of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and introduced the controversial Labour Relations Amendment Act. Many Community leaders, including trade unionists, were detained. On the economic front there was some improvement with a growth in GDP of 2.2 and 3.7%, respectively, in 1987 and 1988 and a reduction in the rate of inflation from 17% in 1987 to 12.9% in 1988. While there was a slight decline in wages in real terms, COSATU and NACTU (National Council of Trade Unions) had some success in maintaining the real value of wages in certain industries.

The ambassadors noted an increase in the number of European firms in South Africa which submitted reports and also an improvement in observance of requirements of the Code. A number of instances of the latter were cited. These included a further drop in the number of black workers being paid below the minimum wage set by the Code, an improvement in the range of fringe benefits offered to black workers, increased support for black businesses and a steady development in contacts between companies and South African trade unions and between trade unions in Europe and South Africa.

According to ambassadors, the Code has had an economic and social impact in South Africa through its contribution to an improvement in the standard of living of black employees of European companies and to the promotion of the principle of racial equality by helping break down apartheid in the workplace. It has further facilitated the development of trade unionism in South Africa. The ambassadors believed that the main purpose of the Code, namely that European companies not exploit their black employees and that their presence serve to undermine apartheid rather than bolster it, had been achieved. This had been widely recognized inside South Africa. It was felt that the Code remains a useful instrument in promoting change and makes a real contribution to the abolition of apartheid both in the economy and in South African society as a whole. The Code of Conduct should continue to be promoted and European companies should be encouraged to enforce fully and exceed the minimum requirements laid down in it.

The number of reporting companies is summarized in the following table on a country-by-country basis with an indication of corresponding figures for the previous review period given in brackets:

Country	Number of reporting companies	Number of black employees
Belgium	2 (5)	19 (24*)
Denmark	5 (7)	158 (793)
Germany	105 (94)	19 300 (18 900)
Greece	2 (2)	38 (39)
Spain	1 (1)	387 (310*)
France	23 (15)	1 806 (2 236)
Ireland	none	none
Italy	1 (1)	137 (133)
Luxembourg	none	none
Netherlands	10 (11)	3 955 (4 441)
Portugal	2 (2)	79 (78)
United Kingdom	99 (109)	62 600 (70 300)
Total	250 (247)	88 479 (97 254)

* These figures are those of the reporting period 1 July 1985 to 30 June 1986 where no figures are available for the following periods.

As in the previous reporting period, a number of European companies have disposed of their South African interests or reduced their black African workforces. This is not reflected in the total number of companies reporting or total black workforce, as indicated above, because there has been an equivalent increase in the number of companies now reporting for the first time.

Analysis of company reports

Relations within the undertaking

Section 1 of the Code of Conduct seeks to remove any restriction or obstacle to the formation of black trade unions and to promote the freedom of workers to decide themselves upon the nature of their representation. In this respect the national reports show that it is now a firmly established policy among the great majority of European companies to allow their workforces to choose freely their own representation. To this end many companies make the text of the Code and also their own reports available to their employees. They discuss with workers the company's attitude to the Code and indicate the measures which the company has taken towards implementing it. Union representatives are facilitated in practical ways in arranging meetings and disseminating information among the workforce.

There was a further increase in the number of companies, already a majority, which recognize unions representing black workers and which have negotiated with them directly at the company level or on a sectoral basis. It is noteworthy that most companies indicate that they had already recognized, or were willing to recognize, black trade unions which are not officially registered in South Africa. A trend was noted in the period in question towards an increase in union activity with the positive result that there was a significant drop in the number of strike actions and correspondingly more frequent recourse to mediation.

Migrant labour

Few companies continue to employ migrant labour and there was a further decline both in the number of such companies and in the total number of black migrant workers employed. It was pointed out that in certain industries migrant workers were employed where there was a

shortage of local labour due to the geographical location. Although comprehensive figures are not available it appears that migrant labour accounts for little more than 10% of the total black African workforce of European companies and that the great majority of these are employed by a single company.

In accordance with Section 2 of the Code, employers are expected to contribute to the freedom of movement of black African workers and to seek to mitigate the particular problems encountered by migrant labour. Companies should, in particular, regularly renew employment contracts and facilitate the settlement of workers with their families near their place of employment. Among other special measures taken to assist migrant workers, companies cited special and paid home leave, including the cost of travel, and improved accommodation near the company. In a number of instances it was pointed out, as it was in the previous reporting period, that the abolition of 'influx control' and of the pass laws on 1 July 1986 had, in the majority of cases, eased the position of the migrant worker and contributed to his freedom to settle in urban areas.

Pay and wage structures

Section 3 of the Code of Conduct sets a standard for the remuneration of black African employees. Companies are expected to pay their workers above the 'supplemented living level' (SLL) which, in turn, is 30% higher than the 'minimum living level' (MLL) as calculated every six months for the district concerned by the University of South Africa. Over the last few reporting periods the percentage of workers paid below the SLL has dropped consistently and in the present period little over 2% of black employees receive wages below this level. Some companies explained that those paid below the Code's recommended standard were trainees or workers still serving their probationary period. A number of companies paying below the recommended level indicated that they intended to pay all their employees above that level in the near future. As a whole national reports showed that most European companies are paying considerably more than the SLL with many of them paying 50% above the MLL. The further improvement of wages was also put into the context of the South African economy which, during the period covered, had experienced strong growth, a consumer boom and a diminished rate of inflation.

Also in accordance with the Code, it appears that all companies apply the principle of equal pay for equal work. Objective non-racial criteria are employed in assessing wages and filling vacancies. In addition, wages are regularly reviewed either on an annual or, in the case of many companies, a biannual basis.

Training and promotion of black employees

All the reporting companies have some form of training for black African employees. This can range, in the case of smaller companies employing very few black workers, from on-the-job training, to, in the case of larger companies, internal training courses managed by special staff, apprenticeships, external vocational courses and external educational courses. A number of companies indicated that they allowed time off and/or paid the costs of outside courses including the granting of scholarships for university courses. There were no cases of discrimination against black employees whereas some companies indicated a policy of positive discrimination in the allocation of places on training courses. It was stated in many cases that companies had a positive policy of encouraging black recruits, where suitable candidates were available, for enrolment in schemes aimed at preparing employees for skilled or supervisory positions as well as middle or higher management roles.

Many companies indicated that they had already reduced the number of white immigrant workers employed or that they intended to do so in the future when sufficiently trained local

black candidates are available. In general, companies stated that they practiced an objective non-racial promotion policy and, in line with the Code of Conduct, many actively sought to reduce their degree of dependence on white immigrants.

Fringe benefits

Section 5 of the Code places social responsibilities upon companies which extend beyond the factory gate. They are expected to concern themselves with the living conditions of employees and their families and with the local community where the companies are situated.

In the area of benefits provided there has been a steady improvement over a number of years. Almost all European companies operating in South Africa provide pension schemes and offer health and medical insurance. A number of companies, especially larger ones, offer on-site medical care, subsidized canteens and recreational facilities. It is common for companies to give financial or other assistance for house purchase and the education of employees and their families. Other benefits include granting leave in excess of the statutory minimum, maternity leave, clothing allowances, long service and retirement awards, death grants and funeral expenses. In one case a company reported providing financial assistance to the family of an employee held in custody without charge for two years.

In the surrounding community many companies supported local schools, universities, libraries and other educational projects. They contributed also to hospitals and sports facilities in the area.

Desegregation of places of work

Most companies have achieved total desegregation of the workplace, canteens, educational, training and sport facilities, etc. as required under Section 6 of the Code. While the position in this regard was quite similar to that during the previous reporting period a marginal improvement was noted.

The small number of companies which had not yet achieved full desegregation stated that it remained their objective to do so as soon as possible. Some of the latter indicated that the matter was to be discussed in the context of negotiations with employees' organizations, while a few companies cited constraints of law as an obstacle to implementation.

Most of the companies had taken measures to promote inter-racial staff contacts. These included the arrangement of mixed social events such as parties, dinners and sporting events. As in previous years a few companies reported that a high level of inter-racial mixing was taking place naturally and obviated the need to make special arrangements to promote it.

Encouragement of black businesses

Companies are expected under Section 7 of the Code to encourage black-owned businesses through such practices as subcontracting and awarding priority of treatment in customer-supplier relations.

While the type of business conducted by a number of European companies precludes the possibility of subcontracting, many companies indicated they already dealt with black-owned firms or were willing to do so if suitable opportunities arose. Some companies had a policy of seeking actively to support black businesses while others, on the whole, awarded contracts on the basis of purely commercial considerations with no discrimination as to race.

Very many companies were members of, or supported, local organizations established to promote black entrepreneurs. These included the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce, the Small Business Development Corporation, the Black Management Forum and local Chambers of Commerce.

90/102. Statement at the 46th session of the Commission on Human Rights on the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in any part of the world with particular reference to colonial and other dependent countries and territories

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Mr Lillis: Madam Chairperson, it is the view of the European Community and its 12 Member States, on behalf of whose delegations I speak, that the period we are living through has already seen the widest, the most dramatic and the most profound advances in the promotion of human rights that have occurred since the establishment of our Commission. The people of the Community and, we believe, the people of all countries, including even those where the right to freedom of information is limited or systematically denied, are following day by day with hope, astonishment and humility an unfolding panorama of progress, as the people of one country after another in Eastern Europe assert their determination to control their own destinies.

And so the Twelve salute the courage of the peoples of the Soviet Union, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria as well as the Germans in the German Democratic Republic in their pursuit of human rights and of a better future, a better future not alone for themselves and their children, but for all the world. In welcoming their achievement today, we are sure that this generation would wish us to add our sad and deeply respectful acknowledgement of the sacrifices of those silent millions of an earlier generation in their countries, whose tribulations, only now coming to light, make up one of the most heart-rending chapters in modern history.

Madam Chairperson, the entire international community was moved by the struggle of the people of Romania. The December revolution ended a particularly brutal and odious dictatorship which kept the country in abject poverty and fear. The Romanian people must now be allowed to create a genuine democracy. The crimes of the former regime must be brought to light with full respect for the right to a fair trial of those responsible. The Twelve hope that the forthcoming elections will provide Romania with stable democratic institutions and we shall continue to give all necessary assistance to achieve this end.

In earlier days a British statesman described in a compelling image the tragedy of this continent as it plunged into the First World War: 'The lamps are going out all over Europe; we shall not see them lit again in our lifetime'. Today, Madam Chairperson, after more than a generation in which gloom had enveloped a vast segment of Europe it is as though suddenly one after another the lights have almost all been switched on. The dimensions — political, economic, diplomatic — of these transformations are awesome; the implications are admittedly in many respects still to be absorbed; yet the basic message is clear to everyone: for those who are producing them — the people themselves — these events concern the same simple desire: the achievement of their human rights.

So far as the delegations I speak for are concerned, the credit for these changes belongs overwhelmingly to the people. Far from triumphalism, our own reactions are those of admiration and overwhelming relief. In our view the significance of their achievements is global: it belongs as much to the peoples of Asia and Africa as it does to the people of the Community. The satisfaction we take in the achievement of the peoples of Eastern Europe is fundamentally a deep satisfaction in the capacity of all human beings to demand and struggle for freedom against overwhelming odds and we are convinced that this is the reaction of all men and women of goodwill everywhere. We feel the same as we watch the struggle for human dignity and democracy as it is waged in Latin America, in Africa, in the Middle East and in Asia. Just as tyranny and the denial of human rights divide the world more deeply than any other evil, so the struggle for human rights unites the people of the world — as it has united our own Community — as no other cause ever can.

The Commission on Human Rights has made its own important contribution to this better world that we see emerging now. It is not of course as strong an institution as the people of our world would wish it to be — certainly not as strong as those who are suffering would wish. The people of, for instance, Kampuchea, whose rights were so violently denied, would have been among the first to regret our inadequacies. And yet through its quiet and steady work of standard-setting and its sometimes impressive effort at implementation, the Commission has provided to the people of the world an important message. To those who languish in prison for their beliefs or because of their efforts to promote human rights; to the relatives of the disappeared who seek elementary justice; to those inclined to despair at the seeming omnipotence of tyranny — the very existence of this Commission, though perhaps only dimly perceived, provides some flicker of hope. The existence of the standards of our Universal Declaration on Human Rights has nurtured for years the courage of thousands in Eastern Europe and throughout the world who have been prepared to suffer privation and even to die for the achievement of those standards.

It is to the people of the world, to every individual and especially to all who suffer that the Commission owes its first duty. The present item of the agenda is most particularly addressed directly to them.

The Commission is not a court of law. We do not here place the governments of the world in the dock. In so far as we can, we must strain to our utmost to achieve progress in human rights in our work here through multilateral cooperation and in a spirit of dialogue and mutual respect between governments. That does not mean that our efforts can be confined to compromise and consensus-seeking between the delegations here present. That is merely the medium of our work; it is not its substance. Its substance and especially the substance of this agenda item are to be found only outside this assembly: among the people of our world whose rights are denied. Our duty is to promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in accordance with the aims of the Charter of the United Nations and thereby to give hope to those whose rights are denied and to work together to bring them relief.

The Twelve's commitment to safeguarding human rights stems from tragic events in our own history, which include many chapters of tyranny and the denial of human rights. We readily admit that we are far from perfect today. There is, for example, no Member State of our Community which has not been found at one time or another to be in contravention of provisions of the European Convention on Human Rights. This Convention established the European Commission of Human Rights and the European Court of Human Rights — the rulings of this latter body are binding — specifically to monitor our failings and those of other members of the Council of Europe. We have much to learn and a long way to go in improving our practices.

Within the wider area of the democracies embraced by the Council of Europe there are grave problems such as the problem of Cyprus, which remains a tragically divided island of international concern, and where violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms have occurred. The Twelve support the good offices mission of the Secretary-General to promote a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement in Cyprus which, *inter alia*, addressed the human rights concerns of all Cypriots.

Against the background of the profound changes occurring in the region we remain mindful of the situation in Albania. We are concerned about reports of recurring violations of human rights, particularly religious persecution, in that country. We hope that before too long all the people of Albania will be able to enjoy fully their human rights and we take note in this regard of recent developments there.

Madam Chairperson, our own people and the people of Africa would be right to condemn us if we did not use the opportunity of this Commission to the best of our ability to seek to remove the abhorrent system of apartheid.

At this session, individual delegations of the Twelve have already made detailed statements under the four items dealing specifically with the denial of human rights and fundamental freedoms to millions of people on the basis of the colour of their skin alone. The evil system of apartheid stands out in any contemplation of the state of human rights in the world today.

However, here too, there are grounds for hope. The Twelve have warmly welcomed the release of Nelson Mandela, one of South Africa's longest serving political prisoners. They commend the South African Government on this step. Mr Mandela's release has been one of the basic demands of the Twelve over the years. Taken with the steps announced by President De Klerk on 2 February, this is without doubt a most important contribution to the establishment of that climate which the Twelve consider necessary for the initiation of genuine negotiations with the black community. The Twelve repeat their view that these negotiations must be aimed at the total abolition of apartheid and the establishment of a new, democratic, united and non-racial South Africa.

The Twelve hope that all parties in South Africa will now seize the opportunity to achieve the end of apartheid by peaceful means through negotiation.

The Twelve welcome the emergence of a new southern African State as Namibia prepares to join the community of nations. The Twelve salute the central role played by the United Nations Organization in the final peaceful establishment of structures there based on the principle of self-determination and respect for the human rights of all. The European Community and its Member States have already made clear that Namibia will be welcome to join with us and the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries who are signatories to the Fourth Lomé Convention as soon as it expresses a wish to do so. Through the Lomé Convention the Community is proud to assert with our 68 nation partners our shared commitment to human rights.

Despite some hopeful indications in the first half of last year of an improvement in the human rights situation in Somalia, and a welcome visit to that country by Amnesty International, a new wave of violence and government repression have since led to further serious human rights abuses. We strongly urge the Somali authorities to adopt measures which would prevent human rights abuses and remedy those violations that have occurred. We make this appeal in a spirit of cooperation and we will applaud all efforts of this Commission and of Somalia to help the people of that country whose rights have been violated.

The Twelve welcome the release of some political prisoners in the course of last year in Ethiopia. It is important that those who remain in detention should be given the opportunity of fair trial at an early date, or else released.

The human rights situation in Sudan has worsened in recent months. The new Sudanese Government has repealed the constitution and imposed a ban on political parties, trade unions and newspapers. Hundreds of persons are kept in prison without indictment or trial. The civil war in which neither party seems at present able or prepared to establish peace, is another cause for recurring human rights violations and actions in contravention of international humanitarian law. Repeated reports of human rights violations, including massacres of civilians, have reached the public. The Sudanese Government should honour its commitments under the Human Rights Covenants.

The first duty of the Commission is, as I have said, to people, not to governments. It is in that sense, in our concern for Palestinians whose rights have been and are being violated, that the Twelve believe that the Commission must concern itself with their unhappy condition. The situation with regard to respect for the human rights of the Palestinian inhabitants of the Occupied Territories has seriously deteriorated for more than two years now. The Twelve have continually expressed their concerns in public statements in international forums and in private contacts with the Israeli authorities. We remain gravely concerned that the methods used to repress the Palestinian uprising are taking a heavy toll in deaths and injuries, even among young people. The administrative detentions, deportations, collective punishments and discriminatory economic measures that have been used are also a source of dismay and deep concern to us.

The cause of peace is not served by these practices. We again urge Israel to abandon now the use of excessive and indiscriminate force in the Occupied Territories, to reconsider all measures which infringe the human rights of the Palestinian population and to respect their obligations under the fourth Geneva Convention, notably in the areas of health and education, areas on which the European Council has announced the determination of the Twelve to increase our assistance. Moreover, we call upon Israel to refrain from creating new settlements in the Occupied Territories. Such steps by the Israeli authorities would create confidence that progress towards a political solution is within reach on this issue also. The key requirements for a political solution, as we enunciated them a decade ago in Venice and as we reaffirmed last year in Madrid — security for Israel and self-determination for the Palestinian people — are today more widely accepted than ever before. The Twelve expect all the parties concerned to demonstrate their commitment to progress on substance and to refrain from actions which compound the difficulties in the way of a political solution.

The Commission has concerned itself for some years, very necessarily in our view, with reports of systematic violations of human rights in Iran, including the situation of the Baha'is. We believe that this concern has been a source of hope, however weak it may at times have seemed to them, to those people in Iran who looked to the outside world and especially to our Commission for help and cooperation in bringing some relief in the solution of their problems.

The Twelve await with particular interest on this occasion the report of the Special Representative on the human rights situation in Iran who has at last seen that situation at first hand. We were pleased that the Iranian Government acceded to the repeated requests of the General Assembly and Commission on Human Rights in the matter of an invitation to the Special Representative to visit Iran. For that reason we agreed that the General Assembly should defer its substantive consideration of his interim report. As the report of the Special Representative is not yet available it is not possible in this statement to comment on his findings. We, of course, expect confirmation that the Iranian Government honoured its commitment to extend its full cooperation to the Special Representative. In any event we will continue to follow closely the human rights situation in Iran.

The reports laid before the Commission on enforced or involuntary disappearances and on the summary and arbitrary executions again contain allegations of violations of human rights in Iraq. The Twelve look forward to the early implementation of measures which address certain deficiencies in the human rights situation, such as a new constitution and some freedom of the press. We hope that the Iraqi authorities will officially endorse the invitation extended to the members of the Sub-Commission to study the human rights situation in the country at first hand. The work of the Commission and the Sub-Commission involves acting cooperatively with governments in the first instance and this is why we urge the Iraqi Government to work directly with the Sub-Commission. The Twelve look to this Commission session to address this issue appropriately. We have not forgotten the inhuman suffering inflicted on the Kurds in Iraq during military attacks as the Iran-Iraq hostilities ended. The subsequent forced relocation of thousands of Kurds remains unacceptable on human rights grounds. We are also concerned about the situation of Kurdish minorities in other countries of the region.

In Syria, a regime with very limited scope for legal opposition involves major obstacles in the way of developing the promotion of human rights. Disappearances, arbitrary arrests and cases of torture have been reported. The rights of members of the Jewish community and of certain other minorities are infringed. The Twelve hope that the contact established some months ago between the Syrian authorities and Amnesty International may signal the end of opposition to the monitoring of human rights issues and the beginning of a real effort to observe human rights.

A year ago when our Commission was holding its 45th Session there were moves towards freedom and democracy in China. A few months later those moves were dramatically reversed by the repression of the peaceful protest movement in Beijing. During the night of 3 to 4 June, troops opened fire at unarmed civilian crowds in violation of international norms. Following

those tragic events, many arrests and executions were reported to have taken place. The authorities themselves continue to announce further repressive measures against those who disagree with the regime including restrictions on freedom of speech, political action and travel.

It would be inconceivable and unjust that the Commission would ignore or abandon the people of this great country. As stated before us by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ireland, Mr Gerard Collins, the Twelve have repeatedly expressed their concern at this situation and they will continue to follow it closely. We call upon the Chinese authorities, in keeping with their international obligations, to guarantee full respect for the human rights of their citizens throughout China, including Tibet, to release all political prisoners and to respect the rights of all Chinese citizens to express freely their opinions and to assemble peacefully. In this context the Twelve, who have noted the lifting of martial law in Beijing on 11 January 1990, hope that this decision will lead to an improvement in the human rights situation in China.

The people of Afghanistan have suffered more adversity, more convulsion and violence and more violations of human rights than most in the past 10 years and the Commission has rightly addressed their problems for several years. Despite the hopes generated at the time of the signature of the Geneva Agreement on Afghanistan, we note from the report of the special rapporteur to this session that the overall situation of human rights in Afghanistan remains a matter of deep concern even after the withdrawal of the Soviet troops.

Numerous allegations of torture and ill-treatment of prisoners of war continue to be made. We note that the shelling of cities and public places has caused the deaths of many innocent civilians since September 1989. Around 3 000 political prisoners remain in detention and five million refugees are unable to return to their country. The Twelve urge all parties to the conflict to ensure full respect for human rights and the principles of humanitarian law.

In a world torn by conflict and all its consequent human tragedies, surely no people have suffered on such a devastating scale in our era as the Kampuchean people. It is to the shame of the Commission that we failed to concern ourselves properly with their nightmare during the period of the Pol Pot regime. Alas, even today, their sufferings continue. They are again the victims of a renewed conflict which has caused heavy loss of life and widespread human misery.

We call yet again on the parties to the conflict to cease hostilities immediately and to return to the negotiating table with the aim of achieving a political settlement within the framework of the Paris Conference on Kampuchea whose first ministerial meeting took place in August 1989. The cessation of hostilities should be accompanied by the ending of all forms of external military assistance to the belligerents. The Twelve seek a comprehensive political settlement which must ensure the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and neutrality of Kampuchea, as well as the fundamental right of Kampucheans to choose their own government in real and internationally supervised elections.

The Twelve once again express their total rejection of the genocidal policies of the Pol Pot Khmer Rouge who were responsible for the extermination of hundreds of thousands of Kampucheans. Their non-return to power remains a central element of Twelve policy on Kampuchea. We shall support only those political solutions which will offer a positive perspective for the protection and the promotion of the human rights of all the Kampuchean people.

The human rights situation in Vietnam continues to be of concern to the Twelve. Numerous prisoners continue to be arbitrarily detained contrary to the international obligations to which Vietnam has subscribed. The Twelve hope that the Vietnamese Government will release all these prisoners without delay. We also appeal to the Vietnamese authorities to respect fully the human rights of Vietnamese citizens returning to their country.

The human rights situation in Burma remains disturbing. The military authorities have, of course, undertaken to hold elections on 27 May and the preparatory process appears to be under way. Serious questions remain, however, as to the democratic character of these elections in circumstances where two of the principal leaders, Ms Aung San Suu Kyi and U Nu, are under house arrest; where a recent decision appears designed to deprive Ms Aung San Suu Kyi of the

right to contest the elections; where a third leader U Tin Oo has been sentenced to three years' imprisonment; where meetings of more than four persons are banned and where it is forbidden to criticize the army and the military government. There are, moreover, well-founded allegations of numerous cases of arbitrary imprisonment, disappearance and torture. The Twelve urge the authorities of Burma to restore the credibility of the electoral process by lifting the measures restricting political activity and to investigate seriously all abuses.

The Commission, in its duty to the Burmese people, must now seek the cooperation of the authorities of Burma in every possible way which could re-establish confidence in the democratic future of that country which, if secured, will in the firm conviction of the Twelve, restore stability, respect for human rights and prosperity.

The situation in Sri Lanka also gives cause for concern, with disturbing reports of human rights violations in various parts of the country. The Twelve call on all the parties to the conflict to exercise restraint and to refrain from any action which threatens human rights or is in contravention of the principles of international humanitarian law. In this connection we welcome the recent decision of the Government of Sri Lanka to facilitate the work of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

The Twelve regret the execution in Indonesia of four political prisoners on 16 February 1990 after more than 25 years' imprisonment. Regarding East Timor, we note the disquieting reports of human rights violations, including torture and ill-treatment in the past year. We share the hope, expressed in the resolution of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities last August, that the Indonesian Government will allow representatives of human rights organizations to visit the territory.

Madam Chairperson, the countries of Latin America have been for many years the scene of some of the greatest struggles for human rights the world has seen. In country after country democracy has been restored and — for all its fragility — protected. The Twelve recognize that this task has been herculean and that it has been performed in circumstances of great economic and social difficulty. The Twelve salute with admiration and deep respect the efforts of the peoples of Latin America to secure their human rights. We also recognize that Latin American countries, by their willingness to cooperate with the Commission, have made a unique contribution to many of the Commission's mechanisms. They deserve the gratitude, not alone of the Commission itself, but of the people of other countries in other regions who have benefited, in the alleviation of their own misery, from the many improvements in the Commission's instruments which have flowed directly from the Commission's role in Latin America. We believe that the Latin American democracies are the first to recognize that many problems remain in the region and that it is the duty of the Commission to assist in trying to solve them.

At this session we have great pleasure as the Twelve in welcoming the return of Chile to the fold of democratic countries following the elections to the presidency and to parliament on 15 December 1989. We are of the opinion that the re-establishment of a democratic order — which looks back to a remarkable tradition in Chile — will lead to renewed respect for human rights, which far too often have been disregarded. We are confident that the new President, Mr Aylwin, and the new Chilean Government — both assuming office on 11 March 1990 — will give the highest priority to the protection of human rights. We appeal to the new government to deal quickly with the grave accusations raised against the Colonia Dignidad which we hope will be finally and definitively cleared up. The Twelve have only recently in Santiago voiced their concern on this question.

The action taken by this Commission since 1974 as a result of the deep concern caused by reports of violations of human rights in that country can only have contributed to this process of democratization. In this respect, we endorse the recommendations of the special rapporteur in his recent report which lays particular emphasis on the need to guarantee consistently the judicial protection of human rights.

Sadly, reports from El Salvador reveal a situation that is even worse than last year. The Twelve have consistently condemned abuses of human rights there, most recently following the

assassination of six Jesuit priests and members of their staff. The Twelve welcome the determination with which President Cristiani has pursued the investigations into those killings, and note that eight men are already in detention in connection with them. It is our hope that all those responsible will be brought to justice. The obligation of the Government to safeguard human rights includes the obligation to ensure that the behaviour of its security forces comply with these standards. There is clearly a continuing need for the role of the special rapporteur and we call on the Government of El Salvador to continue to give him their full cooperation in his work.

Also most regrettably, the situation in Guatemala continues to deteriorate. All governments, without exception, have the obligation to protect and implement human rights. Although the Government of Guatemala neither condones nor encourages human rights violations, it has proved incapable of exercising effective control to prevent increasing violations of human rights, especially deaths and disappearances. Events have not justified the cautious optimism felt a few years ago. This year's report by the expert on Guatemala concludes that virtually nothing has been done either by the Government or by the judiciary to investigate and punish earlier human rights violations. The Twelve appeal to the Government to take immediate and effective action to bring those responsible for these violations to justice, including those in the security forces. The Twelve ask the authorities of Guatemala to understand that in making this appeal we respect and support the democracy of Guatemala and understand the grave difficulties faced by its Government. We believe, however, that democracy can survive only if it is seen to make every effort to provide protection for human rights and a remedy to those whose rights have been violated. Greater and more determined efforts must be seen to be made and the Twelve will support any initiative of the Commission which we believe will help the authorities of Guatemala to achieve this end.

The situation in Haiti has greatly deteriorated since last summer. The number of assassinations has increased, many political leaders have been arrested, ill-treated and forced into exile. This deterioration culminated in the establishment of the state of emergency on 20 January. Although it was lifted on 30 January, and amnesty was granted on 7 February to all those detained for alleged crimes against the security of the State, the free exercise of human rights is still not guaranteed. We urge the Government of Haiti to honour its commitment to hold free and fair elections, within the already established timetable, and to allow all Haitians to participate safely in their preparation.

A year ago the Twelve looked hopefully to the results of the visit to Cuba of an inter-regional mission which was mandated by the Commission to report on the human rights situation in that country. We saw merit in the report of the visiting group which properly and carefully reflected the problems and the achievements of Cuba in the human rights area. It is noteworthy that many of the constitutional and legal problems in the area of human rights now being energetically addressed by East European countries were raised in that report, along with many problems of administrative practice. For that reason and for the fact that it was the result of a cooperative effort between representatives of all the regional groups in this body, the report was an impressive example of the capacity of our Commission to address difficult issues, even in controversial cases, in a comprehensive way. Although we welcome this aspect of the exercise, we must at all times, as I have suggested, remind ourselves that the first duty of the Commission is not to itself, but to the people and especially those who have problems in the area of human rights. The Twelve are seriously concerned at reports of reprisals carried out since our session last year against many of those citizens who, by their own account, in circumstances of difficulty approached the representatives of the Commission while in Cuba. We believe that these reports must be [...] from governments, no matter who or where they are, are fully respected. We also believe that there are aspects of the report, in particular certain unanswered questions put to the Cuban authorities by the representatives of the Commission, which remain to be clarified.

The Twelve attach particular importance to the work of the special rapporteur on summary or arbitrary executions. We appeal to all States to cooperate fully with the special rapporteur so

that this odious practice can be eliminated. While the position in this respect is improving we regret that some governments decline to respond to his requests for information. We have taken careful note of the report of Mr Wako's recent visit to Colombia and particularly appreciate the full cooperation extended to him by the Government of Colombia which, as is noted in his report, ensured that the visit was worthwhile and useful.

Madam Chairperson, the Twelve are convinced that we live in a world where the cause of human rights has made major progress, not alone in the continent on which we live ourselves, but in many other regions. So many lamps which were in darkness for so long, are again beginning to illuminate their own regions and the entire world. Alas, many grave problems remain, as the few examples I have mentioned demonstrate. We are nevertheless disposed to be optimistic and we believe that the Commission must take the opportunity offered by the improvements we are witnessing to press steadily ahead. At all costs the Commission must at this time build on its existing credibility and avoid taking politically motivated or perverse decisions which would strike despair into the hearts of those very people who look to us for hope and for action. We are convinced that the people of the world today expect from this session a strong message which shows that the Commission is encouraged by the new improvements in human rights in many areas of the world to commit itself to greater efforts to attend to the just human rights needs of those who are still suffering from tyranny and oppression. There are several ways in which we can do this: through addressing those very problems more energetically, through strengthening the mechanisms and resources of the Commission itself and through renewing our commitment to achieving real lasting results through our cooperation in this body.

Let us not neglect this opportunity.

90/103. Question No 504/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning Manuel Gonzalez and Lidia Gonzalez García, prisoners of conscience in Cuba

Date of Issue: 21 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 13 October 1989

Can the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation inquire about the fate of Manuel Gonzalez and his wife Lidia Gonzalez García, members of the unauthorized Pro-Human Rights Party in Cuba (PPDHC), who were sentenced and imprisoned for printing their party's newspaper?

Answer:

Mrs Lidia Gonzalez García (PPDHC) was released on 18 October 1989. Mr Manuel Gonzalez Morell is still imprisoned and is due to be released in January 1990 after his sentence has expired. Their son, Manuel Gonzalez Gonzalez, was released after six months' detention.

90/104. Question No 505/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning people killed or imprisoned in Benin

Date of Issue: 21 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 13 October 1989

Can the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation inquire about what happened in Savé, Benin, last March, when a number of workers were killed when the army received orders to open fire against strikers who were protesting about not being paid their wages and threatened redundancies? Can they also inquire into the fate of about 100 alleged left-wing activists who have been held without charges or trial since 1985?

Answer:

The questions raised by the honourable Member have not been discussed within the framework of European political cooperation. However, the Benin authorities are aware of the importance which the Twelve attach to respect for human rights. Furthermore, they have just adopted an amnesty law which will cover 192 individuals. The Twelve are following closely the implementation of this law.

90/105. Question No 506/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning senior public servants held in detention in Malawi

Date of Issue: 21 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 13 October 1989

Can the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation make inquiries about the fate of various senior public servants in Malawi, including teachers and doctors, most of them from the north of the country, who have been held in solitary confinement and some of whom have died in suspicious circumstances?

Answer:

The question raised by the honourable Member has not been discussed within the framework of European political cooperation. However, the Government of Malawi is aware of the importance which the Twelve attach to respect for human rights.

90/106. Question No 725/89 by Mr Ford (S-UK) concerning aid to Vietnam and Kampuchea

Date of Issue: 21 February 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 14 October 1989

Given that the continuing embargoes on trade and development aid for Vietnam and Kampuchea prolong the suffering of the people, will the Foreign Ministers meeting in [political] cooperation say whether they are currently discussing the undertaking of a mission to Vietnam to establish that the Government there is no longer under Khmer Rouge influence so that the ravages of the Pol Pot regime can be reserved?

Answer:

The Twelve are carefully following developments in the situation in Kampuchea and are examining their relations with both that country and Vietnam.

90/107. Statement concerning the *démarche* by the Twelve in Liberia

Date of Issue: 23 February 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Dublin
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Press Statement, Press Release

On 23 January 1990, the Ambassador of Italy, as representative of the Presidency in Monrovia, conveyed to the Liberian Ministry of Foreign Affairs the concern of the Community and its Member States at recent events in Nimba County in which many civilian deaths had been reported. The Ambassador of Italy also called upon the Liberian authorities to take action to prevent the further shedding of innocent blood.

90/108. Statement concerning the outcome of the Nicaraguan elections

Date of Issue: 27 February 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Dublin
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The Twelve welcome the holding of elections in Nicaragua in a free and fair fashion, in conformity with the undertakings given by the Nicaraguan Government in the context of the peace process in Central America.

The Twelve warmly congratulate the new President-elect. They welcome the commitments made by both sides to work for national reconciliation. They hope that the outcome of the elections will expedite the advancement of the peace process in Central America. In particular, the Twelve hope that the demobilization of the Nicaraguan resistance can now proceed in compliance with the terms of the agreements reached by the countries of the region.

The European Community and its Member States take this opportunity to reaffirm their commitment to the intensification of cooperation with the countries of the region with the aim of supporting economic development and social progress in the interest of greater political stability.

90/109. Questions No 714/89 by Ms Daly (ED-UK), No 770/89 by Mr Ford (S-UK) and No 907/89 by Ms Ewing (ARC-UK) concerning the refusal of exit visas to the Alexandrovsky family by the Soviet Union

Date of Issue: 5 March 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 14 November 1989, 23 November 1989, 1 December 1989

Question No 714/89:

Lev and Shellya Alexandrovsky reside together with their parents, Sima Priver and Lazar Kozyansky at Pr Engelsa 96, Apt 41, Leningrad 19 4214, Russian Soviet Socialist Republic, USSR. Since 1979 they have been refused exit visas from the Soviet Union in order to join their

son, Boris, in the West. The official pretext for refusal is the alleged security risk in the Alexandrovskys' knowledge of Soviet naval engineering. The fact of the application for a visa, and possible anti-Semitism, has led to the loss of professional position and earning power.

Will the French Presidency take up this case with the Soviet authorities and inform Parliament of the result of the *démarche*?

Question No 770/89:

Would the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation say whether they have considered the case of Lev and Shellya Alexandrovsky who, since 1979, have both been refused permission to leave the USSR but now are in downgraded employment for their abilities? Is the outcome of the special commission to investigate the secrecy of Lev's past employment yet known? If so, can progress be made with the finalizing of their permission to emigrate to America to join Shellya's mother and their son?

Question No 907/89:

Soviet Jews are still being refused exit visas. The case of the Alexandrovsky family is a witness to this fact. Lev (born 1939) and Shellya (born 1941) and their parents were first refused exit visas in 1979 on the pretext that Lev was a security risk because of his work as an engineer in the shipping industry. Since their application both have lost their jobs. The family have now been in refusal for 10 years, despite Gorbachev's claim to release secrecy restrictions from all refuseniks who have been waiting for 10 years.

Will the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation issue a formal request to Mikhail Gorbachev for exit visas to be issued without delay to the Alexandrovsky family and other Soviet Jews who have so far been refused permission to leave the country?

Answer:

The Twelve have stressed on many occasions, and in particular in the CSCE, the need for the USSR to respect fully its human rights commitments. The Twelve have individually and collectively kept a close watch on current developments in the Soviet Union. They have been pleased to note that recently the Soviet authorities have satisfactorily resolved numerous humanitarian cases.

The specific case raised by the honourable Member has not been discussed in EPC. The Presidency will strive to obtain information on the case of the Alexandrovsky family.

90/110. Question No 908/89 by Ms Ewing (ARC-UK) concerning the respect of freedom for Soviet Jews

Date of Issue: 5 March 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 1 December 1989

Despite signing the Vienna Concluding Document in January 1989, the Soviet Union is still violating the human rights and freedoms of its Jewish citizens. There are still gross restrictions on freedom to emigrate, freedom of religious expression, freedom of cultural expression, freedom of speech, freedom from discrimination, and freedom from imprisonment for political and religious beliefs.

Will the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation make known to the Soviet authorities their continuing concern about the lack of freedom for Soviet Jews?

Answer:

The Twelve have noted the positive developments in the USSR regarding the exercise of fundamental freedoms.

However, they remain particularly vigilant, as was specifically the case at the first meeting of the CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension held in Paris last June, as regards the promotion of all the fundamental freedoms contained in the closing document of the Vienna meeting and in particular the exercise of the freedoms of belief, education and religion. The meetings of the Conference on the Human Dimension in Copenhagen in June 1990 and Moscow in 1991 will provide opportunities to examine further compliance with the commitments undertaken.

90/111. Question No 960/89 by Mr Amendola, Mr Bettini and Mr Falqui (V-I) concerning Italian arms reaching South Africa

Date of Issue: 5 March 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 7 December 1989

Although it has known for some time of the diverting from Peru to South Africa of arms originating in Italy, the Italian Government has done nothing to rectify the situation, thus conniving at a violation of the embargo sanctioned by the United Nations (Resolution No 418 of 4.11.1977). In the light of this situation:

1. What steps will be taken by the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation?
2. Would the Ministers consider that, because of its inaction, Italy is failing to discharge the obligation it has assumed under Article 30(2)(d) of Title III of the Single European Act?

Answer:

The embargo on exports of arms and paramilitary equipment to South Africa approved on 10 September 1985 by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Twelve, meeting in European political cooperation, has been applied strictly by the Member States. The respective national authorities have adopted appropriate measures to secure compliance with that decision and to monitor its implementation.

In its statement on 9 December the European Council in Strasbourg referred to the decision by the Community and its Member States to maintain the pressure that they exert on the South African authorities in order to promote the profound and irreversible changes which they have repeatedly stood for and to reconsider it when there is clear evidence that these changes have been obtained.

90/112. Question No 1211/89 by Mr McMahon (S-UK) concerning El Salvador

Date of Issue: 5 March 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 9 January 1990

Have the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation discussed the recent developments in El Salvador and what steps are the Ministers taking to further the process of peace in Central America?

Answer:

The question raised by the honourable Member has been answered in the course of the reply to the oral questions with debate on Central America which were taken on 16 January 1990.¹

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 90/007.

90/113. Statement concerning the *démarche* by the Twelve in Jakarta

Date of Issue: 9 March 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Dublin
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Press Statement, Press Release

The acting Presidency in Jakarta has carried out a *démarche* on behalf of the Twelve strongly appealing to the Indonesian authorities to refrain, on humanitarian grounds, from further executions of prisoners under sentence of death for their involvement in the attempted coup of 1965.

90/114. Question No H-41/90 Mr Cabezón Alonso concerning the assault on the Nicaraguan Embassy in Panama

Date of Issue: 14 March 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

On 30 December 1989 members of the US invasion force in Panama attacked the Nicaraguan Embassy, thus breaching by the use of force the international legal principle of the inviolability of diplomatic premises.

What response to this action has been expressed by the Ministers meeting in political cooperation?

Answer:

The specific question raised by the honourable Member has not been raised in European political cooperation.

However, the Twelve are committed to the observance and respect of the principles of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Privileges and Immunities and would deplore violations of the convention as a matter of general policy.

90/115. Question No H-74/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru concerning the imprisonment of Vincent Cheng in Singapore

Date of Issue: 14 March 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Have the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation taken any steps recently to inquire into the situation of the former secretary of the Commission on Justice and Peace of the Archdiocese of Singapore, Vincent Cheng, who has been kept in solitary confinement since May 1987 under the Internal Security Act?

Answer:

The Twelve are following closely the operation of Singapore's Internal Security Act. Particular attention is being paid to the case of Mr Cheng, who is detained without trial.

As was stated by the then Presidency in reply to Mr Visser's question on 21 November,¹ action by the Twelve in particular circumstances must take the form most likely to further the interests of the persons concerned.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 89/290.

90/116. Question No H-113/90 by Mr Cooney concerning the Baltic States

Date of Issue: 14 March 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Will the Foreign Ministers reaffirm the illegality of the incorporation of the Baltic States into the Soviet Union and express their support for the calls for independence currently being expressed by the populations of the Baltic States?

Answer:

The Twelve follow with great attention developments in the Baltic Republics, including their moves to secure a greater degree of political and economic autonomy. Individual Member States undertake numerous projects and joint ventures which foster economic cooperation with these areas. The Twelve consider that the nature of the future constitutional relationship between the Baltic Republics and the USSR is a matter that is best left for decision by the people directly concerned.

90/117. Question No H-120/90 by Mr Alavanos concerning the violation of human rights in Iran

Date of Issue: 14 March 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

The United Nations special envoy investigating allegations of human rights violations in Iran, Reynaldo Galindo Pohl, has confirmed the existence of torture centres, mass graves, the use of torture on children and death by fire.

What emergency measures will the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation take to put an end to these barbaric and inhuman practices?

Answer:

Deeply concerned by the human rights situation in Iran, the Twelve have constantly supported the resolutions voted since 1985 in the General Assembly of the United Nations on this issue and have repeatedly urged the Iranian authorities to respect the norms generally applied by the international community.

These efforts, together with those of other countries, have borne fruit to some extent, since, as the Iranian authorities have revised their attitude to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, the special envoy, Mr Galindo Pohl, was able to travel to Tehran. From his report, which was published on 27 February, it appears that, even if the question of the observance of fundamental human rights must continue to remain under scrutiny, some positive signs can be noted.

In these circumstances, Mr Galindo Pohl stresses that the United Nations' role of aid and vigilance towards Iran in the field of human rights remains essential.

In order to support the efforts of the special envoy and to encourage the continued collaboration between Iran and the Commission, the Twelve decided to act as co-sponsors of the resolution which was adopted by consensus on 7 March. The resolution reflects as faithfully as possible the evidence, analyses and conclusions of the report of the special envoy both as concerns alleged or confirmed human rights violations and as regards signs of goodwill from the Iranian authorities and the improvements noted by Mr Galindo Pohl and provides for the continuation of monitoring of human rights in Iran.

90/118. Question No H-166/90 by Ms Ewing concerning the Decade of Anti-Colonialism

Date of Issue: 14 March 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Will the Foreign Ministers ask the United Nations Committee for Decolonization why Tibet is not on their list of countries being highlighted in the Decade of Anti-Colonialism which begins in 1990?

Answer:

The question raised by the honourable Member has not been discussed in European political cooperation.

90/119. Question No H-171/90 by Mr Simeoni on initial talks under way for the sale of military equipment by France to Hungary

Date of Issue: 14 March 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

What do the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation think of the initiative taken by the French Government to sell military equipment to Hungary?

With the economic situation in Central and Eastern Europe and in the Third World requiring Western aid to be concentrated on socially useful products and services, what measures do the Ministers intend to take to put a stop to the sale of arms?

What action do they intend to take, while respecting the neutral status of the Republic of Ireland, to speed up the process of nuclear and conventional disarmament in Europe, based on permanent mutual controls?

Answer:

The specific issue raised by the honourable member is not discussed in European political cooperation.

The general issue of the Twelve's efforts to promote arms control and disarmament has been addressed in replies to a number of other questions and in particular in the context of the answer to the Oral Question No O-58/89¹ with debate of last December.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 89/326.

90/120. Question No H-178/90 by Ms Giannakou Koutsikou concerning drug trafficking in the occupied northern sector of Cyprus

Date of Issue: 14 March 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

In its 1 January 1990 edition, the news magazine *Der Spiegel* published an article entitled 'In Turkish waters' which painted a very black picture of developments in the Turkish-occupied northern sector of Cyprus. In particular, the report notes that archaeological and Christian artefacts have been looted and illicitly sold in other countries with the complicity of the occupying authorities. Instances of this have been confirmed in US court judgments and have received widespread international publicity. In addition to this, an alarming new development is taking place: the transformation of the occupied sector into a centre for arms and drug trafficking. What do the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation intend to do about this and how do they propose to make Turkey accept responsibility for the fact that its general policy is at variance with international democratic principles and at the same time facilitates trafficking in drugs which are obviously destined for the 12 countries of the European Community, while concurrently it is applying to join that very Community? Do the Ministers consider that the Community's present policy towards Turkey has produced results in terms of the country's adherence to legal principles, in particular with regard to drug trafficking, from which the Community is struggling to protect itself?

Answer:

As concerns the first part of the question raised by the honourable Member, I would want to reiterate the Twelve's firm stance that cultural heritage in general ought to be duly protected. This position certainly applies also to the Christian and Hellenic patrimony of the northern sector of Cyprus. Permit me to recall that the Twelve have already expressed their wish to see specialized United Nations bodies such as UNESCO go ahead with a mission of preserving archaeological heritage and artefacts.

The specific issues raised in the second part of the parliamentary question have not been discussed in European political cooperation.

The honourable Member should however be in no doubt about the 12 Member States' commitment to the ongoing coordination of their efforts in the fields mentioned.

90/121. Question No H-181/90 by Mr Pierros concerning the mobilization of Islamic extremists in Europe

Date of Issue: 14 March 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

The recent bloody events in the Caucasus have sparked off a series of counter-reactions and led to the mobilization of Islamic extremists not only in that region but also throughout Europe as a whole. A series of disturbing demonstrations has recently taken place in Greece, West Germany, Belgium, etc. on the pretext of support for Azerbaijan and the revival of the non-existent minority issue in western Thrace.

Given that these demonstrations, which are known to have the backing of certain official Islamic and Turkish circles, constitute a threat to the future peace and cohesion of the Community, can the Foreign Ministers of the Twelve meeting in political cooperation state what measures they intend to take to deal with this serious situation?

Answer:

The question to which the honourable Member refers is not under discussion in the framework of European political cooperation.

90/122. Question No H-206/90 by Mr Romeos concerning the initiatives for the reunification of Germany

Date of Issue: 14 March 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Both the European Parliament and the Council have stated that the reunification of Germany is a matter which concerns the whole of Europe. Despite this, the process of reunification is proceeding very rapidly without the Community's involvement.

The Irish Presidency's statement to the European Parliament did not answer the question of what role the Community is to play in this process.

Can the Foreign Ministers say:

- (a) Whether an extraordinary summit will be convened?
- (b) Whether they will request the Community's participation in negotiations for the reunification of Germany?
- (c) Whether they will support Dublin's call for Helsinki II to be held before the end of next year?

Answer:

Aspects of the question of German unity that are relevant to the European Community will be a matter for consultation within the Community. As the honourable Member will be aware, progress towards German unification will be among the subjects covered at the special meeting of Heads of State or Government of the Twelve to be held in Dublin on 28 April.

Negotiations on German unification will take place between the Governments of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, synchronized with talks on the external aspects of unification between these two Governments and the Governments of France,

[the] UK, [the] USA and [the] USSR. While consultations will also take place in other appropriate forums, it is expected that the question of German unification will be a major subject at the meeting of Heads of State or Government of the CSCE participating States later this year.

At their meeting on 20 February the Foreign Ministers welcomed the willingness of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany to ensure that the unification process remains firmly rooted in the context of European integration and to maintain close cooperation and consultation with Community partners. They underlined the importance of the April meeting of Heads of State or Government.

At their informal meeting on 20 January, the Foreign Ministers of the Twelve agreed in principle to the holding of a CSCE Summit during 1990. At their formal meeting on 20 February, the Ministers outlined their own priorities for the outcome of this meeting and put forward a number of organizational proposals.

90/123. Question No H-208/90 by Mr Newton Dunn concerning the parliamentary elections in Romania

Date of Issue: 14 March 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Although the National Salvation Council contains representatives of some opposition groups, there is mounting evidence that the electoral playing field for the principal political groupings is unlikely to be even. For example, President Iliescu is reported to have refused an import permit for printing works for one of the opposition groups, the Communist Party's Scinteia printshops having the monopoly on printing machinery in Romania.

Will the Foreign Ministers despatch a team of observers to Romania in order to ensure that the run-up to and the elections on 20 May 1990 are fair?

Answer:

The question of sending observers to monitor the conduct of elections is one for the European Parliament and the parliaments of Member States to decide for themselves.

The Romanian authorities have requested observers from CSCE participating States to monitor the elections in their country. No doubt responses to this request will be formulated in due course by the European Parliament and parliaments of Member States.

90/124. Question No H-210/90 by Mr McCartin concerning European security

Date of Issue: 14 March 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Following a recent interview (*Herald Tribune*, 12 February 1990), in which the President-in-Office stated that 'it is possible that the Community might wish to develop its own security

dimension', will the Foreign Ministers state whether it is intended to put proposals for the development of a security dimension for the Community on the agenda for the intergovernmental conference at the end of the year?

Answer:

The agenda for the intergovernmental conference will be determined in due course. As the honourable Member will be aware, the European Council in Strasbourg agreed to the holding of an intergovernmental conference to prepare a modification of the Treaty with a view to the final stages of economic and monetary union. The Council also concluded that the intergovernmental conference would draw up its own agenda and set the timetable for its proceedings.

90/125. Question No H-223/90 by Mr Papoutsis concerning the Community's reaction to the appeal by Yasser Arafat

Date of Issue: 14 March 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Given the European Parliament's position on the situation in the Israeli-occupied territories and the need for specific measures by the European Community to find a permanent and just solution to the Middle East problem, will the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation say how they intend to react to the appeal addressed by Yasser Arafat on 13 February 1990 to the Heads of the Member States of the Community in which he called on the Community to take immediate action to put an end to the acts of violence committed by the Israeli armed forces in Rafah in the Gaza Strip?

Answer:

The continuing deterioration of the situation in the Occupied Territories is a source of deep concern for the Twelve.

Israeli practices in the Occupied Territories have led the Twelve to stress repeatedly to the Israeli authorities that violence and repression have to stop, that human rights have to be respected and that relevant resolutions of the Security Council must be implemented. They have also recalled the need for the occupying power to observe strictly its obligations under the Fourth Geneva Convention on the Protection of Civilian Populations in Times of War to which it has notably not conformed in such basic areas as health and education.

I also would like to recall the declarations issued at the European Council meetings held in Madrid and in Strasbourg on this subject. At the same time, in Strasbourg the Community and its Member States announced their decision to increase substantially their aid to the inhabitants of the Occupied Territories, in particular establishing as an objective the doubling of the Community's direct aid. They thus intend to contribute to the economic and social development of these Territories and help to preserve the common future of the Palestinian people.

In the opinion of the Twelve the situation in the Occupied Territories is the dramatic result of the lack of progress in the search for a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. They reaffirm that the problems arising from the conflict can only be solved through negotiation with a view to a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement, based on the principles enshrined in the Venice Declaration of 13 June 1980 and in the subsequent statements of the Twelve, in particular the Madrid Declaration.

90/126. Question No H-227/90 by Mr Cassidy concerning COCOM

Date of Issue: 14 March 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

COCOM restrictions on the export of sensitive technology do not apply in all the 12 Member States. As the current restrictions are probably incompatible with the completion of the internal market in 1992, what plans do the Foreign Ministers have for drawing up a common list of sensitive technology which will apply throughout the Community after 1992?

Answer:

This question is not discussed within the framework of European political cooperation.

90/127. Question No H-229/90 by Mr Ephremidis concerning the arrest of Communists in Turkey

Date of Issue: 14 March 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Ninety-six members and cadres of the Turkish Communist Party have been arrested and arbitrarily imprisoned. According to the association of prisoners' relatives, no charges have yet been brought and no justification offered for these arrests. What representations do the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation intend to make to the Turkish Government to secure the immediate release of these 96 prisoners, given that even South Africa is releasing its political prisoners?

Answer:

The specific issue raised by the honourable Member has not been under discussion in European political cooperation.

The honourable Member may be assured that the Turkish authorities are well aware of the Twelve's position in the human rights field.

90/128. Question No H-235/90 by Mr McMahon concerning the continuation of sanctions on South Africa by Member States of the Community following the release of Nelson Mandela

Date of Issue: 14 March 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Can the President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation inform the House of the outcome of the meeting on 20 February to discuss the situation regarding sanctions following upon the release of N. Mandela? What measures will the Irish Presidency take over the next few months to maintain the pressure on the South African regime to end apartheid?

Answer:

At their EPC meeting held in Dublin on 20 February, Foreign Ministers of the Twelve had a thorough discussion on developments in South Africa.

There was a general welcome for the measures announced by President De Klerk on 2 February, which are considered positive and significant. The honourable Member will be aware that on 5 February Foreign Ministers of the Twelve issued a statement welcoming these measures. The release of Nelson Mandela on 11 February was also warmly welcomed by the Twelve in a joint statement.

Foreign Ministers were also in agreement that, while welcome, these recent measures by the South African Government do not yet go far enough, notably in that the state of emergency is still in place and a number of political prisoners are still being held. There is still a distance to go to achieve the complete abolition of apartheid.

Foreign Ministers were furthermore in agreement on reinforcing Community positive measures in favour of the black population.

There was no consensus on the lifting of restrictive measures at this stage.

Foreign Ministers agreed that the Twelve could engage in cultural and scientific cooperation, it being understood that the objective in doing so remains to contribute to the ending of apartheid.

Finally, Foreign Ministers decided on a visit to South Africa by the Troika with the objective of promoting the launching of a national dialogue. It will be a fact-finding mission which will engage in contacts with all political forces and report back to the Twelve.

90/129. Question No H-246/90 by Mr Tsimas concerning direct Community monitoring of elections in the Comecon countries

Date of Issue: 14 March 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

In view of the fact that:

- (i) the Comecon countries and their political parties — especially the opposition parties — have no experience of holding free, democratic, pluralist elections,
- (ii) certain misgivings have already been heard from various quarters, both friendly and hostile, about the integrity and validity of the forthcoming elections in those countries,
- (iii) probable complaints after the event about the proper conduct and the fairness of the elections will have a considerable impact on political developments in those countries and on relations between the EEC and Comecon, do the Foreign Ministers intend to intercede and request authorization for the Community to send special delegations made up of Members of the European Parliament and — probably — of other Community representatives to monitor the conditions under which the elections are held, on the spot, until the final results are announced?

What other measures do the Foreign Ministers intend to take in this direction?

Answer:

The question of sending observers to monitor the conduct of elections is one for the European Parliament and parliaments of Member States to decide for themselves.

The Twelve will continue to monitor developments in Eastern Europe and support the movement towards pluralistic democracy offering equal electoral opportunities for all. This will include strong encouragement for the holding of free and fair elections. The Council has already decided that one of the criteria for coordinated assistance to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe should be their commitment to political reform.

90/130. Question No H-258/90 by Mr Cano Pinto concerning EEC coordination in UN votes

Date of Issue: 14 March 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

In the vote on Resolution 44/240 of the United Nations General Assembly on the invasion of Panama by the US army, the positions of the Governments of the Member States of the EEC were divergent, contradictory and in confrontation with each other. It is difficult to understand why the EEC could not reach a common, coordinated position on so serious an event as the invasion of a sovereign State in manifest violation of international law, as admitted by all sectors of public opinion.

Why do the Member States of the EEC fail, especially on particularly serious matters such as this, to fulfil the spirit and letter of the Single Act, which requires them to pursue a coordinated foreign policy? Can the internal market be instituted without a parallel harmonization and convergence of the foreign policies of the Member States?

Answer:

On the issue of Panama I would like to ask the honourable Member to refer to the answers given by the Presidency to a number of questions with debate on 16 January 1990.

I would add that at the occasion of the political colloquy with the political commission of the European Parliament on 22 February, the Presidency further expressed the position of the Twelve by reaffirming their strong support for the principle of non-interference, while at the same time noting the complexities involved in the specific case.

On the general issue of coordination at the United Nations, I want to assure the honourable Member that the Twelve are continually improving their cohesion within the United Nations to the point where they are accepted as one of the principal and most respected interlocutors within that organization.

However, the Twelve agree on the need to further improve their cohesion within the United Nations and other international forums on issues where agreement has not been reached, on the basis of their shared values and principles.

90/131. Question No H-262/90 by Mr Livanos concerning Amnesty International exposure of torture in Turkey

Date of Issue: 14 March 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

In its latest report to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, Amnesty International once again accuses Turkey of showing persistent contempt for human rights through its continued use of torture.

What is the Foreign Ministers' reaction to the Turkish authorities' consistent refusal to take radical steps to improve their deplorable human rights record and to what extent do they intend to take measures of substance against Turkey?

Answer:

The Twelve are very closely monitoring the question of human rights in Turkey.

As a matter of fact the Turkish authorities are fully aware of the special importance the Twelve attach to the strict respect and implementation by Turkey of the whole range of engagements which it has of its own free will subscribed to when adhering to international conventions in the field of human rights.

90/132. Question No H-265/90 by Mr Gollnisch concerning the lifting of economic sanctions imposed on the Republic of South Africa

Date of Issue: 14 March 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

At their meeting in Dublin, the Foreign Ministers of the European Community apparently decided not to lift the economic sanctions imposed on South Africa, despite the measures recently taken by the government of that country.

Do the Ministers intend to delay lifting sanctions until the people of South Africa have suffered the same fate as the peoples of Kampuchea and Vietnam, whose pre-1975 non-Communist governments were castigated for their 'authoritarian' stance, and who attracted a little sympathy only posthumously, after they had been lost at sea or buried in mass graves?

Answer:

I would ask the honourable Member to kindly refer to the answer which I gave to Oral Question No H-235/90¹ raised by Mr McMahon.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 90/128.

90/133. Question No H-277/90 by Mr De Rossa concerning Nicaragua

Date of Issue: 14 March 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Now that the Nicaraguan elections are over can the EPC indicate what steps it intends taking at the forthcoming meeting with Foreign Ministers of the Central American States under the San José framework dealing with the severe economic problems of the region? Does the EPC agree that the development of trade and industry in the region is the best means of assisting the growth of stable and democratic government in the region?

Answer:

In their 27 February 1990 Declaration on the outcome of the Nicaraguan elections,¹ the Twelve not only welcomed the holding of elections in Nicaragua 'in a free and fair fashion', but also expressed their hope that the outcome of the elections would 'expedite the advancement of the peace process in Central America' generally and in Nicaragua more specifically.

In this spirit the European Community and its Member States reaffirmed their 'commitment to the intensification of cooperation with the countries of the region with the aim of supporting economic development and social progress in the interest of greater political stability'.

At the occasion of the 16 January oral question with debate session on Central America, the opportunity was given to the Presidency, before this same Assembly, to recall the Cooperation Agreement between the Community and the countries of Central America, signed on 30 June 1986, which has up to now resulted in the allocation of considerable amounts of aid and assistance to the region.

In the light of democratization and positive change in Central America, the Irish Presidency and the European Community as a whole are looking forward to continuing the San José process in order to further the development of economic and technical cooperation between the Community and Central America.

We are confident that the 9 and 10 April San José VI ministerial meeting will, on the political level, contribute to the further promotion of peace and democracy in Central America as well as towards its social and economic development, thus marking the starting point of a new era in the relationship between the EC and the Central American countries.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 90/108.

90/134. Question No H-281/90 by Mr Elles concerning US-EC relations

Date of Issue: 14 March 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Could the President-in-Office of the Council of Ministers indicate what agreement he reached with the US Government during his recent visit to Washington? What consultation took place within the Community before his meeting with the US President?

Answer:

The Taoiseach's visit to the United States took place against the background of US interest in enhancing its relations with the European Community as outlined in President Bush's speech last May and Secretary of State Baker's speech in Berlin in December. The Taoiseach, as President of the European Council, expressed the Community's appreciation of the positive attitude of the US Administration to the Community's role and development. As a step towards strengthening relations between the US and the EC, it was agreed that such meetings between the President of the United States and the President of the European Council should become a regular feature of US-EC relations and that at least one meeting should be held during each Presidency to give overall political direction to the further development of consultation and cooperation. It was also agreed that there should be an additional meeting each year between the US Secretary of State and Ministers of the Twelve and that there should be a further development of the contacts that are already taking place at official level on subjects covered by European political cooperation.

The means by which the dialogue between the Community and the United States might be strengthened have been intensively discussed within the EPC framework, in particular in the wake of Secretary Baker's Berlin speech. In particular, Foreign Ministers of the Twelve discussed EC-US relations at their meeting in Dublin on 20 February and approved the idea of strengthening the political dialogue with the United States.

90/135. Statement concerning Ethiopia

Date of Issue: 15 March 1990
 Place of Issue: Brussels, Dublin
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: The Twelve
 Status of Document: Declaration

The Community and its Member States welcome the agreement of the Government of Ethiopia and the Tigrean People's Liberation Front to allow convoys of food and other emergency relief supplies under the auspices of the Joint Relief Partnership to reach the famine-stricken areas in the north of Ethiopia passing through the port of Assab.

They consider this an important first step in the relief operation which should be got under way as expeditiously as possible and expanded to meet the needs of the situation. The Community and its Member States, recalling their past appeals to the parties, urge all concerned to cooperate with this effort to alleviate the critical plight of those suffering from hunger.

90/136. Statement concerning the execution of Mr Farzad Bazoft

Date of Issue: 15 March 1990
 Place of Issue: Brussels, Dublin
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: The Twelve
 Status of Document: Declaration

The 12 members of the European Community are utterly dismayed at the execution in Baghdad of Mr Farzad Bazoft.

They had appealed to the Iraqi authorities on humanitarian grounds to exercise clemency and are profoundly disappointed that this humanitarian appeal was not heeded.

90/137. Head of Delegation's opening address at the CSCE Economic Conference in Bonn

Date of Issue: 19 March 1990
 Place of Issue: Bonn
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Declaration

Mr Chairman, on behalf of the 12 Member States of the European Community, whose Presidency Ireland has the honour of exercising, I wish to extend our thanks and appreciation to the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany for its willingness to host this Conference.

This Conference on Economic Cooperation in Europe could hardly have convened at a more auspicious time for the future of our continent. The political and economic developments that were already appearing at the conclusion of the Vienna meeting have blossomed forth and are now bearing fruit. Yesterday, the German Democratic Republic held its first free and democratic elections in over 40 years. This Sunday, Hungarians too will go to the polls to elect the government of their choice to guide them to full democracy and respond to their desire for economic renewal. After decades of division, Europe is fast coming together in the respect for human rights and the principles of democratic government, a deepening sense of mutual trust, and an increased will to cooperate for the benefit of all.

The causes of these changes are multiple. Many of them came about as a direct result of the determination of the people to seize control of their own destiny and adopt a system of government of their own choosing. In most cases, thankfully, this was achieved by the massive power of peaceful protest; in Romania, however, many lost their lives as the price of ending

tyranny, and to these brave people in particular I wish to pay tribute today. In some other countries, the impetus for change came from leaders within the system itself. The Twelve have expressed their happiness at the changes taking place and have welcomed the fact that the conditions have been established which enabled the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe to exercise their choice, and set out on the road to political and economic reform.

Much of the credit is due to the CSCE process itself. From that August day in 1975, when the Heads of State and Government of the 35 participating States declared their determination 'to improve and intensify their relations and to contribute in Europe to peace, security, justice and cooperation', the Helsinki Final Act has served as a rallying point for *rapprochement* among our countries. The ten principles guiding our relations and the programme of action set out in the Final Act and developed through the CSCE process have been instrumental in creating the foundation for a new Europe. We have now embarked on a common enterprise to overcome the divisions and antagonisms which were the legacy of the Second World War.

The CSCE will play a vital role in this enterprise of fostering cooperation and establishing new relations among the 35. The particular insight which the CSCE has brought to the task of strengthening security and stability in Europe is the realization that all aspects of our relationship are interlinked and strongly influence one another. Clearly military security is an essential element and the Twelve welcome the progress that has been made in both sets of Vienna negotiations. But the achievement of lasting security and confidence is dependent to a great extent on implementation of the human dimension. There is a continuing improvement in the degree to which governments are honouring their commitments, particularly those relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms. Nevertheless, there is still a need for further improvement, and we note with interest the plans in many countries to introduce legislation to ensure that their laws and regulations are in conformity with their international obligations. We also trust that further progress within the human dimension will be achieved at the Copenhagen meeting in June.

At this time of rapid and profound change, the CSCE will be called upon to take an increasingly important part in achieving a just and lasting state of peace in Europe. The Twelve believe that the meeting of Heads of State or Government later this year will mark the starting point for a new, more advanced stage of the CSCE process and give it new directions, while maintaining balanced progress in all its aspects. The meeting should, in our view, also mandate Foreign Ministers to implement its decision, including supplementing CSCE commitments in the field of human rights, considering new institutional arrangements and defining the CSCE's future role. The Community and its Member States are determined to assume their responsibilities wholeheartedly and will play a full part in this process.

Mr Chairman, our conference opens at a time when all 35 participating States are once again fully committed to the CSCE process. This renewed commitment enables us to place the emphasis of the future role of CSCE on increased cooperation between the participating States, notably in the economic field. This is the first intersessional conference on the subject of economic cooperation, and we in the Community are fully committed to ensuring its success. We believe that this subject also has major political significance and that increased cooperation in this field is fundamental in creating the new relations which are our common objective.

This conference has the task of establishing new guidelines for cooperation as well as setting out concrete measures by which this cooperation can take place. To this end the European Community has elaborated proposals for a concluding document. These have been brought to the attention of all participating States in the course of the last weeks. We have noted positive reactions to our proposals. Ireland, in the name of the 12 members of the European Community, will table the paper today so that the proposals can serve us in the work of this conference.

The decision last year to hold a conference on economic cooperation in Europe was part of an encouraging trend towards greater cooperation between the participating States. During the intervening period not only have the positive developments which made it possible for the Vienna meeting to convene an economic conference continued, but the scope and pace of

change in Central and Eastern Europe have been of unprecedented proportions. The enhanced significance of the CSCE in this context extends particularly to the economic dimension of our relations which are covered by the provisions of Basket Two. Economic cooperation has a crucial part to play in the building of new relationships within Europe. Those countries which have embarked upon a path of political reform need to create the economic conditions which will enable their societies to prosper in their new-found freedoms. Economic advancement poses a continuing challenge to all countries. The satisfaction of the economic needs of its people is a basic test of any society. Recent changes in Europe have been fuelled by a widespread assertion on the part of the peoples involved that their existing economic system had not lived up to expectations in this regard. The evident urge to achieve fundamental economic as well as political reform makes this conference a very timely one indeed.

We are here to consider ways to facilitate an expansion of business between participating States and thus to contribute to economic growth and higher living standards throughout Europe. Economic and business activity have become increasingly internationalized through the impact of technology, the more efficient transmission of information and the efforts of regional groupings to promote free trade, open markets and the consequent growth of interdependence between nations. No country or groups of countries can now stand aloof from the world economy or pretend that outside trends do not affect their economic performance and the living standards of their peoples.

As the integration of the global economy has progressed it has become clear that certain modes of economic activity have yielded better results than others. Market-oriented systems have proven themselves to be more responsive than others to the needs of consumers, producers and investors. It has become clear that those countries which favour market methods have, in general, enjoyed faster rates of economic growth and greater economic development than those which have chosen to regulate their economies without due regard to market forces. These facts are increasingly being recognized not only in Europe but throughout the world. The sharing of the benefits of experience is one very important way of assisting in the move towards the development of market-oriented economic structures. There should also be encouragement to integrate into the existing framework of international agreements on economic cooperation.

The European Community, which sponsored the original proposal to hold this conference, comes to Bonn ready to contribute to a positive outcome in these areas. The Community's founding Treaty includes a resolve to ensure economic and social progress by common action to eliminate the barriers which divide Europe. We in the Community have worked over the years for the opening of our economies, for the lifting of restrictions and are now progressing towards the completion of a single market by 1992. These moves have led to economic benefits and will continue to contribute to growth. But they are not without risk.

The lessons learned in coming to terms with the challenges have, we believe, a relevance beyond the Community and underlie the proposals submitted by us as a contribution to the joint efforts towards possible conclusions of this conference.

We in the Community recognize the attention now being paid to the EC as a point of reference in the context of the economic changes in Europe.

This entails a responsibility which was addressed by the European Council at Strasbourg in December 1989 when it stated that 'the Community has taken and will take the necessary decisions to strengthen its cooperation with peoples aspiring to freedom, democracy and progress and with States which intend their founding principles to be democracy, pluralism and the rule of law. It will encourage the necessary economic reforms by all the means at its disposal and will continue its examination of the appropriate forms of association with the countries which are pursuing the path of economic and political reform'.

The Community has established agreements with other European States on matters of trade and economic cooperation. Substantial benefits have flowed from these and it is our aim to expand the number of such agreements, to invest in them the necessary political will to ensure their effective operation and to adapt them over time to keep pace with developments.

The Community's dynamism, its location and its experience have also conferred upon it a special responsibility in relation to the external assistance required to consolidate and support the radical economic changes now under way in Central and Eastern Europe. The Commission of the European Communities has been playing a central role as the coordinator of aid in support of restructuring through the Group of 24. The Community's own programme of activity within that framework emphasizes a number of areas relevant to this conference, including export development, support of structural adjustment, reform of banking, management training and the interaction between economic development and environmental protection.

Mr Chairman, economic links between CSCE participating States, both multilateral and bilateral, must be developed. However, in market economies the role of the State authorities is largely limited to the creation of a favourable climate for business. It is not normally the role of governments to make investment decisions or to direct business to expand in particular areas or enter into relations with specific partners. These decisions are made by business people at the operational level who decide independently and according to their own economic judgement whether appropriate conditions exist for entering particular markets. This is why I wish to make specific reference to the innovation at this CSCE meeting of providing for the full participation of the business sector. This gives a whole new focus to the economic cooperation provisions of Basket Two. The presence here of the practitioners of business relations should provide a genuine boost to economic cooperation between the participating States. It will enable the practical difficulties impeding commercial activity to be identified and tackled. It should allow those who take operational decisions in the business sector to gain first-hand experience of their counterparts. It should open up new avenues of contact and cooperation and allow the private sector to involve itself more fully in the development of mutually beneficial economic exchanges. Our aim must be to ensure that these opportunities are availed of and that we emerge from this conference with the prospects for economic cooperation on a stronger and sounder footing. The European Community will work to derive full advantage from this unique opportunity to learn from each other in an atmosphere of mutual respect and frankness and in a spirit of cooperation.

No one knows better than those who are practically involved on a day-to-day basis the concrete measures necessary to facilitate the work of individual business people and to improve contact between businesses and the end users of the products. Areas of particular concern must be freedom of establishment for firms and their representatives, including the availability of premises, communications, utilities and support staff. The improvement of statistical services and the establishment of appropriate legal, banking, fiscal and competitive conditions are also important. Due emphasis must also be given to trade promotion, marketing, training and the exchange of information. These matters will be considered by the subsidiary working bodies and it can be expected that the experience of business participants will be of particular value in suggesting means of rapid and effective improvement with the potential for a positive impact on the business climate. The European Community has a range of improvements in mind in this area and will be advancing them in the course of the conference.

We in the Community value highly the freedom of individual enterprise and the dynamic role of the private sector and wish to see efforts to develop that sector throughout Europe encouraged. An aspect of particular interest is the role of small and medium-sized enterprises, not least at this time because of their flexibility in changing circumstances and their inherent ability to respond quickly to changes in the market-place. The experience within the Community in fostering economic growth has been that small and medium-sized enterprises can serve as a very effective catalyst for economic development, providing a return considerably in excess of resources invested. As indicated in the paper to be tabled by the EC it is our intention to work during the Conference for a consensus on the importance of small and medium-sized enterprises and of providing the conditions for them to flourish by developing appropriate economic, legal and administrative structures.

Overall, the many changes which are required for greater economic cooperation and growth will not be easy. A spirit of enterprise cannot be wished into existence. Even a recognition of the

importance of entrepreneurial skills will take time to develop where enterprise has long been stifled. We do not underestimate the daunting task which faces those countries in transition from a command economy to a market-oriented economic system.

Mr Chairman, the tasks ahead of this Conference are very great but now that ideological differences between participating States appear to have narrowed appreciably, the potential for achievement is very considerable. There is ample scope for this Conference to make a measurable contribution to improving the economic performance of our respective countries and the level and intensity of mutually beneficial cooperation. The European Community will, I can assure you, play a part in this process commensurate with its standing and responsibility and drawing on its own experience in these areas of such direct concern to the everyday lives of our people.

We are certain that the excellent arrangements made to receive us and the unstinting work of the Executive Secretary and his staff will be conducive to the successful outcome of our deliberations. For our part, we are determined to work in a spirit of cooperation with all the delegations present with a view to ensuring that this Conference will make an important and practically-oriented contribution to further and enhanced cooperation among the 35 participating States.

**90/138. Question No 1265/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E)
concerning Alami Bouti Hassan, Boukourou Abdelfattah and
Adelilah Benabdessalem, political prisoners in Morocco**

Date of Issue: 20 March 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 12 January 1990

Are the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation in a position to take up the case of the prisoners Alami Bouti Hassan, Boukourou Abdelfattah and Adelilah Benabdessalem, who declared a hunger strike when the authorities refused to investigate accusations of torture and the confiscation of medicines and other personal effects of prisoners in the Laalou prison in Rabat?

Answer:

The Twelve have taken note of the resolutions on Morocco adopted on 12 October and on 14 December 1989 by the European Parliament, as well as of the interest of the Parliament in a number of specific cases.

The cases mentioned by the honourable Member have not been discussed within European political cooperation.

The human rights policy of the Twelve and the importance they attach to it in their relations with third countries are known by the Moroccan authorities. The Twelve will not fail to make representations wherever these will be considered to have the desired effect or to be in the interest of those concerned.

**90/139. Question No 1268/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E)
concerning the execution of high-ranking officials in Sierra Leone**

Date of Issue: 20 March 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 12 January 1990

Are the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation aware of the execution of six high-ranking officials from previous governments, including a deputy Head of State, which took place on 6 October 1989, on charges of treason? Did they take any steps to prevent these executions? Did they examine the legal conditions under which the sentences were passed and ascertain whether internationally recognized rights were observed?

Answer:

The honourable Member is referred to the answer given to question No 1017/89.¹

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 90/043.

90/140. Question No 1337/89 by Mr Mazzone, Mr Fini, Mr Rauti, and Ms Muscardini (NI-I) concerning the emergence of chauvinistic and separatist demands in Europe

Date of Issue: 20 March 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 22 January 1990

Recently, in various Community countries, movements have been forming and mobilizing with the aim of asserting absurd anachronistic territorial claims on bordering States, such as a chauvinistic German group in the Alto Adige, which by virtue of law, culture and civilization belongs to Italy. Political movements are also being organized in certain Community countries in order to create ridiculous territorial and racial divisions which undermine the concept of national unity, sovereignty and peaceful coexistence between the citizens of one and the same State, such as, for example, the anachronistic Lombard and Veneto leagues, Southern Italian and Sardinian groups, etc.

What steps do the Member States of the EEC intend to take to put an end to such phenomena, which tend to destroy the spirit of national and territorial unity of individual Community States and harmony between them? Do they not consider that they should promote national and inter-community conferences within the various communities aimed at reaffirming the principles likely to strengthen real European political union on the basis of respect for national values and the natural boundaries between nations?

Answer:

The question raised by the honourable Members does not fall within the competence of European political cooperation, so it has not been discussed in that framework.

90/141. Message of goodwill at the occasion of Namibian independence

Date of Issue: 21 March 1990

Place of Issue: Brussels, Dublin

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Message

Mr President, speaking on behalf of the European Community and its Member States, I wish to convey a message of goodwill from the people of the Community to the people and Government of Namibia as they embark on a new and historic chapter in their history.

We salute the achievement of the people of Namibia in making this day a reality. This achievement rightly belongs to all the people of Namibia and today the Twelve pledge to them their friendship and support. We look forward to welcoming Namibia as a new member of the Lomé Convention and reaffirm our willingness to assist in Namibia's future economic and social development.

Furthermore, we warmly pay tribute on this momentous occasion to the central role played by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, his Special Representative and UNTAG in assisting the peaceful transition to independence under a Constitution based on the principles of democracy and respect for human rights.

90/142. Statement concerning the situation in Lithuania

Date of Issue: 24 March 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Dublin
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The Twelve have heard with concern the reports from Lithuania. They appeal for maximum restraint on all sides. They hope for a respectful, open and fair dialogue between Moscow and Vilnius, avoiding the use of force or the threat of the use of force on the basis of the principles of the Helsinki Final Act.

90/143. Statement concerning the assassination in Colombia of Bernard Jamarillo

Date of Issue: 26 March 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Dublin
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The Twelve condemn the murder in Colombia of presidential candidate Bernardo Jaramillo. This latest murder strikes at the heart of the democratic institutions which must be strengthened if Colombia is to overcome its present difficulties.

90/144. Report of the Irish Presidency on the cooperation of the Twelve during the 46th Session of the Commission on Human Rights

Date of Issue: 29 March 1990
Place of Issue: Geneva
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Other

Summary

1. The Twelve's role in the Commission on Human Rights was further developed at the 46th Session. A common strategy prepared in advance and intensive consultations with other countries and groups of countries before and during the Session were factors in the perception of the Twelve in the Commission's deliberations. The delivery of a Twelve statement emphasizing positive themes early in the Session by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ireland and the innovation of a common statement on country situations under Item 12 gave further expression to the Twelve's presence at the Commission. While progress on the main objective established

by the Twelve – enhancement of the effectiveness of the Commission – was disappointingly limited, the compromise resolution adopted at the end of the Session at least leaves the way open for the continued pursuit of this objective through consultations between now and the 47th session.

Twelve strategy

2. The report of the Spanish Presidency on the 45th Session recommended that the Twelve's profile at the Commission on Human Rights should be strengthened by increasing coordination before and during the sessions. In particular, it was suggested that this could be done by:

- (a) delivery of additional common Twelve statements;
- (b) improved coordination of positions on specific resolutions in order to widen the scope of convergence among partners; and
- (c) further elaboration of coordinated strategies, especially where the image of the Twelve in relation to other parties was affected, whether this was in informal negotiations or in common sponsorship or initiatives.

These recommendations, together with growing concern at the apparent deepening of a North/South divide on human rights matters in the past year, and particularly in the Third Committee at UNGA 44, formed the background to initial Twelve consideration of a strategic approach to the 46th Session. Events in Eastern Europe were also considered to be a major factor not only because of their obvious impact on the Commission's work but also because they fed a growing impression in the Third World of a diminished interest by Western countries in their concerns.

3. The Twelve in Geneva began work under the French Presidency in December 1989 on the preparation of a strategy paper in the light of developments at the Third Committee in New York. This paper, adopted by the 12 Heads of Mission in Geneva at the start of the Irish Presidency, was subsequently discussed in the EPC Human Rights Working Group and approved by the Political Committee. It stated that:

- (i) the main objective of the Twelve should be enhancement of the effectiveness of the Commission on the basis of consensus at the Commission itself;
- (ii) the Twelve would take a global political approach to the various issues and country situations;
- (iii) a major effort would be made during the 46th Session to show greater sensitivity to G 77 concerns as they are expressed, e.g. solidarity or social and economic rights;
- (iv) the Twelve would initiate regular dialogue in the run-up to the Session with other regional groups and like-minded countries with the aim of encouraging positive and consensus-oriented relations with Third World countries and developing the role of the Twelve in the Western Group in a way which enhanced traditional cooperation in that forum. Every effort would be made to elaborate a common approach of the Twelve on important issues in advance of Western coordination;
- (v) the main Presidency address to the Commission would be delivered early in the Session and would seek to influence the atmosphere positively by concentrating on the major advances in human rights over the past year;
- (vi) during the Session opportunities for additional Twelve statements would be considered;
- (vii) every effort would be made to resolve the situation whereby up to five partners were seeking three seats on the Sub-Commission.

In addition to the main strategy paper an agreed paper was produced by the Twelve in Geneva which identified possible ways of enhancing the Commission for discussions with countries outside the Community in the run-up to and during the Session.

The Twelve's preparation for the 46th Session

4. The Presidency had separate bilateral consultations with each of the Twelve before the start of the Session. These meetings allowed for intensive discussion of the major issues to be addressed at

the forthcoming Session and the identification of particular concerns of each partner with the aim of laying the best possible foundation for improved cohesion. A programme of contacts by the 12 Heads of Mission and the Troika with other countries and groups was also initiated. Under Secretary-General Jan Martenson, the Director of the Centre for Human Rights and three of his senior staff were invited to attend one of the regular Heads of Mission meetings at which the Twelve's strategy for the forthcoming Session was explained to them. The Troika met with Professor Purificacion Valera-Quisumbing, incoming President of the Commission, before the start of the 46th Session.

Western coordination

5. In January 1990 the Presidency had contact with non-Twelve Western countries at Ambassador level both separately and in groups. These meetings were aimed at presenting the approach of the Twelve as a positive contribution to the process of Western coordination both in terms of taking the views of other Western delegations into account early in the process of Twelve coordination and keeping them informed of the Twelve's thinking. During the Session itself there were two formal Troika meetings with the US and one with Canada (see also paragraph 6) and contact by the Presidency separately with most other Western delegations outside the Twelve. Through this process of continuing Presidency-Troika consultation with the broader Western Group, in cooperation particularly with the Western Coordinator (United Kingdom), it was possible to avoid potential difficulties while at the same time further developing the role of the Twelve in the Commission. At the WEOG meetings, held on a daily basis during the Session, the Twelve initiated discussion of the problem of a perceived North/South divide and related international developments. Two meetings of the WEOG were largely devoted to these issues and it emerged that most other Western countries shared the Twelve's concerns.

Meetings with non-Twelve countries

6. These contacts before the Session and during it by the 12 Heads of Delegation or Troika involved a series of meetings with the US, Canada, the USSR, the Latin American Group of Eight, the Arab League, the Organization of African Unity and other Third World countries. In addition the Presidency represented the Community at a meeting with the Sri Lankan Head of Delegation and Attorney-General. Towards the end of the Session the Twelve intensified their contacts with particular Third World countries in an effort to avoid an impasse in the Working Group on Enhancement. The Community's contacts with other countries and its involvement in negotiations on various key issues throughout the Session had a perceptible impact on the Commission's deliberations. A number of practical results were achieved:

(i) The Twelve's negotiations with the Arab League and particularly Egypt succeeded in improving the Middle East resolutions to such an extent that members of the Twelve [which are] members of the Commission were able to move from abstention to positive votes on the Syrian Arab Golan and the human rights in Southern Lebanon resolutions and from a negative to a positive vote on Part A of the resolution on the question of violations of human rights in occupied Palestine. The Twelve were also able to become main co-sponsors of a resolution on settlements in the Occupied Territories which was drafted on the basis of the Twelve's statement of 31 January 1990 and introduced by the Presidency. However, later in the Session and despite further negotiations involving Egypt it was not possible to reach agreement on a proposed draft decision on Iraq. The Western (including the Twelve's members) co-sponsored text was tabled but a no-action motion succeeded in eliminating it from consideration.

(ii) A constructive dialogue was initiated with the USSR, with two formal Troika meetings and regular informal contacts by the Presidency. The USSR expressed broad agreement with the Twelve's strategy which was explained to them in detail. In particular, they welcomed the approach of the Twelve as set out in the address by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ireland. Later in the Session a Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister commented favourably on the self-critical

reflection in the Twelve's Item 12 statement. The Soviet Minister also broadly supported the Twelve's approach to the issue of enhancement. In the EC-USSR dialogue the Soviets expressed an interest in developing a consistent approach to human rights issues at the CSCE and CHR. However, despite these positive indications the USSR took a different position from the Twelve in a number of key votes concerning two important country situations.

Note: The Twelve also had informal contacts with individual East European delegations. The whole Session was notable for the fact that Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland broadly supported the Twelve's positions and demonstrated a desire to cooperate on many issues. Another positive development was the reappointment of the special rapporteur on Romania with the agreement of the Romanian Government.

(iii) Discussions with the Latin American countries focused on country situations of particular interest to them (Cuba, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti and Chile) and on a Peruvian-Colombian initiative on the consequences of acts of violence committed by irregular armed groups and drug traffickers on the enjoyment of human rights. The negotiations with Peru and Colombia resulted in a text emerging which clearly distinguished between human rights violations and the effects on the enjoyment of human rights of the activities of irregular armed groups. This enabled co-sponsorship by some of the Twelve. The dialogue with the Latin Americans also helped to facilitate the adoption without a vote of a Western resolution which addressed the issues of reprisals against witnesses seen by representatives of the UN (e.g. in Cuba and Iran as well as in various [other] countries by the Working Group on Disappearances) and called for a report on all information available on such reprisals from the Secretary-General at the next Session. However, it must also be noted that abstentions by Latin American countries were critical in the passage of the no-action motions on China and Iraq. The Twelve joined in the consensus on the resolution which requested the Secretary-General to appoint an independent expert as his representative to examine the human rights situation in Guatemala. They also played an important role in negotiations leading to the adoption of consensus resolutions on Chile and El Salvador.

(iv) Discussions with the United States delegation were frequent throughout the session on a broad range of issues. US concerns about the situation of human rights in Cuba were a central feature of these contacts and the Twelve positively influenced the final terms of [the] resolution which was adopted. Members of the Twelve [which] are members of the Commission voted in favour and a majority of the Twelve co-sponsored this resolution. The emphasis on the interventions of the United States during the Session was sometimes in contrast to the approach of the Twelve on issues of particular concern to Third World countries and also on some other issues, e.g. reform of the Sub-Commission.

(v) Discussion with the African group did not result in any substantial improvement in their texts. However, a foundation was laid for dialogue at future sessions.

(vi) In the meeting with the Sri Lankan Attorney-General the Presidency put the concerns of the Twelve about the human rights situation in his country.

(vii) The Twelve's contact generally with Third World countries included discussion of our agreed strategy of showing greater sensitivity regarding their concerns on economic, social and cultural rights and the right to development. While the Twelve were not in a position to agree on all the relevant resolutions in this field the dialogue had a positive impact and some progress was made. Towards the end of the Session the Twelve sought to encourage the Third World moderates on the enhancement issue. The Troika had a meeting with countries from different regions of the Third World but it was apparent that little immediate progress was possible because of the hardening of the non-aligned movement's position.

Common Twelve statements

7. The main address of the Twelve to the Commission was delivered by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ireland, Mr Gerard Collins T.D., on 2 February 1990. It set out the Twelve's approach

to human rights and the significance of developments in the past year. The Presidency's address was generally welcomed as setting a positive tone for the Commission's work early in the Session. In addition the Twelve made a common statement on country situations under Item 12. Member States did not on this occasion deliver national statements under this item. The Presidency, on behalf of the Twelve, also spoke under Item 11 on the question of enhancement (some Member States also spoke on this item), introduced the draft resolution on settlements in the Occupied Territories, and intervened on the first day of the session to support a motion by Peru to have the question of Chile removed from the agenda as a separate Item 5 and instead discussed under Item 12. Italy, on behalf of members of the Twelve [which are] members of the Commission, delivered a common explanation of vote on the Kampuchea resolution reflecting the position of the Twelve.

The Twelve's cohesion and coordination

8. The Twelve improved their cohesion and coordination and this contributed significantly to the clear perception on the part of other countries and groups that the role of the Twelve is becoming increasingly important at the Commission. However, it is clear that there is further scope for improvement in the Twelve's cohesion in voting. In addition to the resolutions reported on in paragraph 6 the Twelve jointly co-sponsored the consensus resolutions on Iran and Afghanistan. They were active in promoting the resolution on China together with other Western countries and *démarches* supporting it were made in a number of Third World countries. All the Twelve co-sponsored the resolution but a no-action motion succeeded. Partners who had formerly co-sponsored the resolution on Kampuchea declined to do so at this session due to its failure to address human rights concerns adequately. One partner moved from a positive vote to an abstention. In votes on resolutions on Panama and Albania, Twelve cohesion was not possible. Unfortunately, it was not possible to resolve the situation whereby candidates from four Member States sought three Sub-Commission seats in advance of the voting. The Presidency, as an observer in the Commission, was not involved in the closed meetings on the 1503 procedure. Members of the Twelve [which are] members of the Commission report, however, that cohesion among them was maintained throughout the procedure. One partner member of the Commission played a crucial and positive role in the handling of the situation of human rights in Burma under [the] 1503 [procedure].

9. Intensive Twelve coordination began in January before the Session and continued throughout it. Heads of Delegation met regularly once a week during the Session, usually on Wednesday, and experts met every Monday. In addition, frequent coordination meetings were convened at short notice at other times during the Session to address specific issues as they arose and to consider the drafts of common statements.

Enhancement of the CHR

10. The main overall theme of the Twelve's dialogue with other countries at the 46th Session was the central objective of securing an improvement in the effectiveness of the Commission. As the session progressed and, in particular, following the establishment of a Working Group on the issue, it became apparent that there were major difficulties in pursuing this objective. The emergence of the non-aligned movement as a force in the CHR was centrally linked to discussion of enhancement and enlargement of the Commission and their coordination was intense. An aggressive presentation of the NNA position led by India, Pakistan and Cuba blocked any possibility of agreement on an enhancement package. In responding to this difficult situation the Twelve focused more on proposals for an intersessional mechanism as the Session progressed. This strategy was supported by the Twelve's *démarches* in various Third World countries near the end of the Session. Counter-proposals which were directed at weakening rather than strengthening the mechanisms of the Commission were put forward by several non-aligned members in the Working Group. In the internal discussions in the Working Group,

Egypt, on behalf of the Arab League and Senegal, one of the most prominent of the African delegations, argued for a more positive attitude on the part of the non-aligned and they were both helpful to the Twelve in the discussions in the Working Group.

11. In view of the disappointing outcome of the enhancement debate at the 46th Session it is clear that the Twelve's objectives will have to be further pursued at ECOSOC and in Geneva between now and the next Session. At ECOSOC one of the options for the Twelve and like-minded countries is to argue that the question of enlargement should not be decided until the Commission itself has been able to report its views on enhancement. Meanwhile, in Geneva it is to be hoped that the provision in the resolution that delegations could meet informally to pursue discussion would both lead to a type of informal intersessional activity and to a more in depth and possibly productive discussion on enhancement. The hope must still be that this would result in a satisfactory decision at the 47th Session. However, it may be that the hardliners in the non-aligned movement will seek to press ahead with the enlargement component of UNGA Resolution 44/167 and in that event the Twelve will have to decide whether to accept enlargement or to oppose it.

Conclusion and recommendations

12. The Presidency considers that the role of the Twelve was further developed at the 46th Session. The Twelve were able to co-sponsor an increased number of resolutions and the delivery of the first common statement under Item 12 was a significant advance in terms of cohesion. Despite the success of the no-action motions on China and Iraq the Twelve were seen to be concerned about the human rights situations in these countries through their co-sponsorship of the relevant draft resolution and draft decision. Other positive features from a Twelve perspective were the extension of the mandates of thematic rapporteurs for two further years despite some initial opposition and the outcome in the 1503 procedure allowing for further consideration of the situation of human rights in Burma. No progress can be reported on the central Twelve objective of enhancement but the consensus resolution adopted at least allows for continued dialogue with Third World countries and for the implicit link between enlargement of the Commission and enhancement contained in UNGA Resolution 44/167 to be formally invoked at ECOSOC.

13. The Presidency recommends:

(i) An active and leading role by the Twelve in Geneva in seeking to stimulate the informal discussions on enhancement provided for in the consensus resolution between now and the 47th Session. The Twelve should also consider the possibility of taking a specific initiative on enhancement, after further close consultations among themselves, based on the strategy agreed for the 46th Session.

(ii) Intensive coordination of Twelve tactics in the run-up to the ECOSOC session in May and afterwards, including consideration of further *démarches* in advance in Third World countries.

(iii) Continuation of the dialogue with other countries and regional groups on all issues related to the Commission on Human Rights as appropriate throughout the year and particularly in the run-up to the 47th Session.

(iv) Further efforts to prepare the ground for improved cohesion and coordination at the 47th Session with the aim of achieving agreed objectives. These efforts should take into account those areas where there is scope for greater cohesion as demonstrated at the 46th Session.

90/145. Statement concerning Lithuania

Date of Issue: 4 April 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Dublin
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The Twelve welcome the assurances given that force will not be used in Lithuania. Nevertheless, the Twelve are concerned that the situation there remains difficult. They are also concerned at the potentially serious consequences for the improved climate prevailing in Europe. The Twelve express the hope that a purposeful dialogue between Moscow and Vilnius will commence in the very near future. The Twelve are convinced that, given goodwill on both sides, such a dialogue can reach an outcome acceptable to all. The Twelve repeat their call for maximum restraint on all sides and therefore strongly urge all concerned not to permit actions which could further aggravate an already delicate situation and to begin discussions without delay.

90/146. Question No H-141/90 by Mr Cabezón Alonso concerning the Great Maghreb and the Western Sahara

Date of Issue: 4 April 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

How do the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation propose to support the creation of the Great Maghreb whilst helping to find a definitive solution to the problem of the Western Sahara?

Have the Foreign Ministers considered calling on the two sides involved in the fighting — Morocco and the Polisario Front — to resume direct talks as a matter of urgency, in order to find a peaceful and lasting solution to the conflict in the Western Sahara?

Answer:

The establishment of the Arab Maghreb Union has been publicly welcomed by the EC and its Member States, who have the greatest interest in this neighbouring region and who encourage any effort towards strengthening inter-Maghreb cooperation and stability. The Twelve have also expressed the hope that cooperation in the framework of the Arab Maghreb Union — with which the Community and its Member States intend to develop their relations — will facilitate peace efforts and open the way to a just and lasting settlement of the conflict in the Western Sahara.

As the honourable Member was informed by the Presidency's reply to his Oral Question No H-254/89,¹ the Twelve continue to support fully the efforts of the United Nations Secretary-General and his Special Representative, aimed at convening under the auspices of the United Nations a referendum on self-determination for the people of the Western Sahara.

They have also noted with interest the meeting between King Hassan and Polisario representatives and hope that these contacts can be pursued.

The Twelve welcomed the adoption by consensus of a resolution on Western Sahara at the 44th Session of the United Nations General Assembly. The adoption of a similar resolution by consensus at the 46th Session of the Commission on Human Rights reflects the maintenance by the parties concerned of a positive approach, which the Twelve hope will facilitate progress.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 89/233.

90/147. Question No H-190/90 by Mr Cooney concerning the Austrian application to join the European Community

Date of Issue: 4 April 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

The Austrian application for membership raises particular problems for the Community's external policies. Under Article 30(5) of the Single European Act, the Presidency has particular responsibility for this area. Can the Foreign Ministers give the results of their examination of this problem?

Answer:

In accordance with the normal procedures, Austria's application for membership of the European Community has been transmitted to the Commission for its advice, under Article 237 of the Treaty of Rome. Work on the different aspects of the question is now necessary. It has not been addressed within the framework of EPC.

The Council has taken note of the considerations raised in the Austrian Government's letter of 14 July 1989, regarding Austria's status of permanent neutrality. This question will be examined by the Community bodies in the framework of the existing provisions governing the institutions. The examination will be carried out at the appropriate time in the light of the relevant provisions of the Single Act and in particular Article 30(5) thereof.

90/148. Question No H-230/90 by Mr Alavanos concerning the execution of political prisoners in Indonesia

Date of Issue: 4 April 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

On 14 and 15 February 1990 four political prisoners were executed in Indonesia. The four were former soldiers and members of Sukarno's presidential guard who had been sentenced to death between 1969 and 1971 and held in custody for 25 years. As the wave of executions may continue, do the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation intend to intercede with the Indonesian authorities in order to save the lives of political prisoners and secure their release?

Answer:

As was announced in a statement issued in Dublin and Brussels on 9 March, the Twelve have carried out a *démarche* in Jakarta strongly appealing to the Indonesian authorities to refrain, on humanitarian grounds, from further executions of prisoners under sentence of death for their involvement in the attempted coup of 1965. The Indonesian authorities are thus fully aware of the position we take on this matter.

90/149. Question No H-263/90 by Mr Livanos concerning the protection of the cultural heritage of the Turkish-occupied part of Cyprus

Date of Issue: 4 April 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

In its written declaration of 15 December 1988 (*Note: Written declaration by Mr Mavros and others on the destruction and pillaging of the cultural heritage in the Cypriot territories occupied by Turkey¹*) the European Parliament called on the Council of Ministers, on the basis of paragraph 11 of its resolution of 20 May 1988 on the situation in Cyprus (Coste-Floret report,

Doc. A 2-317/87), to take appropriate measures immediately to ensure that the Turkish authorities and the representatives of the Turkish-Cypriot community agree to entrust to UNESCO the task of protecting the Christian and Hellenic cultural heritage in the occupied part of the island.

The continued looting of artistic treasures has now been confirmed, notably by the arrest and sentencing by an American court of persons guilty of illicit dealings in antiquities who sold off in the USA a number of very valuable ecclesiastical art treasures from Cyprus approximately eight months after the adoption of the above resolution. Will the Foreign Ministers say whether they have taken or intend to take any specific action to meet this urgent request by the European Parliament?

Answer:

The honourable Member's question corresponds closely to the question asked by Mr Pasmazoglou on 16 January.² I referred on that occasion to the importance which the European Community attaches to respecting and preserving the cultural heritage, of which the Christian and Hellenic heritage of Cyprus is an important part. I confirmed also that the Twelve would wish to encourage initiatives in this domain by bodies such as UNESCO.

¹ OJ C 12, 16.1.1989, pp. 140-141.

² *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 90/008.

90/150. Question No H-287/90 by Mr Garaikoetxea Urriza concerning the relations between the Community and the Baltic Republics

Date of Issue: 4 April 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

In view of the events in the Baltic Republics over the last few weeks, and the fact that these republics have already initiated the democratic reforms on which the Community's economic and financial support is conditional, have the Foreign Ministers established any type of dialogue with the republics, in the context of the new economic autonomy which they have enjoyed since 1 January 1990? What contribution do they intend to make to the success of the political and economic reforms under way in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania? Do they intend to establish any kind of links with these republics in the next few months?

Answer:

The Twelve follow with great attention developments in the Baltic Republics. In this context, the Twelve issued a statement on 24 March on recent developments in Lithuania in which they appealed for maximum restraint on all sides. They expressed the hope that a respectful, open and fair dialogue would take place between Moscow and Vilnius, avoiding the use of force or the threat of the use of force on the basis of the principles of the Helsinki Final Act.

Individual Member States of the Community undertake numerous projects and joint ventures which foster economic cooperation with the areas to which the honourable Member's question refers. I would note that, since January 1990, the Baltic Republics are free, under USSR legislation, to develop foreign economic contacts.

90/151. Question No H-296/90 by Mr Beazley concerning economic sanctions against South Africa

Date of Issue: 4 April 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

The EC Foreign Ministers, in deciding at their EPC meeting in Dublin on 20 February not to lift economic sanctions against South Africa, strongly criticized the UK Government's decision to lift its voluntary ban on new investments by EC companies in that country.

Yet, at the same meeting, the EC Twelve said in their statement on the implementation of the EC Code of Conduct in South Africa that:

'European companies in South Africa have contributed to furthering their (the EC's) policy aimed at achieving the elimination of apartheid by peaceful means.'

Can the Foreign Ministers explain how their opposition to the lifting of the ban on new investments by these same companies can serve this same objective? Do they not agree, in their own words, that EC companies in South Africa should be encouraged to operate as effectively as possible to realize the EC's objectives?

Answer:

I would ask the honourable Member to kindly refer to the answer to Oral Question No H-326/90,¹ raised by Mr Cassidy.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 90/158.

90/152. Question No H-300/90 by Ms Crawley concerning Vladimir Tsivkin

Date of Issue: 4 April 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Would the Foreign Ministers make representations urgently to the Supreme Soviet Commission for Citizenship, on behalf of Vladimir Tsivkin who wishes to leave the Soviet Union and is still being refused an exit visa after 11 years of waiting. Mr Tsivkin was born in 1949, was an engineer-mathematician by profession and is married with one daughter. Last month his wife, Irina, and his daughter, Susannah, were given tourist visas to visit Paris. It is anticipated that they will not return. Mr Tsivkin was phoned by a constituent of mine in the last week and his condition is giving great cause for alarm. He appears deeply depressed, has no money, does not shop or work for himself. It is now a matter of extreme urgency that the international community come to his assistance.

Answer:

The Presidency, through its Ambassador in Moscow, will make the representations requested, and trusts that these will help to enable Mr Tsivkin to become reunited with his family.

90/153. Question No H-306/90 by Mr Blaney concerning neutrality

Date of Issue: 4 April 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Do the Ministers feel that the period of the Irish Presidency is particularly propitious for consulting the neutral countries about the future organization of security and political cooperation between the European countries? Will they take steps to initiate such consultation?

Answer:

The Twelve are pursuing a close dialogue with the European neutrals, both individually and – in particular – within the CSCE process. The role of the CSCE in the future organization of security and political cooperation between European countries remains fundamental. At their meeting in Dublin on 20 February, Foreign Ministers of the Twelve expressed the hope that the CSCE Summit later this year will mark the starting point for a new, more advanced stage of the CSCE process and give it new directions. The Twelve consider that this meeting should, among other things, affirm the importance of continuing negotiations in the field of arms control and the building of security and confidence in Europe, in the light of political developments, with a view to achieving a lasting framework for security in Europe.

90/154. Question No H-310/90 by Ms García Arias concerning the fight against drugs

Date of Issue: 4 April 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

What is the position of the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation on increasing the United Nations' practical resources for fighting drugs as announced in the policy declaration adopted during the extraordinary session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to the drugs problem?

Answer:

The Twelve believe that if the United Nations is to play a leading role in the fight against drugs, the increased resources necessary to allow it to do so must be provided. It is the view of the Twelve that a higher proportion of the regular budget should be allocated to the drugs area. This position was clearly expressed by the Presidency in the statement made on behalf of the Community and its Member States at the Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly on drugs.

90/155. Question No H-313/90 by Mr Bandres Molet concerning violation of international law by the Israeli Government

Date of Issue: 4 April 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

El Haq, the Palestinian human rights organization, affiliated to the International Commission of Jurists in Geneva, recently reported that the number of cases of torture carried out in prisons had risen during the second year of the *Intifadah*. The Israeli military authorities also continue to impose laws contrary to international law within the Occupied Territories.

What measures do the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation intend to adopt in view of these facts?

Answer:

The continuing deterioration of the situation in the Occupied Territories is a source of deep concern for the Twelve.

Israeli practices in the Occupied Territories have led the Twelve to stress repeatedly to the Israeli authorities that violence and repression have to stop, that human rights have to be respected, that relevant resolutions of the Security Council must be implemented and that Israel must strictly observe its obligations, as an occupying power, under the Fourth Geneva Convention on the Protection of Civilian Populations in Times of War. The European Council meeting in Strasbourg stated, *inter alia*, that Israel had notably not conformed to these obligations in such basic areas as health and education.

The Twelve are in regular contact with the Israeli authorities on violations of human rights in the Occupied Territories. In the opinion of the Twelve, the situation in the Occupied Territories plainly results from the lack of progress in the search for a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

90/156. Question No H-316/90 by Ms Ruíz-Gimenez Aguilar concerning relations between the European Community, the countries of Eastern Europe and Latin America

Date of Issue: 4 April 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Are the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation considering the possibility of promoting triangular cooperation between the Community, Latin America and the countries of Eastern Europe?

What response can the Foreign Ministers give to those Latin American countries worried at a possible cut in Community aid as a result of a probable increase in the share of the Community budget devoted to the countries of Eastern Europe over the next few years?

Answer:

The deepening quality of relations between the Community and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe will not in any sense lessen our long-standing commitments to different groupings in Latin America. The existing structures for dialogue such as the San José process and meetings with the Rio Group offer ample opportunities to address relations between the Community, its Member States and Latin America.

The honourable Member will be aware that levels of aid to be provided under the Community budget are not a matter for political cooperation. However, he may rest assured that developing relations with Central and Eastern Europe will not have any detrimental effect on assistance given by the Community to Latin America.

The question of developing triangular cooperation between the Community, Latin America and Eastern Europe has not been discussed within EPC. The Twelve's basic approach is to develop their relations with third countries, or groups of countries, on a direct bilateral basis.

90/157. Question No H-322/90 by Mr Pagoropoulos concerning the illegal arrest and detention of two Greek-Cypriot students by the Turkish occupying forces in Cyprus

Date of Issue: 4 April 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

The Turkish forces illegally occupying Cyprus arrested two Greek-Cypriot students, Nikos Nikolaou and Petros Papaleonidou, on 16 February and 3 March 1990 and since then have been holding them in custody unlawfully.

The arrest and detention of the students is completely contrary to and in violation of the basic articles of the European Convention on Human Rights and of the right of free and safe movement; in addition, the students have been subjected to inhuman and degrading treatment.

What action has the Council already taken or what action is it intending to take to secure the immediate release of the two students being held under illegal and arbitrary arrest?

Furthermore, what progress can the Council report in its various efforts to obtain the withdrawal of the Turkish troops from Cyprus?

Answer:

While the specific incidents to which the question refers have not been discussed in EPC, the Turkish authorities are aware both of the importance the Twelve attach to the strict respect of human rights and of the position we take on the question of Cyprus. On the general question of the need for a settlement in Cyprus, the Twelve have continued to press for the resumption of serious and substantive talks, under the auspices of the United Nations Secretary-General, to resolve this issue.

90/158. Question No H-326/90 by Mr Cassidy concerning the Code of Conduct for European Companies in South Africa

Date of Issue: 4 April 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

At their EPC meeting in Dublin on 20 February the Twelve said in their statement on the EC Code of Conduct in South Africa that European companies in South Africa have contributed to furthering their (the EC's) policy aimed at achieving the elimination of apartheid by peaceful means.

Yet, at the same meeting, the UK's decision to lift its voluntary ban on new investments by EC companies in that country was severely criticized, *inter alia* by the Irish President-in-Office.

Do the Foreign Ministers agree that this is an obvious contradiction and that maintaining a ban on new investments by these EC companies in South Africa can only be regarded as counterproductive in terms of their own declared objectives?

Answer:

The Twelve believe that there is no contradiction whatsoever. On the contrary, the ban on new direct investment and the Code of Conduct were agreed as part of the two-track approach adopted by the Twelve and based on a combination of restrictive and positive measures designed to promote the complete dismantlement of apartheid and its replacement by a genuinely democratic and non-racial system of government in South Africa.

The Twelve's measures are aimed at promoting profound and irreversible changes in South Africa. The Code of Conduct — first adopted in 1977 and reinforced in 1985 as part of the Twelve's range of positive measures — is designed to ensure that EC companies already established in South Africa take the necessary steps to abolish racial discrimination in the workplace and to put their black employees on an equal footing with other employees.

The Twelve are convinced that this two-track approach of pressure and encouragement has been effective and should be maintained in order to bring about an early end to apartheid.

90/159. Question No H-331/90 by Mr Langer on preserving Antarctica

Date of Issue: 4 April 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

A few days ago, Reinhold Messner and Arved Fuchs returned safely after crossing Antarctica on foot and, in their first statements, stressed the need for Antarctica, the last and largest untouched nature reserve on our planet, to be declared an international nature park, which the peoples of the whole world would undertake to preserve jointly and prudently in its undivided state. How can the European Community contribute to such a project, and what action will the Ministers meeting in political cooperation take at international level in this connection?

Answer:

At their meeting on 27 November 1989, the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation had an exchange of views on the question of extension of the present informal moratorium on mining or oil exploration in the Antarctic. However, the specific issue to which the honourable Member refers has not been considered in the EPC framework.

90/160. Question No H-343/90 by Mr Kostopoulos concerning the European responsibility for the Palestinian problem

Date of Issue: 4 April 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Given the crisis into which the Israeli Government has now been plunged owing to Likud's intransigence towards this new American peace proposal, a peaceful solution to the Palestinian problem now seems even more remote.

After three savage wars, innumerable clashes, years of constant tension throughout the Middle East and the long-drawn tragedy of the Lebanon, Europeans should be more practically concerned about the fate of a people which is only demanding a country in which to live.

What position will the Foreign Ministers now adopt on this matter? Will they later take initiatives to achieve a settlement or will they let slip this opportunity to assume their historical responsibilities towards the region?

Answer:

The position of the Twelve on the Arab-Israeli conflict is set out comprehensively in the Madrid Declaration, which remains fully valid.

The Twelve consider that the need to achieve a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement to bring to an end the Arab-Israeli conflict is greater now than ever before. They reaffirm their support for the achievement of such a settlement by peaceful means and express their support for current efforts to initiate an Israeli-Palestinian dialogue as a first step towards a comprehensive settlement. In their view, this can best be attained in the framework of an international peace conference, under the auspices of the United Nations, which would be the appropriate forum for direct negotiations between the parties concerned, including the PLO.

The Twelve continuously manifest their concern at the deterioration of conditions in the Occupied Territories and at the constant increase in the number of dead and wounded and the suffering of the population, which seriously affects the living conditions of the people and compromises in a lasting fashion the future of economic and social development of the Territories. In their opinion, this situation plainly results from the lack of progress in the search for a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. As an expression of these concerns, the Community and its Member States at the European Council in Strasbourg announced their decision to increase substantially their aid to the inhabitants of the Occupied Territories, in particular establishing as an objective the doubling of the Community's direct aid in the period 1990 to 1992. They thus intend to contribute to the economic and social development of the Occupied Territories and help to preserve the common future of the Palestinian people.

The Twelve are in regular contact with the Israeli authorities on all aspects of the situation in the Occupied Territories.

90/161. Question No H-347/90 by Mr Papoutsis concerning measures to bring about an end to apartheid

Date of Issue: 4 April 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

At the Council meeting in Dublin on 20 February it was decided — although not unanimously — to continue to bring pressure to bear on the South African regime.

Given the need for active measures by the European Community to bring about an end to apartheid and establish a genuinely democratic government in South Africa, will the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation say what specific measures they intend to take to this end in the immediate future?

Answer:

The Twelve remain actively committed to the dismantlement of apartheid by peaceful means. To this end:

- (i) they stand by their commitment at Strasbourg to maintain the pressure that they exert on the South African authorities in order to promote the profound and irreversible changes which they have repeatedly stood for and to reconsider it when there is clear evidence that these changes have been obtained;
- (ii) the Community's positive measures in favour of the black population will be reinforced;
- (iii) the Twelve may engage in cultural and scientific cooperation in order to contribute to the end of apartheid;
- (iv) the Twelve will continue to encourage current moves in South Africa towards dialogue leading to negotiations aimed at abolishing apartheid. The political measures announced by President De Klerk in his speech of 2 February represent a significant contribution to this process. In this context, I will be leading a mission by the Troika to South Africa with the

objective of promoting the launching of a national dialogue. For this purpose, the Troika will have contacts with all political forces, so as to inform themselves on the current situation, and will then report back to the Twelve.

90/162. Question No H-350/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru concerning the Jewish settlements on the West Bank

Date of Issue: 4 April 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Following the declaration of the Twelve of 1 February 1990 recalling the illegality of Jewish settlements on the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, what measures do the Ministers intend to take if, as is expected, further settlements are created in the Occupied Territories?

Answer:

As the honourable Member is well aware, the Twelve consider that Jewish settlements in the Occupied Territories, including East Jerusalem, are illegal under international law. They are seriously concerned at the possibility that immigrants to Israel may be settled in the Occupied Territories. The call made in recent weeks for increased Jewish settlement in the West Bank and Gaza strip only increased this concern. The Twelve deplore the Israeli settlement policy in the Occupied Territories and consider that the Israeli statements on this matter are not conducive to establishing the climate of confidence necessary to make the progress which is urgently needed in the peace process.

As they made clear in their statements of 31 January and 20 February, the Twelve warmly welcome the liberalization of Soviet emigration controls, including the freedom of Soviet Jews to emigrate to Israel and elsewhere. They believe that this sentiment is very widely shared in the international community, on the basis that the right of everyone to leave any country, including his own, is enshrined in the international covenant on civil and political rights. The attainment by Soviet Jews of this right must not, however, be at the expense of the rights of the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories.

The Twelve repeatedly urged the Israeli Government not to jeopardize the prospects of bringing peace to the region by either allowing or encouraging Jewish immigrants to settle in the Occupied Territories.

90/163. Question No H-382/90 by Mr Ephremidis and Question No H-434/90 by Mr Papayiannakis concerning Cyprus

Date of Issue: 4 April 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Question No H-382/90:

On 15 March 1990 the European Parliament adopted a resolution on Cyprus following the torpedoing of the inter-communal talks by Mr Denktash, the representative of the Turkish Cypriot community. What measures do the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation intend to take, given the urgent nature of the European Parliament's resolution?

Question No H-434/90:

The inter-community negotiations on Cyprus ended in total failure as a result of the actions of Mr Denktash in attempting to alter the mandate of the United Nations Secretary-General, as pointed out in the resolution unanimously adopted by the European Parliament in March. What steps do the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation intend to take to persuade the Turkish Government to display a spirit of cooperation with a view to resuming the inter-community negotiations and, in particular:

1. In view of the failure of the negotiations, what steps will they take to draw the attention of the Turkish Government to the decisions of the European Council in Strasbourg and the opinion of the Commission that the situation in Cyprus is having unfavourable repercussions on relations between the EEC and Turkey?
2. Do they intend to put a brake on any further development of cooperation between the EEC and Turkey for the time being?

Answer:

With your permission, Mr President, I intend to take the questions of Mr Ephremidis and Mr Papayiannakis together.

The Twelve, like the honourable Members, were greatly disappointed that recent contacts between the Cypriot parties, which were the culmination of intense efforts of mediation by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, which the Twelve had consistently supported, failed to yield positive results.

They are nevertheless determined to pursue their relentless support for a just and lasting settlement based on the unity, independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Cyprus in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

In this context, the Twelve hope for a resumption of substantive and meaningful talks aimed at a lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem.

90/164. Question No H-385/90 by Mr Crampton concerning NATO's programme of nuclear weapon modernization

Date of Issue: 4 April 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

As a consequence of the changes and increasing democratization of Eastern European countries will the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation be encouraging their Governments to halt NATO's programme of nuclear weapon modernization, realizing that these weapons are in the main targeted on the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary?

Answer:

The issue to which the honourable Member refers is not discussed in the framework of European political cooperation.

90/165. Question No H-395/90 by Sir James Scott-Hopkins concerning a diplomatic mission to Kampuchea

Date of Issue: 4 April 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Will the Council recommend Member States to follow the UK in sending a diplomatic mission to Kampuchea?

Answer:

The position of the Twelve with regard to Kampuchea includes both the promotion of a comprehensive solution, with the full involvement of the United Nations, and encouragement for the humanitarian activities of organizations which channel aid directly to the Kampuchean people. The Twelve's action on Kampuchea, including the Ministerial statement of 20 February, are proof of the deep concern about the predicament of that country which Governments of the Twelve share with this Parliament and indeed with public opinion throughout Europe. The sending of a diplomatic mission by the Twelve to Kampuchea is not envisaged at this time.

90/166. Question No H-411/90 by Mr De Rossa concerning the boundaries of EC States

Date of Issue: 4 April 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Will the EPC explain the position of the Community as regards the existing boundaries that Member States share with each other?

What are the requirements under the Treaty of Rome and ancillary treaties regarding the recognition of existing frontiers and what is the position of the EPC regarding any disputes, or competing claims that might arise between Member States with regard to these boundaries?

Answer:

The subject to which the honourable Member refers does not arise in the framework of European political cooperation.

90/167. Question No H-412/90 by Mr McCartin concerning hostages in Lebanon

Date of Issue: 4 April 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

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Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

In view of the fact that several hostages are still being held, including Irishman Mr B. Keenan, by factions controlled by Iran, will the Ministers consider imposing trade and economic sanctions on Iran?

Answer:

Concerning the plight of hostages held in Lebanon — of whom many are citizens of Member States — the Twelve have repeatedly condemned hostage-taking, in particular in their statements on 7 August and 26 September 1989.

In the spirit of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, they believe that every effort should be made to secure the release of all those held against their will. They have repeatedly appealed to all those who are able to influence those holding hostages to use that influence to help obtain their immediate and unconditional release.

For reasons unconnected with the hostage issue, there is currently a ban on the exchange of high-level visits between the Twelve and Iran. The European Council in Madrid expressed the hope that the Iranian leaders will prove, by concrete actions, their willingness to develop constructive relations with the Community and its Member States, on the basis of freedom, tolerance and respect for international law. This remains our position.

More recently, we have noted the wish of the Iranian Government for improved contacts with the Community and its Member States and its professed willingness to remove existing obstacles on this path.

90/168. Question No H-435/90 by Mr Lomas concerning Haydar Kutlu and Nihat Sargin

Date of Issue: 4 April 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Will the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation support the European Parliament in pressing for the release of Haydar Kutlu and Nihat Sargin, who have been held in a Turkish prison for two and a half years for making 'Communist propaganda'?

Answer:

The specific issue raised by the honourable Member was discussed in EPC, on the basis of concern expressed about the circumstances surrounding the arrest and imprisonment of Mr Kutlu and Mr Sargin. The Twelve have left the Turkish authorities in no doubt about the importance they attach to the strict respect of human rights and to Turkey's observance of its international commitments in this regard.

90/169. Questions No O-105/90, No O-106/90, and No O-107/90 by the Temporary Committee on German Unification concerning German unification¹

Date of Issue: 4 April 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Question No 105/90:

What are the implications of the German unification process for the European Community Member States as regards security policy? Will new security structures be required at European level, and what role would the European Community itself play in such structures?

Question No 106/90:

1. Does the Council believe that the extension of the Community through German unification will have major political and legal consequences for the European Community, and for neighbouring European States? In this perspective, is it the view of the Council that German unification must take place within the European Community context? Does the Council believe that Treaty revision will or will not be necessary as a result of any German enlargement? What possible impacts does the Council envisage that there will be for the Community institutions themselves, and for their composition and structure?

2. In the case of either option how does the Council intend to ensure that the appropriate negotiations take place between the Community and the German authorities? In the transitional period prior to unification how will the GDR be represented in these negotiations, and also be kept fully informed of relevant Community decision-making?
3. Does the Council believe that there must be formal involvement in such negotiations of all the European Community institutions, as well as of Member State Governments and parliaments, in order to ensure the maximum degree of transparency and democratic accountability in the negotiating process? In particular, how will the European Parliament be involved, by analogy with Article 8 of the Single European Act?
4. What basic conditions and criteria does the Council believe should be respected in any enlargement of the Community?
5. At what point and by what act does the Council consider that the GDR will become an integral part of the Community territory?
6. What, in the Council's view, are the main fields of Community competence that will be affected by German unification? What measures does the Council consider need to be taken at Community level within the short and medium term? Does the Council envisage any Community financial assistance in the process leading up to final German unification?
7. What timetable for European Community measures will be established, and when?
8. What will be the implications of such a timetable for the convening of the intergovernmental conference, and for the further development of economic and monetary union, and the further institutional development of the Community? What transitional arrangements will be required for the GDR? What will be the implications of the above timetable, and of these transitional agreements, for the completion of the internal market by 1992? Will administrative frontiers still be required between the two parts of Germany during any transitional period that is agreed?
9. How does the Council evaluate the international implications of German unification and, in particular, the implications for other European countries, within both EFTA and in Eastern Europe? What will be the consequences for the Community of the GDR's existing international and commercial agreements and commitments (notably with Comecon and the Soviet Union)?

Question No 107/90:

1. Does the Commission believe that the extension of the Community through German unification will have major political and legal consequences for the European Community, and for neighbouring European States? In this perspective, is it the view of the Commission that German unification must take place within the European Community context? Does the Commission believe that Treaty revision will or will not be necessary as a result of any German enlargement? What possible impacts does the Commission envisage that there will be for the Community institutions themselves, and for their composition and structure?
2. In the case of either option how does the Commission intend to ensure that the appropriate negotiations take place between the Community and the German authorities? In the transitional period prior to unification how will the GDR be represented in these negotiations, and also be kept fully informed of relevant Community decision-making?
3. Does the Commission believe that there must be formal involvement in such negotiations of all the European Community institutions, as well as of Member State Governments and

parliaments, in order to ensure the maximum degree of transparency and democratic accountability in the negotiating process? In particular, how will the European Parliament be involved, by analogy with Article 8 of the Single European Act?

4. What basic conditions and criteria does the Commission believe should be respected in any enlargement of the Community?

5. At what point and by what act does the Commission consider that the GDR will become an integral part of the Community territory?

6. What, in the Commission's view, are the main fields of Community competence that will be affected by German unification? What measures does the Commission consider need to be taken at Community level within the short and medium term? Does the Commission envisage any Community financial assistance in the process leading up to final German unification?

7. What timetable for European Community measures will be established, and when?

8. What will be the implications of such a timetable for the convening of the intergovernmental conference, and for the further development of economic and monetary union, and the further institutional development of the Community? What transitional arrangements will be required for the GDR? What will be the implications of the above timetable, and of these transitional agreements, for the completion of the internal market by 1992? Will administrative frontiers still be required between the two parts of Germany during any transitional period that is agreed?

9. How does the Commission evaluate the international implications of German unification and, in particular, the implications for other European countries, within both EFTA and in Eastern Europe? What will be the consequences for the Community of the GDR's existing international and commercial agreements and commitments (notably with Comecon and the Soviet Union)?

Mr Collins, President-in-Office of the Council: Mr President, today we address a series of questions which arise both in the area of European political cooperation and in the area of the Community on the vital subject of German unity. The European Community welcomes the progress that has been made towards unity. These developments must be seen as part of the remarkable transformation which is taking place in Central and Eastern Europe as a whole which, in turn, has been influenced by the process of openness and reform pursued in Moscow under Mr Gorbachev.

Just as the origins of events in Germany must be seen in a wider context so too must their results and the coming together of the two German States must contribute and be seen to contribute to the overcoming of the division of Europe. The regaining of their unity by the German people should become a sign of hope for all the peoples of this continent. It presents us with a historic opportunity to forge a new set of relationships based on a spirit of genuine cooperation and end to confrontation. This is the spirit of the declaration adopted by our Heads of State or Government here in Strasbourg last December, in which the European Community reaffirmed that it seeks the strengthening of the state of peace in Europe in which the German people will regain its unity through self-determination.

Heads of Government said here in Strasbourg that this process should take place peacefully and democratically, in full respect of the relevant agreements and treaties and of all the principles defined by the Helsinki Final Act, in a context of dialogue and East-West cooperation. The Strasbourg declaration also specifies that progress towards German unity should be placed in the perspective of European integration. It is the considered view of the Twelve that German unification will take place in the context of the European Community. And the Federal Government, and not least the Federal Chancellor, have repeatedly stressed the validity of this general approach as well as their readiness to consult closely with partners on this

matter. The German Government has reiterated its commitment to our Community, of which it will remain one of the motive forces, and in particular to completion of the internal market and to the growth of economic and monetary union and political union. The extension of the European Community will, of course, have major consequences for the Community. Many of the specific points to which honourable Members have drawn attention in their questions cannot appropriately be answered today. They are matters for careful consideration within the competent institutions of the Community in constant and close consultation with the Federal Republic of Germany. This is a process which has started and is proceeding in a satisfactory manner. The political, legal and economic implications of unification are presently under consideration in the Commission. I look forward to receiving the communications which the Commission will make very shortly to the Council on unification and future relations with Eastern Europe.

As you will be aware, we in the Council have paid very particular attention to the question of unification. The Presidency called a special informal meeting in January which discussed the issue and subsequently each General Affairs Council has heard reports from our German colleague on the thinking in his country as it has developed. Similar discussions have taken place in other Council formations. Recognizing the fundamental importance of the issue of German unification, the Presidency has gone further by calling a special informal meeting of the European Council on 28 April. All the many implications of an extension of the Community will be discussed at the informal meeting. I have mentioned that the Commission has been requested to present detailed papers on the relevant issues. Our examination of these issues will not, of course, come to an end at the end of this month. Questions such as those raised in point 8 of the question addressed to the Council will be a matter for further consideration in the appropriate instances. Certainly, for example, at the European Councils in Dublin and Rome.

Let me turn now to the question of security which, with your permission, I will take in conjunction with point 9 of the question addressed to the Council concerning the international implications of German unification. Against the background of the overall approach to German unity shared by the European Community and its Member States events have been moving quickly. The external aspects of unification will be the object of talks between the Governments of the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic, France, the United Kingdom, the United States and the USSR and will, no doubt, be accompanied by consultations in other appropriate forums. It is also expected that the question of German unification will be a major subject at the meeting of Heads of State or Government of the CSCE participating States later this year. The Twelve, within the limits set by the Single European Act, are giving close study to the overall framework for cooperation and security in Europe. This is the issue which is often referred to as the European architecture. In this respect we have stressed the importance of the CSCE in which the United States and Canada participate.

At the meeting of the Foreign Ministers in Dublin on 20 February we issued a declaration advocating the further development and strengthening of the CSCE process in the perspective of achieving a just and lasting order of peace in Europe. Our February declaration was based on the agreement we had reached at our January meeting on the holding of the CSCE summit meeting towards the end of this year, a proposal which had by then found general acceptance. This summit should give a new impetus to the process in all its aspects: security, cooperation, the human dimension. In our declaration on 20 January the Foreign Ministers of the Twelve have already indicated a general readiness to examine the possibility of new institutional arrangements within the CSCE. I would like to emphasize that the Helsinki Final Act covers security as well as cooperation in Europe. Negotiations are going on within the CSCE framework on reductions of conventional forces in Europe as well as security- and confidence-building measures — cooperative measures also promote security. Any developments that contribute to the shaping of common values and close relationships within our region will make war more and more unthinkable. I said a few months ago that the coming together of the two German States must be seen as an opportunity for a much wider *rapprochement* in Europe. The

European Community will work to ensure that German unity becomes both the inspiration and the instrument for bringing about a new quality in relationships between a wide range of European countries and, indeed, within Europe as a whole. We are ready to deepen our ties to Central and Eastern European countries. We are also engaged, as honourable Members will be aware, in negotiations on the creation of an economic space embracing both the 12 Member States of the Community and the six members of EFTA.

There are many other issues raised in your questions which I will not deal with at this stage because the Council as such has not discussed them so far. But this will not lessen the importance of your debate here this morning. Given that the European Council will come together to discuss the question of unification on 28 April, it is very timely that the views of Parliament are being conveyed at this session.

The implications of German unity for Community policies in various sectors will require close examination now and in the months ahead. But we should not let our concern for such matters, important though they may be, cloud our vision of a future in which the Community as a whole will benefit from the integration of what is now East Germany. The unity of Germany and the progress of Community integration are two sides of the same coin. They demonstrate both the democratic wish of the people to share a way of life based on liberty and self-determination, and a willingness to pool efforts in a search for a common destiny, confidently inspired by the experience and success of the Community from its post-war origin up to now.

The Federal Republic of Germany, a founder member of the Community, has always been a powerful, positive force in its development and ever-increasing prosperity. To me, nothing seems more certain than that the unity of Germany will bring great benefit to East Germany, to Germany as a whole and to the Community in turn and that the result will be a reinforcement of the Community and a stimulus to the process leading to European Union. The removal of the Berlin Wall is a powerful symbol of our time. A sign of the triumph of patience and hope over division and suffering. Who can fail to be inspired by it or not see in that symbol the tangible evidence that barriers between people who wish to overcome them must eventually go? We in the Community have set ourselves the task of overcoming other barriers of various kinds, perhaps not as harshly brutal as the Wall, but none the less real in their implication for all our citizens. We have already made great strides along the way towards removing these barriers and thus building a new and better Europe for all. The rapid sweep to democracy in Central and Eastern Europe demonstrates to us in the Community, from which those countries drew inspiration, that where there is a will there is a way. One thing is clear: our future and German unity are intertwined in a way which will become more and more evident as we progress on the road to integration.

Finally, before I complete my address, I would like to add to your words of welcome to the German Minister of State for Foreign Affairs who will be contributing to this debate. The Council Presidency will listen most attentively to her contribution of course, as to the contribution of the other Members.

[...]

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer, Member of the Council: Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, Europe and thus Germany too stands at the threshold of a new, hopeful and promising historic development. Freely chosen unification of the two Germanys is a welcome development and one which the German people have yearned for for many years. We regard it as indubitably a part of the pan-European process. It must be reflected in the process of continuing integration within the European Community, of which West Germany has been a part from the very beginning.

I should like to thank the European Parliament for the commitment it has shown in this matter. You, ladies and gentlemen, were very quick to underline the importance of events in Central and Eastern Europe. The setting-up of the Temporary Committee on German Unification, like today's debate, shows the great importance you attach to this question.

I should also like to thank the Irish President for his reply to the oral question on achieving German unity in which he not only covered all aspects as clearly as is possible at the present time but also made it clear that developments in Germany and their implications for the European Community are viewed in virtually the same way by all the Twelve.

As you know, the external aspects of unification are being discussed in the 'two plus four' talks, as agreed on 14 March in Ottawa by the Foreign Ministers of France, Britain, the USA and USSR. The reason for this forum are the powers and responsibilities which the four allies have for Germany as a whole.

But German unification concerns not just the four allies. It affects our partners in the European Community and the Community as a whole, together with our allies in NATO. Our neighbours and all countries which are signatories to the CSCE Final Act have a justified interest in knowing how developments in Germany will proceed.

The Presidency pointed to the consultations held to date on the issue by the EC. I can only stress that we regard it as a matter of course to keep our EC partners closely involved in the process of information and consultation wherever appropriate. The 'two plus four' talks are concerned primarily with dismantling the powers and responsibilities of the four allies and determining the future status of Germany within a framework of lasting peace.

The question of a united Germany's borders will also need to be settled. We have repeatedly indicated the areas for agreement. The Federal Republic of Germany, the GDR and the whole of Berlin, nothing more and nothing less. The German Bundestag confirmed that in its resolution of 8 March. Since the issue of borders is vitally important to Poland, Poland will also take part in the 'two plus four' talks on this question.

It is important that the question of Germany's future position as regards security should be settled quickly. The West German Government has said clearly right from the start that we are opposed to a neutral Germany, that we want to remain a member of NATO. We note that even some of the Warsaw Pact countries have softened their initial attitude on this, and that not all of them now insist that a unified Germany cannot be a member of NATO. It has to be universally realized that German unification must not lead to a shift in the military balance of power between East and West. To that extent NATO's decision not to extend its defence area beyond the Elbe is an important decision which helps to stabilize the process. A key issue is the military status of the territory currently occupied by the GDR. I expect this question to be less important if we manage, at the Vienna talks on conventional arms limitation, to agree further arms reductions which will decrease the concentration of forces in Central Europe.

At the same time flexible and creative use must be made of the CSCE process to shape the security landscape of a future Europe. The European Community will continue to play a central part in this as a model and inspiration for a system of peace in Europe.

Let me dwell briefly on a few of the specific effects which German unification will have on the EC. These are based on the fundamental conviction that for Germany there is no alternative to European unification. German unification will accelerate the process of European unification. We don't want Germany unified and the GDR incorporated into the EC at the expense of others: we want everyone to benefit by it.

We shan't present the Community, its Member States and institutions with a *fait accompli*, but shall go on cooperating closely with them. Very soon, as soon as the new GDR Government has been formed, we shall open discussions with it on currency union and a common economic and social system.

Our proposals are essentially threefold:

- (i) the GDR's Ostmark will be replaced on day *X* by the DM;
- (ii) at the same time the GDR will take the necessary legislative measures to introduce a social market economy;
- (iii) the concomitant social measures needed to cushion the effects of changing from a planned to a market economy will be taken.

We think it will be roughly the middle of the year before the start of economic and currency union. Both sides believe that economic and currency union should be established with an eye to political union of the two Germanys before very long. It will prepare the present GDR for incorporation into the EC and will enable a start to be made already in the GDR on some of the alignment measures required.

Economic and currency union between East and West Germany will not be an obstacle to European economic and monetary union. The West German Government is resolved to cooperate constructively in the establishment of European economic and monetary union.

German unification will not create a new State. Thus the EC Treaties will apply to the whole of Germany, with no need to amend them. We do not want to change the institutional balance. But the people of the GDR have to be represented in the European Parliament, and appropriate transitional arrangements will need to be made under existing rules.

Specific adjustments to secondary Community legislation will be needed in a number of areas. The West German Government is currently working on a first analysis of the question and reviewing the adjustments and transitional measures deemed necessary. It will liaise closely with the Commission which is of course responsible for initiating legislation under the Treaties.

Of course we also consider that this work must take into account the interests of those living in the present-day GDR and the interests of the other EC Member States. Difficulties may also be raised by the fact of the GDR's membership of Comecon. Here too solutions must be found which take account of the interests of all parties involved.

In the first instance the new and democratically elected Government of the GDR will have to come forward with proposals and initiatives on German unification and thus on EC integration too. In this way the process of alignment and consultation will be intensified further at all levels.

Already the prospect of a unified economic area which also includes the GDR is having a positive effect. Trade and investment have been given a boost. The Commission estimates that incorporation of the GDR will cause growth within the Community to rise by some 0.5%. Bearing in mind that developments in the GDR cannot be viewed in isolation but are part of a movement towards economic and political liberalization in Central and Eastern Europe, we simply have to realize that great economic opportunities are there for the taking and that we should take them. The West German Government invites our EC partners to share in seizing these opportunities, in Europe's interest and their own.

I shall end with something which Chancellor Kohl said on 23 March in talks with President Delors and the Commission. The processes of German and European integration must proceed in tandem and in close consultation between the West German Government and the EC. We shall work for faster and more intensive European cooperation as a step towards political union, and in our view an important factor in this is strengthening the institutions and improving the Community's democratic structures. That is the position of the West German Government now and in the continuing unification process.

[After the ensuing debate, Mr Collins stated, moreover:]

Mr President, it has been extremely interesting to listen to the various speakers who have contributed to this debate. The views expressed here on the resolution which you intend to vote on will obviously help to deepen our appreciation of this important subject as we in [the] Council prepare for the discussion by Heads of State or Government in Dublin on 28 April.

The word 'solidarity' has been frequently used in the debate this morning, a word which has particular resonances both in the East and West of Europe. Solidarity is indeed the central principle on which the Community is based, a principle arising from a rejection of destructive conflict. I have no doubt that the Dublin meeting will further reinforce that principle. I should like to assure Mr Donnelly that the object of that meeting is to draw together, in a creative manner, the approach by the Heads of the Community to the question of German unity.

Mr Tindemans and other speakers mentioned the importance of the CSCE process in the reinforcement of mutual trust and security in the continent as a whole. I fully share the view that

the CSCE can and must make a vital contribution to peace and security in our continent. Mr Giscard d'Estaing suggested that the CSCE is not a sufficient framework for ensuring the future security of our continent, but the Twelve would see the CSCE as having a major contribution to make as a framework of reform and stability in the perspective of achieving a just and lasting peace in Europe. The meeting of Heads of State or Government this year will mark the starting point for a new and more advanced stage of the CSCE process and give it new direction.

Some speakers have emphasized the complexity of the various policy implications in the Community context of including East Germany in the European Community. These are not to be underestimated and the Commission has made clear to us that it is examining all angles very closely. I have noted in particular the concern that existing Community policies, for example in the internal market and on economic and social cohesion, will not be weakened or diluted. Because of these policy implications in various fields the issue of the time-scale has inevitably surfaced in discussions. Vice-President Andriessen this morning mentioned various stages in the process of the incorporation of the GDR into the Community and some commentators have urged a very rapid unification transition process while others envisage several years. Whatever approach we follow, one thing is quite clear: German unification is inevitable and this is so because it is the peaceful and democratically expressed will of the people. I do not think that anybody here is unaware of the fact that German unification has been taking place as and from the day the Berlin Wall began to crumble. That is when German unification started and I think it behoves each and every one of us in the Community now to help this unification take place and to help ensure that it is properly structured and properly based within the Community, as I know that the Government of West Germany intends it to be.

In the broader Community context we have also firmly set out on the path towards fuller integration and we are well down the road towards completion of the single market and economic and monetary union is our next objective to be tackled at the intergovernmental conference later this year. As I said earlier, German unity and European integration go together and will result, I feel sure, in a better Europe both for ourselves and the Community and for our European neighbours.

¹ Partly unofficial translation from French.

90/170. Statement concerning Angola

Date of Issue: 5 April 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Dublin
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The Twelve remain concerned at the continued fighting in Angola and at the loss of human life which has resulted. They appeal once again for an immediate cease-fire.

It is only through a political will on all sides to engage in dialogue and end the fighting that a climate capable of producing a just and lasting peace in Angola can be created.

The Twelve welcome recent initiatives by a number of countries to promote national reconciliation in Angola. The Twelve hope that such moves will lead to direct talks between the parties to the conflict and to lasting peace in Angola.

The Community and its Member States reaffirm that they are ready within the means available to them and as soon as the peace process permits, to give substantial and effective support for reconstruction and economic and social development in Angola.

The Community and its Member States are also concerned at the food security situation in the southern part of the country and the impact of the continuing hostilities on the delivery and distribution of emergency food supplies to those in need. The Community and its Member States express their readiness to provide further emergency assistance should this be required.

**90/171. Question No 1266/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E)
concerning the imprisonment of the Romanian writer Dan Petrescu**

Date of Issue: 6 April 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 12 January 1990

Can the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation do anything to bring about the release of the Romanian writer Dan Petrescu, 40 years of age and resident in Iasi, Romania, who was arrested on 30 or 31 October 1989?

Answer:

The honourable Member will be aware that Mr Dan Petrescu was released and now holds the position of Vice-Minister for Culture.

**90/172. Question No 1267/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E)
concerning the extermination of the Bolivian Yuqui Indians**

Date of Issue: 6 April 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 12 January 1990

Can the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation inquire into the persecution of the Yuqui tribe in the Ichila jungle of the Santa Cruz department of Bolivia, and in the jungle reservation of El Choré and Rio Verde? Can they ascertain the true situation at the Nuevas Tribus Mission, where, according to some witnesses, over a hundred of them are confined?

Answer:

The position of the Twelve in the field of human rights is well known. The specific issue raised by the honourable Member has not been discussed within the framework of European political cooperation.

**90/173. Question No 1270/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E)
concerning acts of violence committed against Nahua Indians in
Mexico**

Date of Issue: 6 April 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 12 January 1990

Have the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation at any time taken an interest in the acts of violence perpetrated against the indigenous inhabitants of the state of Veracruz (Mexico), where three Nahua Indians were murdered in 1986, ten in 1987 and four in 1988, while several more have been killed this year?

Answer:

The Foreign Ministers have on many occasions stated the position of the Twelve concerning the respect of human rights. The specific question raised by the honourable Member has not been discussed in European political cooperation.

**90/174. Question No 1271/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E)
concerning the possible extermination of the Huaorani Indians in
Ecuador**

Date of Issue: 6 April 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 12 January 1990

Have the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation taken any steps to obtain information about the situation in Ecuador's largest nature reserve, the Yasuní National Park in Napo province, which is in danger of disappearing — according to statements by numerous biologists and other experts — due to exploitation by the oil industry? In particular, have they taken an interest in the fact that the Huaorani people possibly face extinction if the Government does not take the urgent decisions required to preserve the habitat of this indigenous tribe?

Answer:

The honourable Member is certainly aware of the Twelve's well-known position in the field of human rights. The specific question which he has raised has not been discussed within European political cooperation.

**90/175. Question No 106/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning
the torture of opposition members in Egypt**

Date of Issue: 6 April 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 8 February 1990

Have the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation been able to make representations to the Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt with a view to requesting an investigation of the accusations of torture after the imprisonment in August 1989 of scores of workers, lawyers, journalists and others, including two members of the executive committee of the Organization for Human Rights, Muhammed Ali Sayyid Sa'id and Amir Salem?

Answer:

The cases mentioned by the honourable Member have not been discussed within European political cooperation.

The human rights policy of the Twelve and the importance they attach to it in their relations with third countries are known by the Egyptian authorities. The Twelve will not fail to make representations wherever these will be considered to have the desired effect or to be in the interest of those concerned.

90/176. Question No 202/90 by Mr Ford (S-UK) concerning human rights in Colombia

Date of Issue: 6 April 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 14 February 1990

Will the Ministers meeting in political cooperation say whether they consider the current crackdown on drugs traffic by the Colombian authorities as anything more than a smoke-screen?

With over 1 000 'political' killings there last year, can pressure be put on the Colombian Government to assume responsibility for human rights abuses by regular police, civilian auxiliaries and military police?

Answer:

The honourable Member is doubtlessly aware of the Twelve's statement at the Strasbourg European Council, which saluted the courageous action taken by the Colombian Government against drug trafficking. In the wake of that statement, they welcomed, on 18 January 1990, the special programme of cooperation announced by the Government of Colombia and expressed the intention of the Community and its Member States 'to respond positively to the programme at an early date'.

In this context, the honourable Member may be assured that the Colombian Authorities will be reminded of the Twelve's well-known position in the human rights field.

90/177. Joint political declaration of the Dublin Ministerial Conference on political dialogue and economic cooperation between the European Community and its Member States, the countries of Central America and Panama, and Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela as cooperating countries, held on 9 and 10 April 1990

Date of Issue: 10 April 1990

Place of Issue: Brussels, Dublin

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Foreign Ministers with other actors

Status of Document: Declaration

1. The sixth Ministerial Conference between the European Community and its Member States, the countries of Central America and Panama, and Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela as cooperating countries on the political dialogue and economic cooperation between the European Community and the countries of the Central American isthmus, inaugurated in Costa Rica in 1984 and thereafter pursued at annual meetings, was held in Dublin on 9 and 10 April 1990.

2. Those taking part in the Conference were:

For the European Community

Ireland

H. E. Mr Gerard Collins, TD

Minister for Foreign Affairs

Italy

H. E. Mr Ivo Butini

Under-Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Luxembourg

H. E. Mr Georges Wohlfart
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs

Netherlands

H. E. Mr Hans van den Broek
Minister for Foreign Affairs

Portugal

H. E. Mr João De Deus Pinheiro
Minister for Foreign Affairs

United Kingdom

H. E. Mr Timothy Sainsbury, MP
Under-Secretary of State, Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Belgium

H. E. Mr Mark Eyskens
Minister for Foreign Affairs

Denmark

H. E. Mr Benny Kimberg
Secretary of State for Political Affairs

Federal Republic of Germany

H. E. Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher
Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs

Greece

H. E. Mr Panayotis Tsounis
Ambassador of Greece to Ireland

Spain

H. E. Mr Francisco Fernández Ordóñez
Minister for Foreign Affairs

France

H. E. Mr Roland Dumas
Minister for Foreign Affairs

Commission

H. E. Mr Abel Matutes
Member of the Commission

For Central America and Panama

Costa Rica

H. E. Mr Rodrigo Madrigal Nieto
Minister for Foreign Affairs

El Salvador

H. E. Mr José Manuel Pacas Castro
Minister for Foreign Affairs

Guatemala

H. E. Mr Ariel Rivera Irias
Minister for Foreign Affairs

Honduras

H. E. Mr Mario Carias Zapata
Minister for Foreign Affairs

Nicaragua

H. E. Mr Javier Chamorro
Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs

Panama

H. E. Mr Julio E. Linares
Minister for Foreign Affairs

*For Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela as cooperating countries**Colombia*

H. E. Ms Clemencia Forero De Castellanos
Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs

Mexico

H. E. Mr Fernando Solana
Secretary for External Relations

Venezuela

H. E. Mr Reinaldo Figueredo Planchart
Minister for Foreign Affairs

For the Permanent Secretariat of the General Treaty on Central American Economic Integration (SCAEI)

Mr Marco Antonio Villamar Contreras
Secretary-General

3. The participants examined issues of mutual interest in the context of the dialogue and cooperation established in the past decade. They welcomed the positive evolution of the regional peace process in Central America. They agreed that there has been progress compared to the serious prospects which characterized the area at the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s. This period was characterized by lack of democracy in some countries of the region, external intervention, border incidents, a high level of violence, a massive flux of refugees and other negative factors. The Central American peace process helped to counter these negative factors and in this it enjoyed the support, often reiterated, of the European Community.

The mediation efforts of the Contadora Group, followed by the Central American dialogue initiated by the Esquipulas process, have allowed for detailed negotiation aimed at the achievement of lasting peace, genuine pluralism, democratic and participative processes, respect for human rights and international law, stability and social and economic development of the region.

They welcomed the increasing involvement in Central America of the United Nations and of the Organization of American States, whose participation has created a new climate of confidence in the relations between the Central American countries. Accordingly, they encouraged the Secretaries-General of both organizations to pursue their important contribution towards peace in the region.

4. Taking into account that the critical economic situation in Central America is further deteriorating, the Ministers of the European Community and of Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela as cooperating countries reaffirmed their Governments' commitment and willingness

to continue actively supporting the efforts deployed by the Central American countries in the framework of the Esquipulas process. The Ministers of the European Community reaffirmed the importance of intensifying economic cooperation between the European Community and Central America, aimed at strengthening the economic integration of the region and supporting its economic development and social progress in the interest of greater political stability.

The Ministers called on the European Commission to seek with Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela means of coordinating Community aid with aid from those three countries for the countries of the Central American isthmus, with the aim of increasing the overall effectiveness of cooperation.

The Ministers agreed to reiterate the importance of international cooperation as a parallel element indispensable in the political efforts towards peace in the area, as expressed by the Central American Presidents at their San Isidro de Coronado Summit meeting in December last and reiterated in the Montelimar declaration on 3 April 1990.

The Ministers of Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela reiterated that the economic support of the international community was indispensable in the peace process and, in this regard, they pledged the support of their Governments.

5. The Ministers agreed that the best existing option to achieve a durable solution to the Central American crisis, as illustrated by progress already made despite difficulties and obstacles encountered, remains full compliance with the Agreements subscribed to in the framework of the Esquipulas process. At the same time they underlined the need to respect the norms and principles of international law, and more specifically the United Nations Charter and the Charter of the Organization of American States.

6. The Ministers reaffirmed their commitment to the principle of the full participation of peoples in genuinely democratic and pluralistic political processes and stressed the necessity for all countries in the region to respect these processes, human rights, the rule of law, the separation of institutional powers and, in particular, to guarantee the independence and impartiality of the judiciary.

They considered that this should facilitate the promotion of social justice, sovereignty, the territorial integrity of States and the right of all peoples freely and without external interference of any kind to determine their political, economic and social model.

The Ministers recalled that the European Parliament, in the Community budget for 1990, included a provision to finance actions aimed at reinforcing democratic processes in Central America.

7. The Ministers also considered that, in accordance with the Esquipulas Agreements, active encouragement should be given to an internal dialogue aimed, through national reconciliation and without fear, at establishing or improving genuine pluralist democracy involving the promotion of social justice and guaranteeing full and effective respect for all human rights, for civil and political liberties, and for economic, social and cultural rights.

In this connection, the Ministers of the European Community and of Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela strongly urged all parties to reach agreement on a cessation of hostilities in the States of the region that at present suffer from actions by irregular groups, through appropriate measures designed to achieve an effective cease-fire, in accordance with the provisions of the Esquipulas II Agreement.

They stressed the importance of complying with the agreements subscribed to by the Central American Presidents in the Tela and San Isidro de Coronado summits for the promotion of peace, security and democracy in Central America, commitments which were ratified and reiterated in Montelimar.

The participants urged all irregular forces operating in the area to join in the constitutional political processes of their respective countries, in accordance with the joint programme for, on

the one hand, the voluntary demobilization, repatriation and relocation of the members of the Nicaraguan resistance and of their relatives, in Nicaragua and elsewhere, and, on the other hand, assistance in the demobilization of all those involved in armed actions in other countries of the region, when they request this on a voluntary basis as confirmed by the Montelimar declaration.

8. The Ministers underlined the importance of elections in El Salvador, Honduras and Costa Rica since the last ministerial conference of San Pedro Sula. In all those instances, elections were held freely, democratically and fairly, in conformity with the spirit of Esquipulas II, thus reinforcing the democratic processes in those countries.

The Ministers also stated that the recent elections held in Nicaragua and which had been announced by the President of the Republic of Nicaragua at the Costa del Sol summit, represent a historic event for this country.

The Central American and the European Ministers agreed that the elections in Nicaragua took place freely, democratically and fairly, in accordance with the Esquipulas Agreements as underlined by the corresponding electoral organizations and the observers of the United Nations, the Organization of American States and the European Parliament, *inter alia*.

They emphasized that the aforementioned elections should promote the reinforcement and consolidation of democratic institutionality and of the rule of law in Nicaragua. They also welcomed the determination of the Government of Nicaragua to take all steps necessary to bring about an orderly, complete and peaceful hand-over to the incoming government in the framework of the protocol of transfer.

They underlined the positive role of international observation in the electoral processes, in accordance with point 4 of the Esquipulas process.

The Ministers welcomed the agreement reached at Toncontin, Honduras, and confirmed by the summit of the Central American Presidents at Montelimar, to implement the voluntary demobilization, repatriation and relocation of the Nicaraguan resistance and of their relatives, which would doubtlessly constitute a major contribution to democratization and national reconciliation. They welcomed the call on ONUCA and CIAV to take the necessary steps to ensure the appropriate support for the demobilization and disarming of members of the resistance within Nicaragua or outside it, and noted that the Central American Presidents agreed that this is to begin forthwith and be completed by 25 April 1990 at the latest.

The Ministers welcomed the appreciation by the Central American Presidents for the cooperation of the Government of Honduras in the demobilization of the Nicaraguan resistance.

9. They expressed their agreement with the call for an immediate and effective end of hostilities in El Salvador, through a frank and constructive dialogue aimed at the integration of the FMLN into the peaceful life of the country, in a climate of safety and respect for their human rights and fundamental freedoms.

In this spirit, the Ministers expressed great satisfaction at the signature in Geneva on 4 April 1990 of the document in which there is an agreement to promptly relaunch, under the auspices of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the dialogue between the Government of El Salvador and the FMLN aimed at achieving, as soon as possible, through frank and open negotiations, the end of the armed conflict in that country.

Furthermore, they agreed that in order to strengthen the peace process and democratization in the region it was important to comply with all the provisions of Part III of the abovementioned joint programme, called 'Assistance in the voluntary demobilization of the members of the FMLN'.

10. The Ministers expressed their satisfaction that the International Commission of Support and Verification (CIAV) and the United Nations Observer Group in Central America (ONUCA)

had been successfully established in the Central American countries and were playing a valuable role in the development of the peace process. The Ministers of the European Community reiterated their strong support for the work being done by both ONUCA and the CIAV.

The Ministers welcomed the decision to extend the mandate of ONUCA to contribute to the implementation of the demobilization process of the Nicaraguan resistance.

The Ministers stressed the importance of the existence of the political verification mechanisms of the Esquipulas Agreements. They also pointed to the potential of the national reconciliation committees to contribute to achieving the objectives of the peace process. In this sense, they welcomed the agreement reached between the National Reconciliation Commission of Guatemala and the UNRG at the Oslo meeting.

11. The Ministers reiterated their conviction that it was essential for all countries with links to and interests in the region to make a genuine contribution towards creating the necessary conditions for establishing peace and democracy and securing economic development in Central America.

In this regard, they reiterated their firm request that regional or extra-regional governments which openly or covertly aid the irregular forces in the area immediately cease that aid, apart from humanitarian assistance which would contribute to the achievement of the objectives set out by the Central American Presidents in the Tela and San Isidro de Coronado summits. The Ministers took note of the appeal in the Montelimar summit for funds approved for the Nicaraguan resistance to be channelled to CIAV and used for the reintegration into the normal life of the community of those who surrender arms to ONUCA.

They also stressed the importance of the commitment by the Presidents of the Central American countries to prevent the use of their own territory by persons, organizations or groups whose aim is to destabilize the governments of the Central American countries.

12. The Ministers welcomed the decision taken by the five Central American Presidents to promote and set a timetable for the negotiations pending on security, verification and arms control and limitation.

13. The Ministers took note of the decision taken by the Central American Presidents to condemn acts of terrorism in the region and to renew their call for the cessation of all kinds of violent action directly or indirectly harming the civil population and productive infrastructure and to call for the immediate release of all persons held by irregular forces or terrorist groups.

14. The Ministers welcomed the progress achieved in the process of establishing the Central American Parliament; they expressed their satisfaction concerning the elections that have already been held by Honduras with a view to the establishment of the Parliament, the approval by Nicaragua and the deposit of the instruments of ratification by El Salvador and Guatemala.

They also reaffirmed the importance of the Central American Parliament as a permanent forum in which the peoples of the area could formulate recommendations on the political, economic, social and cultural problems of Central America and confirmed their conviction that the establishment of that Parliament would represent valuable progress for the integration of the region.

The Ministers of the European Community recalled that, in close collaboration with the European Parliament, they maintained their decision to lend their technical and financial support to the process of establishing the Central American Parliament, both in its material and technical organization and in the holding of the electoral processes. They also expressed the hope that the ratification process of the Central American Parliament would be concluded in the light of the new political atmosphere in the region. They also welcomed the proposal made by Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela which reaffirmed their intention to give their full support to the process of establishment and functioning of the Central American Parliament.

15. The Ministers expressed concern over the acute socio-economic problems of Central America. They recognized that the external debt service for some countries of Central America forms a heavy burden on their political, economic and social development. They reiterated that all the parties concerned should contribute to the solution of this problem. The Ministers of Central America requested the support of the Ministers of the European Community in considering in a positive way the renegotiation of this debt.

The Ministers of the European Community reaffirmed their intention to contribute to the achievement of the goals and objectives of the special plan of economic cooperation for Central America – PEC – as a way of assisting the efforts being made under the Esquipulas-II Agreement.

The Ministers of Central America welcomed the interest of the European Community in supporting that plan as well as the statement it had made at the meeting between the Central American Governments and the Governments and cooperating institutions in the framework of the PEC, held in Geneva from 4 to 6 July 1989, aimed at backing up the deployment of the necessary efforts for the intensification of cooperation for the region.

The Central American Ministers welcomed the Community's decision to give an adequate and positive answer to the call they formulated at the San José V ministerial meeting, to support the efforts which would lead to the restructuring, reactivation and strengthening of the economic integration process of the region, particularly the establishment of a regional system of payments destined to foster inter-regional trade, which led to the adoption of the corresponding document signed during the present meeting.

The Ministers of the European Community took note with satisfaction of the agreement by the Central American Presidents to hold an economic summit to take political decisions in this field.

16. The Ministers underlined the substantial efforts made in the field of refugees and repatriates within the framework of the agreements of the International Conference on Refugees, Returnees and Displaced Persons in Central America which took place in Guatemala in May 1989 and pointed to the urgent need to give timely impulse to the integrated programmes of assistance and development for returnees and displaced persons which would favour full integration into their respective communities within the institutional and structural context of their countries.

In this respect, the Ministers of the European Community expressed their interest in implementing some of those programmes or projects which are to be defined jointly with the affected countries and the competent international organizations.

17. The parties also welcomed with satisfaction the beginning of the operations by the Central American Environment and Development Committee, which is the first regional cooperation mechanism destined to promote the optimum and rational use of the area's natural resources, as well as the protection and improvement of the quality of the environment in the countries of the area. The European Ministers expressed their interest in supporting these objectives in appropriate ways.

18. The Ministers agreed that the abuse of drugs consumption and its illicit trafficking constitute one of the most serious threats which both the developing countries and the developed countries are being faced with. The Ministers of the European Community and of Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela welcomed the Regional Agreement for the eradication of illicit drug trafficking (Montelimar, 3 April 1990) and expressed their strong hope to see its prompt implementation. The Ministers expressed satisfaction at the conclusions reached at the United Nations special session on narcotics, drugs and psychotropic substances, held from 20 to 23 February 1990. They offered their best wishes for the success of the World Ministerial Summit on Drug Demand Reduction and the Cocaine Threat being held in London from 9 to 11 April 1990.

They reaffirmed the will of their governments to cooperate in combating the drugs threat and to implement the global programme of action adopted by the United Nations special session. They also affirmed their willingness to promote cooperation by the Community and its Member States, Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela with the countries of the Central American isthmus in this field.

19. The participants in the Dublin Conference expressed satisfaction at the results of their dialogue and they decided to meet next year in Central America in accordance with the alternation rule.

20. The participants in the Dublin Conference expressed their profound thanks to the Government of Ireland at the initiative of which this Conference was held. They likewise thank the people of Dublin for the excellent and warm welcome as well as for the efficient organization which led to its very successful outcome.

90/178. Statement concerning the dispute between Senegal and Mauretania

Date of Issue: 12 April 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Dublin
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The Twelve remain concerned at the dispute between Senegal and Mauritania which has severely undermined relations between the two countries since April 1989.

The Twelve believe that a just and lasting solution can only be found by peaceful means and through a negotiated political settlement and once again appeal to both sides to enter into negotiations to resolve the dispute.

The Twelve support recent initiatives aimed at finding a peaceful settlement to the dispute, in particular the mediation efforts undertaken by President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt in his capacity as President of the Organization for African Unity.

90/179. Statement concerning Nepal

Date of Issue: 12 April 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Dublin
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The Twelve warmly welcome the decision of His Majesty the King of Nepal to remove the prohibition on political parties and to carry out the necessary constitutional reforms to facilitate the establishment of a multi-party democratic system of government.

The Twelve wish to encourage this commitment to peaceful change and democratic values in order to ensure that the evolution of democracy can be accomplished without further civil disturbance and in a positive spirit of reconciliation.

The Twelve deeply regret the recent civil strife and loss of life in Nepal.

90/180. Statement concerning the tension between India and Pakistan

Date of Issue: 12 April 1990
 Place of Issue: Brussels, Dublin
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: The Twelve
 Status of Document: Declaration

The Twelve are gravely concerned at the deteriorating relations and the heightened state of tension between India and Pakistan. This situation poses a serious threat to the stability of the region and to the well-being of its people.

The Twelve recall their friendly relations with India and Pakistan and earnestly appeal to them to practise mutual restraint and moderation. The Twelve emphasize their attachment to the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes and urge both countries to refrain from inflammatory rhetoric and to engage in dialogue to bring about a peaceful end to their differences.

90/181. Statement concerning the threatened use of weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East

Date of Issue: 20 April 1990
 Place of Issue: Brussels, Dublin
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: The Twelve
 Status of Document: Declaration

The 12 Member States of the European Community, considering that the acquisition of weapons of mass destruction by any State in the Middle East region can only lead to heightened tensions and an increased threat to peace and stability, deplore the threat recently made by Iraq to use chemical weapons. They urge all States to strengthen compliance with the 1925 Geneva Protocol on chemical weapons. They recall the Final Declaration of the 1989 Paris Conference in which the participating States recognized the importance and continuing validity of this protocol; solemnly affirmed their commitments not to use chemical weapons and to condemn such use; and expressed their determination to prevent any recourse to chemical weapons by completely eliminating them.

The Twelve are fully committed to the goal of a global, comprehensive convention to prohibit the development, production, possession and use of chemical weapons, which is currently under negotiation in the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva. They reiterate their call to all States to become parties to this Convention as soon as it is concluded. They consider that any threat to use chemical weapons is in contradiction with the purpose and spirit of these negotiations.

The 12 Member States of the European Community appeal to all parties to exercise restraint and to refrain from any actions or statements which could increase tension in the region. They urge them not to damage the prospects of rapid progress towards dialogue and negotiation which are so urgently needed for a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Twelve recall the obligation on all member States contained in the Charter of the United Nations to refrain from the threat or use of force. They emphasize that peace will be achieved not by a balance of terror but by the negotiation of just solutions to the conflicts of the region.

90/182. Statement concerning Lithuania

Date of Issue: 21 April 1990
 Place of Issue: Brussels, Dublin
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: The Twelve
 Status of Document: Declaration

The Community and its Member States express their serious concern at the economic measures recently introduced by Moscow in relation to Lithuania. They believe that measures of a coercive nature can make no contribution to the search for a solution through dialogue. They underline the obligation to exercise maximum restraint and to avoid actions that can only lead to a further deterioration of the situation. They are firmly of the view that an outcome acceptable to all must be sought and that this is possible only by means of discussion. They call on all concerned not to carry through measures which are inconsistent with this objective. In view of their serious concern at these developments, the Community and its Member States intend to keep the situation and its policy implications under continuous review. A Working Group meeting for this purpose will be held in the near future.

90/183. Statement concerning the *démarche* by the Twelve in Liberia

Date of Issue: 26 April 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Dublin
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Press Statement, Press Release

On 14 April 1990, the Twelve formally reiterated to the Liberian authorities the deep concern of the European Community and its Member States at the continuing tragic situation in Nimba County.

Since the Twelve's initial expression of concern in January, tens of thousands have fled to neighbouring States, thousands have been displaced within Liberia and hundreds of civilians have been killed. Killings have been committed both by members of the Liberian armed forces and those opposed to the Government. While condemning violence from whatever quarter, the Twelve believe that the armed forces have a responsibility to respect human rights and to act at all times in a disciplined manner. Indiscriminate actions only bring discredit on the forces themselves and reflect negatively on the Government of Liberia.

The Twelve urged most strongly on the Government of Liberia to pursue a course of reconciliation so that a solution by peaceful means can be found to the current tragic situation.

90/184. Statement concerning the assassination in Colombia of the presidential candidate, Carlos Pizarro

Date of Issue: 27 April 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Dublin
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The Twelve condemn the assassination in Colombia of a fourth presidential candidate, Carlos Pizarro, who recently gave up guerilla activity to take part in the democratic process. His murder, following those of Jaime Pardo Leal, Luis Carlos Galan and Bernardo Jaramillo, is aimed at undermining the democratic institutions of the State. If Colombia is to avoid sliding into chaos, this violence should immediately stop.

90/185. Conclusions of the special meeting of the European Council in Dublin, held on 28 April 1990 (Extracts only)

Date of Issue: 28 April 1990
Place of Issue: Dublin
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: European Council
Status of Document: Conclusions of the European Council

The European Council expresses its deep satisfaction at developments in Central and Eastern Europe since the Strasbourg European Council. It applauds the continuing process of change in these countries with whose peoples we share a common heritage and culture. This process of change brings ever closer a Europe which, having overcome the unnatural divisions imposed on it by ideology and confrontation, stands united in its commitment to democracy, pluralism, the rule of law, full respect for human rights, and the principles of the market economy. The European Council welcomes in particular the holding of free elections in the German Democratic Republic and Hungary and looks forward to similar developments in the other countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

The Community warmly welcomes German unification. It looks forward to the positive and fruitful contribution that all Germans can make following the forthcoming integration of the territory of the German Democratic Republic into the Community. We are confident that German unification — the result of a freely expressed wish on the part of the German people — will be a positive factor in the development of Europe as a whole and of the Community in particular.

A point has now been reached where the continued dynamic development of the Community has become an imperative not only because it corresponds to the direct interests of the 12 Member States but also because it has become a crucial element in the progress that is being made in establishing a reliable framework for peace and security in Europe. The European Council therefore agrees that further decisive steps should be taken towards European unity as envisaged in the Single European Act.

German unification

We are pleased that German unification is taking place under a European roof. The Community will ensure that the integration of the territory of the German Democratic Republic into the Community is accomplished in a smooth and harmonious way. The European Council is satisfied that this integration will contribute to faster economic growth in the Community, and agrees that it will take place in conditions of economic balance and monetary stability. The integration will become effective as soon as unification is legally established, subject to the necessary transitional arrangements. It will be carried out without revision of the Treaties.

During the period prior to unification, the Federal Government will keep the Community fully informed of any relevant measures discussed and agreed between the authorities of the two Germanys for the purpose of aligning their policies and their legislation. Furthermore, the Commission will be fully involved with these discussions.

In this period the German Democratic Republic will benefit from full access to the European Investment Bank, Euratom and ECSC loan facilities, in addition to Community support in the context of the coordinated action of the Group of 24 countries and participation in Eureka projects.

As regards the transitional arrangements, the Commission will as soon as possible, and in the context of an overall report, submit to the Council proposals for such measures as are deemed necessary, and the Council will take decisions on these rapidly. These measures, which will enter into force at the moment of unification, will permit a balanced integration based on the principles of cohesion and solidarity and on the need to take account of all the interests involved, including those resulting from the *acquis communautaire*. The transitional measures will be confined to what is strictly necessary and aim at full integration as rapidly and as harmoniously as possible.

Internal and external development of the Community

In parallel with the process of the unification of Germany, the Community will continue its internal and external development. To this end, the European Council asks the relevant Community bodies to follow the guidelines set out below:[...]

(i) The Community will act as a political entity on the international scene, open to good relations with other countries and groups of countries.

(ii) The movement to restore freedom and democracy in Central and Eastern Europe and the progress already made, and in prospect, in arms negotiations, now make it both possible and necessary to develop a wider framework of peace, security and cooperation for all of Europe. To this end, the Community and its Member States will play a leading role in all proceedings and discussions within the CSCE process and in efforts to establish new political structures or agreements based on the principles of the Helsinki Final Act, while maintaining existing security arrangements which Member States have. The European Council asks Foreign Ministers to prepare this work in accordance with guidelines in the Annex.¹

(iii) The Community attaches great interest to and will work actively for early agreement with our EFTA partners on the establishment of a European Economic Area.

Central and Eastern Europe

With regard to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, the European Council welcomes the wide range of measures adopted or put in place over the past months, including the agreement on the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the conclusion of trade and cooperation agreements between the Community and most of those countries, the Community programme on professional training and student exchange, soon to be finalized, and other important actions in the context of the G-24 cooperation. The European Council is of the opinion that transfers of private capital and investments towards these countries should be encouraged and invites the Commission to study the implementation of the most appropriate accompanying measures (e.g. reinsurance, granting of guarantees).

The European Council agrees that the action within the framework of G-24 should be extended to the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Romania. The Community will work actively for the adoption of an action plan for assistance to these countries at the forthcoming G-24 ministerial meeting.

Discussions will start forthwith in the Council, on the basis of the Commission's communication, on Association Agreements with each of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe which include an institutional framework for political dialogue. The Community will work to complete association negotiations with these countries as soon as possible on the understanding that the basic conditions with regard to democratic principles and transition towards a market economy are fulfilled.

Other countries

In parallel with its European commitment, the Community is determined to pursue its major role as a responsible participant at a wider international level.

With regard to its relations with the United States, the Community will make the fullest use of and further develop its close transatlantic relations based on regular contacts at the highest levels. In this context we express our satisfaction with the understanding reached between the President of the European Council and the President of the United States on the holding of one meeting at that level during each Community Presidency. We agree that this and the other regular meetings, including meetings with the Community, provide a good framework for the further expansion of relations between the Community and the United States.

The Community will intensify its policy of good relations with the Mediterranean countries, based on more effective cooperation, taking into consideration the particular problems of each of them. It will pursue its special relationship with the ACP countries and it will intensify its cooperation with countries in Asia and Latin America. It remains fully committed to, and will

contribute to a successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round multilateral negotiations. The Community will pursue its cooperation with Japan, Canada, Australia and other OECD members.[...]

Drugs and international organized crime

The European Council expresses its serious concern at the threat posed by the abuse of and illicit trade in narcotic drugs, and its link with international organized crime. This trade causes tragic damage to lives and waste of human potential. It has now also become an international issue, with drug traffickers disposing of very considerable financial and other resources. The threat concerns both developed and developing countries, and calls for action at the international level.

The European Council asks the high-level coordinators' group, Celad, in close consultation with the Commission, to report to the General Affairs Council, with a view to the meeting of the European Council in June, on measures to bring about more effective coordination and on priorities for action by the Community and Member States in the context of a concerted action against drug abuse and illicit production, distribution and sale of narcotic drugs.

Cyprus

The European Council agreed the conclusions in the Annex.²

¹ Annex omitted. See *EPC Bulletin* Doc 90/186.

² Annex omitted. See *EPC Bulletin* Doc 90/187.

90/186. Declaration concerning guidelines on the CSCE

Date of Issue: 28 April 1990

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Country of Presidency: Ireland

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Status of Document: Conclusions of the European Council

The changes in Europe that we are witnessing bring with them the opportunity of overcoming the division of our continent and building a new system of relations between the States of Europe, based on the aims and principles of the Helsinki Final Act. The CSCE process, which has already made a significant contribution to change, will serve as a framework for reform and stability on our continent, and should be developed in new directions. The Community and its Member States are determined to assume their responsibilities wholeheartedly and to play a full part in the CSCE process; they are considering appropriate arrangements to achieve this end.

There is now wide agreement on the desirability of a summit meeting of the CSCE participating States before the end of this year. This would mark the starting point for a more advanced stage of the Helsinki process. The decisions necessary to launch the summit process should be taken as soon as possible so as to ensure that the preparations essential for its successful outcome are completed in good time. This should include an early decision on the opening date and venue of a preparatory committee as well as on the venue of the summit. For their part, the Twelve propose that the preparatory committee could start in July, and the summit itself could take place in Paris.

The Community and its Member States are continuing intensively with their preparations for the summit. In their Declaration of 20 February,¹ the Twelve have set out the issues which in their view are appropriate for consideration at the summit. They look in particular towards a balanced development of the CSCE, encompassing notably the development of pluralist democracy, the rule of law, human rights, better protection of minorities, human contacts, security, economic cooperation, the environment, further cooperation in the Mediterranean and cooperation in the field of culture.

The CSCE summit should make it possible to consider new institutional arrangements within the CSCE process, also taking into account proposals made by the Central and Eastern European countries, including the possibility of regular consultative meetings of Foreign Ministers and the establishment of a small administrative secretariat. It will also provide the opportunity to consider the relationship that should exist between the CSCE process and other relevant institutions, such as the Council of Europe. It should mandate the Foreign Ministers of the 35 accordingly.

Already, the new climate of cooperation that prevails has made possible a practical and forward-looking outcome to the Bonn Conference on Economic Cooperation in Europe. The results obtained there will serve as guidelines for future economic cooperation between the 35. The Community made a major contribution to the success of the conference. The Bonn Document which acknowledges the link between political pluralism and market economies provides a basic orientation for future economic relations and cooperation in Europe.

The Twelve look forward to a similar spirit of cooperation at the Copenhagen Conference on the Human Dimension, and trust it will be possible to achieve major substantial results there also, results which will serve to strengthen the commitment of all the participating States to human rights and enable all Europeans to enjoy to the full their fundamental rights and freedoms.

The Twelve reaffirm the importance of the Mediterranean dimension of the CSCE. Being of the view that the experience of the CSCE process can have positive effects on the Mediterranean basin, they hope that the meeting in Palma de Mallorca will enable progress to be made in this dimension of the CSCE process.

The Twelve are committed to a secure and stable balance of forces in Europe at lower levels. They look to an early, successful conclusion to the negotiation on conventional armed forces in Europe, which is taking place in the framework of the CSCE, as well as to the adoption of further security- and confidence-building measures. They affirm once again the importance of continuing negotiations in the field of arms control and the building of security and confidence in Europe with a view to achieving a lasting framework for security in Europe.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 90/095.

90/187. Declaration concerning Cyprus

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Status of Document: Conclusions of the European Council

The European Council discussed the Cyprus question in the light of the impasse in the intercommunal dialogue.

The Twelve, deeply concerned at the situation, fully reaffirm their previous declarations and their support for the unity, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus in accordance with the relevant UN resolutions. They stress the need for a prompt resumption of the intercommunal talks on the basis of the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General, as was recently reaffirmed by Resolution 649/90 of the Security Council.

90/188. Statement concerning the ministerial meeting with US Secretary of State Baker

Date of Issue: 30 April 1990

Place of Issue: Brussels, Dublin

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: The Twelve

Status of Document: Press Statement, Press Release

Foreign Ministers of the Twelve and the President of the Commission will meet US Secretary of State James Baker in Brussels on 3 May to discuss a range of international issues of mutual interest. This ministerial meeting, which is in addition to the regular meeting between the Twelve and the US Secretary of State at each year's United Nations General Assembly, arises from the understanding reached between the President of the European Council and the President of the United States on 27 February, when it was agreed to strengthen the dialogue at various levels between the Community and the United States. Following the ministerial meeting, there will be a joint Presidency-US Press Conference in the Charlemagne building, beginning at 19.00 h.

90/189. Statement at the first regular session of ECOSOC concerning the implementation of the programme of action for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (Agenda Item 2)

Date of Issue: 9 May 1990

Place of Issue: New York

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Irish Delegation to the United Nations

Status of Document: Statement in International Forum

Mr Chairman, I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 12 Member States of the European Community on Item 2 concerning the implementation of the programme of action for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

The 12 Member States of the European Community have repeatedly voiced their condemnation of racial discrimination in all its forms. They reject absolutely the view that the treatment of any human being should be influenced by the colour of his or her skin. They are firmly convinced that any form of discrimination based on race, colour, descent, ethnic or national origin constitutes an offence to human rights and fundamental freedoms. Racism and racial discrimination represent a denial of the principles on which our free and democratic societies are established: equality, justice and liberty for all.

The Charter of the United Nations commits the Organization to be at the forefront of the battle against racism and racial discrimination. From its establishment the United Nations has striven to raise public awareness of this phenomenon and has promoted the adoption of international instruments aimed at its elimination. The Universal Declaration, the Covenants and, most particularly, the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination all make clear the absolute unacceptability of such practices.

Notwithstanding this impressive legal framework instances of racial discrimination continue to occur in every country. No society is totally immune from this shameful behaviour. However, recognition that the problem exists is the first step towards its solution. The obligation is on governments to initiate and pursue vigorously policies which tackle this problem. Experience suggests that the most effective approach is one which combines legislation with an effective programme of education to eradicate deep-rooted prejudices and irrational hostility based on ignorance and fear. In keeping with their commitment to the principles of dignity and racial equality the 12 Member States of the European Community attach the highest importance to the promotion of understanding and tolerance between people of all races and to this end have taken a wide range of measures to combat racial discrimination.

The continuing nature of the international community's commitment to the fight against racism was manifested in the proclamation by consensus in 1983 of the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. Concerned that disunity diminishes our effectiveness in pursuit of a common goal, the Twelve greatly welcome the commitment evident in recent years to deal with this matter on the basis of consensus. In the interest of maintaining progress towards the achievement of the Decade's objectives we hope that this approach will continue.

Mr Chairman, the 12 Member States of the European Community commend the Secretary-General for his comprehensive report on the implementation of the programme of action for the Second Decade. The report describes an extensive range of activities directed against the many facets of racism which are under way at the national, regional and international levels. In the legislative arena the Twelve welcome the publication of the *Global compilation of national legislation against racism and racial discrimination* and note that work on a collection of model legislation is in hand. The preparation of a handbook of resource procedures for victims of racial discrimination is another very practical measure which we support. The Twelve also welcome the priority given to projects in the field of education and training.

The Twelve have over the past year continued their support for the activities undertaken in the framework of the Second Decade. Several Member States have made important financial contributions to the trust fund for the programme for the Decade and have participated in meetings convened under the programme. In this regard we recall particularly the international seminar on cultural dialogue between the countries of origin and the host countries of migrant workers which took place in Athens last September. Its report contains valuable recommendations for dealing with this important issue. Mention should also be made of the seminar on 'Education against apartheid' which took place in Geneva organized by the non-governmental organizations community. It is fitting that we should here pay tribute to the significant role played by non-governmental organizations in combating racism, racial discrimination and apartheid.

The importance of the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination is highlighted by the fact that there are today 130 States parties. We look forward to the time, which will hopefully not be long-delayed, when all States will have ratified or acceded to this instrument.

As with any instrument in the human rights area the effectiveness of the Convention depends on the implementation of its provisions. Monitoring compliance by States parties is the responsibility of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. But paradoxically, despite the high level of support which the Convention clearly enjoys, the Committee faces serious financial difficulties because of the failure of a number of countries to meet their financial obligations. This has directly impaired the capacity of the Committee to discharge its monitoring functions, not least by obliging the cancellation in each of the last three years of one of the two scheduled sessions of the Committee. This year the Committee was unable, owing to shortage of funds, to hold its March session in New York at which it was intended to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the entry into force of the Convention. The Twelve believe that the prompt payment of financial contributions offers a suitable opportunity to States parties to demonstrate the importance they attach to efforts aimed at the elimination of racial discrimination.

Given the special responsibility of the United Nations for the implementation of various human rights instruments negotiated and adopted under its auspices, the United Nations and its Member States bear a common responsibility for ensuring that the financial problems with which the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and other supervisory bodies are currently confronted are appropriately addressed and solved. The Twelve again reaffirm their readiness to study all ideas, including those contained in Commission on Human Rights Resolution 1990/25, which both in the short and in the long term will enable the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and other human rights supervisory bodies to fulfil their mandates. But, as a first step the Twelve once more strongly urge all countries in default to meet the financial obligations they freely took upon themselves on ratifying the Convention so as to enable the Committee to discharge its important functions.

Mr Chairman, while examples of racial discrimination can be found in all parts of the world, only in South Africa has discrimination been elevated to the level of a constitutional principle. Apartheid remains the most abhorrent form of racial discrimination. It is an institutionalized system of State racism which deprives the majority of the people of South Africa of their

inalienable civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, by denying them freedom of political expression and genuine participation in the exercise of power. The 12 Member States of the European Community unequivocally condemn this immoral system and have repeatedly called for its abolition.

The Twelve reaffirm their determination to pursue policies aimed at the complete elimination of apartheid by peaceful means. To this end they are committed, as reflected in the Declaration of the United Nations special session on apartheid last December, to maintain pressure on South Africa until there is clear evidence of profound and irreversible changes in that country. The Twelve are agreed that they can engage in cultural and scientific cooperation, it being understood that their objective in doing so is to contribute to the ending of apartheid.

The European Community and its Member States are committed to the establishment of a new democratic, united and non-racial South Africa in which all its people will enjoy equal rights. We welcome the release of Nelson Mandela and other positive steps taken by the South African Government as making a significant contribution to the establishment of a climate conducive to genuine negotiations with the black community.

The European Community and its Member States reiterate their call for the lifting by the South African Government of the state of emergency. The Twelve have repeatedly called for the release of all political prisoners in South Africa and note the commitment given by President De Klerk to this end. These steps, amongst others, would further enhance the prospects for a negotiated settlement in South Africa.

The European Community and its Member States hope that all concerned will seize the opportunity which now exists to achieve the eradication of apartheid by peaceful means through negotiation. The recent mission at ministerial level by the European Community to South Africa served to encourage the launching of a national dialogue to this end. The European Community and its Member States believe that a soundly based dialogue involving all in South Africa is essential. We hope that the dialogue between President De Klerk and the representatives of the African National Congress will make an important contribution to this process and we welcome the outcome of the talks on 2 to 4 May as a valuable step in this regard. We hope that the process that has now been set in train will pave the way for decisive negotiations on a new future for South Africa.

90/190. Memorandum on the activities of the Twelve in the field of human rights

Date of Issue: 15 May 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Report to European Parliament

In May of each of the last four years, the Presidency-in-Office has transmitted to the European Parliament a memorandum on the activities of the Twelve in defence of human rights in the course of the previous years. Accordingly, the purpose of the present *aide-mémoire* is to bring the honourable Members up to date on trends and developments in 1989 and in the first months of 1990.

The Presidency, conscious of the Single European Act's provision on closer association of the European Parliament in the work of European political cooperation, welcomes the continued support and assistance of the Parliament in this area. The European Parliament has played a significant part on the international stage in the struggle to promote and ensure respect for human rights, and, within the Community framework, has made important contributions in the human rights field. Its resolutions and parliamentary questions on specific human rights cases have fostered a public consciousness that respect for human rights is of paramount importance for the successful conduct of international relations.

The European political cooperation Human Rights Working Group is entering its third year of activity. Apart from enabling experts from Member States to exchange views on an inter-governmental level, it allows for close cooperation with other European political cooperation Working Groups. This has led to better concertation and coordination in the human rights field and ensures that human rights issues are given the appropriate attention and support at all levels of political cooperation.

The Twelve are deeply committed to the respect, protection and further promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms, in accordance with the principles of parliamentary democracy and the rule of law. The Twelve consider that the promotion of civil and political rights as well as of economic, social and cultural rights is of prime importance. Arising from this commitment they continue to monitor closely the observance of universally recognized human rights standards throughout the world.

This concern with specific violations of individual rights and freedoms was reflected in the contributions of the Twelve in deliberations on human rights issues in international forums, notably at the United Nations General Assembly, ECOSOC, the Commission on Human Rights, the CSCE London Information Forum and the CSCE Paris Conference on the Human Dimension.

Activities of the Twelve are dealt with below under two broad headings:

- (i) the defence of human rights in specific cases and/or situations;
- (ii) the promotion of human rights concepts, principles and values as an integral and crucial part of the conduct of international relations.

In the past year the Twelve were seriously concerned by a number of events which called for the Twelve's response, notably:

- the Rushdie affair;
- the deteriorating situation in Romania during 1989;
- the annulment of elections held in Panama on 7 May 1989;
- the continuous deterioration of the human rights situation in the Arab territories occupied by Israel;
- the tragic events of Tiananmen Square in China;
- the execution in Iraq of Farzad Bazoft.

Over that period, however, the Twelve have welcomed positive developments in human rights which have underlined the universality of the inalienable human rights of the individual. These have included:

- movement towards democracy in Central and Eastern Europe;
- the regaining of freedom in Romania;
- the independence of Namibia;
- developments in South Africa;
- the new Government in Chile.

Promotion of human rights

The Twelve are of the view that the obligation to respect human rights is an international responsibility. The Twelve thus reiterate their firm stance that raising specific human rights cases and violations cannot be considered an interference in the internal affairs of States. It is in this spirit that the question of human rights has become an important element in the dialogue and cooperation entered into with third countries.

The new Lomé Convention, signed on 15 December 1989, contains specific provisions concerning human rights in order to encourage their respect and promotion, which the Community and its Member States consider necessary for real development.

The Twelve played a full part in elaborating two important new international human rights instruments which were adopted by the 44th UN General Assembly: the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Second Optional Protocol to the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights aiming at the abolition of the death penalty.

Human rights in specific situations

The Twelve's action is taken on the basis of information on country situations provided by partners and from reports specifically requested from the Twelve's Heads of Mission in third countries. Special attention is given in this context to reports from the European Parliament, specialized international organizations and recognized and respected non-governmental organizations.

In the last year the Twelve issued some 25 declarations, referring to specific human rights problems in Iran, South Africa, Sudan, Romania, Panama, the Arab territories occupied by Israel, China, Burma, El Salvador, Guatemala and Czechoslovakia. These declarations were widely publicized.

In 1989, references to specific human rights situations were also made in a number of other statements, including ministerial statements. Among these were the Ministerial Declaration on South Africa of 12 June, condemning in particular the extension of the state of emergency, and the Madrid European Council Declaration of 27 June condemning the brutal repression in China and setting out a number of measures.

One of the most important activities of the Twelve in their endeavour to defend human rights is the making of *démarches* — either by the Presidency, the Troika or, occasionally, by the Twelve collectively — to governments of countries where specific violations occur. In 1989 the Twelve made approximately 70 *démarches* in countries all over the world. The interests of those whom the Twelve are seeking to help dictate that many of these *démarches* remain confidential.

At the CSCE Paris Conference on the Human Dimension, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Spain, Mr Francisco Fernández Ordóñez, delivered a speech on behalf of the Twelve which contained, *inter alia*, an assessment of the operation of the Conference on the Human Dimension mechanism as implemented by the Twelve. The Presidency, making use of this procedure, intervened on a number of occasions in 1989 in five countries of Eastern Europe, i.e. Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Romania and the USSR. In this context, the upcoming Copenhagen Conference on the Human Dimension is expected to continue developing and enriching our dialogue on the protection of human rights within CSCE participating States.

In 1989 the Presidency and the Troika carried out 14 *démarches* under the CHD mechanism on the human dimension, within the framework of the CSCE.

Specific human rights situations were addressed by the Twelve within the UN on several occasions, in particular at the 46th Session of the Commission on Human Rights, at ECOSOC and at the Third Committee of the 44th General Assembly.

At the 44th General Assembly, the French Presidency delivered a statement under the ECOSOC report item addressing a number of country situations. At the Commission on Human Rights in Geneva, a common Twelve statement under Item 12, dealing with a large number of country situations, was made for the first time. The Irish Presidency delivered the statement on behalf of the Twelve.

Major statements of the Twelve in 1989 included the message on the occasion of the International Day of the UN for the elimination of racial discrimination (21 March), the statement by the Presidency on behalf of the Twelve concerning the implementation of the programme of action for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (12 May), the whole range of statements issued at the Strasbourg European Council as well as the press statement by that Council on the activities of the Twelve in the field of human rights (9 December).

The Twelve's approach to human rights issues, based on shared values and principles, was developed in the Presidency's address to the 46th Session of the Commission on Human Rights.

Following the 1989 precedent of a common Twelve speech before that body, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ireland, Mr Gerard Collins, confirmed and elaborated the commitment of the Twelve to the respect, protection and promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms throughout the world. Minister Collins also underlined the attachment of the Twelve to the specific mechanisms developed by the Commission for the protection and promotion of those rights. The Twelve furthermore made a common statement on the question of the improvement of the effectiveness of the Commission.

Conclusions

Respect for human rights is one of the cornerstones upon which European political cooperation is founded. The actions undertaken by the Community and its Member States in the past year have marked a new stage in their common commitment to the promotion and vindication of the human rights of all persons throughout the world. This was particularly illustrated by:

- (i) the increased number of Twelve *démarches* and declarations;
- (ii) a common Twelve statement dealing with the human rights situation in individual countries at the 46th Session of the Commission on Human Rights for the first time, in addition to the Presidency's address to the Conference on the Human Dimension by Minister Collins on behalf of the Twelve;
- (iii) a common Twelve statement on improving the effectiveness of the Conference on the Human Dimension;
- (iv) common Twelve co-sponsorship at the 46th Session of the Commission on Human Rights of the resolution on Iran and of the resolution on settlements in the Occupied Territories, of the draft resolution on China and of the draft decision on Iraq;
- (v) the human rights provisions contained in the new Lomé Convention.

None the less, the persistence of serious violations of human rights in many parts of the world requires the constant and permanent attention of the Twelve as well as greater cohesion in their positions. In the past year the Twelve have shown their determination to pursue this course and to strengthen their human rights policy, which remains a central element of European political cooperation.

90/191. Question No H-381/90 by Mr Alavanos concerning the convocation of a Helsinki II conference

Date of Issue: 15 May 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

How do the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation view plans to organize a Helsinki II conference during 1990 to consider the problems of security and peace in Europe, notably in view of German unification?

Answer:

I would draw the honourable Member's attention to the detailed guidelines on the CSCE process adopted by the special meeting of the European Council in Dublin on 28 April.

On that occasion, our Heads of State and Government noted that there is now wide agreement on the desirability of a summit meeting of the CSCE participating States before the end of this year. This would mark the starting point for a more advanced stage of the Helsinki process. The decisions necessary to launch the summit process should, in the Twelve's view, be taken as soon as possible so as to ensure that the preparations essential for its successful outcome

are completed in good time. This should include an early decision on the opening date and venue of a preparatory committee as well as on the venue of the summit. On our part, the Twelve propose that the preparatory committee could start in July, and the summit itself could take place in Paris.

The summit should lead to a balanced development of the CSCE encompassing notably the development of pluralist democracy, the rule of law, human contacts, security, economic cooperation, the environment, further cooperation in the Mediterranean and cooperation in the field of culture.

The CSCE Summit should make it possible to consider new institutional arrangements within the CSCE process, including the possibility of regular consultative meetings of Foreign Ministers and the establishment of a small administrative secretariat.

The Community and its Member States are determined to assume their responsibilities wholeheartedly and to play a full part in the CSCE process; they are considering appropriate arrangements to achieve this end.

90/192. Question No H-453/90 by Mr Christensen and Question No H-544/90 by Ms Muscardini concerning measures in support of Lithuanian independence

Date of Issue: 15 May 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Question No H-453/90:

On 11 March 1990 Lithuania proclaimed its independence. The Soviet Union has refused to recognize Lithuania's secession and is proffering economic and military threats even though it declares that it does not intend to use force.

This is an unacceptable infringement of the Lithuanian people's right to national self-determination and, at the same time, a threat to European *détente*, security and peace.

What action do the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation intend to take in response to the situation in Lithuania?

Question No H-544/90:

What measures have been taken and/or what representations have been made to the Government of the USSR in support of Lithuania's legitimate desire for independence, not least with a view to persuading the USSR to end its suspension of supplies of raw materials such as oil, gas, etc. and other activities of economic warfare?

If the USSR maintained the aforesaid economic reprisals or other similar measures, would it not be appropriate to review its membership of BERD; and is it not proposed that membership of BERD should be extended to Lithuania and possibly to other European nations which achieved political independence?

Answer:

Following two previous declarations on Lithuania, the Twelve issued on 21 April a declaration in which they expressed their serious concern at the economic measures recently introduced by Moscow in relation to Lithuania. They stated their belief that measures of a coercive nature can make no contribution to the search for a solution through dialogue. They underlined the

obligation to exercise maximum restraint and to avoid actions that can only lead to a further deterioration of the situation. The Twelve are firmly of the view that an outcome acceptable to all must be sought and that this is possible only by means of discussion. They call on all concerned not to carry through measures which are inconsistent with this objective.

The Presidency made representations in this sense to the Soviet authorities through its Embassy in Moscow. The Community and its Member States will avail themselves of other suitable opportunities to reiterate their views to Moscow.

In view of their serious concern at these developments, the Community and its Member States keep the situation and its policy implications under continuous review.

90/193. Question No H-509/90 by Mr Stavrou concerning the CSCE and Albania

Date of Issue: 15 May 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Ms Geoghegan-Quinn recently stated that 'The Copenhagen Conference on the Human Dimension which will take place in June will serve to underline further the importance of human rights and human contacts in the CSCE process as well as the value of the CSCE as a vehicle for the promotion of respect for human rights throughout the whole continent of Europe.'

The Albanian authorities recently conveyed to Mr Andreotti their wish to take part in the forthcoming CSCE negotiations. Mr Andreotti passed this message on to Mr Perez de Cuellar who proposes to visit Albania on 11 and 12 May.

Will the Foreign Ministers say whether they have asked or will be asking the Italians and the United Nations Secretary-General to make it plain to the Albanians that participation in [the] CSCE does not only entail benefits in the form of security and economic cooperation but also obligations regarding human rights?

Answer:

The Albanian Government has on a number of occasions declared its interest in participating in some way in the CSCE process. A requirement for such participation would be an unequivocal declaration by the State in question of its intention fully to implement the commitments contained in the Helsinki Final Act and other CSCE documents, including those relating to the human dimension of the CSCE.

90/194. Questions No H-543/90 by Mr Papayannakis, No H-591/90 by Mr Pierros and No H-592/90 by Mr Pagoropoulos concerning the Greek Orthodox patriarchate in Jerusalem

Date of Issue: 15 May 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Question No H-543/90:

On Thursday 12 April a number of buildings belonging to the Greek Orthodox patriarchate in Jerusalem were occupied by some 150 Israelis who claimed that they had bought them from their

'owner' in Switzerland. The occupation of the buildings was evidently prompted by religious fanaticism or bigotry. The protests of the clergy and laymen involved, headed by the Orthodox patriarch Diodoros, the Catholic patriarch Michel Sabbah and Armenian clergymen, were met with violence by the Israeli police. An Israeli court subsequently ruled that the occupiers' deeds of 'ownership' were invalid and acknowledged the patriarchate's legal right to use the buildings.

What do the Ministers intend to do to avoid a repetition of such disruptions to the normal pursuit of the many religions, churches and creeds which have coexisted for centuries in Jerusalem and to ensure them the freedom to perform their acts of worship?

Question No H-591/90:

Since 11 April 1990 Israeli settlers have been occupying premises owned by the Greek Orthodox patriarchate in Jerusalem. Despite the decision of the Israeli Supreme Court — which has ordered the settlers to leave — and the strong protests to the Israeli Government by the Greek Government urging that the settlers leave immediately, the latter are still occupying the premises. As a result, all the places of worship of the patriarchate have been closed, while the situation in the neighbourhood remains tense.

Do the Ministers meeting in political cooperation intend to put pressure on the Israeli authorities to solve this extremely serious matter?

Question No H-592/90:

During Easter Week, the most holy week in the Christian calendar, Israeli settlers, who had received funding from the Israeli Government, forcibly occupied the building owned by the Greek Orthodox patriarchate of Jerusalem. Despite the international stir and the opposition of all Christian churches, the Israeli Government did not take the necessary steps and, as a result, this irregular situation, i.e. the occupation of the building, is still continuing today.

Can the Foreign Ministers state whether they intend to make representations to the Israeli Government in order to rectify the harm that has been done and ensure protection for the laws and religious rights of the patriarchate and Christians of Jerusalem?

Answer:

The Twelve noted with great concern the occupation by Jewish settlers of St John's Hospice in East Jerusalem. The acknowledgement that this occupation, which could only provoke tension between religious communities in East Jerusalem, was surreptitiously financed by the Israeli Government heightened their concern. The Twelve have noted the partial evacuation of the settlers from the hospice on 1 May and look to the Israeli authorities to see to it that all the settlers evacuate the hospice without delay. As honourable Members are aware, in the opinion of the Twelve, Jewish settlements in the territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including East Jerusalem, are illegal under international law. In this connection, having regard to Security Council Resolution 465 of 1980, they consider that Israel should cease its attempts to change the physical character, demographic composition, institutional structure or status of the Occupied Territories.

The Twelve also reject unilateral actions from whatever side that are designed to alter the status of Jerusalem. The Twelve consider that Israel's statements and actions in recent months in pursuit of its settlement policy in the Occupied Territories present a growing obstacle to peace in the region. They are particularly concerned that new settlements continue to be established and they have therefore repeatedly appealed to the Israeli authorities neither to allow nor to encourage settlements in the Occupied Territories.

90/195. Statement concerning the Dublin European Council meeting of 28 and 29 April 1990

Date of Issue: 16 May 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Report on European Council

Mr Haughey, President-in-Office of the European Council: Mr President, distinguished Members of the European Parliament, I am grateful for your invitation to address Parliament. It gives me the opportunity to speak to the directly elected representatives of over 320 million Europeans and to listen to your views on the great issues that face our Community and our continent. I know that the issues discussed at the special European Council in Dublin on 28 April 1990 are the subject of debate and thoughtful consideration in this Chamber. For this reason it was important that the Heads of State or Government had the opportunity to hear the view of Parliament from your distinguished President at the beginning of our meeting.

Today, I want to report to you about the outcome of our meeting and about the decisions taken, which I believe are of vital importance to the future of Europe.

The meeting was convened in response to the dramatic unfolding of events in Europe over the past months. I believed, and my fellow Heads of State or Government agreed, that such was the pace of events and the need for a cohesive and considered Community response that we should not wait until the scheduled European Council in June to act.

Our continent is undergoing a profound transformation; a period during which the future of the continent and its people is being shaped for a long time to come. It is demonstrated that the demand of peoples for their basic rights can never be finally subdued. I need only mention the case of Solidarity in Poland. A major impetus for change was provided by President Gorbachev, but the dramatic revelation of what was really happening came at that moment six months ago when the people of Berlin began to tear down the wall that divided their city. At that moment too, as Vaclav Havel has observed, they began to sweep away the wall that had divided Europe for half a century. After decades of division we had suddenly and unexpectedly arrived at the beginning of the end of the barren post-war years of confrontation. Our ancient continent at last has the opportunity of fully realizing, through peace and cooperation, the enormous potential of its people and its resources. The European Community is the anchor of stability for all of Europe at this time, the source of hope and optimism for the future. We must ensure that it provides the leadership and direction that is needed if Europe is to achieve the peace, democratic freedom and economic betterment our people are entitled to.

The most immediate and pressing challenges facing the Community, and those which originally led me to call a special Council, were three: the prospect of German unification and the consequent integration of the German Democratic Republic into the Community; the need to formulate an adequate and coherent policy towards the re-emerging democracies of Central and Eastern Europe, and the need to accelerate the process of European integration.

I believe that the European Council made substantive and decisive progress in all three areas.

Let me begin with German unification. Germany is a founder member of the Community, and the Federal Republic has, from the beginning, been a central pillar of European construction. The Federal Republic has never allowed its aspirations towards national unification to affect the movement toward European unity. Indeed, successive West German leaders have consistently maintained that German unification could only come about under a European roof.

The warm welcome which Heads of State or Government expressed for the prospect of German unification at the special Council was both unequivocal and important. I am pleased to have the opportunity of conveying this to Parliament in the presence of Chancellor Kohl and Prime Minister de Maizière.

But it is not only Germany which has cause for satisfaction. The incorporation of the territory of the GDR into the Federal Republic under Article 23 of the Basic Law will simultaneously create an additional 16 million Community citizens who will bring the benefit of their inherent skills and enterprise and enlarge the overall size of the single market. Special understanding will be required in the short term to enable this part of Germany to recover from the experience of the last 45 years and to adapt to the standards of the Community, but there can be no doubt of the Community's enrichment.

The special Council expressed its determination that the integration of the territory of the GDR into the Community would be completed with the minimum of disruption.

Fears on this latter aspect underestimate both the momentum which has built up behind the integration process and the reservoir of energy, determination and political skill available within the Community institutions, in Germany and in the other Member States, which can be mobilized to tackle any difficulties which may arise. We are confident that both the Federal Republic and correspondingly the Community can accommodate without undue difficulty the integration of a territory whose population is a quarter of that of the Federal Republic and less than a 20th of that of the Community.

The Council expressed its view on this point in clear terms. It was satisfied that the integration of the German Democratic Republic will contribute to faster economic growth in the Community, and agreed that integration should take place in conditions of economic balance and monetary stability.

I do not seek to diminish the problems involved, simply to stress that they are manageable. There will, of course, be a need for detailed examination of the transitional arrangements. But the Federal Government has undertaken to keep the Community fully informed of any relevant measures discussed and agreed between the Federal and the GDR authorities for the purpose of aligning their policies and their legislation. Furthermore, the Commission will be fully involved in these discussions.

The Commission will be bringing forward proposals for transitional arrangements to apply to the present GDR territory on its integration into the Community. These will be kept to a necessary minimum. They will be designed to allow for the quickest possible assumption of the *acquis communautaire* compatible with conditions in the regions involved.

On the basis of discussions at the special Council, I am confident that incorporation of the territory of the GDR into the Community can be completed without detrimental implications for other regions of the Community. The Council heard an emphatic assurance from Chancellor Kohl that the integration of the GDR territory into the Community would not be achieved at the expense of the existing less developed regions. This commitment, together with the statement in the Council conclusions, offers a timely reassurance to the people of those less prosperous regions and once again illustrates the Community's determination to ensure that economic development should proceed in a cohesive and integrated manner.

German unification, of course, is only part of a wider scenario which is unfolding in the Central and Eastern areas of our continent. The great popular uprising, which swept away the oppressive regime in the GDR, has been repeated to varying extents in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Bulgaria and Romania. New ideas and courageous leadership in Moscow are encouraging the rest of Europe to hope that negotiations will lead not only to mutually acceptable arrangements between the peoples who comprise the Soviet Union, but also to the establishment of an entirely new relationship between all the peoples of Europe.

The impact of the changes on the Community and its people has been profound. As the political and physical barriers which have divided the Community from the East are being stripped away, so too are the psychological dimensions. Great cities like Dresden, Prague, Cracow and Budapest are taking their place once again in our consciousness as repositories of European culture and history. The special Council, in applauding the process of change in Central and Eastern Europe, specifically acknowledged the common heritage and culture which the countries of this region share with our Community. The emerging democracies of Central

and Eastern Europe are returning to the mainstream of European life with considerable expectations, aroused in large part by the achievements of the European Community. It is vital that the Community continues to provide leadership and inspiration to the rest of the continent and that we respond to the changes in Central and Eastern Europe in a positive and realistic way. This we have been doing in a flexible approach, tailored to respond to the political and economic situation in each country.

The first stage of the Community's action plan is already under way in the form of immediate short-term assistance, trade concessions, investment measures, financial stabilization measures and project aid. Programmes for professional training and student exchange will soon be finalized. A second phase, running parallel to the first, has been the completion of a network of trade and cooperation agreements. The Council decided, on the basis of a communication from the Commission, to move on in the near future to negotiations with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe on association agreements which will include an institutional framework for political dialogue. Negotiations on these agreements are to be completed as soon as possible, on the understanding that conditions relating to democratic principles and the tradition towards a market economy are fulfilled in these countries.

In addition to launching its own initiatives, the Community has also taken a leading role in the context of cooperation within the Group of 24 countries and in the establishment of a European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The special Council called for action within the framework of the G-24 to be extended to cover the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Romania. The Council also decided to encourage transfers of private capital and investment towards the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and invited the Commission to study the implementation of the most appropriate accompanying measures.

The Council's determination that the Community should establish a closer relationship with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe is part of a coherent strategy for its external relations. The special Council made it clear that the Community will act as a political entity on the international scene, open to good relations with other countries and groups of countries. As an essential part of this approach, the Council confirmed that the Community should work actively for an early agreement with our EFTA partners, our closest and most intimate neighbours, on the establishment of a European Economic Area. In my meetings with the EFTA leaders over the past months I have found a keen desire on their part to commence these negotiations. At a time when freedom and democracy are being restored in Central and Eastern Europe and progress is being made in arms control negotiations it is now possible and necessary to develop a wider framework of peace, security and cooperation on our continent. The European Council decided that, while Member States will maintain their existing security arrangements, the Community and its Member States will play a leading role in all proceedings and discussions within the CSCE process and in efforts to establish new political structures or agreements based on the Helsinki principles.

The CSCE can play a vital role in the wider framework and should be developed in new directions. There is now wide agreement on the desirability of holding a meeting of the CSCE at the highest level before the end of this year. That meeting can start the process of further development of the CSCE, a development which should be well balanced. This further development will provide us with the occasion to encourage pluralist democracy and the rule of law, observance of human rights, economic cooperation and cooperation in the field of culture. Even before the CSCE Summit, the Community has made an essential contribution to economic cooperation in the CSCE. This was done, as you know, at the Bonn Economic Conference last month. Next month, in Copenhagen, we bring about a stronger commitment to human rights at the Conference on the Human Dimension there. The Mediterranean dimension of the CSCE will be further developed at the meeting in Palma de Mallorca in September. The Twelve are committed to a secure and stable balance of forces in Europe at lower levels and hope that significant and early progress in this direction can be made at the Vienna negotiations on conventional armed forces in Europe and security- and confidence-building measures.

Last year President Bush and Secretary of State Baker called for a new relationship between the United States and the European Community. Responding to this call the European Council expressed the desire of the Twelve to strengthen further the Community's transatlantic relationship, based on regular contacts at the highest level. The Council expressed its satisfaction with the understanding which, as President of the European Council, I reached with President Bush earlier this year on the holding of a meeting between the US and EC Council Presidents during the term of each Council Presidency. The Council saw this and other regular meetings, including meetings with the Commission, as providing a good framework for the further expansion of relations between the Community and the United States. As a country whose people have close historical, cultural and family ties with the United States, the Irish Presidency appreciated having this opportunity to deepen the relationship between the Community and the United States.

The Council also expressed its determination that the Community should intensify its policy of good relations and cooperation with the Mediterranean countries, pursue its special relationship with the ACP countries and intensify cooperation with countries in Asia and Latin America. It confirmed the Community's intention of furthering its cooperation with Japan, Canada, Australia and other OECD countries. As regards the GATT Uruguay Round negotiations, the Council emphasized the Community's continued full commitment to the negotiations and its determination to contribute to their successful conclusions.

The Council also discussed a different sort of trade, a sinister one which represents a major and growing threat to the people of Europe; that is the internationally organized criminal traffic in narcotics. It is not possible to exaggerate this menace. The damage inflicted by drug addiction, particularly to hundreds of thousands of young people, is one of the great shames of our civilization. Recently you had the opportunity to hear in this Chamber from the President of Colombia, in a moving and eloquent address, about the violence and criminality associated with the drug trade. He made it clear that the problem was one of grave international consequences which required international solidarity to deal with.

The time has come for the Community fully and openly to acknowledge the massive international dimensions of the illegal drugs trade and the absolute necessity for Member States to act together urgently and comprehensively to combat it. An organized international criminal organization can only be defeated by international cooperation among the forces of law and order. We discussed this in Dublin and asked the high-level coordinators' group Celad, in close consultation with the Commission, to report on measures to bring about more effective coordination and on priorities for action by the Community and Member States in the context of concerted action against drug abuse and illicit production, distribution and sale of narcotic drugs. This work will form the basis of a substantive discussion at the European Council in June.[...]

The European Council has stressed the importance of unity and coherence in the conduct of the Community's international action. We must not become a self-centred Community constantly being occupied with our own affairs. Indeed, we would not be allowed to do so either by our own people or by the outside world. The Community is the largest trading bloc in the world. Its prosperity depends on its relations with the rest of the world. This is not a question of choice: the Community cannot build a wall around itself. Its views and political support are constantly sought on issues and in situations everywhere in the world. But this is not new. The European Community has never seen its future as an isolated bloc of countries. We have always looked outward, cherishing our relations with the United States, Japan, Canada, Australia and the other OECD countries. The challenges posed by our relations with other countries have been an important stimulus to the Community. We have also long recognized that the growing gap between North and South, between the developed and the developing countries, must be a focus of our concern. We have developed effective cooperation policies through the Lomé Convention with the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries. We are linked through a special arrangement with the ASEAN countries. We cooperate with the Central American countries in

the San José process and with the Latin American countries. For many years we have been working towards common foreign policy positions within the framework of European political cooperation. Our cooperation in foreign policy questions is now an established nature of international affairs in general; whether in our relations with individual countries or in international organizations starting with the United Nations itself.

Coordination between the positions adopted in the economic sphere and those adopted in European political cooperation is increasingly a factor in our approach to external relations. This has been demonstrated during the Irish Presidency, particularly in our approach to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

I have no doubt, however, that this coordination can be further improved: this is one of the things that the European Council had in mind in asking for a detailed examination to be put in hand on the need for possible changes aiming at assuring unity and coherence in the Community's international action. It is in this perspective too that the Community sees the need to develop a wider framework of peace, security and cooperation for all Europe. The Community and its Member States, therefore, will play a leading role in the CSCE process which I have mentioned. This wider framework will serve to anchor the historic changes that are taking place in Europe. The Community has been the pole of attraction for the countries of Central and Eastern Europe as they embark on the road to liberty. We should ensure that we can still play the role in the future that our situation enables us to and that the world demands from us for the benefit, not only of ourselves, but of Europe as a whole.

I have mentioned the three guidelines given by the European Community to our future work. Let me add that the cement which will bind the bricks of European Union will be the concept of subsidiarity. It is clear that decisions must be taken at the most appropriate level, whether at local, regional, national or at Community level. I think it is very much to the credit of Parliament that you have been to the fore in seeking to define and elaborate this principle. For the Community will normally be between national action and the development of appropriate Community policies. We must ensure that the outcome of our deliberations on this issue do not hold back the development of Community policies or distort the aims of the Treaty or the *acquis communautaire*.

Mr President, Members of Parliament, I would like to thank you once again for allowing me to address you on the outcome of what I believe to have been a very successful summit. The Community is faced with a great challenge of leadership in a new Europe. We must respond to that challenge with both courage and maturity. We must endeavour to build a strong Community, based on democratic legitimacy while at the same time preserving the richness of diversity which distinguishes us as Europeans. The special European Council showed that the Community has the political will to achieve for the people of Europe a Community that will fulfil their highest expectations. If we sustain that effort — and I am confident that we will — then the Community can be sure of its place in Europe and Europe can retain its rightful place in our world.

90/196. Question No H-325/90 by Ms Crawley concerning German immigration authorities withholding information

Date of Issue: 16 May 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

In the light of the Community's desire to establish freedom of movement for all individual Community members between Member States, could the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation establish why British nationals, residing in Germany, who marry people from outside the Community, and whose spouses are then denied entry, should be refused access to

the reasons for this denial by the German immigration authorities; I refer to a particular case of Semina Bhatti, whose family reside in my constituency, but I am informed this is a regular practice. Would the Foreign Ministers also bring pressure to bear to ensure that German immigration authorities make this information available both in this particular case and, when they are asked to, in other like cases?

Answer:

The honourable Member's question falls outside the competence of European political cooperation.

90/197. Question No H-351/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru concerning Palestinians murdered by Palestinians

Date of Issue: 16 May 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Have the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation had an opportunity to recommend to the PLO leadership that it should condemn outright the succession of murders — now over 100 — of Palestinians by Palestinians in the Occupied Territories?

Answer:

The position of the Twelve is clearly on the record. They condemn all forms of violence in the Occupied Territories, no matter from which quarter it comes. They have stated that violence does nothing to bring about peace.

The Twelve note that a recent statement of the Palestinian leadership of the *Intifada* called for an end to intra-Palestinian violence. They call on the Palestinian leadership to enforce this policy.

90/198. Question No H-386/90 by Mr Crampton concerning the Irish Presidency

Date of Issue: 16 May 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

In view of the enormous changes in the political situation in Europe will the Irish Presidency be using its unique position as a neutral member to encourage positive demilitarization in Europe and positive responses to unilateral initiatives for disarmament by the countries of the Warsaw Pact?

Answer:

The changes to which the honourable Member refers were fully recognized by the special meeting of the European Council in Dublin on 28 April, which stated that it is now both possible and necessary to develop a wider framework of peace, security, and cooperation for all of Europe. The European Council identified the CSCE process in particular as the context within which a new system of relations between the States of Europe can be built.

As stated by the European Council on the same occasion, the Twelve are committed to a secure and stable balance of forces in Europe at lower levels.

90/199. Question No H-437/90 by Mr Livanos concerning the threat of reconversion of the church of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul into a mosque

Date of Issue: 16 May 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

In view of the fact that the Turkish Government is seriously considering issuing a legal order for the reconversion of the historic church-museum of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul into a mosque and that, according to a statement by the Turkish Minister for Justice, legal experts have already drawn up a plan to this end; given that the influence of the 'holy fundamentalist alliance', which is seriously pressing for this action to be taken, has considerably increased within the ruling Motherland Party, and that the campaign launched in December 1989 through the Islamic press and Islamic organizations is gathering momentum; given that the church of Hagia Sophia, which was built in the sixth century by the Emperor Justinian, is a holy symbol of Christianity and a unique masterpiece of Byzantine architecture, will the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation use all their influence to prevent this further catastrophe and the pillaging of this unique monument and symbol of Christianity and Western civilization?

Answer:

The specific issue raised by the honourable Member has not been discussed in European political cooperation.

90/200. Question No H-451/90 by Mr Jackson concerning the relations between India and Nepal

Date of Issue: 16 May 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Nepal, which relies entirely on India for overland entry of all goods, fuel, etc., has been suffering from an effective blockade which has had a considerable impact on its economy.

Both Nepal and India receive considerable aid from the European Community.

Will the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation take an early opportunity of expressing to the Governments of India and Nepal their concern at the blockade which is retarding the development progress which the European Community wants to help achieve in the region?

Answer:

The Twelve, through their Embassies in Delhi and Katmandu, have closely followed the dispute between India and Nepal. The authorities on both sides are aware of our desire to see a satisfactory resolution of differences, not least in view of the consequences of the present situation as described by the honourable Member in his question.

As the honourable Member will be aware, negotiations have been taking place at which a number of outstanding points of difficulty have been resolved. The stage is set for further

negotiations. These will take place against the favourable background of the democratic reforms recently introduced in Nepal and welcomed by the Twelve. The Twelve earnestly hope that the remaining differences between India and Nepal can now be overcome speedily and an overall solution agreed, in accordance with the best interests of both countries.

90/201. Question No H-464/90 by Mr Bandrés Molet concerning the referendum on self-determination for the Western Sahara

Date of Issue: 16 May 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

In August 1988, the United Nations proposed a peace plan to bring an end to the war between Morocco and the Polisario Front. A key feature of the plan was to be the holding of a referendum on self-determination for the Western Sahara.

What steps do the Ministers meeting in political cooperation plan to take to ensure that this objective is achieved?

Answer:

The Twelve continue to support fully the efforts of the UN Secretary-General and his Special Representative, aimed at convening under the auspices of the United Nations a referendum on self-determination for the people of the Western Sahara.

They noted with interest the meeting in January 1989 between King Hassan and Polisario representatives. They look forward to further contacts between the Moroccan authorities and Polisario representatives.

In the opinion of the Twelve, the adoption by consensus of resolutions on Western Sahara at the 44th Session of the United Nations General Assembly and the 46th Session of the Commission on Human Rights commits the parties concerned to follow a constructive approach, so that a referendum on self-determination for the people of Western Sahara can be held under credible conditions at an early date. The Twelve note with satisfaction that the recent visit of the United Nations Secretary-General to the region appears to have given momentum to this process.

90/202. Question No H-467/90 by Mr Cabezón Alonso concerning the death in Panama on 21 December 1989 of the Spanish photographer Juan Antonio Rodriguez

Date of Issue: 16 May 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

At the February 1990 part-session, I inquired about measures adopted by the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation in the light of the death of the Spanish photographer Juan Antonio Rodriguez, who died in Panama on 21 December 1989 as the result of shots fired by United States troops while he was carrying out his work as a news photographer.

From the answer I deduced that no special measures had been adopted regarding this particular case.

Has the United States been asked to open an investigation into the incident?

Are the Foreign Ministers prepared to call for those responsible to answer for their actions in a court of law?

Answer:

At the February part-session the Presidency not only deplored the death of Mr Rodriguez, but also recalled the Twelve's deep concern at the situation in Panama and at the loss of human lives in that country.

I am convinced that the parties to the conflict are well aware of the 22 December 1989 declaration by Foreign Ministers on Panama, which, *inter alia*, expressed the Twelve's strong wish that an early restoration of civil peace and safety be achieved and a return to constitutional and democratic order secured.

90/203. Question No H-469/90 by Mr Chabert concerning the violation of human rights in Cuba

Date of Issue: 16 May 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Do the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation intend officially to express their disapproval and concern to the Cuban authorities at the increased repression suffered by the human rights movement in Cuba, moved by the arrest and ill-treatment of its supporters?

Answer:

The Twelve's commitment to human rights is unequivocal, and strong efforts are made by all appropriate means to counter human rights violations wherever they occur. Accordingly, the Twelve are continuing to monitor the situation in Cuba very closely.

It will also be recalled that the Commission on Human Rights, with the support of the seven EC Member States which are at present members of this body, this year adopted a resolution calling on the Government of Cuba to honour its repeated guarantees that individuals attempting to present information to representatives of the Commission would not be subject to reprisals or detention. The resolution also called for a response to the unanswered questions put to the Cuban authorities by representatives of the Commission.

90/204. Question No H-472/90 by Mr Maher concerning the reduction in military expenditure

Date of Issue: 16 May 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

In view of the radical changes taking place in Eastern Europe and in Soviet Russia, what reduction in military expenditure do the Foreign Ministers envisage for Member States?

Answer:

This question is not dealt with in the EPC framework. However, the Twelve welcome the progress attained in the two major negotiations on conventional forces in Europe and on security- and confidence-building measures taking place in Vienna within the framework of the CSCE. They look forward to their early and successful conclusion.

90/205. Question No H-477/90 by Mr Cravinho concerning the violation of human rights in East Timor

Date of Issue: 16 May 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

There have been reports in the media of repeated serious human rights violations by Indonesia in East Timor.

In September 1988 and November 1989, Parliament adopted two resolutions on the situation in East Timor.

The Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation were called upon as a matter of urgency to take action on these resolutions. What specific measures have been taken and with what results? What measures are planned during the current Presidency? Do not the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation consider that Indonesia should be called upon to face the consequences of its persistent denial of the most basic rights of the people of East Timor?

Answer:

The Twelve are mindful of the resolutions of this Parliament to which the honourable Member refers. The Twelve are following closely developments in East Timor, including the human rights situation. They will continue to do so and will ensure that the Indonesian authorities are kept fully aware of the importance which the Community attaches to scrupulous respect for human rights.

Regarding the overall position of East Timor, the Twelve have consistently supported contacts between Portugal and Indonesia under the auspices of the United Nations Secretary-General. They have expressed the hope for imminent progress which would open the way for a fair, comprehensive and internationally accepted settlement that fully respected the interests of the East Timor population.

90/206. Question No H-486/90 by Ms Dury concerning the transfer of nuclear resources by Member States of the Community

Date of Issue: 16 May 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Does not the transfer by Member States of nuclear equipment and know-how to non-member countries that do not possess nuclear weapons and that have not signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty represent a danger to mankind?

Would it not be appropriate for the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation to frame a policy in a concerted effort to adopt a responsible and common stance on this issue?

Answer:

The Member States of the European Community are concerned that there is a continuing risk that further countries may acquire nuclear weapons and that a number of countries remain outside the non-proliferation regime. The Twelve call on all States to join in efforts to eliminate the risk of nuclear proliferation, amongst others by the worldwide application of IAEA safeguards. As far as nuclear transfers are concerned, the Twelve believe in the need for an equitable and stable framework for international nuclear trade and have collectively adhered to the Nuclear Suppliers' Guidelines, thereby assuming a basic common discipline for their nuclear exports.

90/207. Question No H-488/90 by Ms Ruíz-Gimenez Aguilar on increasing aid to developing countries

Date of Issue: 16 May 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Does the Council of Ministers intend to make a political declaration to acknowledge the existence of East-West *détente*, which will enable expenditure on defence to be cut and the savings to be spent on other items such as aid to developing countries, especially those which do not have the benefit of Lomé-type agreements?

Answer:

In the view of the Twelve, the profound political and economic changes taking place in Central and Eastern Europe hold out the prospect of greatly strengthening peace and security on our continent. Two major negotiations on conventional forces in Europe and on security- and confidence-building measures are taking place in Vienna within the framework of the CSCE. The Twelve look forward to their early and successful conclusion. The question of defence expenditure is not dealt with in the EPC framework.

90/208. Question No H-513/90 by Mr McMahon concerning security policy involving EFTA countries

Date of Issue: 16 May 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Can the President-in-Office state when discussions were last held in political cooperation meetings involving the Government of Norway and what was the outcome of these deliberations?

Answer:

Norway is a like-minded country with whom the Twelve pursue a regular political dialogue. The most recent meeting at ministerial level in this framework was in Dublin on 18 January, when as President-in-Office of European political cooperation I met Foreign Minister Bonderik of Norway. Exchanges of this kind are part of a continuing process of consultation and do not involve formal conclusions. However, I can inform the honourable Member that the principal

subjects discussed in January were developments in Central and Eastern Europe, East-West relations, current Community developments, and the EC-EFTA negotiations on the creation of a European Economic Space which are due to begin in the near future.

90/209. Question No H-523/90 by Mr Ephremidis concerning the new measures taken by Ankara against the Kurds

Date of Issue: 16 May 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

The Turkish Government has decided to take new repressive measures against the Kurds which include limiting the news coverage from south-eastern regions, limiting the right to strike and the possibility of exiling individuals considered a threat to public order.

What measures do the Foreign Ministers meeting in EPC intend to take to protect human rights and democratic freedoms in these regions of Turkey?

Answer:

As the Presidency indicated in answers given to previous questions relating to the protection of human rights, fundamental freedoms and the rights of minorities in Turkey, the Twelve continue to monitor the situation very closely and with great attention.

There cannot be any doubt therefore that the Government of Ankara is conscious of the importance the Twelve attach to the strict respect and implementation of those engagements which Turkey has of its own free will subscribed to when adhering to international instruments destined to safeguard and foster the rights of the individual.

90/210. Question No H-528/90 by Ms Ewing concerning Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty review

Date of Issue: 16 May 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

As the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty is to be reviewed in August and September of this year will the Council take action now to ensure that EC Member States signatories of the Treaty propose and implement a comprehensive test ban which would effectively stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons?

Answer:

The question of the comprehensive test ban treaty is currently under discussion at the Conference on Disarmament. No common position has been taken by the Twelve on this question. As far as non-proliferation issues proper are concerned, the Twelve, parties to the

Non-Proliferation Treaty or not, will work actively to secure a successful outcome to the discussions which will take place during the forthcoming months, and in particular to the deliberations of the Fourth Review Conference of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, and hope that those discussions will provide stable and assured solutions to the problems encountered by the international community in preventing the spread of nuclear weapons.

90/211. Question No H-550/90 by Mr Bowe concerning human rights in El Salvador

Date of Issue: 16 May 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Will the Foreign Ministers of the European Community States request that the United Nations offer a peace-keeping force to enable the Government of El Salvador and other parties to engage in discussions free from intimidation by the military and other groups?

Will the Ministers request that the El Salvador Government set up a United Nations sponsored investigation into alleged breaches of human rights in that country, and allow access to the Red Cross and ensure the safety of international church and humanitarian workers?

Answer:

On the issue of human rights in El Salvador I would first of all invite the honourable Member to refer to the answer I gave to a number of questions collectively at the occasion of the January 1990 part-session.

The most recent session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, in March 1990, extended the mandate of the United Nations Special Representative for another year and requested him to submit a report on further developments in the situation of human rights in El Salvador to the next sessions of the United Nations General Assembly and of the Commission.

I would furthermore want to draw his attention to the joint political declaration issued at the San José VI Ministerial Conference of Dublin on 10 April 1990 in which Ministers:

- (i) expressed their agreement with the call for an immediate and effective end of hostilities in El Salvador;
- (ii) underlined the necessity of a frank and constructive dialogue aimed at the integration of the FMLN into the peaceful life of the country, in a climate of safety and respect for their human rights and fundamental freedoms; and
- (iii) stated their satisfaction at the signature in Geneva, on 4 April 1990, of an agreement to promptly relaunch, under the auspices of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the dialogue between the Government of President Cristiani and the FMLN, which should enable negotiations and the end of the armed conflict in that country.

90/212. Question No H-552/90 by Mr Melandri concerning Kampuchea's seat at the United Nations and the role of the EEC

Date of Issue: 16 May 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Having regard to the recent positive developments in Kampuchea, which seem to indicate that a negotiated and diplomatic settlement of the current regional conflict in the area is possible,

bearing in mind that in recent resolutions which it carried by a very substantial majority, the European Parliament called on the United Nations to make vacant, at least until the holding of free elections in Kampuchea, the seat occupied in New York by the representatives of the sanguinary regime of Pol Pot, and having regard to the recent official statements by the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr De Michelis, in which he predicted that at the next United Nations General Assembly Italy will vote against the seat continuing to be held by the Khmer Rouge, irrespective of the position adopted by the Community, would not the Foreign Ministers meeting in EPC agree that the time has finally come for all members of the Community to vote jointly at the next United Nations General Assembly against the continuing occupancy of the United Nations seat by the Khmer Rouge?

Answer:

As the honourable Member will be aware, the Twelve have actively supported and promoted a just and lasting solution to the tragedy of Kampuchea. The Twelve's policy in relation to Kampuchea was clearly elaborated in statements which we issued on 28 January and 20 February of this year and which, once again, emphasized our total rejection of the genocidal policies of the Pol Pot Khmer Rouge who were responsible for the extermination of hundreds of thousands of Kampucheans.

The honourable Member refers to recent positive developments in regard to a negotiated settlement of the Kampuchean conflict. These developments, which include proposals for an enhanced role for the United Nations in the achievement of a comprehensive settlement of the Kampuchean conflict have the full support of the Twelve. Two partners are involved in the discussions on Kampuchea that are taking place between the five Permanent Members of the United Nations Security Council and one partner is also co-host of the Paris Conference. Our commitment to the peace process and the resolution of outstanding obstacles to a just and lasting peace settlement cannot be in doubt.

There is now a considerable degree of agreement among the Kampuchean parties and within the international community concerning certain core elements of a negotiated settlement, including the establishment of a Supreme National Council (SNC), in which Kampuchean sovereignty could be vested prior to elections. The establishment of such a body would be likely to have repercussions for the seating arrangements of the Kampuchean delegation at the United Nations. Such a body, which would be broadly representative of the Kampuchean people, could, *inter alia*, appoint Kampuchea's delegation to the United Nations General Assembly.

We do not yet know what stage the peace process will have reached when the question of the occupancy of Kampuchea's seat arises at the next session of the General Assembly. However, I can assure the honourable Member that the Twelve will seek to bring their common influence to bear on this issue, in the most constructive way possible. We fully share with the honourable Members of the European Parliament the earnest desire to see the Kampuchean people represented at the United Nations by a delegation which represents the Kampuchean people as a whole.

90/213. Question No H-554/90 by Mr Simeoni concerning the policy of the Community Member States *vis-à-vis* the Iraqi regime, particularly as regards cooperation and trade in military hardware

Date of Issue: 16 May 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

On 5 April 1990, the European Parliament adopted a resolution on Iraq.

Can the Ministers meeting in European political cooperation inform the European Parliament of the action they intend to take on that resolution?

In connection with the international arms trade, what conclusions do they draw from the recent events which have raised doubts about the motives of the Iraqi regime?

Answer:

In their statement issued on 20 April, the Twelve considered that the acquisition of weapons of mass destruction by any State in the Middle East region could only lead to heightened tensions and an increased threat to peace and stability. In this context they deplored the threat made by Iraq on 2 April to use chemical weapons. In 1988, the Twelve expressed their grave concern at reports of the alleged use of chemical weapons against the Kurds.

In their recent statement, the Twelve urged all States to strengthen compliance with the 1925 Geneva Protocol on chemical weapons and recalled the final declaration of the 1989 Paris Conference in which the participating States recognized the importance and continuing validity of this protocol, solemnly affirmed their commitments not to use chemical weapons and to condemn such use, and expressed their determination to prevent any recourse to chemical weapons by completely eliminating them.

The Twelve are fully committed to the goal of a global, comprehensive convention to prohibit the development, production, possession and use of chemical weapons, which is currently under negotiation in the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva. They reiterate their call to all States to become parties to this Convention as soon as it is concluded. They consider that any threat to use chemical weapons is in contradiction with the purpose and spirit of these negotiations.

In 1989, the Community adopted a regulation (Regulation (EEC) No 428/89) on the export and import of certain dangerous chemicals with the aim of harmonizing the system of notification and information exchange within the Community on the export of these substances.

The Twelve are fully committed to the nuclear non-proliferation regime and are concerned at the risk that further countries may acquire nuclear weapons. The Twelve, parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty or not, will work actively to secure a successful outcome to the discussions which will take place during the forthcoming months and in particular the deliberations of the Fourth Review Conference of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. The Twelve hope that these discussions will help to provide stable and assured solutions to the problems encountered by the international community in preventing the spread of nuclear weapons. For their part, the Twelve have adopted the Nuclear Suppliers' Guidelines, thereby assuming a basic common discipline for their nuclear exports.

Finally, in their statement of 20 April the 12 Member States of the European Community appealed to all parties to exercise restraint and to refrain from any actions or statements which could increase tension in the region. They urged them not to damage the prospects of rapid progress towards dialogue and negotiation which are so urgently needed for a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Twelve recalled the obligation on all Member States contained in the Charter of the United Nations to refrain from the threat or use of force. They emphasized that peace will be achieved not by a balance of terror but by the negotiation of just solutions to the conflicts of the region.

90/214. Question No H-573/90 by Mr Gutiérrez Díaz concerning the assassination of Ignacio Ellacuría in El Salvador

Date of Issue: 16 May 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

In November 1989, Parliament adopted a resolution calling on the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation to urge the Government of El Salvador to carry out a full investigation with a view to the trial and punishment of the murderers and inciters of the murder of the Director of the Central American University, Ignacio Ellacuria, and five other Jesuits.

Has the evidence in the possession of the Salvadorean authorities concerning the murderers and inciters of the murder of Ignacio Ellacuria and his companions been used with a view to taking action against those responsible?

Answer:

On 17 November 1989 the Twelve declared themselves deeply shocked and moved by the assassination of Fr. Ellacuria, Rector of the Central American University, and of five Jesuit priests from the same University. In the wake of their condemnation of that ignominious act of violence the Twelve, on 27 November 1989, expressed their deep concern about the general deterioration of the situation and the renewal of violence in El Salvador. On 30 November 1989 the Ambassadors of the Troika called on President Cristiani, stating the Twelve's profound dismay at the assassination of the six Jesuit priests and asking the Head of State to hold an inquiry into the circumstances of that barbaric act. The Troika also urged the Salvadorean authorities to make every effort to identify and punish the murderers.

The Twelve were encouraged by President Cristiani's response, but taking into account the slowness and, therefore, the lack of substantive results, are continuing to follow the issue closely, to ensure that the matter is brought to an appropriate conclusion.

The honourable Member will be aware that four officers and four soldiers, suspected of being responsible for this attack, have been detained pending judicial proceedings.

90/215. Question No H-574/90 by Mr Hughes concerning the Sahara air disaster

Date of Issue: 16 May 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Given clear evidence of terrorist involvement, have the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation discussed the Sahara air disaster involving Flight UTA 772 on 19 September 1989 which resulted in the tragic deaths of a number of Community citizens?

Answer:

As the honourable Member is aware, only foreign policy aspects of terrorist threats are dealt with in European political cooperation. In this connection, the EPC relevant bodies discussed the terrorist incident involving UTA Flight 772 on the basis of the information provided by one Member State.

90/216. Question No H-581/90 by Sir James Scott-Hopkins concerning deals with terrorists

Date of Issue: 16 May 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Do the Foreign Ministers support the concept of 'deals' with terrorists which lead to the release of hostages? Do they not agree that such 'deals' give the terrorists what they want and also show them that they can achieve their ends by terrorism?

Answer:

The Twelve have repeatedly stated their determination and commitment to combat international terrorism in all its forms. They condemn all forms of international terrorism, the perpetrators, accomplices and instigators as well as governments that support them.

The guiding principle of the Twelve is to make no concessions under duress to those who practise terrorism or to their sponsors.

The Twelve have repeatedly called for the immediate and unconditional release of hostages wherever and by whomever they are held and have called on all those who are able to influence those holding the hostages to use that influence to help obtain their immediate release.

They welcome the recent release of two US citizens held hostage in Lebanon and express the hope that all the remaining hostages, especially those who are citizens of the European Community, will be released shortly.

90/217. Question No H-589/90 by Mr Langer concerning intolerance towards ethnic minorities in the Member States

Date of Issue: 16 May 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

During a recent visit by delegations from the regional parliamentary assemblies in Carinthia (Austria) and Slovenia (Yugoslavia) to the Regional Council of Friuli-Venezia Giulia (Italy), a member of the Regional Council was prevented from speaking in his mother tongue, Slovene. In the view of the Foreign Ministers, what can be done to prevent any future recurrence in the Member States of this kind of linguistic intolerance and denial of the human and political rights of ethnic minorities, at a time when there has been a resurgence of ethnic identity throughout Europe and the Community should be leading the way in guaranteeing linguistic and cultural pluralism and peaceful coexistence between different ethnic groups?

Answer:

The question raised by the honourable Member does not fall within the competence of European political cooperation, so it has not been discussed in that framework.

90/218. Questions No O-30/90, No O-133/90, No O-134/90, No O-138/90, No O-144/90 and No O-165/90 concerning the relations between the EEC and Vietnam

Date of Issue: 16 May 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Ms Geoghegan-Quinn, President-in-Office of the Council: Mr President, I welcome this opportunity to engage in a dialogue with Parliament on behalf of the Foreign Affairs Ministers of the Twelve. In the Council and in the framework of European political cooperation we give careful consideration to the views of the European Parliament which on Kampuchea, for

example, have given clear expression to the sense of all the peoples of Europe that a renewed seizure of power by the Pol Pot Khmer Rouge would be a totally unacceptable outcome to the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from that country. Today's debate, with its emphasis on relations with Vietnam, is timely and appropriate.

I should say at the outset that the Council has yet to examine the specific question of establishing official relations with Vietnam. As the honourable Members' questions refer extensively to the political background to this issue, I believe I should respond by outlining the attitude of the Twelve to recent developments in Indochina. The Twelve have welcomed Vietnam's withdrawal from Kampuchea, although it must be verified. Following this significant step there is an obligation on all parties, including Vietnam, to intensify the search for a peaceful settlement to the Kampuchean problem. In our statement of 20 February we emphasized the urgency of an end to conflict in Kampuchea and the need to achieve through negotiation a just and lasting political solution. The objective of the Twelve is to pursue a solution guaranteeing the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and neutrality of Kampuchea and enabling the Kampuchean people to control their own destiny through free and fair elections.

We gave careful consideration to the views of the European Parliament on Kampuchea in the formulation of the Twelve's policy on this issue. The Twelve have supported recent efforts to advance the peace process.

We share the view that while the Paris Conference has not yet succeeded in achieving a comprehensive solution, it has made progress in elaborating a wide range of principal elements necessary for reaching a comprehensive settlement. We therefore urge the two co-chairmen of the conference to continue their consultations with a view to resuming the negotiating process and reconvening the Paris Conference at an appropriate time.

Although we understand that progress was limited at the recent informal meeting held in Jakarta, we see no alternative to pursuing the political path to a solution with an emphasis in particular on a strengthened role for the United Nations and a comprehensive political settlement. This is the thrust of the useful proposals promoted by the Foreign Minister of Australia. I would recall the fruitful discussions held with ASEAN Ministers in Kuching, Malaysia, on 16 and 17 February in which we discovered a strong consensus on the way forward on the Kampuchean issue and, in particular, on the question of the United Nations' role.

We welcome the progress which the five Permanent Members of the United Nations Security Council have already made in their meetings since mid-January. We note that the five Permanent Members have supported the establishment of a Supreme National Council and a United Nations transitional administration in Kampuchea. It is to be hoped that continued meetings in this framework as well as the active part now being played by the Secretariat of the United Nations will give the necessary impetus to continuing consultations between the Kampuchean parties themselves.

One of the key elements in the Twelve's position on Kampuchea is that a peace settlement must exclude the seizure of power by the Pol Pot-led Khmer Rouge who were responsible for the extermination of hundreds of thousands of Kampucheans. As the European Parliament has made clear, the return to power of the Pol Pot Khmer Rouge would be unacceptable, not only to the governments but, more particularly, to the peoples of Europe. No opportunity must be given for a repetition of past horrors.

The honourable Members' questions refer to the Kampuchean seat in the United Nations. None of the Twelve have official relations with the national government of Kampuchea which occupies Kampuchea's United Nations seat. I remain hopeful that the question of the occupancy of the United Nations seat will be resolved in the course of wider negotiations in the coming months on the United Nations' role in a settlement. If this does not happen, the Twelve will need to consider their position very carefully. As regards both Kampuchea's United Nations seat and any General Assembly resolution on Kampuchea, the Twelve will at the appropriate moment seek to bring their common influence to bear in the most constructive possible way with a view to achieving political progress.

Relations between China and Vietnam to which the questions also refer are a matter for those countries. In contacts with China, as with other third countries, the Twelve will continue to insist on the need to grasp the present opportunity to find a comprehensive, just and lasting political solution to the Kampuchean problem. I should underline that the Twelve are not in favour of the isolation of Vietnam, not least because of the need for its cooperation in helping to resolve the problem of Indochinese refugees. We have recognized that the withdrawal of Vietnam from Kampuchea, though it needs to be officially verified and confirmed, has provided an opportunity for political progress. Our overall attitude to Vietnam, including the question of establishing official relations between the Community and Vietnam, is under examination and is capable of evolving further in the light of evidence that Vietnam is respecting human rights and that it is pursuing a policy of non-interference in Kampuchea.

As regards Kampuchea, the position of the Twelve includes both the promotion of a comprehensive solution with the full involvement of the United Nations, to which I have already referred, and encouragement for the humanitarian activities of organizations which channel aid directly to the Kampuchean people. Governments of the Twelve, including my own government, have contributed or are considering a contribution to the United Nations Secretary-General's trust fund for the Kampuchean peace process. The Community has affirmed its willingness to contribute to reconstruction and development on the achievement of a political settlement.

In conclusion, may I welcome the opportunity which the honourable Members' question have given to exchange views within this Parliament on a conflict that causes widespread human misery and continues to be of very deep concern to the Governments of the Twelve. I want to assure you, Mr President, that I hope to have an opportunity to speak before the end of the debate and perhaps at that time to reply more fully to a number of specific points that were raised.

[*At the end of the debate, Ms Geoghegan-Quinn stated:*] Mr President, I have followed with great interest the course of this debate on Vietnam and, indeed, the overall situation in Indochina. The fact that Parliament has chosen this particular topic for debate is perhaps in itself significant. So far this year there has been an in-depth debate of this kind only on Central America, a subject which is traditionally of central concern to the Twelve. I welcome Parliament's decision therefore to bring into sharper focus the question of the Community's relations with Vietnam following as it does on Parliament's constructive and influential role in giving expression to public feeling in Europe on the related issue of Kampuchea.

One of the major conclusions of today's debate is that Vietnam's withdrawal from Kampuchea, although it must be verified, is a development of the first significance. Vietnam's withdrawal was in response to international opinion. We in the Community were among those who stressed that withdrawal from Kampuchea was the principal consideration in any normalization of relations with Vietnam. This obliges us to look again at our relations with Vietnam in today's situation.

A number of other considerations have been prominent in this morning's discussion. In the eyes of my Government the humanitarian argument is especially significant. Vietnam is, as many speakers here have said this morning, one of the poorest countries in the world and yet it still remains cut off from major sources of aid to which other developing countries have access. Mention has also been made of internal developments in Vietnam. Our consensus view, to attempt a brief summary, appears to be that there has been significant economic reform in Vietnam since 1986 and that some more hesitant steps have been taken towards improving political conditions.

One other issue which has stood out in this morning's debate has been that of the Vietnamese boat people. It is reasonable to see a connection between economic conditions in Vietnam and the number of people fleeing that country. Because of this economic factor the majority of the asylum seekers failed to qualify for refugee status. In this regard it is, of course, important that remaining differences of opinion over the implementation of the comprehensive plan of action

agreed in Geneva in June 1989 should be resolved as soon as possible. At the same time the economic background to this tragedy of the boat people needs to be included in our considerations.

I note that the Community had official relations with the former government in Saigon and that what is now recommended by Members of this Parliament is a re-establishment of official relations with a country of major importance with strong historical links to Europe. I note also that several of our Member States have embassies in Hanoi.

Mr President, all in all I am inclined to find the arguments of those who have originated today's debate persuasive. While there is a range of issues which the Community could usefully discuss with Vietnam the establishment of official relations would be, I think, a significant first gesture. We know that such a step on our part would be welcomed by the Vietnamese authorities. I believe that it would strengthen Europe's hand in dealing with Vietnam on other matters which have been mentioned this morning — whether it be a Kampuchean settlement, political and economic reform, human rights or, indeed, other issues.

I can assure honourable Members that the outcome of today's debate will be taken fully into account by ministers both in the EPC framework and, indeed, within the Council, when they next examine the question of Vietnam and the Community's relations with that country. We will report the views expressed here today and in particular the view that an initial consideration by the Council of relations with Vietnam should take place as soon as possible. I believe there is a strong case to be made for the re-establishment of official relations with Vietnam. I am hopeful that the considerations outlined here this morning will prove persuasive and that a consensus of the Twelve can be achieved in favour of such a proposal.

90/219. Declaration concerning Burma

Date of Issue: 18 May 1990
 Place of Issue: Brussels, Dublin
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: The Twelve
 Status of Document: Declaration

The Twelve have a deep desire to see the establishment of a democratic society in Burma, in which fundamental freedoms and human rights are fully respected. Actions by the Burmese authorities, such as the exclusion of important opposition candidates from the electoral process and the refusal to admit independent foreign observers and representatives of the international press, raise serious doubts about the fairness of the elections.

The Twelve also feel obliged to reiterate their concern at continuing and serious violations of human rights by the Burmese authorities. Actions such as arbitrary arrest and detention, and the forcible relocation of large numbers of civilians from urban to rural areas, are a cause for serious concern.

The Twelve earnestly appeal to the Burmese authorities to reverse their present repressive and anti-democratic policies and to respect the desire of the Burmese people for the establishment of a democratic society through free and fair elections.

90/220. Statement concerning the Palestinian deaths in Israel and the Occupied Territories since 20 May

Date of Issue: 22 May 1990
 Place of Issue: Brussels, Dublin
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: The Twelve
 Status of Document: Declaration

The Twelve are shocked and saddened by the violence which has left at least 18 Palestinians dead and hundreds injured in Rishon Le Zion and the Occupied Territories since 20 May. They extend their condolences to the families and friends of those killed and their sympathy to the injured.

The Twelve deplore the tragic massacre by an Israeli civilian of eight Palestinians in Rishon Le Zion. It is a matter of very grave concern to the Twelve that the response of the Israeli authorities to the spontaneous demonstrations which broke out in the Occupied Territories has left a further 10 Palestinians dead and hundreds injured. They have repeatedly raised with the Israeli authorities the questions of the use of excessive force to put down manifestations of the Palestinian uprising in the Occupied Territories.

The Twelve earnestly appeal for calm. They call on the Israeli authorities to exercise the utmost restraint. They are also concerned at the risk that violence might spread — a risk illustrated in particular by events yesterday in Amman.

The Twelve see the latest upsurge of violence as symptomatic of the fragility of the situation in the Occupied Territories in the absence of any significant prospect of progress in the direction of a settlement. It underlines, in their view, the imperative of resuming the peace process in a meaningful way at a very early date.

In their contacts with both sides, the Twelve will, on the basis of the principles which they have enunciated in the Declarations of Venice (1980), Madrid and Strasbourg (1989), do all they can to promote significant steps in the direction of a comprehensive settlement. They will also be trying to prevent any further hardening of attitudes which could compromise that objective. Moreover, the Community and its Member States will actively pursue their programmes of aid to the population of the Occupied Territories.

90/221. Statement concerning the situation in Israel and the Occupied Territories

Date of Issue: 2 June 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Dublin
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The Community and its Member States continue to follow closely the tense situation in Israel and the Occupied Territories in the wake of the events of 20 May and their aftermath. The Twelve recall their statement of 22 May on these developments. They note the alarming build-up of actions and reactions since these tragic events, as illustrated by the attacks in Amman and Jerusalem and, most recently, by the attempted terrorist attack on the Israeli coast. The Twelve condemn without reservation all such acts. They repeat their appeal for calm and restraint. It is only through negotiation that the cause of peace in this troubled region can be advanced.

These events underline once again that the status quo in the Occupied Territories is not sustainable. The Twelve reiterate the need for early progress in the direction of a peace settlement and their determination to encourage all efforts to promote a dialogue leading to a comprehensive settlement in the framework of an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations with the participation of the PLO.

The United Nations can and should play a useful role in the present situation and particularly in relation to the protection of the population. The Twelve support such a role. The Community and its Member States are resolved to step up their support for the observance of the human rights of the population of the Occupied Territories and have already commenced initiatives in this respect.

The Community and its Member States will also continue to contribute to the economic and social development of the population of the Occupied Territories. In this connection, they recall both the commitment made in December 1989 by the European Council to double the Community's direct aid to the Occupied Territories by 1992 and the further grant on 23 May of ECU 500 000 of humanitarian aid to assist the victims of the recent disturbances.

90/222. Statement at the Copenhagen Conference on the Human Dimension (CSCE)

Date of Issue: 5 June 1990
 Place of Issue: Copenhagen
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Statement in International Forum

Mr Collins: Mr Chairman, I have the honour to take the floor in the name of Ireland and also on behalf of the European Community and its Member States. I would like to extend, on their behalf, our thanks to you, to the Government of Denmark and to the Executive Secretariat for receiving us here in Copenhagen. It is a particular pleasure to be here, not only because of the beauty that the city has to offer but, more importantly, because this is the capital of a country with which we share the closest bonds of friendship as members of the Community. For us in Ireland, the relationship goes back much further, stretching over a 1 000 years to that time when your ancestors, having arrived as adventurers, settled as merchants and founded many of our cities. Their legacy is a proud part of our Irish heritage.

Mr Chairman, this Conference opens at a very auspicious time. Developments on our continent have gone forward at a pace and to an extent that was undreamed of when the Vienna follow-up meeting concluded in January last year, or even when, almost exactly a year ago, the first meeting of this Conference opened, most appropriately, in Paris, then celebrating the French Revolution and its Declaration of the Rights of Man. Yet in one short year, respect for these rights is becoming more and more the norm across our continent. New governments, drawing their legitimacy from the popular will, expressed through the ballot box or through the irresistible force of peaceful mass demonstrations, have been established in country after country. In less than a week's time, the citizens of Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria, in their turn, will go to the polls. We look forward to the holding of free and fair elections in these countries as a further step in consolidating political and economic reform there, and as a means of enabling them to participate fully in that Europe of the democracies that is our aim to establish.

In the words of the European Council, meeting in Dublin on 28 April, the process of change in Central and Eastern Europe 'brings ever closer a Europe which, having overcome the unnatural divisions imposed on it by ideology and confrontation, stands united in its commitment to democracy, pluralism, the rule of law, full respect for human rights, and the principles of the market economy'. But let there be no mistake about it: while we have taken the first important steps on the road to our goal, that road is still long and there will continue to be difficulties on the way. It is for all of us to strive to achieve this end, to overcome the difficulties and set-backs, and to build together the united Europe of the future.

The European Community is contributing its economic and political support to reform in Central and Eastern Europe. We are determined to continue to develop our relationship further with these countries through a number of concrete measures. These will include the negotiation of a new generation of association agreements, which will include an institutional framework for political dialogue, on the understanding that these countries will fulfil the basic conditions with regard to democratic principles and transition towards a market economy. The Community also participates actively in the work of the Group of 24 under the chairmanship of the Commission. The Group has confirmed its readiness to extend coordinated assistance to further countries in

Central and Eastern Europe on the basis of the commitments they have made to political and economic reforms and in the light of the progress made towards implementing these objectives. These initiatives are thus firmly linked to the implementation of the commitments undertaken in the human dimension.

The CSCE process has contributed in no small way to bringing about the process of change in Europe through the wide range of subjects which it encompasses. The movement to restore freedom and democracy in Central and Eastern Europe and the progress already made, and in prospect, in arms negotiations, now make it both possible and necessary to develop a wider framework of peace, security and cooperation for all of Europe. Through its balanced development, the CSCE will in the future provide a structure for enhanced security and increased cooperation on the European continent. The Twelve look in particular towards a balanced development of the CSCE encompassing notably the development of pluralist democracy, the rule of law, human rights, better protection of minorities, human contacts, security, economic cooperation, the environment, further cooperation in the Mediterranean and cooperation in the field of culture.

The future will, no doubt, see a greater emphasis on the cooperative aspects of the process. This is already particularly evident in the economic sector as the benefits of market-oriented economies are increasingly felt throughout the continent. The very successful outcome of the Bonn Conference on Economic Cooperation in Europe bears striking testimony to the results that the new approach brings. The Twelve are convinced that the Bonn Document will provide valuable guidelines for the future development of new economic relations in Europe and contribute to overcoming the divisions that still persist. The Twelve were also glad to note that at Bonn, the reservations that had made impossible the adoption of a Document at the Sofia meeting on the protection of the environment, despite the support of 34 of the participating States, were lifted.

Already, we are overcoming a major part of the division of our continent through the rapid progress being made towards the achievement of German unification. We in the Twelve warmly welcome this development, brought about by the freely expressed will of the German people in both parts of Germany. We are deeply satisfied that the unified Germany will be fully integrated in the European Community and will contribute in a very positive way to the development of Europe as a whole and of the European Community in particular. This process is proceeding peacefully and democratically, in full respect of the principles of the Helsinki Final Act. It will be fully anchored in the Helsinki process later this year when the achievement of German unity will be welcomed by the meeting of CSCE Heads of State and Government.

We are gratified that, as proposed by the Twelve, this meeting will take place later this year in Paris. This afternoon, the Ministers of the CSCE participating States will meet to launch the process leading to the holding of the summit. I would like to take this opportunity to thank you, Mr Chairman, for your welcome initiative in extending to us an invitation to meet in the margins of our Conference. The summit will mark the starting point for a more advanced stage in the Helsinki process. It will develop it in new directions so that it can serve as the framework for reform and stability on our continent, and for a new set of relations between the participating States. The Community is determined to play a leading role in the development of the CSCE process, and we are at present considering modalities to achieve this end.

In the opening words of the Helsinki Final Act, the 35 participating States set out their objective 'to improve and intensify their relations and to contribute in Europe to peace, security, justice and cooperation as well as to *rapprochement* among themselves and with the other States of the world'. The Twelve have always held the view that the achievement of this objective is dependent on progress across all the fields which the process comprises. Lack of progress in any area inevitably has consequences for the process as a whole. We were therefore concerned that initial very satisfactory advances made in the negotiation on conventional armed forces in Europe were not being sustained. [']We welcome reports that significant progress towards

resolving the difficulties that had arisen was made at the meeting between President Bush and President Gorbachev in Washington last week. We hope this will soon lead to a breakthrough in the Vienna negotiations.[*]

The Copenhagen Conference deals with the human dimension of the CSCE. This title serves to underline the importance of the individual and of contacts among individuals in the building of security and the development of cooperation in Europe. This human dimension has always been a fundamental part of the CSCE even if, on occasion, it has been overshadowed by other aspects.

Yet, the main aim of all human activity must be to improve the conditions in which the individual man or woman can live. This is true whether the objective is to remove the fear of attack through increased military security, to overcome the problems of social and civil instability, to meet material needs through cooperation in the fields of the economy or the environment, or to fulfil the needs of the mind through greater access to culture. And fundamental to all is the aim of ensuring that the individual can enjoy basic human rights and freedoms.

The violation of human rights and the denial of fundamental freedoms by the State, particularly when practised on a systematic basis, inevitably convey a threatening image of that State and severely damage all efforts to develop mutual confidence. By contrast, the granting of full human rights to its citizens and the promotion of human contacts will create the atmosphere in which cooperation with other States can flourish and the security of all is enhanced. Unless every European can enjoy these rights fully without fear of repercussions, then the divisions of our continent, which still exist even if in much attenuated form, will not have been overcome. We would go further and say that whenever the individual is deprived of his rights, the security of all our States is diminished and the cooperation we have sought to build up over the years endangered.

There have been astonishing, and very welcome, improvements in the degree to which the human dimension commitments of the CSCE documents are being implemented. As the participating States of Central and Eastern Europe progress further towards democracy and political pluralism, and consolidate their reform process, so too are they ensuring that the rule of law and the enjoyment of human rights become the foundation of their societies. The European Community is providing concrete support for these political and economic reforms, and will continue to do so through all the means available to it.

Nevertheless, there continue to be situations where implementation by States of the provisions of the CSCE documents remains unsatisfactory. The Twelve have already, on a number of occasions, expressed their concern at the situation in Lithuania. We continue to follow the situation there and in the other Baltic Republics with great attention. We firmly believe that a solution acceptable to all must be found, and that it can only be found by dialogue. Coercive methods cannot help in achieving this solution. We again urge all sides to exercise moderation and to commence constructive discussions at the earliest possible opportunity.

I have already referred to the improvements we have noted in the implementation of human dimension commitments. Nevertheless, there are no grounds for complacency. The important question of the review of implementation of commitments should be the subject of thorough discussion in the spirit of cooperation which is the mark of relations between the participating States. The protection and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms depends on continued vigilance. This is true even in countries where there is a long tradition of democracy and pluralism. The Twelve consider that the mechanism adopted at Vienna is a particularly valuable instrument for ensuring that all States comply fully with their obligations under the human dimension of the CSCE. It enables us, through dialogue, to seek to resolve cases or situations where assurance is called for that certain CSCE provisions are being fully implemented. It is a means of expanding our cooperation and of increasing our mutual trust. We are pleased to note that those very few States which previously saw in the mechanism a source of

confrontation have now come to recognize its value. We are of the view that this Conference should be able to reach agreement on further measures for strengthening the mechanism and improving its operation.

All governments have as one of their prime duties that of ensuring the conditions in which the rights of the individual are respected in practice. This entails, in the first instance, that government is based on the consent of the citizens expressed through free elections, that the State is governed by the rule of law, that the citizen should know his rights and be free to enjoy them subject only to such minimum restrictions as are compatible with international law, and that, where he considers these rights have been violated, he has access to an effective means of redress. The Twelve look also in particular towards a better protection of minorities. These conditions are already implicit in the CSCE documents. We believe, however, that it is desirable to make these commitments explicit and trust that, at this meeting of our Conference, we will be able to adopt detailed provisions in this regard.

At the Paris meeting last year, many interesting and valuable proposals were put forward for improving the human dimension provisions of the Helsinki Final Act and the other CSCE documents. We had a first discussion of these proposals on that occasion and, since then, we have had the opportunity to study them further. Some of the Paris proposals appear to have been overtaken by events, but the majority represent useful bases on which to continue our work. The Twelve are of the view that at Copenhagen, we should seek to obtain consensus on as wide a range of proposals as possible with a view to incorporating them in a concluding document which will serve to expand our commitments in the human dimension and which will be of use to Heads of State and Government in their deliberations on the further developments of the CSCE. In our view, this search for agreement on concrete measures should form the main work of this Conference.

Over the past decades, we have come to realize that the fostering of international security and of good relations between the various parts of our continent are inextricably bound to respect for human rights. Unless the individual's freedoms are respected, it is vain to hope for that degree of mutual trust that is essential for genuine security, nor can relations between governments become genuinely cordial. The developments of recent months, bringing with them political, economic and social reform and real respect for human rights in so many countries, have ensured that the climate of relations in Europe is better than ever in the past. This augurs well for a successful and substantial outcome to this Conference. We in the Twelve are determined to play our full part in achieving this.

90/223. Statement concerning Burma

Date of Issue: 6 June 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Dublin
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The European Community and its Member States welcome the manner in which the people of Burma exercised their democratic right to vote in the recent elections. The results of the vote indicate a clear desire on the part of the people for a democratic, multi-party system of government. They call on the present rulers of Burma to respect the results of the elections by handing over power without delay to a government chosen by the newly elected Parliament and to immediately release political leaders in detention. The European Community and its Member States look forward to cooperating with such a Government in the major task of economic reconstruction and development that lies ahead.

90/224. Statement concerning South Africa

Date of Issue: 9 June 1990
 Place of Issue: Brussels, Dublin
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: The Twelve
 Status of Document: Declaration

The Community and its Member States greatly welcome the announcement by South African President De Klerk on 7 June of the lifting with effect from midnight on 8 June 1990 of the four-year state of emergency in most parts of the country. The lifting of the state of emergency has been a demand consistently made by the Community and its Member States and its substantial removal should contribute towards the creation of a climate conducive to the holding of substantive negotiations on the future of a truly democratic South Africa. The Twelve hope that all parties will now proceed without delay to remove the remaining obstacles to such negotiations.

90/225. Statement concerning the term-in-office of the Irish Presidency and concerning the second Dublin Summit

Date of Issue: 13 June 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Balance Speech to European Parliament and Progress Report on European Union

Mr Collins, President-in-Office of the Council and of the Foreign Ministers: Mr President, distinguished Members of Parliament, President of the Commission, today's debate gives us an opportunity to review the work of the Irish Presidency. Our term of office has coincided with the events of the first months of the 1990s, during which the fundamental shape of European politics has changed. I want now to reflect on how the Community has fared during this period. My overall assessment is positive.

The Community has made substantial strides since the beginning of the year and, what is more, we now stand on the threshold of further significant advances towards the aim of European Union set by the founders of the Community, an aim which has now become a much more immediate prospect.

I consider that the Community has responded convincingly to the exceptional circumstances of the past six months. Our institutions have shown themselves capable of dealing efficiently with a range of very serious policy matters. The Parliament in particular has processed a substantial body of Community legislation. It has provided a valuable Community forum for public debate on the challenges and opportunities facing us. With the active commitment of the three institutions and the continuing support of our people for a common European future I believe that we can look ahead with reasonable confidence.

As I report to you this morning on the outcome of the Irish Presidency I am very conscious of the fact that one of its most significant points, the Dublin European Council, has yet to come. The agenda for the Dublin meeting will have a major impact on the outcome of the Presidency. Moreover, the remaining weeks of this month will see a number of significant meetings of the Council: agriculture, internal market, transport, telecommunications and general affairs, at which we will continue our efforts for the successful completion of our work programme.

I do not propose to offer a catalogue of the work of the Council since January, but rather to highlight the main features of what has been a positive and promising period in the Community's development. When I delivered my Presidency programme address to this Parliament in January, I did so against the background of quite unprecedented political change in Europe. The events that occurred in the closing months of 1989 gave rise to considerable debate as to the

prospects for the future of Europe. How would the Community cope with all of the changes in Eastern Europe which have brought about a spectacular collapse of political structures that had been dominant for over 40 years? Some saw a danger that the Community might be relegated to the role of a passive spectator of the great events reshaping Europe. Others felt that with our attention turned towards Eastern Europe the process of Community integration might suffer.

In January I described the situation we found ourselves in as a time of great opportunity for all Europeans. I said that the Community has no alternative but to press ahead towards greater unity while at the same time supporting the emergence of new democracies in Eastern Europe. I believe that we have successfully combined these tasks. And those who saw a choice between greater integration within the Community and the wider cooperation within Europe as a whole have not had their fears confirmed. The drive towards greater Community integration has been reinforced by external developments including the welcome prospect of German unification.

In reviewing the developments since January, three elements come to mind. Firstly, the Community has demonstrated its capacity to respond constructively to external developments of the most profound importance. Secondly, the stage has now been set for a significant new phase of European integration and for a qualitative leap in the construction of Europe. Thirdly, there has been continued progress in the Community's internal development and in carrying on the agenda established by the Single Act.

Mr President, German unification and relations with Central and Eastern Europe have been key concerns for this Presidency. We have held two special Foreign Ministers' meetings in Dublin to monitor progress in these areas. For the Community, the most dramatic development of these last few months has been the movement towards German unification. The turning point came with the elections in March when the people of the GDR signalled their strong desire for a quick and clean break with the policies of the previous regime and opted in unequivocal terms for early unification. Seeing the significance of this outcome for the Community the Presidency responded by calling a special meeting of the European Council so that the issue could be given appropriate high-level, political attention. The special European Council on 28 April gave a clear and unambiguous welcome to the unification of Germany and to the prospect of the territory of the GDR being integrated into the Community. The principle of German unification taking place under the European roof is now firmly established. There is a commitment to ensuring that integration into the Community will occur in a smooth and harmonious way and that full integration takes place as soon as possible.

Throughout the Presidency, therefore, the Council has carefully monitored developments connected with German unification. The Federal Republic has kept its partners fully briefed on the progress of the talks between the two German Governments. The Commission produced an important study of the implications for the Community of German unification. Parliament has maintained an active involvement both through its Temporary Committee on German Unification and by means of regular plenary debates. The Presidency has been happy to contribute to the work of the committee and to take part in those debates. Accordingly, the Community's approach to German unity has consistently been and will continue to be a positive and constructive one.

Looking beyond the borders of the Community our most pressing priority has been the establishment of a new climate of cooperation and security on our continent. An integral part of this process is the continuing improvement in East-West relations manifested most recently in the positive outcome of the summit meeting between Presidents Bush and Gorbachev. The Community's relations with the States of Central and Eastern Europe have been transformed since the beginning of the year and a sound basis has been laid for their further development. Since January, apart from the special case of the GDR, we have signed trade and cooperation agreements with Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. The only country not now covered by such an agreement is Romania for which the General Affairs Council last month gave the Commission a negotiating mandate. These negotiations, Mr President, are going well and I understand that an agreement has been initialled.

With this network of first-generation agreements nearing completion, the Community has begun to plan the progression towards association agreements tailored to the needs of the individual countries as envisaged by the special European Council. Apart from establishing structures for future relations with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, the Community has developed a range of measures to assist the countries in their progress to democracy and market economy. These include substantial aid programmes already in place for Poland and Hungary and shortly to be extended to the other countries of Central and Eastern Europe, the establishment of the European Training Foundation, the Tempus scheme for student exchanges and the participation of the Community in the setting up of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

As stated by the special meeting of the European Council in Dublin, the process of change we are witnessing on our continent brings ever closer a Europe which, having overcome the unnatural division imposed on it by ideology and confrontation, stands united in its commitment to democracy, pluralism, the rule of law and the full respect for human rights. As we move towards a new system of relations in Europe, we expect the CSCE process to play a fundamental role as a framework for progress and a source for stability. The CSCE has the advantage of being a comprehensive process linking the peoples and governments of Europe and those of the United States and Canada. At the beginning of our Presidency, the Foreign Ministers of the Twelve supported the principle of convening a summit meeting this year to mark the starting point for a new, more advanced stage of the CSCE process and to give it new direction. The Twelve believe that this summit should make it possible to decide on new institutional arrangements within the CSCE process. I am glad to say that ministers of the 35 CSCE participating States decided in Copenhagen last week that the Preparatory Committee for the summit should begin its work in July. At the Bonn Economic Conference in March and April, the Community played a leading part in working out a detailed blueprint for enhanced East-West economic cooperation based on market principles.

When I was in Copenhagen last week I detected an encouraging outlook for further progress in defining common values in the human rights field. The Twelve also look to an early and successful conclusion to the negotiations on the reduction of conventional armed forces in Europe and on security and confidence-building measures which are taking place in Vienna within the context of the CSCE process. I believe that the scale of our ambitions should match the great opportunity we now possess for developing a wider framework of peace, security and cooperation for all of Europe. I am sure Parliament will agree that there is no contradiction between the objective of deepening our own union and our desire to play a full part in devising new structures based on the principles of the Helsinki Final Act. In the context of the development of new cooperative relationships between European States, our relations with EFTA have, as I indicated in my January speech, been given considerable attention. The special European Council in Dublin reconfirmed the Community's attachment to the creation with EFTA of a European Economic Area and talks between the Commission and EFTA have explored elements of an EC-EFTA agreement as well as possible models for the functioning of the European Economic Space and the time for formal negotiations has now come. A draft mandate for these negotiations will be examined by the Council next week and I am very anxious that it should be agreed so that negotiations can start before the end of this month. There is a strong political commitment within the Council to developing a new EC-EFTA relationship which should ensure that imaginative solutions are found to the challenges inherent in the creation of a European Economic Space.

I am aware of the Parliament's particular interest in our relations with EFTA and not least because of my meeting earlier this month with the External Relations Committee.

I understand that you had a very productive debate on EC-EFTA relations yesterday and the outcome of that debate will be of great interest to the Council when we come to consider the negotiating mandate next week.

The development of relations between the Community and the United States has accelerated as the Community's own integration and its international profile have matured. The Secretary of

State, Mr Baker, called in December last for a new relationship between the United States and the Community, and the Irish Presidency has taken a number of significant steps in that direction, notably through the joint declaration issued after the February meeting between President Bush and the Taoiseach as President of the European Council. On top of this we have inaugurated twice yearly meetings between the President of the United States and the President of the European Council and between the 12 Foreign Ministers and the US Secretary of State. The first meeting at Foreign Minister level was held in Brussels on 3 May.

The Irish Presidency has given a significant place in its agenda to the ongoing negotiations of the Uruguay Round which are due to conclude in December. The negotiations are now entering a crucial phase in which the broad lines of a comprehensive package can be expected to emerge. The Council has devoted considerable attention to the Uruguay Round and will discuss the subject again next week. The informal Trade Ministers meeting on 19 May in Dublin committed the Community to accelerating the negotiations and stressed the need for a balanced package covering all the areas under negotiation. The Community has much on its agenda but it is true to say that the GATT negotiations rank among the most important, both for the future of the Community itself and for the future of international economic cooperation.

The Community's relations with the developing world have continued to be a major issue despite the attention which is necessarily being devoted to events in Europe. In giving its assent to the new Lomé Convention, the Parliament has recognized that the Convention represents a significant advance on its predecessor, Lomé III. The Irish Presidency has taken steps to ensure a smooth and rapid implementation of the new Convention. On a wider scale, I addressed the special session of the United Nations on development where the Presidency was active in securing a comprehensive but succinct declaration outlining agreed approaches to international development cooperation in the 1990s.

In addition to Eastern Europe and the CSCE to which I have already referred, we have within the framework of European political cooperation continued to focus on developments outside Europe as well. The lack of any progress in, and the search for, a peaceful settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict is a source of deep concern to the Twelve. Israeli practices in the Occupied Territories have led the Twelve to stress repeatedly to the Israeli authorities that violence and repression must cease, that the relevant resolutions of the Security Council of the United Nations must be implemented and that Israel must strictly observe its obligations as an occupying power under the Fourth Geneva Convention.

The Twelve consider that Israel's statements and actions in pursuit of its settlement policy in the Occupied Territories present a growing obstacle to peace in the region. We are committed to doing all we can to promote a comprehensive settlement in the framework of an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations with the participation of the PLO.

As part of the Community's contribution to the economic and social betterment of the people of the Occupied Territories, a grant of ECU 500 000 of humanitarian aid was approved on 23 May to assist the victims of the recent disturbances. On a Community level we have devoted considerable attention to our relations with the countries of the Middle East. In this regard, I would mention our very successful ministerial meeting with the Gulf countries and the meeting in Dublin last week on the Euro-Arab dialogue.

Mr President, we are honoured to have Mr Nelson Mandela with us today. We will be listening with great interest to his views on the situation in his country when he speaks here later this morning. The Twelve have been following developments in South Africa with particular attention. They welcomed the measures announced by President De Klerk on 2 February 1990 and the subsequent release of Mr Nelson Mandela. At their meeting of 5 February 1990 the Foreign Ministers agreed that, in accordance with the declaration made by the European Council in Strasbourg, the Twelve would be prepared to review their position depending on the development of the internal dialogue in South Africa. In April I led a Troika ministerial mission to South Africa in order to take stock of the situation there and to encourage dialogue. The Twelve have noted with satisfaction the positive results of the first 'talks about talks' between the

South African Government and the ANC. The Twelve welcome the announcement last week by the South African Government of the lifting of the state of emergency in most parts of the country. We continue to urge all parties to remove any remaining obstacles to substantive negotiations between the Government and the black community.

The Community has been encouraged by recent developments throughout the Latin American region. The Twelve welcome the fact that the elections in Nicaragua were conducted in a free, fair and democratic manner and stressed the importance of an early demobilization of the Nicaraguan resistance.

The San José VI Ministerial Conference held in Dublin in April supported the agreement reached by the five Central American Presidents in their Montelimar Declaration of 3 and 4 April. As tangible evidence of its commitment to the Central American peace process and to the economic development of the region, the Community signed an agreement to provide funding to the tune of ECU 120 million over a two-and-a-half year period for a regional payments system which will assist in reviving trade in Central America. Relations with Latin America were discussed at the EEC-Rio Group meeting which took place in Dublin immediately after San José VI.

This Parliament has given clear expression to the fact that a renewed seizure of power by the Pol Pot-led Khmer rouge following the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops would be totally unacceptable to the people of Europe. The position of the Twelve in this regard has been firmly stated during the Irish Presidency, including at the EEC-ASEAN ministerial meeting in February.

The Twelve are committed to the promotion of human rights as an integral part of the conduct of international relations. Following the 1989 precedent of a common Twelve speech before the Commission on Human Rights, I had the honour to address the 46th Session of that body where I underlined our deep commitment to the respect, protection and promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms. At the same session the Twelve produced, for the first time, common statements on the human rights situation in individual countries and on improving the effectiveness of the Commission of Human Rights. I would also refer honourable Members to the 'Memorandum on the activities of the Twelve in the field of human rights' which the Presidency submitted to Parliament last month. This document provides a detailed account of our common effort to foster respect for human rights.

In conclusion, on the Community's external relations, I would recall that over the last six months the Council has dealt with the Community's ties with the Mediterranean countries and with Turkey. We will be holding a further debate next week on a new relationship with Turkey and with these countries with whom the Community has had a long-standing and close relationship.

90/226. Question No H-456/90 by Mr Kostopoulos concerning the illegal Turkish dam on the river Evros

Date of Issue: 13 June 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Turkey has constructed a dam on a small island — two-thirds of which belongs to Greece — in the River Evros with the obvious aim of diverting the river towards the Turkish side and uniting the island with Turkish territory and thus, in effect, undermining Greek jurisdiction over this area.

How do the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation view this flagrant violation of the rules of international law and the relevant protocols?

Answer:

The specific question raised by the honourable Member has not been discussed within EPC.

90/227. Question No H-480/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru concerning the murder of the rector of the Central American University in El Salvador

Date of Issue: 13 June 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

What is the current position on the investigation into the murder of the Rector of the Central American University in El Salvador, Ignacio Ellacuria, and others? What measures are the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation taking on this matter?

Answer:

As the honourable Member will be aware, the Twelve first raised the assassination of Father Ellacuria and his colleagues with the Salvadorean authorities on 30 November. The Troika of Ambassadors expressed the Twelve's deep concern about the incident and urged that every effort should be made to bring those responsible to justice.

The Twelve were encouraged by President Cristiani's initial response. However, they view with increasing concern the slow progress of the inquiry. The honourable Member may be assured that they will continue to follow this issue closely, with a view to ensuring that the matter be brought to an appropriate conclusion.

90/228. Question No H-520/90 by Mr Alavanos concerning proposals by Mr Havel concerning European Security

Date of Issue: 13 June 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

At his meeting with the Presidents of Poland and Hungary, the President of Czechoslovakia, Mr V. Havel, proposed a pan-European security framework for the continent of Europe to replace the Atlantic Alliance and the Warsaw Pact.

What is the attitude of the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation towards this interesting proposal, especially with the Helsinki II Conference in view?

Answer:

As the honourable Member will be aware, there is a likelihood of a CSCE Summit in 1990, as the Twelve have advocated. Another important date in the CSCE process is the full-scale follow-up meeting scheduled for 1992 in Helsinki.

Discussions on possible new directions for the CSCE are therefore intensifying at this time. The Twelve are giving due attention to all proposals for developing the CSCE and giving it an institutional dimension, including proposals from Central and East European countries such as the one referred to in the question. The Twelve are guided in this exercise by the considerations set out in the conclusions of the European Council.

It was agreed in Dublin that it was both possible and necessary to develop a wider framework of peace, security, and cooperation for all of Europe. The Community and its Member States committed themselves to playing a leading role in all the proceedings and discussions within the CSCE process and in efforts to establish new political structures or agreements on the principles of the Helsinki Final Act while maintaining Member States' existing security arrangements.

90/229. Question No H-529/90 by Ms Ewing concerning human rights in Chile

Date of Issue: 13 June 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Will the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation exert pressure on the civilian Government of Mr Patricio Aylwin of Chile to respect international human rights standards and allow the release of over 400 political prisoners who have been subjected to torture and ill treatment in Chilean jails?

Answer:

The Declaration by the Strasbourg European Council on 9 December 1989 and the Twelve's statement on 15 December 1989 following the elections in Chile welcomed the return of a great and friendly country in Latin America to the path of freedom. The Community and its Member States expressed their intention to be at the side of that country, by means of increased cooperation, as it takes the road to peace, justice and development.

The high level of the Twelve's representatives in attendance at President Aylwin's investiture ceremony on 11 March 1990 bears witness to the importance which EC countries attach to the return of Chile to a State founded on law.

The large number of human rights violations which followed the coup of 11 September 1973 led all the Community Member States to distance themselves from General Pinochet's Government. As the Community and its Member States intend to contribute to the economic and social development of a democratic Chile, the honourable Member may rest assured that contacts with the Chilean authorities are being and will continue to be used to reaffirm the Twelve's position on human rights issues.

90/230. Question No H-561/90 by Mr Livanos concerning the steady increase in the number of settlers in the occupied part of Cyprus by every possible means

Date of Issue: 13 June 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Given that settlers constitute one of the most serious aspects of the Cyprus problem, the long-term consequences of which are, in many ways, comparable to those of a second Turkish invasion, though without bloodshed; given also that the legitimate Government of Cyprus is considering appealing to the United Nations Security Council to condemn Turkey's illegal plans to partition the island — the secret object of Turkish policy to increase the number of settlers by every possible means — , will the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation say whether

they have noted this increase and examined the risks posed by Turkish strategy to make the settlers an additional military reserve force which is undermining efforts to achieve stability and security in the region?

Answer:

As the question of settlements in the northern part of Cyprus cannot be considered out of the context of the general conditions prevailing on the island of Cyprus, I would refer the honourable Member to the 28 April Declaration which was issued at the level of Heads of State and Government and which resulted from discussions on the crux of the matter, i.e. the impasse in the intercommunal talks.

The Twelve expressed their deep concern at the present situation while at the same time reaffirming their previous declarations and their support for the unity, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions. They also stressed the need for a prompt resumption of the intercommunal talks on the basis of the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, as was recently reaffirmed by Resolution 649/90 of the United Nations Security Council.

90/231. Question No H-576/90 by Mr Hughes concerning the human rights situation in Iran

Date of Issue: 13 June 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Have the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation had an opportunity to discuss the report of the United Nations Special Representative on the human rights situation in Iran issued on 26 February 1990?

Answer:

The Twelve considered the report of the UN Special Representative on the human rights situation in Iran, which was published during the 46th Session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, with particular attention.

As the honourable Member will be aware, the Twelve, deeply concerned by the human rights situation in Iran, have constantly supported the resolutions voted since 1985 in the General Assembly of the United Nations on this issue and have repeatedly urged the Iranian authorities to respect the norms generally applied by the international community.

These efforts, together with those of other countries, have borne fruit to some extent, notably inasmuch as the Iranian authorities have revised their attitude to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights and have allowed the Special Representative, Mr Galindo Pohl, to visit Iran in pursuit of his mandate.

It appears from his report that while the question of the observance of fundamental human rights in Iran must continue to remain under scrutiny, some positive aspects can be noted.

In these circumstances, Mr Galindo Pohl stressed that the United Nations' role of aid and vigilance towards Iran in the field of human rights remains essential.

In order to support the efforts of the Special Representative and to encourage the continued collaboration between Iran and the Commission on Human Rights, the Twelve decided to act as co-sponsors of the resolution, which was adopted by consensus on 7 March.

The resolution reflected as faithfully as possible the evidence, analyses and conclusions of the report of the Special Representative both as concerns alleged or confirmed human rights

violations and as regards signs of goodwill from the Iranian authorities and the improvements noted by Mr Galindo Pohl. It also provided for the continuation of monitoring by the Commission on Human Rights on the human rights situation in Iran.

At its recent meeting with an Iranian official, the Troika of the Twelve expressed appreciation for the more positive attitude recently adopted by the Iranian authorities towards the Commission on Human Rights, as shown by its acceptance of the visit of the Special Representative.

It emphasized the hope that Iran would go further and faster in the observance of human rights in Iran. The Troika also welcomed Iran's readiness to continue to cooperate with the United Nations in this field and noted its invitation to Mr Galindo Pohl to make a second visit.

90/232. Question No H-598/90 by Ms Crawley on securing the release of ANC women

Date of Issue: 13 June 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Will the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation use their very best endeavours to secure the release of the following women, members of the African National Congress who are prisoners of the South African Government: Evelina de Bruin, Jenny Schreiner, Mary Ngemntu? Will the Foreign Ministers also press the South African Government to remove the restrictions on Joyce Mashamba, Joyce Mabudafhasi, and Priscilla Mokaba which effectively make them prisoners in their own homes?

Answer:

The Twelve have constantly called on the South African authorities to release without delay all political prisoners and detainees. Most recently, I have personally raised this matter with President De Klerk in Brussels.

The Twelve have noted that the question of political prisoners is on the agenda of the 'talks about talks' between the South African Government and the ANC and hope that an early resolution can be achieved.

The Presidency has taken note of the cases raised by the honourable Member and will seek appropriate information with a view to possible action on their behalf.

90/233. Question No H-606/90 by Mr van der Waal concerning the situation of the Papuan inhabitants of Irian Jaya

Date of Issue: 13 June 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

For a number of years the Indonesian Government has been encouraging internal migration by many hundreds of thousands of Javans to Irian Jaya. As a result, the native Papuans have been driven from their homes and deprived of their property, while their religious and cultural identity is threatened with extinction. Many have died in acts of resistance, while others have fled to camps in neighbouring Papua New Guinea. In its resolution on human rights in Indonesia (Doc. A 2-283/87), the European Parliament expressed profound concern about the situation.

Can the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation say what action has been taken, further to this resolution, on behalf of the Papuans?

Answer:

The specific issue to which the honourable Member refers has not been discussed within the framework of European political cooperation.

I note, however, that the honourable Member's question reflects the growing interest in the position of ethnic, religious and other minorities, in the context of human rights.

The Twelve have a clear position on the need for the full respect of human rights, including the protection of minorities. The Twelve believe that human rights are not limited by national boundaries and that they transcend the limits of the national sovereignty of States. They are neither granted by society nor bestowed by the State, but are the birthright of every human being.

The Indonesian authorities are fully aware of our position on this subject.

90/234. Question No H-611/90 by Mr Lataillade concerning human rights and genocide

Date of Issue: 13 June 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

On 21 July 1986 the Twelve adopted a statement on human rights in which they declared that 'Expressions of concern at violations of such rights cannot be considered interference in the domestic affairs of a State'.

Do the Twelve therefore agree that the denial of any historically attested act of genocide is an attack on human rights and are they therefore prepared officially to recognize the Armenian genocide of which this year will mark the 75th anniversary?

Answer:

The Twelve believe that the international community has the right and the duty to scrutinize the conduct of the authorities responsible for the respect for and protection of human rights. As the honourable Member observes, the Twelve have consistently held that the observance of human rights is a legitimate subject for international concern and that it cannot be construed as interference in the internal affairs of States.

However, the specific issue raised by the honourable Member in the second part of his question has not been addressed in EPC.

90/235. Question No H-618/90 by Mr Wynn concerning the funding of the Kagiso Trust

Date of Issue: 13 June 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Has the EC any intention of cutting off funds to the Kagiso Trust that are used to finance the *New African* newspaper?

Is it true that the British Government is putting pressure on the EC to cut off such funding?

Answer:

In consultation with Member States, the Commission is currently considering an application submitted through the Kagiso Trust for further Community financing for the *New African* newspaper, in the context of the Community's special programme of assistance to the victims of apartheid. As soon as all the information necessary to allow a full appraisal of the proposal is available, and has been discussed with Member States, the Commission will take a decision on the matter.

It is not the practice to disclose details of consultations between the Commission and Member States on individual project proposals.

90/236. Question No H-619/90 by Mr Gutiérrez Díaz concerning threats against the Spanish Embassy in Guatemala

Date of Issue: 13 June 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

The 'death squads' have threatened to attack Spanish diplomats and their families in Guatemala with the declared aim of wrecking the reconciliation policy which Spain is advocating there. In these circumstances and in the light of their efforts to secure peace in Central America, what steps are open to the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation?

Answer:

The specific issue raised by the honourable Member has not been discussed within EPC.

The Guatemalan authorities are in no doubt, however, of the importance the Twelve attach to the strict observance of and respect for the principles of the Vienna Convention on diplomatic privileges and immunities and that the Twelve would condemn violations of the Convention, as a matter of general policy.

On the issue of the peace process in the region, which the honourable Member raises in the second part of his question, I would recall that at the San José meeting in Dublin on 9 and 10 April 1990, the Twelve considered that active encouragement should be given to an internal dialogue aimed, through national reconciliation and without fear, at establishing or improving genuine pluralist democracy involving the promotion of social justice and guaranteeing full and effective respect for all human rights, for civil and political liberties, and for economic, social and cultural rights.

They welcomed the agreement reached between the National Reconciliation Commission of Guatemala and the UNRG at the Oslo meeting a short time previously and that has been the basis of the Escorial Agreement, signed on 1 June, which lays the foundation of a peaceful settlement of the conflict.

The Twelve also welcomed the renewal of the mandate of the Special Representative to Guatemala of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights earlier this year.

90/237. Question No H-630/90 by Ms Ruíz-Gimenez Aguilar concerning Latin American immigrants in the context of 1993

Date of Issue: 13 June 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

What political arguments do the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation consider they can use with regard to the countries of Latin America to dispel the distrust, fear and doubt which the prospect of the 1993 single market has engendered in those countries?

For example, on the basis of which criteria will Latin American immigrants be admitted into Europe, bearing in mind, in particular, that Spain and Portugal have dual nationality cultural agreements with some Latin American countries and bearing in mind, of course, the serious increase in racism and xenophobia in certain Community Member States?

Answer:

The Community and its Member States have repeatedly underlined the importance they attach to the continued development of their relations with the countries of Latin America.

This commitment was expressed most recently at the San José and Rio meetings in Dublin on 9 and 10 April 1990, where the EC and its Member States agreed on the need for increased cooperation between the Community and Latin America. One practical example of our serious intent in this regard was the signature at the meeting of the Agreement on the Central American payments system, which should result in financial support from the Community of ECU 120 million for the economic and commercial development of the region. Plans to expand Community assistance to and economic cooperation with the developing countries of Latin America, on the basis of a proposal adopted by the Commission on 14 May, are currently under examination in [the] Council and testify to the importance which the Community attaches to this question.

The issue of immigration, raised by the honourable Member in the second part of her question, has not been raised in European political cooperation.

90/238. Question No H-633/90 by Mr Robles Piquer concerning the European meeting in Bratislava

Date of Issue: 13 June 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

A summit meeting of the Heads of State of Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary was recently held in Bratislava (Czechoslovakia). The Foreign Ministers of Italy, Austria and Yugoslavia attended as observers.

In view of the differing views on the outcome of this meeting, can the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation offer an assessment of the proposals set out at the meeting and the successes and failures of this interesting European initiative?

Answer:

The Twelve follow with interest the initiatives taken by countries of Central and Eastern Europe, and in particular the meeting in Bratislava of the Heads of State of Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary, with the participation as observers of the Foreign Ministers of Italy, Austria and Yugoslavia.

The partner who attended as observer of this meeting informed other partners on this initiative.

90/239. Question No H-644/90 by Mr Medina Ortega on the EPC meeting with the Rio Group in Dublin

Date of Issue: 13 June 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Would the President-in-Office of political cooperation report on what was said during the recent meeting with the Foreign Ministers of the Rio Group in Dublin this April and what the outcome was?

Answer:

This meeting was the sixth in a series which began in 1987. These regular meetings have helped to further relations between the Community and Latin America by making each side more directly aware of the other's interests, priorities and problems. On the Community side, we believe that they help us contribute to the efforts of the Latin American countries to consolidate democracy, protect human rights, and pursue their economic and social development.

We discussed the situation in Eastern Europe and briefed our Latin American colleagues on our assessment of events there and on our action to help the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. We are aware that the attention we are necessarily paying to Eastern Europe may be causing concern to other countries, such as those of Latin America, who worry that resources may be diverted from them. We have assured them that this will not happen and that 1992 will not create a 'fortress Europe', shutting out other countries' products.

Our Latin American colleagues briefed us on progress towards democracy in their countries and in the region generally. We expressed our satisfaction at the progress being made towards democratic government and respect for human rights. The Latin American Ministers described their plans for closer economic integration in their region. We see this as a move in a positive direction to help growth in their economies. They also referred to the problem of debt.

The dialogue involves both the European and the Latin American economic institutions — the Community and ALADI, the Latin American institute for regional integration. Specific areas for cooperation which were mentioned included science and technology, training and human resources.

The Uruguay Round of international trade negotiations was also discussed. Both our groups hoped for a successful outcome which will remove barriers to world trade, for the benefit of all.

The problem of drugs is one which is of particular concern to many Latin American countries, as well as to the EC countries. Colombia presented the position of the Latin American countries eloquently. The need for concerned and practical international action was stressed, as well as for efforts in both consuming and producing countries.

We discussed how we can improve our dialogue by making it more systematic and structured.

90/240. Question No H-646/90 by Mr Langer concerning trade in arms with Iraq

Date of Issue: 13 June 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

What information can the Ministers meeting in political cooperation give Parliament concerning the responsibility for what are evidently 'European' or 'Community' supplies of heavy weapons to Iraq, in the context of the 'super gun' affair?

How do they intend to prevent a recurrence of such forms of 'cooperation' between European industries and ensure that the very tense situation in the Near and Middle East is not further exacerbated by the presence of extremely dangerous weapons of Community origin?

Answer:

The specific question raised by the honourable Member has not been discussed in the EPC framework.

In their statement on 20 April, the Twelve deplored the threat made by Iraq to use chemical weapons and considered that the acquisition of weapons of mass destruction by any State in the Middle East region can only lead to heightened tensions and an increased threat to peace and stability.

They urged all States to strengthen compliance with the 1925 Geneva Protocol and the Final Declaration of the 1989 Paris Conference on chemical weapons.

The Twelve also appealed to all parties to exercise restraint and to refrain from any actions or statements which could increase tension in the region.

They urged them not to damage the prospects of rapid progress towards dialogue and negotiation which are so urgently needed for a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

They recalled the obligation on all member States contained in the Charter of the United Nations to refrain from the threat or use of force and emphasized that peace will be achieved not by a balance of terror but by the negotiation of just solutions to the conflicts of the region.

As far as exports to the Middle East are concerned, those States which identified such deliveries stopped them so as not to contribute to an increase of tension in the area.

Furthermore, several States strengthened their national law to make export controls more effective.

90/241. Question No H-652/90 by Ms Elmalan concerning the repeated violations of human rights in Morocco

Date of Issue: 13 June 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

On 15 February and 5 April 1990 two resolutions condemning human rights violations in Morocco and the occupied territories of the Western Sahara were adopted by a very large majority in the European Parliament. A special report by Amnesty International also denounced human rights violations (ill treatment, torture), particularly during police custody.

The Community and its Member States should make stronger representations, condemn and bring to an end such repeated violations of human rights in Morocco, a country with which they maintain special economic and political ties.

Do the Foreign Ministers intend to do so?

Answer:

The Twelve have taken note of the resolutions on Morocco adopted on 15 February and 5 April 1990 by the European Parliament.

The human rights policy of the Twelve and the importance they attach to it in their relations with third countries are known by the Moroccan authorities. The Twelve will not fail to make representations wherever these will be considered to have the desired effect or to be in the interest of those concerned.

90/242. Question No H-654/90 by Ms Ainardi on the sentencing of Rim Sou Kyeung and Moun Kyou Hyeun in South Korea

Date of Issue: 13 June 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Rim Sou Kyeung, a young student, and Moun Kyou Hyeun, a Catholic priest, have been sentenced to 10 and 8 years' imprisonment respectively for taking part in the 13th youth festival (which took place in Pyongyang in July 1989) and for declaring themselves in favour of the reunification of Korea.

This punishment merely illustrates the continuing violation of human rights in South Korea.

What measures have the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation taken, or what measures do they intend to take, to demand the release of Rim Sou Kyeung and Moun Kyou Hyeun and of all political prisoners unjustly convicted and imprisoned?

Answer:

While the specific case to which the question refers has not been discussed in the framework of European political cooperation, the Twelve have encouraged the South Korean authorities in the steps they have been taking towards the creation of a fully democratic society. The authorities in Seoul are therefore aware of the importance attached by the Twelve to the full respect of human rights.

90/243. Question No H-671/90 by Mr Bandrés Molet and Question No H-702/90 by Mr Papoutsis concerning the Israeli-occupied territories

Date of Issue: 13 June 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Question No H-671/90:

There are innocent victims every day now as a result of the repressive measures taken by the Israeli army against the population of the Occupied Territories.

Tension in the area is being increased by the absence of any dialogue between the parties involved to find a peaceful solution to the problem and by the *fait accompli* policy of the Israeli authorities, typified by the settlement of Jewish immigrants from the USSR.

The tragic episode of Rishon le Zion, resulting in the death of eight Palestinian workers and injuries to a number of others, cannot therefore be considered in isolation given the prevailing climate of violence in the area.

What measures are being considered by the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation to encourage dialogue and the search for a peaceful settlement in the area?

Question No H-702/90:

The recent acts of violence committed in Israeli-occupied territories have once again dramatically brought to our attention the continued violation of the rights of the Palestinian people by Israel and the failure of all attempts to start up a dialogue and negotiations.

Given the position of the European Community on the need to respect human rights in the Occupied Territories and the timetable of negotiations for a just and peaceful solution, do the Foreign Ministers meeting in EPC intend to limit themselves again to a verbal condemnation or will they exert pressure on Israel and act as an intermediary for the purpose of opening a balanced and substantive dialogue between Israel and the Palestinians?

Answer:

Let me answer jointly to the Oral Questions Nos 671/90 and 702/90 on the situation in the Occupied Territories.

The Twelve were shocked and saddened by the violence which left at least 18 Palestinians dead and hundreds injured in Rishon le Zion and the Occupied Territories since 20 May. They deplored the tragic massacre by an Israeli civilian of eight Palestinians in Rishon le Zion. It was a matter of very grave concern to them that the response of the Israeli authorities to the spontaneous demonstrations which broke out in the Occupied Territories left a further 10 Palestinians dead and hundreds injured. They had repeatedly raised with the Israeli authorities the question of the use of excessive force to put down manifestations of the Palestinian uprising in the Occupied Territories. On this occasion, they called again on the Israeli authorities to exercise the utmost restraint.

They note the alarming build-up of actions and reactions since these events, as illustrated by the attacks in Amman and Jerusalem and, most recently, by the attempted terrorist attack on the Israeli coast. The Twelve condemn without reservation all such acts. They have repeated their appeal for calm and restraint. It is only through negotiation that the cause of peace in the region can be advanced.

The Twelve see the latest upsurge of violence as symptomatic of the fragility of the situation in the Occupied Territories in the absence of any significant prospect of progress in the direction of a settlement. It underlines, in their view, the imperative of resuming the peace process in a meaningful way at a very early date.

In their contacts with both sides, the Twelve will, on the basis of the principles which they have enunciated in the Declarations of Venice, Madrid and Strasbourg, do all they can to promote significant steps in the direction of a comprehensive settlement in the framework of an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations with the participation of the PLO. They will also try to prevent any further hardening of attitudes which could compromise that objective.

In the opinion of the Twelve, the United Nations can and should play a useful role in the present situation and particularly in relation to the protection of the population. They support such a role. The Community and its Member States are resolved to step up their support for the observance of the human rights of the population of the Occupied Territories and have already commenced initiatives in this respect.

Moreover, the Community and its Member States will also actively continue to contribute to the economic and social development of the population of the Occupied Territories. In this connection, they recall both the commitment made in December 1989 by the European Council to double the Community's direct aid to the Occupied Territories by 1992 and the further grant on 23 May of ECU 500 000 of humanitarian aid to assist the victims of the recent disturbances.

90/244. Question No H-677/90 by Mr Dessyllas concerning the release of the unlawfully imprisoned Palestinian freedom fighter, Hamdan

Date of Issue: 13 June 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

The Palestinian freedom fighter, Hamdan, a leader of the PLO (who is known to the United States by the name of Rashid), has been unlawfully detained in Greek prisons for nearly 18 months following a request by the US Government, which has been putting unacceptable pressure on Greece to extradite him to the United States on the (unproven) grounds that he was involved in terrorist activities.

What representations do the Twelve meeting in European political cooperation intend to make to the Greek Government for the immediate release of Hamdan or for his case to be brought before the Greek courts?

Answer:

The question raised by the honourable Member does not fall within the competence of European political cooperation, so it has not been discussed in that framework.

90/245. Question No H-681/90 by Mr Cabezón Alonso concerning the death of the Spanish photographer Juan Antonio Rodriguez in Panama on 21 December 1989

Date of Issue: 13 June 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

On 18 January 1990 the European Parliament adopted a resolution on the situation in Panama, one of the paragraphs of which 'Calls upon the United States Government to provide adequate explanations for the shooting of the Spanish photographer Juan Rodriguez on 21 December 1989 and a report on the outcome of the inquiry and to bring those responsible for this death to justice'.

What response to this demand has been received from the US Government?

Are the Ministers willing to call on the US Government to comply with the demands made by the European Parliament with regard to the death of the Spanish photographer Juan Antonio Rodriguez in Panama?

Answer:

As the honourable Member will be aware, the Twelve deplored the death of Mr Rodriguez in Panama in December 1989. However, the issue has not been raised by the Twelve with the US authorities as it is a matter in the first instance for the Spanish authorities.

I can inform the honourable Member that that partner has asked the US authorities to open an inquiry and is pursuing this matter. In addition, that partner is providing the family of the dead journalist with legal aid, with a view to obtaining compensation. US lawcourts are studying the case.

90/246. Question No H-693/90 by Mr De Rossa concerning US entry restrictions on AIDS sufferers

Date of Issue: 13 June 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Will the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation state whether, in view of the International Conference on AIDS scheduled for June in San Francisco and the World

Haemophilia Conference scheduled for August in Washington DC, it is planned to make a joint EC approach to the US authorities to have removed all entry restrictions against persons who are HIV-positive or have AIDS?

Answer:

The Twelve have agreed, within the framework of EPC, to make a *démarche* to the US authorities, expressing their concern about US visa and immigration policy in relation to people with HIV or AIDS.

The Twelve have consistently opposed any restriction on the movement of HIV-positive travellers on the grounds that it amounts to stigmatization and discrimination. They consider that travel restrictions are ineffective in preventing either the introduction or the spread of the virus.

While they welcome the modifications to the law made by the US authorities in April to enable delegates to attend the San Francisco AIDS Conference, the measures adopted are insufficient in that US legislation still imposes restrictions on HIV [-positive]-travellers.

Accordingly, the Twelve decided not to be represented at ministerial level in San Francisco. They urge the US authorities to take further action to bring their domestic legislation into line with the principles to which they and the Twelve have subscribed at international forums, such as the World Summit of Health Ministers in January 1988 and the World Health Assembly in May 1989.

The Presidency has instructed its embassy in Washington to make this *démarche*.

90/247. Question No H-699/90 by Mr Ephremidis concerning human rights in South Africa

Date of Issue: 13 June 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

What steps does EPC intend to take in view of the repeated statements by the leader of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela, that the lifting of sanctions against repressive regimes would not make any positive contribution towards guaranteeing by means of concrete measures and institutions the human rights of a contemporary democracy?

Answer:

The Twelve remain fully committed to the respect of human rights and the achievement through peaceful means of a democratic and non-racial system in South Africa.

They are following with great attention developments in that country and welcome the process of reform on which the South African Government has embarked.

They are encouraged by the progress made at the 'talks about talks' between the South African Government and the ANC and hope that an early resolution of the obstacles to negotiation can be achieved.

As decided by the European Council in Strasbourg on 9 December 1989, the Community and its Member States have maintained pressure on the South African authorities in order to promote the profound and irreversible changes which they have repeatedly stood for and will reconsider it when there is clear evidence that these changes have been obtained.

Foreign Ministers of the Twelve will discuss South Africa at their meeting on 18 June, on the basis of the report on the Troika mission in April and on developments since then. The Twelve

have welcomed, in this regard, the lifting last week by President de Klerk of the state of emergency in most parts of the country. We hope all parties will now proceed without delay to remove remaining obstacles to substantive negotiations on the future of South Africa.

The European Parliament will be informed of the outcome of [the] Ministers' discussion.

90/248. Question No H-703/90 by Mr Pierros concerning the revival by Yugoslavia of the spurious 'Macedonian Question'

Date of Issue: 13 June 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

On 16 May 1990, within the framework of the United Nations Economic and Social Council, Yugoslavia again referred to the spurious 'Macedonian question'. On 23 May 1990, it was announced on State television that the presidency of Yugoslavia (the country's highest authority) had adopted the claims and policy advanced by Skopje to the effect that for Yugoslavia there is a question over the Aegean Macedonia. Can the Foreign Ministers meeting in EPC state what steps they intend to take to put a stop to actions of this kind directed against a Member State of the Community?

Answer:

The Twelve are aware of the question raised by the honourable Member.

They are keeping themselves informed on it.

90/249. Question No O-98/90 by Mr Poettering and others concerning the Irish Presidency's views on security policy cooperation in the context of EPC and the realignment of relations between States in Europe

Date of Issue: 13 June 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Mr Collins, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: Madam President, as I have already said in my end-of-term report to Parliament, we are certainly living in a time of rapid change. There is an obligation on all of us to ensure when developing our approach to the questions raised in our debate today that we proceed realistically but also imaginatively. The changes we are witnessing in Europe today give us the opportunity of overcoming the division of our continent and of building a new system of relations between the States of Europe based on the aims and the principles of the Helsinki Final Act.

It was against this background that the Heads of State or Government meeting in Dublin on 28 April concluded that the CSCE should serve as a framework for reform and stability on our continent and should be developed in new directions. Earlier this year the Twelve supported in principle the convening of the CSCE Summit in 1990. In the intervening months we have highlighted a number of issues which in our view are appropriate for consideration at the summit. I am glad to say that the 35 CSCE participating States have now decided that a Preparatory Committee for a summit should begin its work in July.

In the view of the Twelve one of the tasks of the summit should be to welcome the outcome of the Vienna negotiations and affirm the importance of continuing negotiations in the field of arms

control and the building of security and confidence in Europe with a view to achieving a lasting framework for security. The Twelve consider the CSCE Summit should make it possible to consider new institutional arrangements within the CSCE, for example regular consultative meetings of Foreign Ministers and the establishment of a Secretariat.

We should also regard the traditions and methods of work of the CSCE as being a valuable asset. With the exception of Albania, which has indicated an interest in becoming a participant, the CSCE involves all the States of Europe as well as the United States and Canada. In regional terms therefore its membership is universal. The agenda of the CSCE is broad, embracing human rights, economic and environmental cooperation and security. It is worth noting that the CSCE is a process whereby security is achieved through a constant and progressive development of practical cooperation. In Europe today we are faced with a situation in which it is reasonable to hope that security throughout our continent will come to depend more and more on agreements, cooperative measures and shared values. However, the subject of today's debate is not only the outlook for the CSCE as a forum for ensuring and enhancing the stability and security of Europe but also the prospects for further extension of the Twelve's cooperation on security.

The questions being posed are, firstly, should there be a further development of political cooperation in foreign policy and should a proposal on this be considered by an IGC? Secondly, is there a need for a common Twelve security policy to respond to the new trend in East-West relations? It was in response to the need felt by many Member States for the Twelve to respond more effectively to the challenges of the moment that the current debate on political union was launched. The European Council in Dublin on 28 April reaffirmed the Community's commitment to political union and gave the initial direction to our recent work in this area.

The Council identified three areas for examination and analysis and these were, as you know, democratic legitimacy, the efficiency of the institutions and the efficiency and coherence of the Community's international actions. Following this, a first discussion of the options available to us took place during the informal meeting of Foreign Ministers in Parknasilla on 19 and 20 May. Among other issues, they considered the increasing coherence of our political and economic policies and what a common foreign policy might mean. Since Parknasilla the ministers' special representatives have met twice, most recently on 12 June, and work on a paper for consideration by Foreign Ministers on 18 June is proceeding well, contrary, I might add, to the fears expressed in some quarters after the Parknasilla meeting.

In this context, I would suggest that we should not be dismissive of proposed changes just because they do not bring about European union in one go. The Single European Act fell short of Parliament's ambitions but it none the less laid the basis for remarkable progress and development within the Community. It put an end to complaints about Eurosclerosis and gave the Community a dramatic new sense of direction. The Single European Act treats the objective of a common foreign policy on the basis of 'best endeavours' obligation on Member States. What we are now talking about is identifying areas and means where we can develop our coordination further to the point where we can convincingly talk of a common foreign policy in those areas.

The Twelve already coordinate their positions on the political and economic aspects of security as provided for in the SEA. One of the subjects that will be examined is the possibility of the further development of the Twelve's cooperation, notably within the CSCE. As I understand it our partners are not however calling for a radical and immediate new departure in the field of defence. They do not envisage that their existing security and defence arrangements should at present be replaced or duplicated by arrangements specific to the Community. While it is too early to predict in detail the ultimate outcome of an intergovernmental conference, it is clear that this is a time of great opportunity and it is my hope that we as the Twelve will have the foresight to devise lasting new structures and forms of cooperation both within the Community and in Europe as a whole that will enable future generations to say of us, as we say of the generations of Monnet and Schuman, that we worked well.

[After the ensuing debate, Mr Collins stated, moreover:]

Mr President, in concluding this debate today I would like to congratulate Parliament on a stimulating discussion of an area of vital importance to us all. I believe that this exercise has made a useful contribution to the brain-storming currently taking place in Europe on the future architecture of our continent and the role which the Community and its Member States should play in it. I would like to take this opportunity to restate our commitment to the goal of European Union.

As I have said many times during the course of our Presidency, indeed on a number of occasions in this House, the Community must remain the cornerstone of a new Europe. Its dynamism, especially since the conclusion of the Single European Act, its growing economic importance and the immeasurable benefits of stability and prosperity created by its innovative forms of cooperation have given the Community great authority and responsibilities in the contemporary world. The logic of this position is that the Community and its Member States must intensify their cooperation and I have no doubt that they will. While I agree that we should not succumb to euphoria or raise unrealistic expectations, I am optimistic about the future of Europe as a whole.

As the barriers that have artificially divided our continent for 40 years come down, new possibilities for cooperation open to us. The progress made in disarmament and other moves in the same direction, recent developments in the Warsaw Pact concerning its future character and role are significant and welcome.

Ultimately I believe these changes will enable us to elaborate ways of ensuring our security that are founded not on confrontation and military might but on practical cooperation and shared interest. Ireland as a neutral country looks forward to making its contribution to this new Europe. If I might briefly refer to a contribution by Mr Nianias, he spoke of the need for the EEC to have its frontiers clearly defined. This question, I am sure, Mr President, will be examined at the appropriate stage of our discussions.

90/250. Statement concerning Ethiopia

Date of Issue: 18 June 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Dublin, Luxembourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The Community and its Member States welcome the recent announcement by the Ethiopian Government that it is prepared to accept in principle the use of the port of Massawa for the delivery of relief supplies. They regard this as an important step in facilitating the international relief effort aimed at averting famine in northern Ethiopia. They appeal most strongly to all parties to cooperate actively in bringing about the early reopening of the port and to facilitate the delivery and distribution of humanitarian relief through all available channels.

Recalling their conviction that only a peaceful negotiated settlement can provide a just and lasting solution to the conflict in Ethiopia, the Community and its Member States express their satisfaction at the position recently taken by the Ethiopian Government, including its readiness to accept the participation of the United Nations as an observer, which should permit the reactivation of peace talks in relation to Eritrea. They reiterate their call for a cessation of hostilities and for all parties to resume their efforts for peace and reconciliation. They believe that any solution needs to take into account the distinct identity and aspirations of Eritrea as well as respecting the territorial integrity of Ethiopia.

90/251. Statement concerning Romania

Date of Issue: 18 June 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Dublin
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The Twelve express their serious concern at recent outbreaks of violence in Bucharest. They deplore in particular the indiscriminate use of force by the Romanian Government and its supporters in putting down demonstrations.

The Community and its Member States recall their willingness to support countries committed to pluralist democracy based on the rule of law and respect for human rights. They consider that the rights of peaceful demonstration and peaceful political activity are at the foundation of a democratic system.

The Twelve believe that acts of violence, by whomever they are committed, constitute a major obstacle on the road to democratic change.

Taking note of the statement of the Romanian Government on 16 June, they urge it to commit itself to peaceful dialogue with political opponents.

90/252. Question No 1033/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning murders and missing persons in Sri Lanka

Date of Issue: 22 June 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 18 December 1989

What steps have the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation taken in response to the many murders and the disappearance of large numbers of people in southern Sri Lanka since the state of emergency was reimposed on 30 June 1989? Are they aware that many lawyers have been murdered or faced with intimidation and death threats to prevent them from bringing legal proceedings against human rights violations?

Answer:

The Twelve, through their embassies in Colombo, have carefully monitored the tragic situation of conflict in Sri Lanka. They recognize both the serious difficulties faced by the Sri Lankan Government in restoring peace and order and the intentions expressed by President Premadasa to restore an adequate level of discipline in the armed forces and the police. Nevertheless, the Twelve, in view of their serious concern about continuing violations of human rights in Sri Lanka, have recently felt obliged to convey this concern to the Sri Lankan Government, urging it to pursue its inquiries into illegal killings and to lift the remaining emergency regulations as soon as possible.

90/253. Question No 1036/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning executions for drug trafficking in Malaysia

Date of Issue: 22 June 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 18 December 1989

In view of the frequency with which the death penalty is used in Malaysia to punish drug-related crimes and of the impending execution of two youths, Yew Chean Keong and Lim Chang Ming, can the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation make representations on humanitarian grounds urging that capital punishment be abolished in Malaysia and that the death penalty for the two youths in question be commuted?

Answer:

The specific issue to which the question refers has not been discussed in European political cooperation. However, the honourable Member will be aware that at international level attitudes to the death penalty are evolving. This is evidenced by the adoption at the last session of the UN General Assembly of the resolution containing the Second Optional Protocol to the Convention on Civil and Political Rights, which aims at the abolition of the death penalty. Some partners of the Twelve were active in co-sponsoring this resolution and all Twelve voted in favour.

90/254. Question No 1059/89 by Mr Ford (S-UK) concerning the Law of the Sea Convention

Date of Issue: 22 June 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 18 December 1989

When did the Foreign Ministers last discuss the possibility of the Community ratifying the Law of the Sea Convention, and what was the outcome?

Answer:

The question of ratification of the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea by the Community is not a matter which comes within the EPC framework, as was stated in reply to the honourable Member's previous question, No 2350/88. The conditions under which the Community would be entitled to become party to the Convention are laid down in Annex IX thereto and require that a majority of Member States become parties before the Community may do so. No Member State has yet indicated the intention to become a party. Developments in relation to the said Convention are kept under review by both the European Community and the Member States which continue to consult on the various aspects of the Convention and to coordinate positions when appropriate.

90/255. Question No 1060/89 by Mr Ford (S-UK) concerning the prisoner of conscience Soh Sung in South Korea

Date of Issue: 22 June 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 18 December 1989

Have the Foreign Ministers discussed the human rights case of Soh Sung, a South Korean prisoner of conscience who has been systematically tortured during his 18-year detention and who remains in custody?

Answer:

We understand that Mr Soh Sung was released in the amnesty declared by the South Korean Government on 28 February 1990. While his specific case had not been discussed in European political cooperation, the Twelve have given their encouragement to the South Korean authorities in their efforts in recent years to realize the goals of democracy and respect for human rights.

90/256. Question No 1167/89 by Mr de Vries (LDR-NL) concerning genocide in Kampuchea

Date of Issue: 22 June 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 10 January 1990

Are the Twelve prepared, pursuant to Article IX of the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948), to bring an action before the International Court of Justice in The Hague in respect of the genocide carried out in Kampuchea on the orders of the Pol Pot regime, so that these mass murders will not remain unavenged?

Answer:

As the honourable Member will be aware, the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide provides for the trial of persons charged with genocide or offences connected therewith by a competent tribunal of the State in the territory of which the act was committed or by such international penal tribunal as may have jurisdiction with respect to those contracting parties which shall have accepted its jurisdiction (Article VI). In this context the International Court of Justice would not be an appropriate tribunal.

Neither can Article IX, to which the honourable Member refers and which provides for a role for the International Court of Justice in the implementation of the Convention, be applied. That article is applicable only when a dispute has arisen between individual States parties to the Convention, a condition which is not fulfilled in this specific case, in the absence of a Kampuchean Government in a position to be party to such a dispute with an EC Member State.

The active policy of the Twelve in pursuit of a political solution was stated most recently in the Twelve's Ministerial Declaration on 20 February. The non-return to power of the Pol Pot Khmer Rouge remains a central element of the Twelve's policy. In the view of the Twelve, an overall political solution involving a strengthened role for the United Nations will ensure, as one of its prime objectives, that there can be no repetition of the horrors to which the question refers.

90/257. Question No 1172/89 by Mr Robles Piquer (PPE-E) concerning refugees from Bulgaria

Date of Issue: 22 June 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 10 January 1990

Since there are faint signs of democratic developments in Bulgaria, can the Foreign Ministers tell Parliament whether they have observed any change in the Bulgarian authorities' policy, which seriously infringes human rights, regarding the Muslims of Turkish origin who have been forced to flee from Bulgaria in the last few months? Do the Foreign Ministers consider that the European Community has given the Turkish Government sufficient assistance to meet these refugees' most urgent needs?

Answer:

The new authorities in Bulgaria have taken a number of steps to remove discrimination against the members of the Muslim minority of Turkish origin and enable them to enjoy their human rights. An example is the law adopted on 5 March permitting members of minority ethnic groups to use the original version of their names: it will be recalled that the compulsory use of Slavic versions of their names was a major grievance of individuals belonging to the Muslim minority.

It is to be noted that, partly as a result of these measures, a considerable number of these refugees have returned to Bulgaria from Turkey in recent months.

Turkey has not requested assistance from the European Community for meeting the needs of the refugees it has received from Bulgaria.

**90/258. Question No 1264/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E)
concerning torture and possible execution of Tseten Norgye in Tibet**

Date of Issue: 22 June 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 12 January 1990

Tseten Norgye, who was arrested some months ago in Lhasa and is 45 years old, has spent between 15 and 20 years in prison and is considered as the 'ringleader' of the militants working for Tibetan independence. Some reports indicate that he has been severely injured in one eye as a result of torture in Chapkori prison, and may be at risk of sharing the fate of several of his comrades who were sentenced to death and executed on the spot. Can the Ministers take any steps to free him from torture, imprisonment and the threat of death?

Answer:

As has been stated in Parliament on many occasions, the Chinese authorities are fully aware of the unequivocal stand of the Twelve on questions of human rights. The measures adopted by the Madrid European Council in China's regard are testimony to this fact. While the case of Tseten Norgye has not been discussed in European political cooperation, the Twelve have had contacts with the Chinese authorities on the specific question of human rights in Tibet.

**90/259. Question No 1269/89 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E)
concerning mass killings by the army in Somalia**

Date of Issue: 22 June 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 12 January 1990

Have the Foreign Ministers meeting in EPC taken any steps to obtain information concerning the killings carried out by the army on Jezira beach on 15 July 1989, and have they called on the Government [of] the People's Republic of Somalia to carry out an impartial investigation of the facts so as to bring those responsible to court?

Answer:

Foreign Ministers of the Twelve discussed developments in Somalia at their EPC meeting held in Dublin on 20 February 1990. In a statement issued on that occasion they expressed the deep

concern of the Community and its Member States at the situation in that country, including reports of violations of human rights. They also stressed the urgent necessity of a political solution to the internal conflict as the only guarantee of peace and stability. In this context, they welcomed proposals for constitutional reform and expressed the hope that this could also lead to an improvement in the field of human rights. The Government of Somalia is aware of this position.

90/260. Question No 1287/89 by Mr Deprez (PPE-B) concerning German reunification

Date of Issue: 22 June 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 15 January 1990

Chancellor Helmut Kohl recently presented a three-stage plan for German reunification to the Bundestag: the two German States would merge into a single new State as part of a 'new order for peace in Europe'.

After the Malta Summit and from the point of view of speeding up the process of the economic, monetary and political integration of the EEC, how do the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation interpret the idea of a German Confederation as part of this 'new order for peace in Europe'?

Answer:

As the honourable Member is aware, the Presidency has had the opportunity to illustrate in detail the position of the Community on the question of German unity, on the occasion of the debate held here on 4 April.

The European Community welcomed the progress that has been made towards German unity.

The coming together of the two German States must contribute, and be seen to contribute, to the overcoming of the division of Europe. The regaining of their unity by the German people should become a sign of hope for all the peoples of this continent.

This is the spirit of the declaration adopted by the Heads of State or Government in Strasbourg in December last, in which the European Community reaffirmed that it seeks the strengthening of the state of peace in Europe in which the German people will regain their unity through free self-determination.

Heads of State or Government said in Strasbourg that this process should take place peacefully and democratically, in full respect of the relevant agreements and treaties and of all the principles defined by the Helsinki Final Act, in a context of dialogue and East-West cooperation. The Strasbourg Declaration also specifies that progress towards German unity should be placed in the perspective of European integration.

90/261. Question No 84/90 by Ms Piermont (ARC-D) concerning the issuing of a map of Europe by international airline companies showing the 'German Reich' with its 1937-39 borders

Date of Issue: 22 June 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 2 February 1990

Are the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation aware that, according to the Berliner Flug Ring (BFR) GmbH & Co. KG, charter companies in (West) Berlin, in cooperation

with the Franco-German airline company Euroberlin SA, are issuing customers with a map of Europe which does not show the borders of the two German States but depicts Germany as a single country defined by its 1937-39 borders, unmistakably asserting its claims to East Prussia by the words 'under Polish administration' and 'under Soviet administration' and that 'Germany' is printed across Polish areas in what was known under the National Socialist regime as the 'Corridor', and which was annexed to Hitler's 'Greater German Reich' in 1939 following the invasion of Poland, thereby claiming them as German territory?

What measures do the Foreign Ministers intend to take to ensure swift and effective action to prevent the circulation of this map of Europe, which is so overtly revanchist, a threat to peace and an obstacle to understanding between peoples?

Answer:

Activities of private companies such as raised by the honourable Member do not fall within the competence of European political cooperation.

The position of the Community and its Member States in the general context of the question raised by the honourable Member has been clearly expressed in the 9 December 1989 Declaration of the Strasbourg European Council, which I would ask the honourable Member to kindly refer to.

90/262. Question No 454/90 by Mr Langer (V-I) concerning the repression of Slovenian demonstrations in Italy

Date of Issue: 22 June 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 5 March 1990

The purpose of this question is to ask the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation whether they are aware that on 3 January 1990 the police chief for Trieste-Trst., Mr Renato Servidio, under order Cat. A4/90/Gab. banned a demonstration planned for Sunday 7 January 1990 by Mr Samo Pahor in 'protest against the delay in approving the special regulations for the protection of the Slovenian linguistic minority' and 'against the proposals to restrict by law the scope (geographically and in terms of content) of the right to use the Slovenian language by comparison with the scope deriving, according to the Italian Constitutional Court, [...] from constitutional legislation', and that the grounds given in the banning order included the proposed 'waving by demonstrators of the Italian and Slovenian flags' as if this were a reason for banning the demonstration; whether they do not consider that bans of this kind within the Community place the Western democracies in a bad light, particularly when compared with the freedom to demonstrate and wave any kind of flag which is currently enjoyed by the peoples of East European countries as well as of most of the Member States of the Community, and suggest an attitude towards the problems of ethno-linguistic minorities that might drive some to nationalistic exasperation and what they intend to do to ensure, at this delicate moment in history, that the Member States and the European Community are exemplary models of democracy and tolerance with regard to all ethnic, linguistic and national problems since these problems are, and will increasingly be, of prime importance?

A copy of the order made by the Trieste-Trst. police chief is attached and it is a matter for regret that there is no element of bilingualism (Italian-Slovene) in the text of the order, on the headed paper or in the stamp.

Answer:

The question to which the honourable Member refers is not under discussion in the framework of European political cooperation.

90/263. Conclusions of the European Council meeting in Dublin, held on 25 and 26 June 1990 (Extracts only)

Date of Issue: 25/26 June 1990

Place of Issue: Dublin

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: European Council

Status of Document: Conclusions of the European Council

[...] The European Council, determined to strengthen the role of the Community in the world in order to meet its international responsibilities, reviewed progress in the Community's external relations and laid down guidelines for future action in a number of areas. The discussion reflected the increased coherence between the economic and political aspects of the Community's international action.

External relations

The European Council noted with satisfaction that the guidelines laid down at its special session in April for the Community's external policy are being translated into concrete action, notably:

- (i) the preparatory work for the CSCE Summit;
- (ii) the exploratory talks, soon to be opened, on Association Agreements with certain Central and East European countries;
- (iii) the proposals submitted by the Commission on the renewal of the Community's Mediterranean policy;
- (iv) the agreement on a mandate for negotiations with the EFTA countries, which have now commenced with the objective of completion as soon as possible, with a view to creating a European Economic Area.

The European Council confirmed the will of the Community to act in a spirit of solidarity and cooperation with respect to those areas which, due to inadequate levels of development, necessitate an increased level of coordinated and multifaceted intervention by the Community and the Member States.

The European Council furthermore dealt with the following subjects:

Central and Eastern Europe

The European Council welcomed the continuing progress being made in Central and East European countries in establishing pluralist democracy founded on the rule of law, full respect for human rights, and the principles of the market-oriented economy. The European Council reaffirmed the right of individual citizens to participate fully in this process and called on all States to observe this principle without reservation. The European Council welcomed in particular the holding of free elections in Central and Eastern Europe and expressed the hope that these will lead to a fuller realization of democratic ideals, which of course entail full respect for the rights of the opposition parties. The European Council expressed its deep satisfaction at the progress already made and in prospect towards overcoming the divisions of Europe and restoring the unity of the continent, whose peoples share a common heritage and culture. The European Council recalled the contribution already made by the Community and the Member States to supporting the process of political and economic reform, notably through the Group of 24, and affirmed its intention to broaden and intensify that approach.

CSCE

The European Council reaffirms the important role played by the CSCE in the process of change in Europe. At a time when our continent is actively engaged in surmounting its divisions, the CSCE provides a necessary framework for maintaining stability and promoting cooperation in Europe and for deepening the reforms that are under way.

It attaches great importance to the comprehensive nature of the CSCE process, which brings together the peoples and governments of Europe, the United States of America and Canada.

It welcomes the decision taken by the Member States of the CSCE to convene in Paris a summit of Heads of State or Government. The European Council proposes the date of 19 November 1990 for this meeting.

For the European Council, this summit has an exceptional importance. It should be an opportunity to define the crucial role which the CSCE will play in the future architecture of Europe and in establishing a new set of relations between participating States, based on the Helsinki principles, to be further expanded by new commitments and involving a balanced development of the CSCE, encompassing notably the development of pluralist democracy, the rule of law, human rights, better protection of minorities, human contacts, security, economic cooperation, the environment, further cooperation in the Mediterranean, and cooperation in the field of culture.

The European Council expects that the summit, among other things, will:

- (i) make a decisive contribution to strengthening stability and cooperation in Europe, and to disarmament;
- (ii) take note of the results obtained in talks relating to German unity, in particular its final settlement under international law;
- (iii) provide a basic orientation for future economic relations and cooperation in Europe. A closer association between the Community and other States member of the CSCE is an example of such relations and cooperation;
- (iv) set out guidelines for a democratic Europe and consolidate the principles of a State based on the rule of law.

The European Council proposes agreement on regular meetings of [the] Heads of State or Government of the CSCE, as well as of Ministers for Foreign Affairs, and the establishment of a small administrative secretariat, as well as the holding of more frequent follow-up meetings. The summit will also provide the opportunity to consider the relationship between the CSCE process and other relevant institutions, such as the Council of Europe. Furthermore, the summit could take decisions on new mechanisms in the field of security and cooperation in Europe, including suitable means to avoid conflict and disputes, and the active participation of parliamentary bodies.

The European Community and its Member States intend to assume a leading role in this enterprise and to contribute actively to all discussions within the CSCE process.

Considering the importance of the Paris Summit, the European Council has agreed that the Community and its Member States will strengthen their coordination with a view to defining and expressing a common position on all questions in the various sectors of the CSCE in which they have an essential common interest, and taking into account the importance of coordination with the participating States and organizations.

Transatlantic relations

The European Council expressed its satisfaction with the developments in the Community's relations with the United States of America, based on the structure laid down by the European Council in April and characterized by ever closer cooperation. They wish to take this cooperation further. Their commitment to this further cooperation could take the form of a joint transatlantic declaration on relations between the Twelve and the USA and Canada.

Africa

Southern Africa

The European Council adopted the Declaration in the Annex.¹

Sub-Saharan Africa

The European Council expressed its serious concern about sub-Saharan Africa. The economic situation in these countries, including debt, is worrying. The European Council, emphasizing the commitment of the Community and its Member States to the development of Africa, in particular through the Lomé Convention, declared its determination to pursue this further and also its support for progress in the observance of human rights and in sound government management in sub-Saharan Africa.

Middle East

The European Council adopted the Declaration in the Annex.²

Nuclear non-proliferation

The European Council adopted the Declaration in the Annex.³

Iranian earthquake

The European Council adopted the Declaration in the Annex.⁴

Cyprus

The European Council adopted the Declaration in the Annex.⁵

Kashmir

The European Council discussed the current tension between India and Pakistan over the question of Kashmir. The European Community and its Member States enjoy excellent relations with India and Pakistan. They welcome and encourage recent efforts to de-escalate the state of tension between the two countries. They hope that such initial positive steps will lead to a fuller dialogue and a resolution of this problem in order that India and Pakistan can resume full and fruitful relations.

¹ Annex omitted. See *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 90/269.

² Annex omitted. See *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 90/267.

³ Annex omitted. See *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 90/268.

⁴ Annex omitted. See *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 90/266.

⁵ Annex omitted. See *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 90/265.

90/264. Statement concerning anti-Semitism, racism and xenophobia

Date of Issue: 25/26 June 1990

Place of Issue: Dublin

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: European Council

Status of Document: Conclusions of the European Council

The European Council expresses its deep revulsion at recent manifestations of anti-Semitism, racism and xenophobia, particularly expressions of anti-Semitism involving acts of desecration perpetrated against the dead, which are calculated to cause the utmost distress to the living. It is all the more distressing that such abominations should enjoy any currency precisely at a time when we are commemorating the end of the Second World War.

The European Council deplores all manifestations of these phenomena. It agrees that vigorous measures must be taken to combat them, whenever and wherever they appear in the Community. The Member States will assess the extent to which their national legislation must effectively be used in order to counter them.

The European Council has taken note of the fact that these problems are not restricted to the Member States of the Community. Comparable outrages have also occurred in recent times elsewhere in Europe.

The European Council also recalls the Declaration of the Community institutions and the Member States against racism and xenophobia of 11 June 1986. It considers respect for the dignity of the human being and the elimination of manifestations of discrimination to be of paramount importance. Such manifestations, including expressions of prejudice directed against foreign immigrants, are unacceptable. The European Council underlines the positive contribution that workers from third countries have made and continue to make to the development of the Community as a whole.

Against this background, the European Council recalls the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, the Council of Europe Declaration on Intolerance, and ongoing work in the framework of the CSCE. The European Council supports action, notably in the context of the human dimension of the CSCE, to counter anti-Semitism, racism, incitement to hatred and xenophobia. The importance which the Community and its Member States attach to this subject is illustrated by the proposals against racism and xenophobia made in their name, and by the initiatives on related issues taken by individual Member States at the current session of the Conference on the Human Dimension in Copenhagen.

90/265. Statement concerning Cyprus

Date of Issue: 25/26 June 1990
 Place of Issue: Dublin
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: European Council
 Status of Document: Conclusions of the European Council

The European Council discussed the Cyprus question in the light of the impasse in the intercommunal dialogue.

The European Council, deeply concerned at the situation, fully reaffirms its previous declarations and its support for the unity, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions. Reiterating that the Cyprus problem affects EC-Turkey relations and bearing in mind the importance of these relations it stresses the need for the prompt elimination of the obstacles that are preventing the pursuit of effective intercommunal talks aimed at finding a just and viable solution to the question of Cyprus on the basis of the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General, as was recently reaffirmed by Resolution 649/90 of the Security Council.

90/266. Statement concerning the Iranian earthquake

Date of Issue: 25/26 June 1990
 Place of Issue: Dublin
 Country of Presidency: Ireland
 Source of Document: European Council
 Status of Document: Conclusions of the European Council

The European Council expresses its profound sympathy to the Government and people of the Islamic Republic of Iran at the terrible loss of life, injuries and devastation caused by the earthquake in north-west Iran on 21 June.

The Community and its Member States wish to give all possible assistance to the victims of this disaster. They have already begun a substantial programme of relief and will give every consideration to immediate further aid and to reconstruction assistance.

The European Council conveys the deep sympathy of the people of the European Community to the injured and condolences to those families and friends who have been bereaved.

90/267. Statement concerning the Middle East

Date of Issue: 25/26 June 1990

Place of Issue: Dublin

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: European Council

Status of Document: Conclusions of the European Council

The European Council recalls its long-standing position of principle on the Arab-Israeli conflict in the Middle East. It is determined to encourage all efforts to promote dialogue between the parties directly concerned, leading to the negotiation of a comprehensive settlement consistent with the principles it has set out, beginning with the Venice Declaration 10 years ago and further developed since, notably in the Madrid Declaration. This settlement should be found in the framework of an international peace conference under the auspices of the United Nations with the participation of the PLO. The European Council expresses its support for every effort by the Permanent Members of the Security Council to create a climate of confidence between the parties and, in this way, to facilitate the convening of the international peace conference.

The European Council welcomes the commitment to continuing the peace process expressed in the letter to the President of the European Council from the Prime Minister of Israel. The European Council hopes that it will be followed in practice. It stresses the urgent need for Israel to begin a political dialogue with the Palestinian people which could lead to a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Such a settlement should be on the basis of Resolutions 242 and 338 of the Security Council based on the principle of 'land for peace'.

The European Council stresses that all parties have a responsibility to refrain from actions or statements which might impede steps towards dialogue and negotiation. Those who would choose violent over peaceful means for achieving political objectives cannot be allowed to prevail. Neither the taking of human life, whatever the circumstances, nor violence against civilians can play any part in achieving peace and reconciliation.

Threats of war and of the use of weapons of mass destruction serve only to increase tension in the region and should be eschewed. The Community and its Member States have consistently condemned both threats and acts of violence in the region, whatever their origin. In such a delicate situation, all channels of dialogue and negotiation should be kept open.

The European Council is concerned that, by making territorial compromise ever more difficult, Israel's settlement policy in the Occupied Territories presents a growing obstacle to peace in the region. Reiterating that Jewish settlements in the territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including East Jerusalem, are illegal under international law, it calls earnestly on the Government of Israel not to permit settlements there. The European Council recognizes and supports the right of Soviet Jews to emigrate to Israel and elsewhere. It is, however, firmly of the view that this right must not be implemented at the expense of the rights of the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories.

Recent events underline once again that the status quo in the Occupied Territories is untenable. The lamentable position concerning the observance of human rights in the Occupied Territories has led the Community and its Member States to set out repeatedly their concern. They are resolved to step up their already significant support for the protection of the human rights of the population of the Occupied Territories.

In the present situation, and particularly with regard to the protection of the population, the United Nations, too, can and should play a useful role. The European Council supports a role of the United Nations.

The European Council refers to the obligation on parties to the Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Times of War to respect and to ensure respect for its provisions. The Twelve have repeatedly called on Israel to adhere to its obligations towards the Palestinian population in the territory under its occupation which is protected by that Convention. They have observed that it has notably failed to do so in a number of important areas. Concerned that the human rights of the population of the Occupied Territories continue to be inadequately protected, the European Council calls for further action, in accordance with the Convention, to ensure that protection.

The European Council has reviewed the range of actions taken on the basis of the Strasbourg Declaration in order to arrest the deterioration of the economic and social situation in the Occupied Territories and to help preserve the future of Palestinian society. It notes with satisfaction the significant increase of Community aid, particularly in the 1990 programme of direct aid which is ready for adoption. It confirms its determination to double direct Community aid by 1992.

The European Council also expresses its satisfaction with the growth in exports of agricultural produce from the Occupied Territories to the Community. It invites the Community institutions to take appropriate action for a rapid further improvement of the conditions of access to the Community market for Palestinian products and to examine further possibilities for increasing trade between the Community and the Occupied Territories.

As an expression of the importance which the European Council attaches to facilitating the speedy and efficient implementation of the Community's expanding programme for the benefit of the population of the Occupied Territories, the Commission is invited to appoint a representative to the Occupied Territories for this purpose at an early date.

90/268. Statement concerning nuclear non-proliferation

Date of Issue: 25/26 June 1990

Place of Issue: Dublin

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: European Council

Status of Document: Conclusions of the European Council

The European Council strongly supports and is fully committed to the objective of nuclear non-proliferation. It believes that the further spread of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices would endanger stability and threaten regional and global security. The European Council attaches the greatest importance to the maintenance of an effective international nuclear non-proliferation regime and will make every effort to contribute to strengthening non-proliferation and encouraging the participation of further countries in the regime. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) is an important element in that regime. The 12 Member States of the European Community, parties to the NPT or not, will work actively to secure a successful outcome to the discussions which will take place in the forthcoming months, and in particular the deliberations of the Fourth Review Conference of the NPT, and hope that those discussions will provide stable and assured solutions to the problems encountered by the international community in preventing the spread of nuclear weapons. The European Council expresses its concern that there is a continuing risk that further countries may acquire nuclear weapons and that a number of countries remain outside the non-proliferation regime. It calls on all States to join in efforts to eliminate this risk of nuclear proliferation.

The European Council recognizes the indispensable role played by the IAEA and its safeguards in the development of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. It recognizes that these

safeguards are the cornerstone of an effective non-proliferation regime. The European Council reaffirms the need for the peaceful application of nuclear energy to take place under credible, effective and efficient international safeguards. In this connection, it recalls the important contribution of Euratom safeguards. For their part, the 12 Member States of the Community have accepted, in accordance with their respective individual status, the exercise of international controls on their nuclear installations and to apply constraints to their export policies. The European Council strongly supports the application of safeguards on as universal a basis as possible. It calls on other States to subscribe to similar commitments.

The European Council believes in the need for an equitable and stable framework for international nuclear trade. The 12 Member States of the European Community have collectively adhered to the Nuclear Suppliers Group Guidelines, thereby assuming a basic common discipline for their nuclear exports. The European Council expresses the hope that other countries will conduct their nuclear export policies on a similar basis. Within the framework of guidelines for nuclear trade the European Council wishes to cooperate with all countries, especially developing countries. While maintaining and further developing the existing non-proliferation regime, the European Council will work to uphold the right of all countries to the development of research, production and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

In a context where several countries in various regions of the world perceive an increasing role for nuclear energy, the European Council believes that the development of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy should be inseparable from necessary action to eliminate the risk of proliferation of nuclear arms, and should be accompanied by the utmost attention to safety. In that regard the 12 Member States of the European Community have proposed that the IAEA convene a technical conference in 1991, to review the situation in the field of nuclear safety as well as to formulate recommendations on further measures for improving safety in order to supplement existing measures in this field.

The European Council reaffirms once again its support for the objective of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and will continue to work in a spirit of dialogue and cooperation in order to enlarge the international consensus in favour of an effective non-proliferation regime.

90/269. Statement concerning Southern Africa

Date of Issue: 25/26 June 1990

Place of Issue: Dublin

Country of Presidency: Ireland

Source of Document: European Council

Status of Document: Conclusions of the European Council

The European Council welcomes the important changes that have taken place in southern Africa since it met in Strasbourg.

The European Council warmly welcomes the successful conclusion of the process of bringing Namibia to independence with a constitution based on multi-party democracy and human rights. The European Community and its Member States will continue to give aid and support to the people of Namibia as they build their new country, in particular in the framework of the new Lomé Convention. They welcome the talks which have taken place between the Angolan Government and Unita under Portuguese auspices. They look forward to the resolution of the conflict in Angola and also of that in Mozambique through dialogue.

The European Council greatly welcomes the significant changes that have taken place in South Africa in recent months: the release of Nelson Mandela and of other political prisoners; the unbanning of political organizations; the substantial lifting of the state of emergency; the

commitment by the Government to abolish the apartheid system and to create a democratic and non-racial South Africa, and its willingness to enter into negotiations on the future of South Africa with the representatives of the majority.

They pay tribute to the parts played in bringing about these changes by President F.W. de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela. The efforts of President F.W. de Klerk to bring about a new era in South Africa are testimony to his foresight and courage. Mr Nelson Mandela, a prisoner for 27 years, has inspired millions of South Africans opposed to apartheid and thereby amply demonstrated his qualities of statesmanship, qualities that will be required in the challenging period ahead in South Africa.

The objective of the European Community and its Member States is the complete dismantlement of the apartheid system, by peaceful means and without delay, and its replacement by a united, non-racial and democratic State in which all people shall enjoy common and equal citizenship and where respect for universally recognized human rights is guaranteed. They welcome the joint commitment between the South African Government and the ANC in the Groote Schuur Minute to stability and a peaceful process of negotiations. They call on all parties in South Africa to endorse this objective. It is the intention of the European Community and its Member States to encourage by every means available to them the early opening of negotiations leading to the creation of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

Negotiations on a new South Africa should get under way without delay. The substantial progress made towards removal of the obstacles represented by the state of emergency and the detention of political prisoners is welcome. The European Council looks forward to early agreement between the South African Government and the ANC on the conditions in which exiles can return and on the definition of political prisoners leading to their release. The European Council calls on all parties to remove the remaining obstacles to peaceful negotiations and to refrain from violence or advocacy of violence.

The European Council fully recognizes that a new post-apartheid South Africa should be able to avail itself of all the economic resources, including access to external finance, required to ensure its future prosperity and the full development of all its people. South Africa faces acute socio-economic problems, especially in the areas of employment, education and housing, against a background of a high rate of population growth. These problems have been greatly exacerbated by apartheid. Positive action is needed to rectify imbalances.

Through the programme of positive measures, the Community has, for a number of years, been providing assistance to the victims of apartheid. In the light of the recent developments in South Africa and as a strong signal of political support to those disadvantaged by apartheid and of the will to contribute to a new socio-economic balance, the Community intends to increase the funds being made available under its programme and to adapt the programme to the needs of the new situation, including those connected with the return and resettlement of exiles. It welcomes the positive attitude being displayed by all parties, including the new South African Government, to such programmes.

At its meeting in Strasbourg in December last, the European Council decided that the Community and its Member States would maintain the pressure that they exert on the South African authorities in order to promote the profound and irreversible changes which they have repeatedly stood for. The European Council affirms its willingness to consider a gradual relaxation of this pressure when there is further clear evidence that the process of change already initiated continues in the direction called for at Strasbourg.

The European Council holds the view that the new South Africa, which will have harnessed the full richness, not only of its physical, but also of its abundant human resources, has the potential to act as a stimulus for growth in the southern African region. The European Council looks forward to being able to welcome, in the near future, a new, democratic and economically prosperous South Africa as it takes its proper place as an African nation in the international community.

90/270. Statement concerning Haiti

Date of Issue: 29 June 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Dublin
Country of Presidency: Ireland
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The Twelve unreservedly condemn the attempted assassination of members of the Conseil d'Etat on 21 June 1990 as a criminal act and an attack against the democratic process.

The Twelve call on all the parties in Haiti to refrain from all actions which would disrupt the progress towards democracy. The Twelve also call for the holding of free, fair and democratic elections in Haiti.

90/271. Statement concerning Albania

Date of Issue: 5 July 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The Community and its Member States are deeply concerned by the gravity of the situation in Albania where human rights and the fundamental principles of international law are being violated.

They strongly urge the Albanian Government, first, to take the necessary measures to ensure the physical safety of the persons who have taken refuge in embassies, to refrain from reprisals against their families, to allow them to receive such assistance as is necessary and to guarantee their free departure from Albanian territory, and secondly, to respect international law and the provisions of the Vienna Convention on diplomatic relations as regards the inviolability of diplomatic missions.

Moreover, they express the hope that the Albanian authorities will rapidly adopt the reforms and measures necessary for Albania to become engaged in a process of democratization bringing about a situation in which human rights are fully respected.

The European Community and its Member States recall that respect for human rights and the principles of international law are an essential condition for the establishment of normal relations with the Community.

Albania has made clear its intention of drawing closer to the CSCE process. The events which are taking place at this moment in Tirana are in complete contradiction to the expressed wishes of the Albanian authorities.

90/272. Questions No H-715/90 by Mr Melandri and No H-759/90 by Ms Ewing concerning South Africa

Date of Issue: 10 July 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Question No H-715/90:

The South African Prime Minister, Mr De Klerk, recently visited Europe to explain the new situation in his country.

Do not the Ministers consider it appropriate to maintain economic sanctions against South Africa as a non-violent means of speeding up change there? How do Ministers view the British Government's position and its unilateral decision to lift sanctions against Pretoria?

Question No H-759/90:

The recent announcement by the Dutch Minister for Foreign Affairs calling for a gradual reduction of current EC sanctions against South Africa is being met with great concern by those who are actively involved in the campaign to abolish apartheid.

The EC itself stated last December that sanctions cannot be lifted until there are 'profound and irreversible changes' in South Africa. Any moves now to abolish sanctions prematurely would be counterproductive.

Will the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation use their influence to oppose any gradual or partial lifting of the current EC sanctions against South Africa?

Mr Vitalone, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: Mr President, may I be allowed to give a joint answer to the questions from Mr Melandri and Ms Ewing. The position of the Community and its Member States in regard to South Africa was clearly defined by the European Council meeting in Dublin last June. The European Council emphasized that the aim of the Community and its Member States is the complete dismantling of the apartheid system by peaceful means and without delay, and the replacement of this system by a single non-racial, democratic State, a State in which the entire population can share common, equal citizenship, and in which respect for human rights, which are universally recognized, can be really guaranteed. The European Council recalled the decision already adopted at Strasbourg in December 1989 — a decision by which the Community and its Member States were to keep up the pressure they are exercising on the South African authorities, so as to promote profound, irreversible changes, which the Community and its Member States have declared themselves in favour of on repeated occasions. The Council also affirmed its determination to examine the possibility of a gradual relaxation of this pressure, whenever new factors showed that the process of change that had already begun was moving in the direction hoped for in Strasbourg.

[...] *Ms Valent (GUE):* I wanted to put some very blunt questions to the Italian Presidency. I have the feeling that there is some confusion as to the position of individual governments in relation to the South African question. We should like to know what is the official position of the Council on this point, and which are the Member States that do not propose adhering to that position.

The European Parliament has adopted a very decided position in favour of maintaining sanctions, one proof of which is a resolution recently adopted by the Parliament in plenary session. The Italian Government has assumed the Presidency of the EEC for the next six months, and you, Mr Vitalone, who represents it, have reminded us a short time ago of the European Parliament's role as the representative of democracy. Well now, how does the Italian Government propose to assure the citizens of Europe whom, thanks to universal suffrage, this Parliament represents, that what they have decided will be respected?

One final question, which concerns Italy. In the last few days an official government document has been published and taken up by various newspapers, in which there is talk of new trade relations with South Africa. What attitude must we expect from the Italian Presidency of the EEC on this subject, if this is already the attitude that is being adopted in its own country?

Mr Vitalone: I would like to say to Ms Valent that the attitude of the Twelve and of the Italian Presidency is an attitude that was clearly defined in the Dublin Summit document. Substantially, the role of the Western countries, the Member States of the Community — and, naturally, also Italy, which was just singled out — is not only to support the strategy of reform, the policy of dialogue that has been set in motion by President De Klerk, but also and at the same time to promote the emergence within the opposition movements of those tendencies that are most

favourable to accommodation and reconciliation, even by modifying the present sanctions regime. Within this framework it is obviously necessary to work to ensure that all those who form part of the political context, the social context, can take part in the dialogue, because it is only by increasingly bringing together the opposing elements that the process of national reconciliation — which positively holds the key to the future prospects of South Africa — can emerge. The irreversibility of the process currently taking place in South Africa also depends therefore on our capacity, the capacity of the Community, the capacity of the Western countries as a whole, to provide flexible responses appropriate to changes in the situation, including a careful sanctions strategy, so as to encourage the consolidation of those democratic processes that constitute the objective that we all intend soon to achieve.

Mr Beazley (ED): Are not the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation fully aware that many European Member States besides the UK have substantial trade with South Africa? Are they not also aware that many black African States are very dependent on their trade with South Africa? I have seen these shipments on the borders of South Africa with my own eyes going in both directions so I am not dependent on hearsay or anything else. It is a fact, and it is a fact that is well known. Is it not therefore time, with the development of discussions between [the] ANC and the South African Government, that the relaxation of sanctions should take account of what the actual position is and not what people pretend it to be?

Mr Vitalone: That, Mr Beazley, is what we are endeavouring to do. When I spoke of 'flexible responses' I was referring to the need to keep the level of our responses in line with the development of events, which we all hope will be only positive.

Mr Simpson (S): May I ask the President-in-Office to deal with the two questions that were put by Mr Melandri and Ms Ewing and with the particular point of member governments being unwilling to carry out the decision to keep up economic sanctions against South Africa. I would like him to answer the questions honestly and openly. What is the Italian Presidency going to do about those Member States who do not enforce economic sanctions against the South African regime, most notably the United Kingdom and Dutch Governments? I would emphasize to him that the black people of South Africa and Mr Nelson Mandela himself when he came to this House, stated that they wanted sanctions to be maintained. Will the President-in-Office please say what the Foreign Ministers intend to do about those governments who flagrantly breach the agreements on sanctions?

Mr Vitalone: Very frankly, and with that frankness to which the last speaker expressly referred, I would like to say that the Italian Presidency will endeavour, as the Irish Presidency also endeavoured, to keep the level of response the same from all quarters. This response that is forthcoming in regard to a complex, difficult situation such as the situation in South Africa has a value, a thrust, in that it is a Community response. The only instrument within the Community's mechanism for correcting disagreement or bringing dissentients round to a common line of conduct is the difficult, patient, tenacious instrument of persuasion, that often convinces dissentients even that they should change their attitudes.

Ms Ewing (ARC): As the only survivor in this Parliament of the front-line States delegation that was set up to do honour to the matter of apartheid between the ACP countries and the EC States, I have a right to ask the question that has been put down and to which I have not yet received an answer. I really have to laugh at the Conservative Party's whitewash of the situation, which suggests that we have to be kind to our black brothers. Those of us who were on the front-line States delegation got the evidence from our black brothers that they wanted us to keep up sanctions. We had Nelson Mandela here and he begged us to keep up sanctions. My question is: how can anyone in this Community dream of stopping something which is working, and which is what the people want, not just the people in Pretoria but the people in Zambia and all the front-line States? Why on earth is any Member State relaxing pressure? Would the President-in-Office name the States concerned? We know that my Government, Britain — not my Government by choice — is one. The Dutch Government is another. Would you please name the States that are doing this because they are traitors to the cause of South Africa!

Mr Vitalone: I think that in my reply I should refer to the attitude adopted by Great Britain, which has removed some sanctions. The answer that I have already given was a joint answer to questions by Mr Melandri and Ms Ewing. I would not like to leave the honourable Member who asked the last question dissatisfied, but neither on the other hand would I like anyone to cherish the illusion that, by means of flattery or through the total removal of a system that was adopted uniformly *vis-à-vis* South Africa, it is possible suddenly to generate a result for which what is necessary is a synergetic pressure that is not weak-kneed but, I would say, strong, determined and continuous. On the other hand, we cannot even imagine that an absolutely uniform, unchanged response can reward those signs of change that are apparent today in South Africa. When I spoke of flexibility I was referring to the need to modulate the Community's response in relation to the results that are gradually being achieved and that, we imagine, may go on increasing in the direction that we all hope for.

Mr Napoletano (GUE): Nelson Mandela's request, which was accepted by the European Parliament, had a political and constitutional objective — namely, to arrive at a new South African constitution in which all sides involved today in South Africa would take part. Therefore, what Mandela has asked us to agree to is a political objective.

I should not, however, like the cantankerousness of certain Member States in regard to sanctions to be compounded by Italy's taking a similar line at this stage. Are you able to inform this Assembly whether it is true or not that there is in existence a document from the Italian Foreign Ministry that talks of a resumption of relations between Italian firms and South Africa?

Mr Vitalone: I certainly cannot affirm that there exists any wish for anything contrary to what is emerging from the draft constitutional reform in South Africa. With regard to the existence of trade relations, I think that trade relations between the two countries have always existed. At this moment we are replying in our capacity as President-in-Office of the Community.

We are not replying specifically on the question of activities that could be clarified in other like quarters by reference to detailed documentation.

[...]

Mr Carvalhas (CG): The President mentioned here that the situation in South Africa is complex and difficult. We agree, but the situation is also quite clear: apartheid still continues. He also said that the Italian Presidency was going to try to bring opinions into line. The question I am putting is as follows: does the Italian Presidency also have an opinion, and in the opinion of the Italian Presidency, should sanctions be maintained until apartheid has been irreversibly dismantled, or, on the other hand, does it also have an ambiguous position? We would like a definite answer and I also think that it would not have been difficult to give an answer to our colleague who continues to ask which countries are still breaking the sanctions which were decided either in the Council or by this Parliament.

Mr Vitalone: Mr President, here we have a repetition, from one aspect, of the question already put by Ms Ewing, and I am not reluctant to reply. Obviously, however, the Presidency answers on behalf of the Council: it cannot, it must not, it has no authority to refer to facts concerning the internal functioning of the Council that may concern the conduct of individual Member States for which, obviously, we are not in a position to answer.

With regard to the questions put by Mr Carvalhas, there is a point I would like to make, namely that for the purposes of easing sanctions, the sanctions system, the internal developments in South Africa must be taken into consideration from various different, complex standpoints. Segregation in South African public hospitals has been abolished, for example, from 31 May; with the exclusion of Natal, the state of emergency has been abolished from 7 June; the Separate Amenities Act has been abolished. Other restrictions will be abolished in the next session of the South African Parliament in February 1991. And the final abolition of apartheid can obviously only be obtained with the affirmation of a new constitutional system based on respect for citizens' rights. But this obviously can only be the result of delicate

negotiations. That is why the Community has settled on a policy of gradual revision of sanctions linked to the gradual dismantling of apartheid, the progress of the various stages in the negotiations.

90/273. Question No H-739/90 by Mr Carvalhas concerning the repression in Zaire

Date of Issue: 10 July 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

According to the press, within the framework of political cooperation and through the intermediary of the Italian Ambassador in Zaire, the Twelve have asked the Zairean authorities for an investigation into what they reticently term 'incidents at the University of Lubumbashi'.

Can the Ministers state why the death of a number of students caused by the Zairean security forces was not on this occasion the subject of a protest, bearing in mind the provisions contained in the Fourth Lomé Convention?

Mr Vitalone, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: Following the action by the public order authorities in Zaire, on the campus of Lubumbashi University, which caused the death of numerous students and injuries to a great many people, the Community and its Member States decided to show their great concern to the authorities in that country.

The Italian ambassador, representing the Irish Presidency of the Council, made an approach on 30 May 1990 to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Zaire, during which emphasis was given to the importance that the Community and its Member States attach to the protection of human rights, with reference to the relevant dispositions contained in the new Lomé Convention. Reference was made to the grave concern aroused in the Community and its Member States by the tragic events that occurred at that University.

I therefore appeal to the Zairean authorities to open an inquiry into the events, and to take appropriate measures in regard to the members of the security forces who were implicated in acts of murder and other violence or other acts injurious to human rights.

Mr Carvalhas (CG): Mr President, I agree that it is a pity that the Welsh tradition mentioned here does not also exist in Italy. The issue of human rights is not only raised in the European languages, nor does it only concern chosen races or specific geographical areas — it concerns the whole of mankind. However, it is obvious that the Council's focusing depends on the case; sometimes it sees clearly, on other occasions it suffers from shortsightedness. The very firmness of the tone which was used, for example, when assessing the events in Romania can only be compared with the weakness of the condemnations of the events in Zaire or the invasion of Panama. And the question which I am asking once again is as follows: what answer was received from the Zairean authorities? And was the Council satisfied with this answer? What measures did it take or does it intend to take subsequently? Or is it only piously making a statement about the events?

Mr Vitalone: I think I can agree with the honourable Member with regard to the different degree of attention accorded to problems connected with human rights in Europe and in other countries. I specifically stated that, as the result of a European initiative, the last Lomé Convention devotes a chapter to defining a new human rights doctrine, and to the efficacy of the instruments for their protection.

With regard to the reply given by the Government of Zaire to the official approach made by the Italian ambassador representing the Presidency of the Community, I am happy to say that

the Zairean Government showed its readiness, if the results of the governmental committee of inquiry proved inconclusive, to make arrangements for further investigations to be undertaken by an international organization.

90/274. Statement concerning the European Council meeting in Dublin, held on 25 and 26 June 1990 (Extracts only)

Date of Issue: 11 July 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Report on European Council

Mr Haughey, President-in-Office of the European Council: Mr President, distinguished Members of the European Parliament, less than two months have elapsed since I addressed this House on the positive outcome of the special meeting of the European Council on 28 April. On that occasion I described the substantive decision to be taken at this meeting in Dublin as 'of vital importance to the future of Europe'.

Europe has indeed travelled an immense distance during these recent eventful months and undergone a radical transformation. The journey from a climate of frozen and sterile division on our continent which prevailed over the last four decades has been truly remarkable. We can now at last look forward to and plan for greater unity. A new spirit of optimism about the future prospects for Europe as a whole has taken root and deserves to be carefully nurtured.

Even in the short space of time since my last visit here, the pace of developments has continued to be rapid and the positive outlook I sketched for you then remains valid. Since then, Germany has achieved a monetary union with a single currency through the State treaty which also provides for the integration of the GDR into the economic and social system of the Federal Republic. Within the Community, our consideration of political union, which in April was still at an early stage, has advanced to the point where we now have agreement for the holding of a second intergovernmental conference on 14 December next to discuss it in detail and to draw up appropriate Treaty changes.

This, coupled with our discussions on the intergovernmental conference on economic and monetary union, represents another milestone in the Community's development which, in itself, would suffice to qualify last month's meeting of the European Council as a major success. The resolve we have shown to press ahead with the Community's further integration has been a significant feature of these last six months. The transformation of our relations into a European Union has been a long-term aim of the Community since its inception.

During the six months of our Presidency, a new and exciting era has opened up in European affairs, one in which the Community has a crucial role to play as a central means for securing Europe's future. Indeed, this has been a major concentration of Ireland's Presidency, and we must spare no effort during the coming period to ensure that the Community matches up to its responsibilities.

However, the situation is still a fluid one which is not without its uncertainties and its risks. For example, the reform process in the Soviet Union has encountered difficulties and resistance. The newly emerging democracies of Central and Eastern Europe have daunting problems in renewing and reconstructing their damaged economies and their devastated environments and providing their peoples with the improved living standards to which they rightly aspire. On the larger canvas of world affairs, it is true that there is now less cause for deep apprehension about the potential for global conflict, but the fundamental threat to our global environment is increasing and demands urgent action. That was why, as a response to this growing menace, I made a special effort to spotlight the environmental dimension during Ireland's Presidency.

It has been both an honour and a heavy responsibility for Ireland to occupy the Presidency at such a crucial moment in the history of our continent. I am satisfied that the Community has

been strengthened and consolidated over the last six months, and that it has responded effectively to the external challenges. I take this opportunity to salute the contributions of all who made possible this welcome result, including of course the Members of this House. Indeed, one of the features of our Presidency was our sustained efforts to establish and maintain effective cooperation with Parliament through continuing dialogue and consultation. Excellent relations with Parliament have helped to expedite business, remove impediments to progress and maintain harmony during a momentous period in the development of our Community and indeed in European history. Apart from attendance at the monthly plenary sessions to answer questions and respond to debates, Irish Ministers attended 25 formal committee meetings and maintained regular contact with committee chairmen to keep them fully informed.

In this connection I would like to pay a very special tribute to the important contribution that you, Mr President, made to the two European Councils held during our Irish Presidency. Your words were very carefully listened to on both occasions.

I do not propose to give a detailed account of the results of the Dublin European Council. The substantial ground we covered is illustrated in the Presidency conclusions of the meeting¹ which have been circulated to all Members.

When we began our Presidency we had three overriding aims. Firstly, we wanted to ensure that the Community's internal development would be accelerated. Secondly, we were committed to the concept of a people's Europe, convinced that the Community must respond effectively to the needs of all our people in their daily lives. Finally, we sought to ensure the effectiveness and maturity of the Community in its external relations and in its response to developments throughout Europe and the world. These aims are reflected in the conclusions of the European Council, as well as in the decisions reached by the Council in its different formations over the last six months.

The Community's evolution continues at an impressive rate. Indeed, the prospects for substantial advances in the economic and political fields have been enhanced in recent months. We are putting in place the three pillars on which to build the new Europe. They are: economic and monetary union, political union and, of course, the completion of the single market. These were the three principal themes of the Dublin European Council.

The European Council agreed that the negotiations on political union should be completed so as to enable ratification by the end of 1992. This time-frame runs in parallel with that established for economic and monetary union. Foreign Ministers have analysed various proposals in relation to political union. Their report to the European Council identified major issues which need to be considered by the intergovernmental conference.

I realize that there are some, especially in this Parliament, who are impatient for progress and who worry lest the drive towards political union may slow down. I want to say that I do not share that concern but believe, on the contrary, that we have now arrived at a shared desire to move towards political union and we have identified its major aspects.

Indeed, after the Dublin European Council decisions, we are now fully embarked on this very serious enterprise and the Council is reflecting very carefully on the next steps which need to be taken. That the issues involved are far-reaching and complex is well illustrated by the four reports on aspects of union which this House is now debating here today and there are no doubt different perspectives on how we should proceed. Like Parliament, the Council must ensure that the ground to be covered by the intergovernmental conference on political union is very thoroughly and carefully prepared.

The issues highlighted in the Foreign Ministers' report to the European Council — democratic legitimacy, the effectiveness of the Community's institutions and the unity and coherence of our international action — are, I know, of very special interest to the Members of this House. I would like to acknowledge the important role played by Parliament in highlighting the Community's longer-term goals and in ensuring that these are not overlooked. I applaud the

consistent concern you have voiced about the Community's future. The views you have put forward so purposefully in this area will be an invaluable contribution to the work of the intergovernmental conference.[...]

Another development of profound significance for the Community during Ireland's Presidency has been the rapid move towards the unification of Germany. The manner in which that process of German unification is coming about offers remarkable evidence of the central positive place the Community now occupies in European affairs. It is a source of great satisfaction that the Community has been able to give valuable support to Germany at this time, warmly welcoming the prospect of German unification under a European roof and ready to proceed with the rapid integration of the territory of the GDR into the Community. German unification might not have proceeded so smoothly and so harmoniously had it not been so safely anchored in the Community.

Work on the transitional arrangements in accordance with the principles laid down at Dublin I is set to quicken in keeping with the pace of developments in Germany, which were outlined for us by Chancellor Kohl. As noted in the conclusions of Dublin II, proposals on these arrangements are to be submitted by the Commission in September, and the programme of legislation will require considerable effort and cooperation between Parliament and Council.

The social dimension in all its aspects is an essential component of the single market and of European Union, and we have made a worthwhile contribution to its development during the Presidency and laid a good foundation for further progress. In agreement with the succeeding Italian and Luxembourg Presidencies and with the Commission, a timetable was decided upon for dealing with the specific proposals contained in the action programme to give effect to the Charter, which will ensure that the necessary steps come into effect simultaneously with the completion of the internal market. The Dublin II meeting welcomed this initiative. The European Council also welcomed the measures adopted by the Council of Social Affairs to assist the long-term unemployed, a section of the Community's citizens to which the Irish Presidency accorded a special priority.

The ultimate test, Mr President, of the Community's success will be the quality of life and the standards it provides in equal measure for all its citizens. We must cultivate a new sense of loyalty and commitment to the Community which will complement our national identities and loyalties. The Community of the future must be far deeper and more meaningful for its people than a mere economic or financial entity could ever be.

It must deal with a full range of values which unite us socially and culturally. In particular, we must unite in defence of our environment and our heritage. Our peoples must be satisfied that they do not belong to a Community which is geared exclusively to economic development. Our aim must rather be to construct a Community which has the central purpose of enhancing the prosperity and the highest form of well-being of all of its citizens.

In the Irish Presidency I felt it desirable at this stage in the Community's affairs to direct a new emphasis to the protection and enhancement of our environment. Nothing could be more relevant to the creation of a people's Europe than success in providing a clean and healthy environment. Grave environmental problems confront us at global level, and effective remedial action is no longer an option but an imperative.

The major Community declaration on the environment adopted by the European Council constitutes a notable achievement in our efforts to highlight the central importance of the environment in future Community policy. The declaration establishes guidelines for future action both within the Community and in the international arena on issues such as the ozone layer, the greenhouse effect and tropical forests. We have a duty to give a lead in favour of concerted action to combat global problems whose magnitude is becoming more apparent as scientific knowledge regarding climate change increases.

The declaration acknowledges the need to accelerate Community decision-making on environmental matters, which is something that can be addressed by the second inter-governmental conference. It also underlines the importance of enforcing Community legislation, and the need for economic and fiscal measures to support environmental protection.

In my view, the most significant element in that declaration is the spelling out clearly of the right of our citizens to a clean and healthy environment. I expect that this declaration will provide an essential point of reference and impetus for future Community efforts to protect the environment and promote higher environmental standards for the benefit of our citizens.

Continuing on the theme of the Community's role in protecting the quality of life of our citizens, the European Council had an extensive discussion on the need to tackle the pernicious menace of narcotics and the close association of the evil traffic in drugs with international organized crime. It adopted guidelines for European action against drugs in a number of areas, including control of external frontiers after 1992 and money laundering. A European plan to combat drugs is to be prepared for the meeting of the European Council next December in Rome. We also issued a declaration on anti-Semitism, racism and xenophobia² against the background of recent outrages which have been strongly condemned, particularly in this House.

The first six months of the 1990s have been a momentous period in the conduct of the Community's external relations, especially with regard to our neighbours in Europe. The powerful demand for economic and political reform on the part of the people of Eastern Europe, who have lived for decades under a totalitarian system of government, has altered the horizons of all Europeans. Now that the divisions of the last 40 years have been dramatically removed the Community has, as a conspicuously successful political, social and economic entity, become a natural focus of interest and attention for all Europeans. This is reflected in an evident desire on the part of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, as well as those of EFTA, to build new relations with the Twelve.

The special meeting of the European Council in April established a solid framework for the Community's external relations based on the role the Twelve can play in the future development of the CSCE, the deepening of relations with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the creation of a European Economic Area with the countries of EFTA.

A strengthened CSCE will be a central element in the overall structures of a new Europe. The Community and its Member States intend to play a leading role in this. With this in mind, the European Council proposed that the CSCE Summit to be held later this year should, among other things, decide on appropriate institutional arrangements for the CSCE, thus providing political structures to underpin peace, stability and reform in Europe. These would include regular meetings at summit level and between Foreign Ministers, together with the setting up of a small administrative secretariat. The summit should also decide on new mechanisms for enhancing security and cooperation in Europe, including suitable means for avoiding conflict.

Last month's European Council saw a further development which has been regarded as a significant departure in the evolution of the foreign policy of the Community. Our discussion of the economic situation in the USSR was the major focus of this part of the meeting. It is universally recognized that the changes which have come about in the Soviet Union have been a key factor in facilitating more rapid and fundamental change elsewhere in Europe. There is a consensus that the policies of political and economic reform initiated by President Gorbachev deserve our firm support. Accordingly the European Council has asked the Commission, in consultation with international economic organizations, to consult with the Government of the Soviet Union with a view to preparing proposals covering short-term credits and longer-term support for structural reform in the USSR.

The new political relationship established between the United States and the European Community is already being implemented. President Bush has conveyed this in a recent message to me in the following terms: 'At this time of historic change in Europe — and around the globe — we regard the US-EC relationship as increasingly pivotal. The agreement which we reached during your visit to Washington in February for strengthened US-EC consultations reflects this and has already proven its worth.'

The Community has naturally been giving great attention to events on our own continent in recent times. However, we also have a responsibility to use our growing prestige and influence to contribute to the resolution of problems affecting other parts of the world. These concerns are

reflected in the outcome of the European Council, for example in the declarations we adopted on South Africa and the Middle East, and also in the Community's continuing interest in the problems of Cyprus.³

The declaration adopted on South Africa seeks to map out the means by which the Community and its Member States can support the progress achieved there while impressing on all the parties concerned the need for further efforts. Our objective is clear. We want to see a complete dismantling, peacefully and without delay, of the indefensible system of apartheid. It must be replaced by a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa in which all of its people enjoy equal citizenship and have their basic rights guaranteed.

Dublin II affirmed its willingness to consider a gradual relaxation of measures against South Africa when there is further clear evidence that the changes being made continue to go in the right direction. In addition, the Community has for some time been assisting the victims of apartheid through a programme of positive measures, and it is planned to increase the funds available for this purpose. The mature balance of this pronouncement by Dublin II is demonstrated by the welcome it received from both the South African Government and the ANC.

The European Council emphasized the absolute urgency of resuming the Middle East peace process. It welcomed the commitment to continuing the process contained in a letter I received in my capacity as President of the European Council from Prime Minister Shamir, and hoped that this would be followed in practice. The declaration we adopted makes it clear that what is needed is a political dialogue on the part of Israel with the Palestinian people which could lead to a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The unsatisfactory situation prevailing in the Occupied Territories features prominently in the declaration which drew attention, for the first time, to the obligation on parties to the Fourth Geneva Convention not merely to respect but to ensure respect for its provisions. It also called for further action, in accordance with the Convention, to ensure the protection of the human rights of the Palestinian population of the Occupied Territories.

I see the adoption by the Dublin European Council of the first-ever common declaration by the Twelve on nuclear non-proliferation⁴ as an important advance. This declaration was timely in view of the current concern about nuclear safety in Europe and the fact that the Fourth Review Conference of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty is being held in Geneva in August. This will be a crucial Review Conference, being the last before a decision has to be taken in 1995 as to whether the treaty should be continued in force indefinitely or extended for a set period. The objective of preventing the further spread of nuclear weapons is strongly supported by all the Twelve, who see this as an essential element in maintaining international stability and security. The declaration also refers to an IAEA Conference in 1991 proposed by the Twelve to improve nuclear safety. The unsatisfactory situation in this regard was confirmed at a recent East-West meeting of European Environment Ministers in Ireland.

The great strength of our Community is its increasing ability to mobilize the political skills and the resources of the Member States in tackling the issues that confront us and ensure the realization of our common objectives. We have developed the ability to reconcile our interests, to find common ground and make the need for a solution take precedence over any differences that may exist between us. This quality has been much in evidence over the last six months. The very rapid process of change in Germany and elsewhere in Central and Eastern Europe was absorbed by the Community smoothly and in a magnificent spirit of solidarity. We have shown that our ability to work together on major issues transcending the internal parameters of the Community is permanently and firmly established. Furthermore, this provides the basis for transforming the relationship of the Member States with each other into a meaningful political union.

Robert Schuman emphasized the value of solidarity as a major component of European unity, and his view has been vindicated. Our solidarity today draws its strength from the Treaties and the common obligations which they create for the Member States. It has been enhanced by the

negotiation of a wide range of common policies [that would have been] unimaginable half a century ago. It draws us now to the point where we are about to take another great step forward towards integration; a step which will equal in imagination that taken by the founders when they launched the European enterprise four decades ago.

The results we achieved during the two Dublin meetings have the greatest importance for the future of our Community. We have set out to complete a major agenda of ambitions because we have no alternative but to match the hopes of all Europeans, East and West. Our Community has been fortunate in its leadership in the past and, in my view, is equally well served today. On that score we are particularly fortunate in having at the head of the Commission a person of the calibre of Mr Jacques Delors. I am especially pleased that it was agreed in Dublin to renew his mandate for another period of two years: 1991 and 1992.

I believe that the present leadership of the Community has a vision of an exciting European future and that vision is supported by a clear unity of purpose. It has responded coherently and with maturity to great and unexpected challenges. What is happening in our continent today would not have been possible without the foresight of the founders and the commitment of their successors to their ideas. On the basis of my experience over the last six months, I am optimistic about the future. I believe that a prosperous and united Europe is destined to exercise a major international role in a more peaceful and democratic world. As Italy takes over the responsibility of the Presidency, I wish Prime Minister Andreotti and his colleagues every success in discharging their heavy responsibilities for the remainder of this year.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 90/263.

² *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 90/264.

³ *EPC Bulletin*, Docs. 90/269, 90/267 and 90/265.

⁴ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 90/268.

90/275. Question No H-457/90 by Mr Kostopoulos concerning the violent clashes between Montenegrins and ethnic Albanians and Romanians and ethnic Hungarians

Date of Issue: 11 July 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

The recent mass poisoning of children in the province of Kosovo and the clashes between Romanians and ethnic Hungarians in Transylvania have created an explosive situation and severely aggravated the problems concerning minorities in Yugoslavia and Romania and a number of people have been killed or injured.

What measures could the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation take to put an end to this blood bath and to find means of peacefully settling these differences?

Answer:

The Twelve are paying the closest attention to the problem to which the honourable Member refers in his question.

Their wish for these countries is that there will be continued progress in establishing a pluralist democracy based essentially on the primacy of law and total respect for human rights, as well as respect for the rights of opposition parties. The fact is that the problem of national minorities and the adoption of suitable arrangements to protect these minorities are becoming matters of increasing importance. In this context, the CSCE conference dealing with the human dimension, held in Copenhagen in June, took on particular significance. The closing document of the

conference in fact provides for better protection than the documents adopted previously and may be regarded as the start of a process towards which the 35 signatories intend to work in the future.

Mention should also be made of the fact that at the European Council meeting in Dublin the Heads of State and Government stressed the exceptional importance of the forthcoming CSCE Summit. In their view, this meeting should lead to new commitments, with a balanced development of the CSCE process involving in particular better protection for minorities.

90/276. Question No H-537/90 by Mr Alavanos concerning the occupation of a Greek Orthodox church building by Israeli settlers

Date of Issue: 11 July 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Israeli settlers have forcefully occupied a building belonging to the Greek Orthodox Church in the occupied sector of Jerusalem. The settlers are continuing to occupy the building with the complicity of the Israeli police and in defiance of the courts and public outcry in East Jerusalem. What immediate measures could the Foreign Ministers of the Community take on this specific matter and in response to the widening attempts to establish settlements in occupied Jerusalem and the occupied Arab territories?

Answer:

The honourable Member is referred to the answer which was given last May to Oral Questions Nos 543/90, 591/90 and 592/90, tabled by Mr Papayannakis, Mr Pierros and Mr Pagoropoulos respectively.¹

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 90/194.

90/277. Question No H-599/90 by Ms Crawley concerning the Devrimci Sol trial in Istanbul

Date of Issue: 11 July 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Would the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation bring pressure to bear on the Turkish authorities, so that they ensure that the Istanbul Devrimci Sol trial is conducted according to internationally recognized standards for fair trial, that the alleged deliberate shooting of two defendants and all torture allegations raised in court are investigated, that no statements extracted under torture are used as evidence against the defendants, that none of the defendants will be sentenced to death and that death sentences already imposed on six of them are commuted?

Answer:

The Twelve are mindful of the human rights situation in Turkey. The authorities in Ankara are aware of the importance that the Twelve attach to strict respect for all undertakings freely entered into by Turkey, through its accession to international human rights conventions.

90/278. Question No H-737/90 by Mr Moorhouse concerning Ahmed Abd Al-Karim, Syrian prisoner of conscience

Date of Issue: 11 July 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

The Foreign Ministers are asked to exert pressure on the Syrian authorities to improve their human rights record. Could they, in particular, press the case of Ahmad Abd Al-Karim, a 29-year-old Syrian prisoner who has been detained for nine years without charges or trial, and who has had no contact with the outside world during this time?

Answer:

The Syrian Government is aware of the policy of the Twelve on human rights and the importance they attach to this issue in their relations with non-Community countries.

The particular case raised by the honourable Member has not been discussed in the framework of political cooperation.

The Twelve will not fail to raise this issue or make representations to the authorities concerned in any instance where they believe that their intervention will have the desired effect or will serve the interests of the persons concerned.

90/279. Question No H-750/90 by Ms Dury concerning talks between the EEC and the Iranian Republic

Date of Issue: 11 July 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Following talks held in Dublin last May between an EEC delegation and representatives of the Iranian Government, one of the latter stated that the Community wished to strengthen its relations with Iran.

What is the current state of relations between the Twelve and Iran? What are the Community's intentions in this connection? Does the issue of human rights play a major role in EEC-Iran relations? What has been the outcome of talks between the Community and Iran on the hostages currently held in Lebanon who are citizens of the Twelve?

Answer:

The position of the Twelve with regard to relations with Iran is still the same as that which was expressed at the European Council meeting in Madrid and in the speech by the Presidency at the 44th Session of the UN General Assembly. On these occasions the Twelve expressed their hope that the Iranian leaders might indicate through concrete action their desire to develop constructive relations with the Community and its Member States and to contribute to international life in a peaceful manner and in accordance with the rules which govern relations between nations, so that Iran might regain the position which it merits in the region and in the international community.

This position was voiced by the Troika of political representatives during their meeting with a representative of the Iranian Government in Dublin on 16 May. This meeting enabled the two sides to review all the matters of common interest and to initiate a process of dialogue with the Iranian authorities. It is hoped that this process will make it possible to overcome the existing

difficulties, including the threats to the life of a Community citizen which were the cause of the suspension of high-level official visits between the Community and Iran. The Troika was able to note the desire of the Iranian Government for an improvement in relations with the Community and its Member States and the determination which it showed to eliminate existing barriers in the way of this goal.

The question of respect for human rights in Iran and the fate of the Western hostages in Lebanon were items of major consideration at the meeting of 16 May.

With regard to respect for human rights, the Twelve have consistently supported the resolutions on this matter which the UN General Assembly has adopted since 1985 and they have made a number of urgent appeals to the Iranian authorities asking them to comply with the rules which are generally recognized by the international community.

While they are still concerned by the human rights situation in Iran, the Twelve have noted that their efforts, together with those of other countries, have already produced some results. They have noted in particular the readiness of the Iranian authorities to collaborate with the Commission on Human Rights. Mr Galindo Pohl, the Special Representative, was thus able to visit Tehran and he published a report about his visit. With the aim of supporting the Special Representative's efforts and fostering further collaboration between Iran and the Commission on Human Rights, the Twelve decided to co-sponsor the resolution which was adopted by consensus on 7 March. At the meeting on 16 May the Twelve welcomed the readiness shown by the Iranian authorities [and] will on that occasion provide Mr Pohl with the utmost collaboration.

With regard to the fate of the hostages detained in Lebanon — several of whom are nationals of the Member States — it is the view of the Twelve that every effort must be made to secure the liberation of all those who are detained against their will. They have made numerous appeals to those who are in a position to exert influence on the groups holding the hostages so that they may help in securing their immediate and unconditional freedom. The position of the Twelve is well known to the Iranian authorities. The Twelve hope that Iran will exert the influence it has in Lebanon to arrive at a rapid settlement of this question.

Also, at its meeting in Dublin the European Council expressed its profound sympathy to the Government and people of the Islamic Republic of Iran following the terrible loss of human lives, the large number of injured and the damage caused by the earthquake which struck the northwest of the country on 21 June. The Community and its Member States indicated their desire to provide all possible assistance to the victims of this disaster.

They have already initiated significant aid operations and will give great consideration to an immediate increase in the level of this assistance and to aid for reconstruction.

90/280. Question No H-760/90 by Mr Barros Moura concerning the right to self-determination of the Sahrawi people

Date of Issue: 11 July 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

What steps do the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation intend to take to support the Sahrawi people's right to self-determination?

In this connection, what is their view of moves made by a Member State (Portugal) which appear objectively to favour Morocco, such as the training of Moroccan pilots at Beja air base and the placing, by agreement with the Moroccan authorities, of a stone monument commemorating the Discoveries, at Cape Bojador, on territory claimed by the Polisario Front?

Answer:

The Twelve continue to give full support to the efforts of the UN Secretary-General and his Special Representative to secure the organization under UN auspices of a referendum for the self-determination of the Sahrawi people. They have welcomed the approval by the Security Council of the Secretary-General's report.

They have also noted with interest the meeting between King Hassan of Morocco and Polisario representatives and they hope that these contacts will be pursued.

The Twelve welcomed the adoption by consensus of a resolution on the Western Sahara during the 44th Session of the UN General Assembly. It is the view of the Twelve that the adoption by consensus of a similar resolution at the 46th Session of the Commission on Human Rights reflects the positive approach which those involved continue to have on this matter. It is the feeling of the Twelve that this approach will facilitate progress towards the self-determination of the Sahrawi people.

The Community and its Member States are keenly interested in the Maghreb countries, which are their close neighbours, and they have encouraged their efforts to strengthen cooperation and stability in the region. The Twelve have voiced the hope that the cooperation which has developed within the Arab Maghreb Union – with which the Community and its Member States plan to develop relations – may facilitate peace efforts and pave the way to a just and lasting settlement of the conflict in the Western Sahara.

90/281. Questions No H-769/90 by Mr De Rossa and No H-676/90 by Mr Dessylas concerning the Occupied Territories

Date of Issue: 11 July 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Question No H-769/90:

Arising from the continual acts of violence by the Israeli army, there is widespread concern expressed by a range of international organizations at the human rights situation in the Occupied Territories.

This concern has been reflected in repeated resolutions passed by this Parliament; in the statement by the President-in-Office of the Council to the Parliament in January last; and in the statement by the Twelve on 2 June last which 'resolved to step up their support for the observance of the human rights of the population of the Occupied Territories'.

In view of the above and the even less promising political developments since then, will the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation consider arranging for the monitoring of the behaviour of the Israeli army, on an ongoing, structured basis, by coordinating the efforts of the Member States' diplomatic representatives in Israel?

Question No H-676/90:

According to a study carried out by Anne Nixon, an American working for the Swedish organization 'The Children Fund' (which study was funded by the Ford Foundation and published in the international press on 18 May 1990), the Israeli army has murdered 159 children aged under 16, wounded 50 000 others (using firearms, clubs and tear gas), destroyed 1 098 homes and left 4 833 children homeless during the Palestinian uprising.

What representations do the Foreign Ministers intend to make to the State of Israel to compel it to comply with the basic tenets of international law?

Answer:

May I give a joint reply to Oral Questions No 676/90 by Mr Dessylas and No 769/90 by Mr De Rossa, which deal with the same subject.

Recent events underline once again that the status quo in the Occupied Territories is untenable. Israeli practices and the lamentable situation concerning the observance of human rights in the Occupied Territories have repeatedly led the Community and its Member States to set out their concern.

The European Council meeting in Dublin paid considerable attention to this matter and adopted a declaration that makes the position of the Community and its Member States quite clear. It showed the resolve of the Community and the Member States to step up their already considerable support for the protection of the human rights of the population of the Occupied Territories.

In the present situation, and particularly with regard to the protection of the population, the Twelve believe that the United Nations, too, can and should play a useful role. The European Council supported such a role for the United Nations.

The European Council also referred to the obligation on parties to the Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Times of War to respect and to ensure respect for its provisions. The Twelve have repeatedly called on Israel to adhere to its obligations towards the Palestinian population in the territory under its occupation, which is protected by that Convention. They observed that it has notably failed to do so in a number of important areas. Concerned that the human rights of the population of the Occupied Territories continue to be inadequately protected, the European Council called for further action in accordance with the Convention, to ensure that protection.

The Twelve are in permanent contact with the Israeli authorities on the subject of human rights violations in the Occupied Territories. The embassies of the Twelve in Tel Aviv and their consuls-general in Jerusalem also coordinate their actions on this issue.

The Twelve are of the opinion that the present situation is the result of lack of progress in the search for a peaceful solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. In this connection, the European Council has expressed its determination to encourage all efforts to promote dialogue between the parties directly concerned, leading to the negotiation of a comprehensive settlement consistent with the principles it set out a considerable time ago. It also expressed its support for all efforts by the Permanent Members of the Security Council to create a climate of confidence between the parties and, in this way, to facilitate the convening of the international peace conference.

The European Council welcomed the commitment to continuing the peace process expressed in the letter to the President of the European Council from the Prime Minister of Israel. It expressed the hope that it would be followed in practice. It stressed the urgent need for Israel to begin a political dialogue with the Palestinian people which could lead to a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Such a settlement should be on the basis of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, based on the principle of 'land for peace'.

The European Council stressed that all parties have a responsibility to refrain from actions or statements that might impede steps towards dialogue and negotiation. Those who would choose violent over peaceful means for achieving political objectives cannot be allowed to prevail. Neither the taking of human life, whatever the circumstances, nor violence against civilians can play any part in achieving peace and reconciliation.

As an expression of its concern, the European Council reviewed the range of actions undertaken by the Community and the Member States on the basis of the Strasbourg Declaration, in order to arrest the deterioration of the economic and social situation in the

Occupied Territories and to help preserve the future of Palestinian society. It noted with satisfaction the significant increase in Community aid, particularly in the 1990 programme of direct aid, which is ready for adoption. It confirmed its determination to double direct Community aid by 1992. As an expression of the importance that the European Council attaches to facilitating the speedy and efficient implementation of the Community's expanding programme for the benefit of the population of the Occupied Territories, it invited the Commission to appoint a representative to the Occupied Territories at an early date.

90/282. Question No H-787/90 by Ms Pollack concerning tropical rain forests

Date of Issue: 11 July 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Further to my Oral Question¹ in January on this subject, what response was made by the Malaysian Government at the EC-ASEAN meeting on destruction of the rain forests in Sarawak, and what further initiatives are being taken by the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation on this subject?

Answer:

Despite the fact that this subject has not been specifically discussed in the European political cooperation framework, I should like to inform the honourable Member today, before the House, that the Community has given particular attention to this question.

At the eighth EEC-ASEAN Ministerial Conference, held in Kuching on 16 and 17 February 1990, the Ministers recognized that the threat to the world environment is a common responsibility that calls for appropriate international action as a matter of urgency.

In their joint statement the Ministers expressed their satisfaction at the convening of the Asia and Pacific Ministerial Conference on the Environment, organized by the ESCAP, to be held in Thailand in the second half of this year.

At the recent European Council meeting in Dublin (25 and 26 June 1990) the Heads of State and Government adopted a declaration laying down guidelines for future action in the field of environmental protection. The Council agreed to ask the Commission to analyse and prepare proposals for an appropriate Community programme to counter the threat to the tropical forests. These proposals will be formulated in consultation with the countries concerned.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 90/009.

90/283. Question No H-798/90 by Ms Ruíz-Gimenez Aguilar concerning the political support for Colombia's constitutional reform

Date of Issue: 11 July 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

In view of the violence of events in Colombia and of the threat they pose to democracy, and in view of the current preparations by the Colombian Government for a constituent assembly aimed at reforming the constitution and arresting the violence:

(i) What political action will be taken by the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation to help Colombia overcome the crisis and the widespread violence?

(ii) Will the Ministers meeting in political cooperation support Colombia in its bid to strengthen the democratic State by means of constitutional reform?

Answer:

While it is true that violence is rampant in Colombia and the state of the law is threatened, the important thing for the Colombian authorities — and in the wider context for the international community — is to root out the evil which is afflicting the country and thus to tackle by every means the scourge of drugs.

In connection with this, mention should first of all be made of the statement by the Twelve published at the end of the European Council meeting in Strasbourg in December 1989. This statement praised the courageous attitude of the Colombian Government with regard to drugs trafficking. In supplementing and reinforcing the statement on 18 January 1990, the Twelve welcomed the special cooperation programme announced by the Colombian Government and expressed the intention of the Community and its Member States to respond in a positive fashion to this programme. In this respect, several Member States have already provided assistance with the specific aim of helping the fight against drugs trafficking.

Since the beginning of the year the situation in Colombia has been the subject of continued and thorough assessment and discussion by the Ministers meeting in political cooperation.

The meeting in Dublin on 10 April 1990 between the Community and the Rio Group provided the opportunity for a thorough exchange of views on the matter with our Latin American partners, especially Colombia. It was decided that producer, transit and consumer countries had to combine their efforts to tackle the problem more effectively and to find suitable solutions.

It was with this in mind, in view of the fact that the trafficking and consumption of drugs are a threat to society and countries, as well as to individuals, that the European Council meeting in Dublin on 25 and 26 June 1990 called on the Council of Ministers to agree before the end of the year on measures, including an integrated programme of cooperation with Colombia, which would take more specific note of the sale and prices of coffee and other substitute products.

As for the second part of the honourable Member's question, while admitting that support for a revision of the Colombian constitution has not been discussed in European political cooperation, the Presidency may reassure her that the Community and its Member States, in keeping with its policy towards the countries of Latin America, are ready to do everything in their power to foster the strengthening and safeguarding of democracy and fundamental values.

90/284. Questions No H-802/90 by Mr Ephremidis and No H-809/90 by Ms van Putten concerning human rights in Indonesia and East Timor

Date of Issue: 11 July 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Question No H-802/90:

The Indonesian regime has decided to transfer six officials of the Indonesian Communist Party to court prisons. These people are sentenced to death and have already served 20 years in prison. Their transfer is thought to be a preparatory move before their execution.

After the recent revelations in the *Washington Post* about CIA involvement in the blood bath which saw the deaths of thousands of Indonesian Communist Party members 25 years ago, international public opinion is particularly sensitive in this regard.

What measures have the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation taken to prevent the execution of these prisoners and to obtain their release?

Question No H-809/90:

With reference to the recent very disturbing reports from Amnesty International, what action have the Foreign Ministers taken on the resolution adopted by a large majority of Parliament on Thursday 15 March¹ on violations of human rights, death sentences and executions in Indonesia, specifically as regards the release of prisoners still awaiting execution? Are they aware of the way in which this matter was placed on the agenda at the recent IGGI conference?

Answer:

A joint answer will be given to Questions No 802/90 by Mr Ephremidis and No 809/90 by Ms Van Putten.

The Twelve are aware of Parliament's resolution to which the honourable Member refers in her question, and are closely watching developments in Indonesia. They will continue to do so and will see to it that the Indonesian authorities are made aware of the importance which the Community attaches to the scrupulous regard for human rights.

The Twelve have consequently made representations, on humanitarian grounds, to the Foreign Minister of Indonesia and have urged the Indonesian authorities to refrain from carrying out further executions of prisoners who were sentenced to death for their involvement in the attempt to overthrow the government in 1965.

¹ OJ C 96, 17.4.1990, p. 259.

90/285. Question No H-813/90 by Mr Papoutsis concerning acts of violence by Turkish troops against Kurdish civilians

Date of Issue: 11 July 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

According to journalists' reports emanating from Turkey, at the beginning of July Turkish armed forces carried out a number of violent attacks on Kurdish civilians in the Sirnak region.

As the area is cordoned off by troops and it is impossible for foreign journalists to gain access, the exact number of victims cannot be confirmed but current estimates put the figures at 26 women and children.

At a time when the Commission is considering reviving cooperation between the Community and Turkey and when such acts tragically highlight again the violation of human rights in Turkey and the continuing violence against the Kurdish population, will the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation say how they intend to respond in order to condemn any attempt to resolve the Kurdish problem by slaughtering and repressing the civilian population and to exert pressure on the Turkish Government to respect human rights in Turkey?

Answer:

The honourable Member is thanked for his question on the situation of the Kurdish population in Turkey. Although the specific events to which he refers have not been discussed in European political cooperation and while acknowledging that any analysis of the situation cannot be based solely on information which has appeared in the press, the Presidency can nevertheless confirm that the human rights situation is regularly mentioned by the representatives of the Twelve in their contacts with the Turkish authorities.

Speaking on behalf of the Twelve, the Presidency can only reiterate that it expects Turkey to honour all the obligations which stem from its free and voluntary accession to a whole range of international instruments designed to guarantee respect for human rights.

90/286. Question No H-826/90 by Mr Papayannakis concerning Community policy in the Mediterranean

Date of Issue: 11 July 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Italy
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Eleven non-aligned Mediterranean countries recently requested that a Conference on Security and Cooperation in the Mediterranean be convened along the lines of the CSCE. Can the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation state what their attitude is in principle to this proposal and whether they consider it feasible and advisable for the Member States which border the Mediterranean or the Community as a whole to take part in such a conference given that following political union the future European Union will obviously be a Mediterranean power?

Answer:

At a special meeting in Dublin on 28 April the European Council reaffirmed the importance of the Mediterranean aspect of the CSCE. In its belief that the CSCE process can have a positive impact on the Mediterranean area, the Community and its Member States hope that the Palma de Mallorca meeting will enable progress to be made in this area of the CSCE process.

As for any forthcoming Conference on Security and Cooperation in the Mediterranean, along the lines of the CSCE, the matter has not yet been the subject of discussion among the Twelve.

90/287. Statement concerning the Programme of the Italian Presidency (Extracts only)

Date of Issue: 12 July 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Italy
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Programme Speech to European Parliament

Mr De Michelis, President-in-Office of the Council: Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, Mr President of the Commission, before embarking on the substance of my speech, let me begin by responding briefly to the good wishes with which my colleague, Mr Collins, yesterday welcomed the Italian Presidency and by thanking, on behalf of the new President of the Council, the Irish Presidency for the way in which it has handled the past six months, which were extremely sensitive and, at the same time, extremely important for the future of the Community.

Rarely has a term of office opened in a climate of such great expectation, in the middle of a genuine period of change in the international order, affecting the whole of Europe. For almost half a century, international events have taken place against a rigid background of confrontation between the two protagonists who emerged out of the Second World War. In the space of a few months, that situation has opened up, allowing new prospects of freedom, democracy and prosperity.

Those are the principles on which we have founded the structure of our Community, that is the structure which we have to thank if such extraordinary events are not finding us unprepared. Never before, as in the coming months, will the closer integration of the Twelve have had such

external relevance also, in the reorganization of Europe as a whole. Never will it have been so important in enabling history to keep pace with the events it has produced, the expectations it has aroused.

But we have to act quickly: it is not right to delay on grounds of excessive caution, as events in Europe during these past months show no trace of caution. We shall have to bring into step Community unification and German unification; to maintain the cohesion of the Twelve and their special relationship with the United States and Canada at a time when the Atlantic Alliance is reflecting on its own future; to play our part in the revival of post-Communist Europe, which cannot wait too long for its civil, political and economic fabric to be restored; to offer assistance to the Soviet Union which, more than others, has difficulty in relating past and present, in moving on from *glasnost* to truth, from State communism to the administration of democracy; to prevent the increase in tensions and injustices outside our continent which could threaten our own stability.

No objective for today's Europe could be too ambitious. The aim of the founding fathers, which had, in recent years, seemed distant and, very often, impossible for a Europe able to express itself with one voice, including in the areas of external affairs and security, may finally become reality after alternating periods of hope and disappointment.

Not everything will, of course, be decided in the coming months. But with the work we accomplish during this half of 1990, we shall be able to construct the basis which will determine what is achieved in our great leap forward. The way will be strewn with both technical and political obstacles. We shall be able to overcome them if we all understand that, by resolving them, we shall be preventing the return of protagonism in Europe. We must not hang back. We must not tolerate timidity and uncertainty on the way to political union, faced with a Germany reuniting before our very eyes, wiping out at a stroke lines on a map which seemed to us to be immutable, reconnecting paths which had ceased to link up with each other, households which had until so recently turned their backs on each other. What is happening to the mark should make us reflect on the value of monetary union for the common future of the Twelve.

In the coming months, Community Europe, first of all, will have to reinforce its own vertical integration, meeting the commitments already laid down in the Single European Act and supporting the two intergovernmental conferences on economic and monetary union and political union which should provide us, by 1992, with a completely new system.[...]

The third element in this integrated Europe, next to the market and currency, involves the institutions. We shall be working towards genuine qualitative progress beyond the horizons of national sovereignty, so that the intergovernmental conference called for 14 December to bring about political union is able to begin its work with a report modelled on that which preceded the Single Act. We shall be proposing to the General Affairs Council of 16 and 17 July that personal representatives of the Foreign Ministers begin immediately to draft a text going far beyond the issues raised in the document approved in Dublin.

The validity of the line we have always taken is confirmed by the facts: it is inconceivable that the single market should be achieved without establishing economic and monetary union which, in its turn, will be able to function only against a background of institutional changes designed to vest the Community process with a political dimension. Both these stages will provide the genuine path to European union.

To the Presidency will fall the crucial role of mediating between the different tendencies coexisting within the Community, some of them taking very much the minimalist approach to the steps still to be taken to complete integration. Traditionally, as well as by conviction, advocates of the federal model, and without prejudicing its prospects, we shall adopt it because it allows the greatest possible degree of transfer of sovereignty to the Community institutions and shows the Community method to its best advantage. The method which, in the words of Jean Monnet, represents 'a new type of federalism without precedent' and whose progress has, so far, been too slow, albeit steady.

We therefore now consider that we shall have to reflect together on the following four points: first, the introduction of political cooperation into the Community way of thinking, so that we move towards that joint external policy which alone will enable the Twelve to play an authoritative role on the international scene. Instruments which measure up to that objective will have therefore to be defined, through changes to the decision-making procedure, in the procedures for implementation and in the allocation of responsibilities. That will mean extending such competence to cover issues related to our security, as artificial and illogical limits in such an important area of our external action are becoming less and less acceptable. Second, the system of the Treaties has to be extended to include subjects not covered or inadequately covered by them, even though intrinsically bound up in the main thrust of economic integration. Four areas seem to me to take priority here: the social dimension, immigration, the environment and the strengthening of rights and fundamental freedoms in order to construct a genuine citizen's Europe. But we shall not be neglecting health, culture, civil defence, the fight against drugs, terrorism or organized crime.

Social Europe will be an essential factor for equilibrium, for it is not possible to think in terms of creating a competitive area, nor did the best market theoreticians dream of so doing, and, what is more, in a supranational context, without establishing a safety net able to guarantee for that process of expansion the greatest possible degree of consensus. We are opposed to a 'residual' view of social policy. The countries of Eastern Europe themselves, which are hoping to associate themselves with our economic and political model, consider social solidarity to be no less important a component of political rights and the freedom to take economic initiatives. We consider that the institutional reform must endorse the rule of majority voting in social matters.

Third, we have the guarantee of harmonious democratic development through the new institutional system, making use above all of the role and functions of the European Parliament, the natural guarantor of democratic legitimacy. We are convinced that the European Parliament is going to be accorded both a power of co-decision in the legislative process and the power to ratify external agreements of the Community and amendments to the Treaties as well as the power to supervise the appointment and actions of the Commission. The role of the European Parliament must include, in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity, greater participation by the national parliaments in the common structure.

Likewise, there will have to be a closer definition of the role of the European Council. On several occasions in the recent past, it is the Council itself that has provided the decisive impetus to overcome the major obstacles on the way to integration. It has frequently appeared to be the best forum for ensuring coherence of Community action and must remain such, but without taking the place of other institutions.

In fulfilling its own role, the Community is not abolishing States and homelands; it is a State which respects the rights of its citizens and does not smother but rather stimulates the energy of the individual elements, including territorial elements of which it is made up. Subsidiarity is not only a matter for the States and the supranational institutions; it is being extended to the regions, so that the integration of the Community will safeguard differences and identities, which, in Europe, stretch far into the past, frequently predating the constitution of the national States.

Fourth comes increased efficiency of Community action, with a view to increased competences as well as new accessions. This poses the problem of introducing majority voting into the Council as the general rule; of strengthening the executive powers of the Commission and other institutions such as the Court of Justice and the Court of Auditors; of reviewing accounting procedures and the system of own resources.

In preparing for the conferences, as much consideration as possible will be given to the views of this House, not forgetting the principles underlying the draft Treaty of 14 February 1984 and taking into account the Colombo and Giscard d'Estaing reports as well as the Martin report, the latter in respect of the institutional aspects of economic and monetary union also.

Specifically in order to associate the European Parliament with this major development in the construction of the Community, we are stating our readiness to support the holding in

September and October or, at any rate, in the autumn, of two interinstitutional meetings, each of them devoted to one of the two intergovernmental conferences opening in December. In November, the Italian Parliament will host the European assizes which will provide an opportunity for discussing ways of involving the national parliaments in the activities of the Community, taking into account also the information to be provided by the Duverger report.

The Community is involved in German unification on a timescale and at a pace not conceived of even in the immediate run-up to the extraordinary summit in Dublin last April. The Community countries are investing this process with their democratic spirit, the East Germans their sufferings, their recovered European identity, the spirit of the non-violent revolution of 1989, which breached the wall and tore down the curtain. As of 1 July, the mark has begun to erase the boundaries between the two Germanys, the economy dominates, carrying everything along with it, making policy also adjust to its rhythm, allowing no respite, in a society undergoing changes which will not be painless. The coming months will be vital in terms of bringing the German question into the Community context so that it is resolved in a climate of increased international stability.

The Presidency, together with the Commission, will continue to work with the two German States involved in negotiation of the second State treaty. That should be concluded within such time as to allow, by November, the establishment of transitional arrangements under which, from early next year, they will already be the eastern *Länder* of unified Germany. With that in mind, I have suggested, that, at the appropriate time, and therefore on Monday next, the Foreign Minister of the German Democratic Republic should be present at the General Affairs Council. We are certain that the European Parliament too will give its view on German unification with the speed dictated by events. The decisions which you took yesterday have confirmed me in this. For our part, we are prepared to establish in this case also procedures for an interinstitutional process between the Council, Parliament and the Commission, so that the necessary and appropriate decisions can be taken in good time.

The Community presents itself not as a closed institution but as a driving mechanism for greater European cohesion, a point of reference for neighbouring regions. The system of relations between it and its nearer neighbours will be given institutional form in line with the differing requirements and situations.

In that context, the conclusion of the EEC-EFTA agreement is one of the Presidency's priorities. Although aware of the difficulties which continue to prevent us establishing such an instrument, we must ensure that it can be approved, or be near conclusion, by the end of the year, in such a way as to achieve the second layer in the structure of the continent. It will have to be an innovative agreement in which the provisions on the creation of a European Economic Area will need to be backed up by procedural rules guaranteeing the effective involvement of those countries in the process of administering that large common economic area, while respecting the autonomy of the Community decision-making machinery. I believe that both sides will need to demonstrate goodwill, flexibility and pragmatism, without losing sight of the link between those agreements and developments on the continent as a whole and thus the need to act promptly.

The soundness of the Community economy will enable us to place on new bases our relations with Central and Eastern Europe, which is undergoing decisive economic, legal, social and institutional change. Those countries are in need of vast resources. It is not just a matter of providing aid but of setting in motion cooperation between two areas that have been artificially separated for decades. At the heart of the matter lies the relationship between strengthening the democratic institutions and establishing a market economy system. Conditionality and merit ratings should accompany the support of the international organisms, beginning with the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, but taking as a basis the idea of shouldering part of the risk inherent in the reform process. That will encourage a flow of investment and enterprise capital which will gradually facilitate the creation of wealth and development.

In this connection, the Commission is ready to negotiate with the countries of Eastern Europe 'second generation' agreements, geared towards close association in economic, scientific and environmental matters and including also a far-reaching and continuing political dialogue. What specific form this takes will depend on the particular characteristics and wishes of each of those countries. The third layer in the new European structure will thus be put in place. The Presidency intends doing its best to see that direct negotiations begin in the coming months, with some of those countries at least, assuming that all the agreements will be in operation by 1991. We must avoid giving the impression that the German question, which is closer to us, or the Soviet question, geographically more distant but with global effects, are leading us to neglect the other countries of Eastern Europe, that historic region in which men and tongues, peoples and cultures have for centuries lived together in the richest of harmonies.

In line with the statements of the June European summit in Dublin, we shall have in the coming months to resolve the difficult problem of economic cooperation with the Soviet Union. A Soviet Union besieged by epoch-making change. A society within which the old does not wish to fade away while new forces are, with difficulty, opening up a way to the future, to a State in the first stages of parliamentary-based democracy.

We must proceed in such a way that the Soviet Union too feels fully involved in the redefinition of the new systems. European history in this century shows us how dreadful can be the consequences of isolation, enmity and the spirit of revenge. It is important not to shrink from supporting in the Soviet Union the transition to a market economy of an economic system covering 10 meridians, even though we shall have to discuss in very great detail the procedures and criteria for such participation. As decided at Dublin, the Commission ought to be in a position to present a report to the October General Affairs Council so that the next European Council is able to take a decision. That approach is further supported by the recent outcome of the Houston Summit.

In that complex but increasingly interdependent structure made up of Helsinki Europe, the relationship between the Community and the United States and Canada will, even more so in the future, be a fundamental factor for general stability. And that, as decided at Dublin, will have to be formalized in a transatlantic declaration to be drafted and approved as soon as possible. We are further proposing, again in line with the Dublin recommendations, to continue the practice, begun by our predecessors in the Irish Presidency, of periodic meetings on both sides of the Atlantic. President Andreotti, accompanied by myself, will be going to the United States, before the Paris CSCE Summit, to round off Western consultations specifically with a view to what will probably be the most significant political event of 1990.

Relations with the United States bring us back to another deadline set for the end of this year, the conclusion of the Uruguay Round. The main problem here remains that of setting under way a process of agricultural policy reform, the scope of which remains subject to differing views on the two sides of the Atlantic. In my view, the Houston Summit was a major success in terms of concluding the negotiations by the date set. The conclusions of the summit should provide our negotiators with the political impetus needed to achieve a balanced package of reciprocal concession in all the sectors under discussion. It has been acknowledged that there is a need to initiate a process of reform of agricultural policies in the sense of making them more open to market forces, but account has also been taken of differing social and production factors in the rural sector in our countries and of the need of each of us to preserve its own agriculture. Finally, the need, strongly supported by us, to bring to an end unilateral practices and to strengthen the multilateral trade system, including at institutional level, has been accepted.

At the fundamental international political meetings during these six months, the Presidency will endeavour to speak with a single Community voice: we do not have time to await the institutional reforms for that. In establishing the new European structure, the Community will best be able to project itself and, above all, fulfil its role, only if supported by the same view of Europe on the part of all its members.

I am thinking principally here of the CSCE Paris Summit, which will have to lay the foundations for a new system for Europe in terms of security, democracy and the economy. The preparatory work will culminate in the New York meeting of the Foreign Ministers, on the occasion of the United Nations General Assembly, during the last week of September. We shall need to have evolved by that time a well-consolidated common position, bringing in both the Commission and the European Parliament and bearing in mind that the Paris Summit will produce the initial future institutional forms of the pan-European system. I consider that the Community should be present in that institutional system with a profile of its own. The CSCE will provide the framework for the new system within which to reorganize the balances on the old continent, but integration in the individual sectors will have to make use of the existing Western institutions: the Atlantic Alliance for security, the Council of Europe for the protection of human rights, the European Community for the economic, political and social dimension.

Determined to achieve a new structure for Europe, Community Europe cannot ignore crises or tensions in other regions of the world. To do so would be to demonstrate not only egotism but also a lack of farsightedness. It will, on the contrary, have to have recourse to its own increasing wealth in support of its major external political and economic responsibilities. It will be able to do this only with the most extensive instruments of cooperation with a view to the medium term, which also covers the creation of the single market and the integration of the economies of East and West. To that end, we shall be asking for consideration of the appropriateness of earmarking for development aid, as of 1993, 1.1% of the Community product. In the same way that, in February 1988, the Community decided, by amendments to its own budget, to show solidarity with the less favoured regions within the Community, it will, as of 1993, have to act in the same spirit towards the areas of the world which are most seriously disadvantaged.

I wish specifically to mention two of these: the Mediterranean and Latin America. Without ignoring the serious problems of the rest of Africa, it is in the Mediterranean that the most serious risks are gathering; the most dangerous of the regional conflicts, namely the Arab-Israeli conflict; the emergence of radical Islam; the demographic explosion which is bound to result in the overflow, on to European shores, of its surplus manpower. From the Mediterranean Sea to Europe, strong in its newly-acquired prestige, I call upon it to act to prevent discouragement and disappointment taking hold.

In Europe, 1989 and 1990 have brought down barriers, dogma, prejudice. In the Middle East, they have added to division and doubt. We continue, however, to take the view that, in the Arab-Israeli conflict, there cannot be solutions which do not include recognition of the right of the Palestinians to self-determination and of the State of Israel to live within secure and recognized frontiers.

Faced with the continuing deterioration in the intolerable situation in the Occupied Territories, we must begin by rejecting all violence, from whichever side, and all forms of repression. We would ask our Palestinian friends not to move away from the realistic and moderate approach taken since the Council of Algiers. To the people of Israel, with whom we are linked by friendship, and to its Government, we say quite clearly that the European Community is not able to comprehend a policy of repression and violence in place of dialogue and conciliation. We wish also to point out to them that, as recent events in Europe show, once established, dialogue can result in new feelings and certainties different from those to which we entrusted until recently our security.

The Community will continue to work for improved conditions for the Palestinian people and for respect of their fundamental rights. The Presidency intends meeting with Israeli Foreign Minister Levy, as well as representatives of the Arab League, led by the PLO official responsible for foreign affairs, Kaddumi. Our aim is to urge the parties concerned to seek at least the beginnings of a political solution.

It is in the Mediterranean perhaps more than anywhere else that the usefulness of forms of regional cooperation is clear, because direct dialogue between the parties is more difficult. Here too, the Presidency is proposing, in respect of the countries on the opposite shores of the

Mediterranean, integrating the existing bilateral agreements with new agreements with the regional organizations, in particular the Arab Cooperation Council and the Arab-Maghreb Union.

Our response to the prevailing, albeit precarious, democracy in Latin America should take the form of effective solidarity with a part of the world which, because of the many links uniting us with it, has sometimes been called 'a Europe in exile'. The time has come for a qualitative improvement in our relations with that continent, institutionally speaking also. The Italian Presidency is proposing to increase here also the contribution of the regional institutions and would like to involve the largest such institution existing in Latin America, namely ALADI.

Progress in South Africa encourages us to think that the will exists to set in motion the process for the creation of a democratic State in which everyone enjoys universally recognized rights. The Dublin European Council took note of the changes under way and undertook to review the policy of the Twelve, if and when, as I hope, such changes are confirmed. We shall pay attention to the negotiations under way so that we are able to adjust our actions in such a way as to render the process irreversible.

In Asia, it will be essential to strengthen our partnership and dialogue with Japan, which does not wish to remain isolated and on the margins of the process of restructuring our continent. With regard to Japan also, we shall have to begin to think of forms of consultation which take account of both its and our own role, both bound to grow, in world politics and the world economy. Japan's contribution will be thus fundamental in establishing the material bases for the reconstruction of Eastern Europe.

Notwithstanding the caution dictated by circumstances, we consider it important to restore dialogue with China, to encourage it to resume respect for the irrevocable standards of protection of human rights, internal reform and openness towards the outside world. The Troika Foreign Ministers are supposed to be meeting, at the end of September, with the Chinese Foreign Minister. Depending on the outcome of that meeting, we shall consider which initiatives to take on board with a view to the gradual normalization of our relations.

Mr President, the world stage has undergone rapid and profound change: the prospect is unfolding of an international order based on law and cooperation. Its translation into reality concerns and has as its central theme man and civilized society. We are thus witnessing a single set of negotiations at different levels in different forums, in which everything is linked, from economy to security, as it has become conceptually and politically impossible to divide subject-areas in line with their traditional classification.

The Italian Presidency is commencing after the Dublin, London and Houston Summits, which all provided opportunities to reaffirm cohesion between the European countries of the Community and confirmed the will to cooperate together in administering an unprecedented process of change. The European Economic Community is a participant in these events, is cooperating in determining the way in which they develop and is able to provide a point of reference. To that end, it is accelerating and must accelerate the construction of its own economic, political and monetary union; it is supporting and must support German unification; it is establishing and must establish new relations with the countries of Eastern Europe as well as those outside our continent.

We know that to achieve all of this, we have also to have the contribution of this House: the Presidency intends making the greatest possible use of that contribution.

[After the ensuing debate, Mr De Michelis stated, moreover:]

Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I shall say just a few words. I wish first of all to thank the European Parliament for this discussion which has been extremely useful to the Presidency: the contributions made by the honourable Members have provided me with a range of information which will be extremely useful in better defining the action of the Presidency during the coming months.

I wish to say just a few words in reply to some of the comments made and some of the requests put to me. I shall start by saying that if some subjects were, objectively speaking, dealt with very briefly by me for reasons of time, it does not mean that we are not paying sufficient attention to them. I am thinking here above all of the drugs issue that was raised, the question of the free movement of persons which I dealt with in terms only of immigration into the Community, although there are other, extremely important factors to be taken into consideration which have not escaped the notice of the Commission and which we shall therefore be tackling, I hope adequately, in the coming months; I am thinking for instance, of these issues: the regional cohesiveness of the Community and the action that the Commission and the Council must take to prevent excessive vertical integration which may not then allow us to guarantee that our Community remains sufficiently cohesive, including territorially and geographically.

I have also noted that many Members have stressed the importance of effective action during the coming six months on social affairs. I share the view, expressed by many, that what is needed here is action and not words and that we have therefore, during these six months, to move on to apply the programme of action submitted by the Commission as far back as the Strasbourg Summit. The Presidency will work towards that: we shall in fact be discussing it at the General Affairs Council in Brussels on Monday next. There are obviously political difficulties and I should say also technical and legal procedures to be safeguarded so that at least the priority programme submitted by the Commission is legally valid by the end of the year, that is to say has the formal approval of the Council. The Presidency will work towards that, maintaining close contact with the Commission and the Parliament so as to establish adequate formulas able to offset the well-known political difficulties in that area.

In response to Mr Patterson and others, I wish also to say that the Presidency, clearly like the Commission — as reaffirmed by Mr Delors — is opposed to the idea of a two-speed Europe. We must absolutely ensure that the process of vertical integration and strengthening of the Community is not achieved at the expense of dividing that same Community: that is a real danger, which will most definitely have to be avoided because, were it to become a reality, we should indeed be on the wrong path. At that point the damage would outweigh the advantages.

As regards the main subject under discussion, namely political union and therefore preparation of the conference on it, I do not wish to say too much: we shall have an opportunity to discuss it again with Parliament in the proper forum, and my task is made easier here in that I fully endorse what has been said on this matter by the President of the Commission, who therefore anticipated to a certain extent what I should have said, had I entered into the substance of the comments made. Let us take note of the suggestions made to us by Mr Colombo and other honourable Members with a view to the difficult task before us: our objective is — I shall put it briefly — to arrive at the conference placing before the negotiators, namely those empowered to take the decisions on behalf of the 12 States, the clearest and best-defined basis possible, not only with a view to the decisions which may actually be taken at the conference during the coming year but also with a view to the future, namely the path that will have to be taken by the process which will finally result in European Union. For that purpose we shall endeavour genuinely to remain in close contact with the European Parliament and to make full use of the work that has been and is being done, aware that this is central to the historic response that the Community must give not only to the problems of its own countries but, more generally, to the problems of Europe and the world.

90/288. Statement concerning Angola and Mozambique

Date of Issue: 13 July 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The Twelve reaffirm their conviction that a solution of the conflicts in Angola and Mozambique is possible through dialogue and note, in this respect, some encouraging developments.

In Angola, they welcome the commitment to a pluralistic political system, contained in the communiqué of the MPLA Central Committee, published on 4 July. This commitment will certainly enhance the prospects for a genuine dialogue and for internal reconciliation in Angola.

They have also noted with interest the contacts which are taking place under Portuguese auspices between the Government of Angola and UNITA.

On Mozambique, they welcome the positive outcome of the first official meeting between a delegation of the Government of Mozambique and one of RENAMO which took place in Rome from 8 to 10 July. They feel encouraged by the decision of the parties to reconvene in Rome at an early date.

In the light of such positive steps, the Twelve urge all parties concerned in each of the two countries to work to establish a cease-fire as an indispensable preliminary for the negotiation of a lasting political settlement.

The Community and its Member States reaffirm their commitment to support this process by aiding the reconstruction and development of both these countries.

90/289. Statement concerning the situation in Somalia

Date of Issue: 13 July 1990
 Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome
 Country of Presidency: Italy
 Source of Document: The Twelve
 Status of Document: Declaration

The Community and its Member States have followed with the greatest concern recent events in Somalia, in particular the repression in Mogadishu which caused dozens of casualties, the murder of Community citizens and the arrest of political opponents who expressed themselves publicly on the fate of democracy and the future of their country.

The Community and its Member States must conclude that yet again the expectations of governments and of international public opinion are set at naught by repressive measures, violating fundamental human rights. They consider that these measures are all the more grave in that they follow a declaration by the Somali Government that it was ready to launch a process of democratization and openness with a view to establishing a genuine dialogue with all political forces in Somalia.

The Community and its Member States urge the Somali Government to free political prisoners and to resume a process of genuine national reconciliation.

90/290. Statement concerning Liberia

Date of Issue: 25 July 1990
 Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome
 Country of Presidency: Italy
 Source of Document: The Twelve
 Status of Document: Declaration

The Community and its Member States follow with deep concern the course of events in Liberia. They deplore in particular the loss of life among the civilian population and the wholesale destruction caused by civil war and support the efforts of all those who are working to restore peace in the country. The Community and its Member States launch an urgent appeal for an end to the sufferings of the Liberian people and to havoc and war in the country.

90/291. Statement at the occasion of the investiture of the President-elect of Peru on 28 July 1990

Date of Issue: 27 July 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

On the occasion of his investiture in Peru's highest office, the Community and its Member States convey to the President-elect, Mr Alberto Fujimori, their congratulations on his election and their good wishes for his success in the high task which now is his.

They express the hope that having demonstrated once again during the recent general election, despite the difficulties with which it is faced, its attachment to democracy, Peru, that great and friendly Latin American nation, strong in age-old traditions but resolutely turned towards the future, will rediscover the path of peace and development, in full respect of the fundamental rights of the human person.

At a time when all of Latin America is rediscovering the full exercise of freedom, the Community and its Member States address to the Government of Peru, bearer of the aspirations of its people, a message of solidarity.

90/292. Statement concerning Ethiopia

Date of Issue: 2 August 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The Community and its Member States regret that a ship carrying a UN World Food Programme technical team to survey Massawa port has been refused permission to dock.

These sentiments have been communicated to the representative of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front in Washington with a strong call to cooperate in the utilization of the port of Massawa for the supply of aid to the people of northern Ethiopia.

The Community and its Member States hope that all the parties concerned in this humanitarian effort will agree on an operational plan for the distribution of food relief through Massawa.

90/293. Statement concerning the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq

Date of Issue: 2 August 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The Community and its Member States have followed with apprehension during the last weeks the increase in tension in the dispute between Iraq and some Arab countries. They have welcomed the diplomatic efforts that Arab countries and the Arab League itself were deploying and refrained from any stance and initiative in order to preserve such initiatives from any interference.

Following the breakdown of talks held in Jeddah under Arab auspices, the Community and its Member States are now gravely concerned at the latest developments in the dispute and in particular at the military aggression carried out by Iraq against Kuwait, not only a hostile action to a neighbouring country, but also a dangerous threat to peace and stability in the region.

The Community and its Member States strongly condemn the use of force by a member State of the United Nations against the territorial integrity of another State; this constitutes a breach of the UN Charter and an unacceptable means to solve international difference. They therefore fully support the resolution adopted today by the Security Council.

The Community and its Member States call upon all governments to condemn this unjustified use of force and to work for an early re-establishment of the conditions for the immediate resumption of peaceful negotiations. In this light they ask for an immediate withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait territory.

The Community and its Member States maintain the matter under review and are ready to take into consideration further initiatives.

90/294. Statement concerning Liberia

Date of Issue: 2 August 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The Community and its Member States are deeply concerned by the grave deterioration of the situation in Liberia, and in particular by the flagrant violations of the respect for human life. They condemn the actions against the innocent population and reiterate their appeal to the parties concerned in favour of a cease-fire.

In particular, the Community and its Member States call upon the parties in the conflict, in conformity with international law and the most basic humanitarian principles, to safeguard from violence the embassies and places of refuge such as churches, hospitals, etc., where defenceless civilians have sought shelter.

The Community and its Member States urge once more the parties concerned to put an end to this bloody conflict through peaceful means.

90/295. Statement concerning Nigeria

Date of Issue: 2 August 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The European Community and its Member States have no sympathy with the recent coup attempt in Nigeria, especially in the light of the bloodshed it caused. Nevertheless, they regret that the trials of those accused of involvement have led to executions on the scale announced by the Nigerian authorities on 27 July. The Community and its Member States hope that more clemency will be shown in the case of those who are now to be retried, and that there will be no further bloodshed as a result of the incident on 22 April.

90/296. Statement concerning Burma

Date of Issue: 3 August 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The Community and its Member States have already expressed their satisfaction that the Burmese people have been able to express their desire by means of free elections for a democratic system to be established in their country.

They welcome the fact that the Burmese Government has carried out its promise to hold these elections. They therefore assume that the Burmese Government will take note of the results and effect the transfer of power to a civilian government thereby implied without unreasonable delay.

They have noted the proposals adopted by an overwhelming majority of the elected candidates in the recent Gandhi Hall Declaration for a pragmatic move towards the convening of the National Assembly. This would constitute an essential first step in the transition to a democratic system. It gives added importance to bringing about the prompt release from detention of the leaders of the democratic parties and other political detainees.

90/297. Statement concerning the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq

Date of Issue: 4 August 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The Community and its Member States reiterate their unreserved condemnation of the brutal Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and their demand for an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi forces from the territory of Kuwait, already expressed in their statement of 2 August.

They consider groundless and unacceptable the reasons provided by the Iraqi Government to justify the military aggression against Kuwait, and they will refrain from any act which may be considered as implicit recognition of authorities imposed in Kuwait by the invaders.

In order to safeguard the interests of the legitimate Government of Kuwait they have decided to take steps to protect all assets belonging directly or indirectly to the State of Kuwait.

The Community and its Member States confirm their full support for UN Security Council Resolution 660 and call on Iraq to comply with the provisions of that resolution. If the Iraqi authorities fail so to comply, the Community and its Member States will work for, support and implement a Security Council resolution to introduce mandatory and comprehensive sanctions.

As of now, they have decided to adopt the following:

- (i) an embargo on oil imports from Iraq and Kuwait;
- (ii) appropriate measures aimed at freezing Iraqi assets in the territory of Member States;
- (iii) an embargo on sales of arms and other military equipment to Iraq;
- (iv) the suspension of any cooperation in the military sphere with Iraq;
- (v) the suspension of technical and scientific cooperation with Iraq;
- (vi) the suspension of the application to Iraq of the System of Generalized Preferences.

The Community and its Member States reiterate their firm conviction that disputes between States should be settled by peaceful means, and are prepared to participate in any effort to defuse the tension in the area.

They are in close contact with the governments of several Arab countries and follow with utmost attention the discussion within the Arab League and the Gulf Cooperation Council. They hope that Arab initiatives will contribute to the restoration of international legality and of the legitimate Government of Kuwait. The Community and its Member States are ready to lend their full support to such initiatives and to efforts to resolve by negotiations the differences between the States concerned.

The Community and its Member States are carefully monitoring the situation of EC nationals in Iraq and in Kuwait; they maintain strict coordination in order to guarantee their safety.

90/298. Question No 102/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the disappearance of Guillermo Ramírez, a trade unionist in Colombia

Date of Issue: 8 August 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 8 February 1990

Can the foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation make representations to the Government of Colombia concerning the case of Guillermo Ramírez, primary school teacher, trade unionist and political activist, who appears to have been arrested at the headquarters of the Teachers' Union of Santander (SES) by a patrol of uniformed soldiers belonging to the Fifth Brigade of the army, based in Bucaramanga, calling for his immediate unconditional release unless he is charged with a recognized criminal offence and brought before a competent court?

Answer:

The specific case raised by the honourable Member has not been discussed in European political cooperation. However, the Twelve's position on human rights is well known to the Colombian authorities. Most recently, at the meeting between the Twelve and the Rio Group in Dublin on 10 April 1990, the Twelve stressed the necessity for all countries in the region to respect human rights and the rule of law.

90/299. Question No 103/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning disappearances in Peru

Date of Issue: 8 August 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 8 February 1990

Can the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation make representations to the Government of Peru on behalf of the citizens from Atcas, Jorge Parraga Castillo, Guzmán Estrada, Inicias Estrada Pascual, Alinio Torrealba, Herbert Santos, Andrés Estrada and Rafael Castillo Mendoza, who were arrested on 24 October 1989 by a group of uniformed soldiers in a mopping-up operation, calling for their legal situation to be clarified and for them to be given humanitarian treatment and allowed access to their relatives and lawyers while they are in prison?

Answer:

The specific issue raised by the honourable Member has not been discussed within European political cooperation. There can be no doubt, however, that the Peruvian authorities are well aware of the Twelve's position on human rights and on the fundamental freedoms of the individual, especially as Peru participated in the meeting between the Twelve and the Rio Group in Dublin on 10 April 1990, which provided Foreign Ministers with the opportunity of expressing concern about the human rights situation in Latin America.

90/300. Question No 107/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the safety of Juan Ajanel Pixcar in Guatemala

Date of Issue: 8 August 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 8 February 1990

In view of the climate of permanent insecurity affecting thousands of people in Guatemala, especially human rights activists, can the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation investigate, by the appropriate means, the safety of the symbolic figure Juan Ajanel Pixcar, a member of the Mutual Support Group for the Reappearance of our Relatives Alive (GAM), from Pachoj in the department of El Quiché, who has been subjected to harassment and threats after ordering the exhumation from a clandestine graveyard of the bodies of three of his relatives, who had lost their lives in the area at the hands of the local civil patrol in the early 1980s?

Answer:

The specific case raised by the honourable Member has not been discussed in European political cooperation. However, the Twelve have made their concern known to all the countries of Central America on the increasing levels of violence in the area and in particular on the need to respect human rights. The Guatemalan authorities are fully aware of the importance the Twelve attach to these principles.

90/301. Question No 639/90 by Mr Kostopoulos (S-GR) concerning justice and equal treatment for the Republic of Cyprus

Date of Issue: 8 August 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 20 March 1990

The European institutions and, in particular, the European Parliament have expressed their moral support in various ways for the peoples of Eastern, Central and Southern Europe who have risen up to overthrow despotic regimes imposed on them by force. They have given their active support to promote the success of the people's struggle for freedom, democracy and self-determination. They are making a practical contribution to restoring their battered economies through providing special loans and various other benefits. They have welcomed the demolition of the Berlin Wall, that symbol of a divided city and a divided people.

However, while these laudable actions on the part of the main European institutions mark the end of a long period of violation of individual, social, political and sovereign rights of so many nations, in the Republic of Cyprus arbitrariness and violence continue to hold sway, flying in the face of the European and international communities' sense of justice.

Given that all nations have an equal right to self-determination, does the Council not agree that it is time to take up the case of Cyprus? Has the time not come to make firmer demands — instead of more requests — for an end to the outrages perpetrated by the Turks over the past 16 years? Have matters not reached the point where the European Community can raise its voice and put forward its own proposal for the immediate withdrawal of Turkish troops who are holding 40% of the territory of an independent country under armed occupation and sabotaging intercommunal talks in Cyprus?

Answer:

The Twelve remain committed to a settlement of the Cyprus question, in accordance with the principles they have repeatedly enunciated most recently at the special European Council in Dublin on 28 April 1990, where the question of Cyprus, in particular the impasse in the latest round of intercommunal talks, was discussed at the highest level.

On that occasion, the Twelve expressed their deep concern at the present situation while at the same time reaffirming their previous declarations and their support for the unity, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions. They also stressed the need for a prompt resumption of the intercommunal talks on the basis of the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, as was recently reaffirmed by Resolution 649/90 of the Security Council.

**90/302. Question No 850/90 by Mr Robles Piquer (ED-E)
concerning the interest of the European Community in Latin
America**

Date of Issue: 8 August 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 4 April 1990

In recent statements the Spanish Foreign Minister indicated his concern that, as a result of the political changes which have occurred in Eastern Europe, European Community aid for Latin America might be affected by that intended for the European countries involved and stressed that our Community should not abandon its foreign policy because serious problems of all kinds had occurred in neighbouring European countries.

Such statements have given rise to evident concern in both Spain and Latin America, which are afraid that the Community may in fact, for that reason, distance itself further from Latin America.

Do Ministers believe that the concern of their Spanish colleague is justified and do they consider that it is necessary — and that this would be a good opportunity — to devise a Community policy on Latin America which is not at the mercy of fluctuations caused by changes in circumstances, whether in Eastern Europe or in any other region of the world?

Answer:

The Community and its Member States have repeatedly stressed, in particular at the last meeting of the San José dialogue on 9 and 10 April, that the intensification of our relations with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe will in no way lessen our commitment to the countries of Latin America.

Tangible evidence of this commitment was provided by the signature of the agreement on the Central American payments system, in the margins of the San José meeting, which should result in EC financial support of ECU 120 million over 30 months to aid the economic and commercial development of the region. Other ambitious programmes are under way concerning both the countries of Central America and those of the Andean Pact. In addition, the Commission adopted on 14 May a communication to the Council regarding the deepening of cooperation with the developing countries of Latin America and Asia, including assistance to the poorest countries and economic cooperation. Such assistance would be granted in the framework of a substantially increased budgetary allocation. This proposal, which was initially discussed at the Development Council on 29 May 1990, reflects the importance the Community and its Member States attach to their relations with the countries of Latin America.

90/303. Question No 950/90 by Mr Köhler (S-D) on the restructuring in arms supplies and garrisons

Date of Issue: 8 August 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 17 April 1990

The Vienna negotiations on the reduction of conventional forces will soon be leading to structural changes in the arms industry and its suppliers. The expected troop reductions will lead to a steady loss of civilian jobs and a fall in demand at military garrisons.

This will also affect the weaker regions of the Community.

Are the Ministers responsible in the Member States prepared and able to pass on to the Commission of the European Communities information from the Vienna negotiations on conventional forces, to enable it to take regional policy measures?

Answer:

This question is not dealt with in the European political cooperation framework. However, the Twelve welcome the progress attained in this negotiation and look forward to its early and successful conclusion.

90/304. Question No 1134/90 by Ms Ewing (ARC-UK) concerning the growth of anti-Semitism in the USSR

Date of Issue: 8 August 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 14 May 1990

Do the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation have information on a rise in the number of attacks on Jewish people in the Soviet Union, particularly in the Azeri city of Baku where Muslim revivalism and the pogrom against Armenians have forced Jews to flee? Will they take the earliest opportunity to express their concern about this situation to the Soviet authorities?

Answer:

On many occasions, the Twelve have welcomed the positive developments in the Soviet Union concerning the exercise of human rights. However, they remain vigilant and avail themselves of suitable opportunities to draw to the attention of the Soviet authorities situations that give rise to concern. The incidents of anti-Semitism to which the honourable Member refers do not appear to have been endorsed by the Soviet authorities.

90/305. Statement concerning Mozambique

Date of Issue: 9 August 1990

Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: The Twelve

Status of Document: Declaration

The Community and its Member States welcome the statement made by President Chissano on 31 July on the introduction of a multi-party system in Mozambique.

The Community and its Member States hope that this announcement will give a favourable impetus to the political and economic development of the country and will contribute to national reconciliation at a time when contacts between the Government of Mozambique and RENAMO are about to resume in Rome.

90/306. Statement concerning South Africa

Date of Issue: 9 August 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The Community and its Member States have learnt with keen satisfaction of the outcome of the meetings just concluded in Pretoria between the South African Government and the African National Congress.

The results achieved represent a further significant step along the road to reconciliation in the country and to the establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa, to the founding of which all political forces should make a full contribution.

The Community and its Member States welcome in particular the suspension of the armed struggle proclaimed by the ANC as well as the decisions on the release of the political prisoners and on the amnesty of the exiles.

The Community and its Member States note the important developments that are taking place in South Africa and hope for a speedy start to negotiations on the new constitution.

90/307. Statement concerning the situation in the Gulf

Date of Issue: 10 August 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The invasion of Kuwait by Iraqi forces has already provoked an unreserved condemnation by the Community and its Member States, which have not only called for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi forces from the territory of Kuwait, but also clearly stated the unacceptability of the situation created by Iraqi military aggression against Kuwait.

Accordingly, they reject the announced annexation of Kuwait, which is contrary to international law and therefore null and void, as stated in UN Security Council Resolution 662. The same applies to the announced removal of diplomatic missions from Kuwait and to any attempt by the Iraqi authorities to exert powers of government within the territory of Kuwait.

They have noted with appreciation the wide international solidarity which developed following the aggression and led to effective action by the UN Security Council. They welcome the role played by the United Nations and they will strive to maintain and further enhance such international solidarity.

The Community and its Member States immediately after the Iraqi invasion adopted a set of measures against Iraq and subsequently have swiftly introduced legislation to implement UN Security Council Resolution 661, which they consider a fundamental instrument to restore international legality.

The Community and its Member States have already expressed their grave concern for the situation of foreigners in Iraq and Kuwait. No effort or initiative will be spared to ensure that EC citizens be allowed full and unconditional freedom of movement within and out of those countries. Precise requests to this end have already been addressed to the Iraqi authorities,

whom they hold fully accountable for the safety of their citizens. The Presidency will continue to ensure the appropriate coordination aimed at guaranteeing the safety of EC citizens in Iraq and Kuwait.

The Community and its Member States, having also in mind the vital European interests in the stability, territorial integrity and sovereignty of the States of the area, are ready to take further initiatives, in the framework of the United Nations Charter, that will prove necessary to contain the conflict. They note that certain Member States have already taken useful steps also to this end. They are strongly determined to engage in broad efforts to afford the necessary international solidarity with other States in the area threatened by the same aggressor in their efforts to comply with UN Security Council Resolution 661, and to force Iraq to restore Kuwait's sovereignty in compliance with UN Security Council Resolution 662.

They have decided to maintain close contact with Arab Governments and to offer their assistance to Arab efforts aimed at defusing tensions and restoring international legality, within the framework of UN Security Council Resolutions 660, 661 and 662. They hope that the Summit of Arab Heads of State and Government convened today in Cairo may take concrete measures to this end. The Presidency will discuss with the Arab side the possibility of cooperation aimed at achieving this common purpose.

90/308. Statement concerning South Africa

Date of Issue: 20 August 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The Community and its Member States are following with great concern the increase in violence in South Africa. At a time when the bases have finally been laid for the start to negotiations on the new constitution, the violence not only has claimed a large number of victims but inevitably hinders the efforts of all those working towards the creation of a non-racial democracy in South Africa.

The Community and its Member States, which have always condemned all recourse to violence, call for an end to this pointless bloodbath. They expect the South African authorities to do their utmost to stop the violence in an impartial manner and urge the parties concerned to set about solving their differences by means of dialogue in a joint endeavour to achieve national reconciliation.

90/309. Statement concerning the situation of foreign nationals in Iraq and Kuwait

Date of Issue: 21 August 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome, Paris
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The Community and its Member States, deeply concerned at the situation of foreigners in Iraq and Kuwait, renew their condemnation of the Iraqi decision to detain them against their will as contrary to international law and fully support Security Council Resolution 664 which requires Iraq to permit and facilitate their immediate departure from Iraq and Kuwait. They denounce the fact that the Iraqi Government up to now has reacted negatively to many representations of the Community and its Member States.

As members of the international community, which is founded not only on law but also on clear ethical standards, the European Community and its Member States express their indignation at Iraq's publicized intention to group such foreigners in the vicinity of military bases and objectives, a measure they consider particularly heinous as well as taken in contempt of the law and of basic humanitarian principles. In this context the fact that some foreigners have been prevented from contacting their consular or diplomatic missions or have been forcibly moved to unknown destinations is a source of further deep concern and indignation. In this connection, they attach the greatest importance to the mission of two envoys of the Secretary-General of the United Nations which is now taking place. They warn the Iraqi Government that any attempt to harm or jeopardize the safety of any EC citizen will be considered as a most grave offence directed against the Community and all its Member States and will provoke a united response from the entire Community. They also warn Iraqi citizens that they will be held personally responsible in accordance with international law for their involvement in illegal actions concerning the security and life of foreign citizens.

They call on all those who may still influence the decisions of the Iraqi Government to have these measures revoked and support the actions of the Security Council and the Secretary-General of the United Nations to this purpose. They confirm their commitment to do all in their power to ensure the protection of the foreigners in Iraq and Kuwait and reiterate that they hold the Iraqi Government fully responsible for the safety of their nationals.

The Community and its Member States, in the light of their condemnation of the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait as well as of their refusal to recognize the annexation of that State to Iraq, firmly reject the unlawful Iraqi demand to close the diplomatic missions in Kuwait and reiterate their resolve to keep those missions open in view also of the task of protecting their nationals.

The Community and its Member States note with satisfaction that this position is shared by a great number of countries and is confirmed by Security Council Resolution 664, which requires the reversal of the illegal demand to close the diplomatic missions.

90/310. Statement concerning Lebanon

Date of Issue: 5 September 1990

Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: The Twelve

Status of Document: Declaration

The Community and its Member States welcome the ratification by the Lebanese Parliament on 21 August of the Ta'if Accord. They hope that this historic step will lead rapidly to implementation of all stages of the agreement. They reiterate their firm commitment to the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of a Lebanon free of foreign troops, and their belief that the Ta'if Accord provides the only mechanism for achieving this.

The Community and its Member States deplore the continuing violence in the South of Lebanon and the Beqaa valley. They also deeply regret that General Aoun has still not accepted the Ta'if framework and the authority of President Hrawi and his Government. They urge him to show flexibility and accept the accord now that it has been duly ratified.

At this critical time in the Middle East, the Community and its Member States wish to emphasize that the way forward in Lebanon must continue to be through negotiation and not the use of force by any side, causing further pointless bloodshed and destruction. The Community and its Member States appeal to all sides as Lebanese patriots to work towards a government which will achieve real national unity.

90/311. Statement concerning EC-Arab Relations

Date of Issue: 7 September 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

At a time when the brutal aggression and annexation by Iraq of another Arab country affects the entire international community, and in particular the States of the Near and Middle East, the European Community and its Member States reaffirm their determination to consolidate and reinforce the historic ties of friendship which bind them to the whole of the Arab world. They are ready to continue to contribute to the establishment in the region of a situation of peace, stability and cooperation, which is the only way to promote the economic and social well-being of all the people of the area.

To this end, they remain committed to the development of the Euro-Arab dialogue which was opportunely relaunched at the ministerial meeting last December in Paris. The Presidency will make in the coming days the appropriate contacts with the Arab side with a view to the early convening of a meeting at ministerial level.

The Community and its Member States believe that high priority must be given to a solution of the crisis created by the Iraqi aggression of Kuwait, with the full and unconditional implementation of the relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions. It is a further injustice to the Arab people that Iraq's aggression against Kuwait has delayed the search for progress towards a solution to other problems of the region, such as the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Palestinian problem and the situation in Lebanon. They reaffirm their long-standing commitment to a just, comprehensive and lasting solution to the problems of the region, in conformity with the relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions and the principles set out by the Community.

90/312. Statement concerning foreign citizens in Iraq and Kuwait

Date of Issue: 7 September 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The European Community and its Member States reaffirm their utter condemnation of the measures taken by the Iraqi authorities against foreign citizens in Iraq and Kuwait and against embassies in Kuwait. They insist on full respect of the right to freedom of movement of foreign citizens in those countries. They regard these measures as totally unacceptable and contrary to international law and will continue to react to them with complete solidarity.

The Community and its Member States deplore the fact that despite the efforts made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations through his emissaries and in person in the recent discussions in Amman, the Iraqi authorities have not complied with Resolution 664, in which the Security Council requires Iraq to permit and facilitate the immediate departure from Kuwait and Iraq of the nationals of third countries. They express the urgent wish that the Secretary-General of the United Nations could pursue his efforts and extend them to the situation of the diplomatic and consular representations in Kuwait by sending a mission in order to establish contact with them.

The Community and its Member States look for the early resumption of discussions between the Iraqi authorities and the ICRC and urge them to cooperate fully with the ICRC's efforts to establish forms of protection and assistance for foreign citizens held in Iraq and Kuwait.

They reiterate that the Iraqi authorities are obliged to allow all foreign citizens and not only women and children, held against their will, to leave. The Community and its Member States

remain determined to do what is necessary to ensure their protection. They hold the Iraqi authorities fully responsible, in accordance with international law — including their individual capacities — for the safety of foreign citizens.

90/313. Statement concerning the Gulf Crisis

Date of Issue: 7 September 1990

Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: The Twelve

Status of Document: Declaration

The Community and its Member States reaffirm their full support for the implementation in all aspects of the resolutions of the Security Council relating to the crisis in the Gulf and their determination to be active in ensuring that they are respected.

The Community and its Member States are convinced that a complete implementation of the embargo decided by the Security Council with regard to Iraq is the essential condition for bringing about a peaceful solution to the crisis. They are fully implementing the embargo and call on all members of the international community to do likewise.

The Community and its Member States are conscious of the grave burden which the present crisis imposes on the economy of many countries. They are therefore determined to contribute to the effort being made by such countries to address the situation and faithfully implement the embargo.

Countries most immediately affected by the implementation of the embargo, and notably Egypt, Jordan and Turkey, have applied for assistance to offset those short-term effects. The Community and its Member States have taken a decision on the principle of extending such short-term financial assistance to these three countries. This assistance will take place in the framework of concerted action with other industrialized countries as well as with the countries of the region. The General Affairs Council will take appropriate decisions at its forthcoming meeting on the basis of Commission proposals and the results of consultations with third countries.

In this situation, it is essential that international cooperation is intensified and that the international institutions (IMF, World Bank, GATT and other bodies like the Paris Club) play their full role. The newly created EBRD should also contribute to the solution of the difficulties for the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. It is of crucial importance that all efforts are made to prevent the affected economies turning in on themselves.

In addition to the humanitarian aid already provided, a major effort is necessary to assist in the repatriation of refugees from Iraq and Kuwait. The Community is ready to commit a substantial amount from its own budgetary resources for additional humanitarian aid. Member States will contribute to the joint effort, notably by providing transportation facilities.

The Community and its Member States reiterate their readiness to continue the political dialogue and to strive for an early opening and a rapid conclusion of the trade agreement negotiations with the GCC countries.

The Community will speed up work already under way concerning the intensification of the Community's Mediterranean policy.

The Community and its Member States are moreover resolved to contribute to the bringing into being of a policy of regional cooperation aimed at influencing, in a constructive way, the solution of structural problems which afflict the Mediterranean area and the Middle East under the aspects of stability and of economic and social well-being. The forthcoming Palma meeting in the context of CSCE will be an important occasion to contribute to the much-needed longer-term reflection on these problems.

90/314. Explanation of vote in the Plenary Session of the UN General Assembly (Agenda item 36)

Date of Issue: 11 September 1990
Place of Issue: New York
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: Italian Delegation to the United Nations
Status of Document: Statement in International Forum

Mr Traxler: Mr President, I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 12 Member States of the European Community.

The European Community and its Member States have rejoiced that Namibia has at last taken its place in the United Nations as a free, sovereign and independent State. We wish to take this opportunity to pay tribute once more to the central role played by the United Nations in assisting the peaceful transition of Namibia to independence. We wish also to acknowledge the work done by the United Nations Council for Namibia.

The Twelve are pleased to have been able to join in the consensus on the two draft resolutions just adopted by this Assembly. The Twelve take it that all measures and programmes aimed at implementing the resolutions just adopted will be carried out in consultation and with the agreement of the Government of Namibia. We wish to recall on this occasion that the position of Member States on the legal authority of the United Nations Council for Namibia is well known and has not changed.

As to the administrative and budgetary aspects, the Twelve have been willing to proceed on the basis of the recommendations of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions and they refer, in this context, to the position expressed in the Fifth Committee. However, they wish to recall that implementation of these resolutions like all others must be subject to the financial and staff regulations of the United Nations and to the United Nations Charter.

90/315. Statement concerning the situation in the Gulf

Date of Issue: 12 September 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Report to European Parliament

Mr Andreotti, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers and of the Council: Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I wish to begin by expressing my appreciation for the opportunity this extraordinary debate affords me of explaining to the European Parliament the position of the Presidency in relation to the Gulf crisis. Parliament has been kept informed of our action as it has developed, and the Presidency has already had a first opportunity of reporting in detail to your Political Affairs Committee, your Committee on External Economic Relations and the delegation on relations with the Gulf States, which met on 28 August last.

It is, however, within the August forum constituted by this Assembly, in a debate that we hope will be as free and full as possible, that we intend not only giving account of our views and actions but also, and most importantly, establishing together the necessary guidelines for the action to come. The crisis upon us in fact requires complete awareness and involvement, on the part not only of governments and political forces but of all citizens who must be enabled thoroughly and clearly to comprehend the reasons which impel us, so that they are then able to give their consent to decisions and, where necessary, the required sacrifices. The European Parliament is the direct expression of the citizens of the Community as a whole. When what is at stake are fundamental principles and vital interests shared by all of the Twelve, it is from this Assembly, therefore, that the most profound statements and influential encouragement must

come. That is, furthermore, the line taken in the resolution of the Italian Parliament which, in expressing its view on the Gulf crisis, was seeking to oblige the Government, as the current holder of the Presidency, to involve the Council directly and rapidly.

The annexation of Kuwait was a very grave act, a violation all the less acceptable to a Europe which has made the respect of frontiers, which may be altered using peaceful means only, the cornerstone of its own stability, on the basis of that Helsinki Final Act which we wish to see guide the conduct of others, in addition to its signatories. That violation of frontiers is of concern to everyone, bearing in mind how many Third World frontiers are the result of recent compromise. In this post-war period, during which there have none the less been numerous violations, from Kampuchea to Afghanistan, not a single State has been wiped off the map and annexed by its neighbour.

This has been an intolerable violation of sovereignty, compounded by the odious treatment of thousands of foreign citizens, held against their will and used, disregarding all considerations of humanity, to shield military and strategic installations. Equally intolerable is Iraq's conduct towards foreign embassies in Kuwait, flaunting the general principles of law as well as the rules of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, to which Iraq itself is a signatory.

At stake therefore is not only a collective and, certainly, legitimate interest of ensuring that a vital source of energy does not become a possible instrument of extortion and domination by a political power capable of committing so many unlawful acts. This is certainly an interest which unites all: the United States, the European Community, Japan, emerging economies as well as the weakest economies, including some in the Arab world itself. I would point out as a matter of fact that that interest is all the stronger and more vital for the weakest economies. I am thinking principally of the countries of the Third World which are trying with difficulty to emerge from poverty and underdevelopment and whose economies are therefore the most fragile and vulnerable. But what is above all at issue are the fundamental principles of law, the fundamental rules of human coexistence, summarized in the United Nations statute.

The international community's reaction is an understandable one. It was necessary first to avert further aggression, in the face of an obvious and real military superiority and threat; to restore freedom and independence to Kuwait; to guarantee the safety and freedom of foreign citizens.

It is also understandable that, while awaiting international mobilization and in response to a direct request for help from Saudi Arabia, the United States and the Arab countries should have been the first to intervene to restore the strategic balance specifically in order to avert the immediate and gravest danger.

We are not therefore faced with a conflict between the United States and Iraq or between the West and Iraq. By behaving as it has, Iraq has violated the principles which form part of the whole of civilized society. On the basis of the Security Council resolutions, it is therefore the whole of the international community – with the firm support of the Soviet Union and China also – which has risen up to reject and penalize that act of aggression, to reject and penalize the violation of the principles of the UN Charter and of the most basic of human rights.

That is the background to the increased dialogue between the United States and the Soviet Union culminating in the discussions of the Helsinki Summit of 9 September. The joint statement issued at its conclusion reaffirmed in the clearest terms the unacceptability of Iraq's aggression and the need consequently to bring it to an end in the spirit of the international legal order guaranteed by the United Nations statute. I also think it important to stress, among the things agreed by Presidents Bush and Gorbachev in Helsinki, their commitment to working actively to resolve all the remaining conflicts in the Middle East and the Gulf.

In a situation of crisis as serious as this, the international consensus is a source of satisfaction and hope. It shows the best way of fighting aggression, of negating its effects, of restoring law, and as Secretary of State Baker said two days ago in a meeting with the Community Troika: 'the crisis has been the first positive political test of relations between the two major powers since the end of the Cold War.'

The reaction of Community Europe has been, and we can say this without excessive self-congratulation, exemplary in terms of both its effectiveness and rapidity, and many governments have acknowledged this repeatedly and publicly to the Presidency. I shall not go over again the stages in our action, from the time of the embargo, just two days after the invasion, on a scale unprecedented in this institution. The Community reaction came before that of both the United Nations and the Arab League and was therefore able to help them stand firm. On 10 August, the Foreign Ministers of the Twelve issued, in Brussels, a declaration itself, in certain respects, innovatory in reaffirming the determination of the Twelve to act together in applying the United Nations sanctions, in defence of a common and vital interest. Still more innovatory was the subsequent resolution of 21 August, again from the Foreign Ministers, in which they noted that Community citizens would all be considered on the same footing, such that action taken against any of them would be deemed prejudicial to all, and that transgressors would be held individually responsible for such action. This was a clear sign of European citizenship, one of whose main features must be to afford joint protection outside the Community.

The Presidency took charge from the outset of the crisis of coordinating the action of the Twelve over the situation of Community citizens detained in Iraq and Kuwait and the embassies in Kuwait City. I can confirm to Parliament, without bias, that the coordination and solidarity between the Member States of the Community was admirable and complete. We made strong representations to all the appropriate parties, making use of all possible channels, including the United Nations, whose intervention we requested. I had occasion to speak of the need for this very close European coordination on Monday last in Bonn with Chancellor Kohl, who fully endorsed it.

The rapid Community reaction provided a point of reference for those Member States considering involvement using their own military resources in an action designed to ensure the best possible application of the resolutions of the Security Council, legitimizing it at Community level also. As indicated, at the WEU meeting of 21 August, the European presence was brought down to a political and operational common denominator. The decisions taken within the WEU were based on the discussion within political cooperation which determined convergence of actions on the part of the Member States, finalized at the Paris meeting.

We are therefore right to claim that the Community reaction was rapid and specific. The criticism that the Twelve failed to act in this area, in which we in fact moved with a rapidity, I repeat, unprecedented in the now 20-year history of European political cooperation, is completely unfounded.

We considered it necessary to demonstrate our solidarity particularly *vis-à-vis* the Arab world, whose contribution is vital in terms of the turn developments in this crisis may take in the future also. Iraq's act of aggression has affected one Arab State and threatens others. No Arab State — even though there remain differences between them — has lent its support to the annexation of Kuwait, as is clear from the unanimity achieved in the UN Security Council. The European Community is firmly supporting the UN initiatives, which cannot be allowed to remain ineffective unless what we want is actually to open the way to a period of disruption in world government. The bonds linking us with the Arab world are solid, dating back a long time and valued by both sides. We will not allow them to be jeopardized. We shall in fact use this crisis as a reason for strengthening and developing them and helping create new ones. With that in mind, the Italian Presidency has entered into and maintained since the start of the crisis the closest and friendliest relations with our main Arab and Islamic partners and intends to continue along this path in the coming weeks.

This was the background, and I consider it most appropriate, at the initiative of the European Parliament — to which the President of the Council immediately lent his support — to send a mission of its own to the Arab countries most directly concerned.

In line with that same approach, we have also decided to speed up the application of the cooperation agreement and the negotiations for a free trade agreement with the Gulf States. It is

our intention, as decided at the Rome meeting of 7 September, to resume and develop the Euro-Arab dialogue, most opportunely relaunched at the Paris meeting in December last, with a ministerial meeting which we propose organizing, in agreement with our Arab partners, in the near future.

The role of Europe remains fundamental precisely in order to secure a negotiated solution to the crisis, and this has always been and remains the object of the Community action. With that specific end in view, the Community has increased its own diplomatic contacts, starting with the visit by the Troika on 16 and 17 August to Amman, Jeddah and Alexandria, to meet with Jordanian, Saudi and Kuwaiti leaders and representatives of the Gulf Cooperation Council. The main purpose of those meetings was to explain the positions adopted by the Community and listen to the views of the countries most directly exposed to the crisis, expressing also the requisite solidarity. The Presidency intends continuing with its work, neglecting nothing that could promote a peaceful outcome, while obviously respecting in full the principles confirmed in the United Nations resolutions.

The central issue should therefore be clear to all: only by maintaining the embargo will it now be possible to achieve a negotiated solution, and this therefore remains the only alternative to conflict. If it is to be effective, the embargo must be accompanied by the necessary instruments for intervention and action. For that reason, we have supported and approved Resolution 665 of the United Nations Security Council, which meets that basic need. It is a source of satisfaction to us that that resolution, like those that went before it, had the vote of all the Permanent Members of the Council, including the Soviet Union and China and that no dissenting voice was heard in the Security Council.

For a number of countries, in particular Turkey, Egypt and Jordan, whose King I received in Rome on 4 September, strict application of the embargo will, as we are aware, involve considerable economic sacrifice. In a spirit of solidarity and within the framework of wider international action, which will have of necessity to involve the other major industrialized countries and the main Arab oil producers — which are, among other things, deriving substantial income from the increased international price — the European Community is prepared, as reaffirmed by the Foreign Ministers at their meeting of 7 September, to make to those and other, above all European, countries its contribution to offset the more troublesome effects of the situation.

The solidarity factor also embraces the decisions of some producer countries, directly requested by the European Community to increase their production to help alleviate the graver consequences of the situation. The Community is also engaged in the process of urgently evacuating refugees from the area of conflict.

The central role of Europe in achieving a negotiated solution must be quite clear. It is directed both towards the countries affected by the crisis, in order to maintain consistent application of the United Nations decisions, as well as towards those who are more closely and deeply involved at military level, in order to support their determination to avoid drastic solutions, by demonstrating at all times the vital need for political and material solidarity.

That European role is also being developed in relation to the Soviet Union, profiting from our continent's restored unity and the contribution that country is making and will be able to make to peace and international stability. The European Community, which is entering into new relations with the other countries of Eastern Europe, now affected by the crisis, will not fail to lend its support to the Soviet Union in the difficult transition from dictatorship to democracy, from collectivism to a market economy. The Rome European Council, at the end of October, will have to decide on that issue. We wish, among other things, to define together with the Soviet Union, in a joint declaration to be adopted on 27 September in New York, our positions not only on the Gulf but, more generally, on the whole Middle East question.

Of course, the Gulf crisis must not make us forget other unresolved problems which make the balance in the Middle East so precarious. No one has been firmer and more consistent than those of whom we have spoken here and the whole of the European Community in deploring the

situation in the Occupied Territories and in identifying full respect for the United Nations resolutions and the right of the Palestinians to self-determination as the only possible means of achieving a just and lasting solution to the conflict.

That is and remains our policy, and it has certainly not been lost sight of against the background of the current crisis. We restated it in the declaration approved by the Twelve in Rome for a lasting and comprehensive solution to the problems of the region. It is our intention solemnly to reaffirm here the Community's commitment to pursuing determinedly and consistently a solution which takes full account, in addition to Israel's security requirements, of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. But there can be full affirmation of such rights only on the basis of dialogue and negotiation, requiring the solidarity of the Arab world and increased respect for the laws of the United Nations and all that they imply.

Just at the time when the Presidency-in-Office was in the process of establishing a renewed *démarche* to persuade the Israeli Government, warning it of the intolerable situation in the Occupied Territories, Iraq's aggression against Kuwait shattered the troubled solidarity that had been achieved in the Arab camp and distracted the international community from seeking a solution to the Palestinian and Lebanese problems, sadly making them take a back seat and shaping within the region new groupings and balances which may render a solution to those problems more complex and more time-consuming.

Mr President, honourable Members, the crisis we are experiencing may not be rapidly resolved and may require difficult sacrifices of our countries and of the international community. The European Community will, for its part, act to limit its impact on our countries by maintaining a close relationship where finance and energy are concerned, as most opportunely urged by President Delors on 10 August. None the less, there will be sacrifices, indeed there are already. It is important to be clear that they are the price — and one that we hope will be kept down — to be paid not only for setting to rights the violated international legal order but also for avoiding having to pay a far higher and more destructive price in the future, by allowing an aggressive regime to dominate, with the exclusive objective of power-seeking, a region vital to all our interests.

This crisis has been a test, a challenge almost, for the Community, but it must, above all, be a cause for reflection at a time when we are preparing to review the Community institutions and to establish economic and monetary union. The urgency of such reforms, specifically to enhance the Community's capacity in external affairs [...] has become all the more evident. It is founded on a basic identity of principles and objectives, interests and risks which have come to the fore in the course of these dramatic weeks.

It is necessary therefore to speed up the pace of reforms, to confer upon the Community, on the basis of monetary union, the capacity to act uniformly in the world economy, as well as to increase its responsibilities in issues, such as energy, which has proved to be a matter of such moment.

It is conceivable that, in a world which has just rid itself of a balance founded on terror and the threat of holocaust, other crises will arise providing a tough test of the precariousness, the solidarity, the interdependence of international coexistence and requiring a decisive contribution from the Twelve. For that reason political union is now more than ever a necessity and a historical opportunity which we must seize if we do not wish to risk being left behind in the face of the increasingly difficult and complex problems of our era. Peace will increasingly be a collective responsibility and, we hope, the United Nations will be increasingly in a position not only to lay down the law but also to ensure that it is respected. A strong Europe will offer a further, important guarantee. It will, at any event, be above all in the common administration of foreign [policy], alongside monetary policy, that the Community will have to assume the higher profile it seeks. Today, more than ever before, we share the same interests, the same risks, the same hopes. Today, more than ever before, we must translate that identity of interest into an independent capacity for collective action, by providing ourselves with the appropriate structures and rules. That is an essential requirement which should be understood all the more

by those who criticize the Community for not having done enough, without realizing that precisely in order that the Community may in future act better and more directly, there have to be those structural reforms which some are still reluctant to accept.

That precept seems to me to be particularly apt now that we are getting ready to organize political union and to proceed along the path of economic and monetary union. Let us build them together with sincerity, courage and imagination, ridding ourselves of preconceptions and reluctance, understandable perhaps but now obsolete. If we were to lose this historic opportunity, our Community and the whole of Europe would run the risk of remaining weak in the face of the increasingly difficult and complex problems of our world. That is a message which I wish to see emerge loud and clear from this debate. The Presidency will do all that it can to provide maximum encouragement for the preparatory work for the two conferences due to take place in Rome in mid-December, and will also place the final objectives on the shortest time-scale possible.

Some traits are emerging of what could be a world government and is the driving force in the supreme international organization. They are illustrated by the current crisis, the unprecedented cohesion shown in the Security Council and, in particular, among its Permanent Members.

It seems to us that this consensus is what is most unusual and relevant and that it must be preserved at all costs, not only for the purpose of dealing with today's challenges but also those which will arise in the future. Now that the division into two blocs has come to an end, opening up possibilities of cooperation which could never have been hoped for in the past (particularly given the paralysing mechanism of each vetoing the other), it is more than ever necessary to construct and defend an international order capable of guaranteeing the security and rights of all, by discouraging local conflict and establishing negotiated solutions.

The United Nations is the supreme and best organized representative of that order. In this crisis, it has shown itself equal to its task. The European Community and its Member States, which have founded their foreign policy on the principles of the United Nations statute, consider that the system represented by the United Nations offers the best and perhaps the only means of preventing chaos in international relations. It is therefore their intention to lend the United Nations, now and in the future, their full support. In the current crisis, not only has the United Nations laid down the law, it has also provided the instruments, including coercive instruments, for enforcing it. This is, in our view, the best path. We must follow it resolutely but also with steady nerve and patience, aware that it will take time for the measures decided upon to take effect and that, what is more, any other path would involve costs which are being carefully weighed up and evaluated. Iraq cannot have forgotten that it was the United Nations, unanimously condemning Israel's destruction of the Tamuz nuclear power installation, which showed decisive solidarity with Iraq itself at that time.

Ladies and gentlemen, although serious threats are clouding the international horizon, we are none the less experiencing a period rich in exceptional possibilities. The change from Cold War to constructive dialogue between the USA and the USSR has already had the effect of cooling down a number of inflamed situations, some of them long-standing, opening up very positive prospects. We have only to think of South Africa. But there is more. The practical removal of the threat of the paralysing exercise of the right of veto within the Security Council means that we can regard the United Nations in a new light as an effective political solution to international disputes. In that respect also, no effort is being spared to ensure that it is the United Nations which keeps control over the situation in the Gulf and that it is under its auspices that the crisis is resolved.

I am well aware that we cannot just rely on the United Nations, applauding some of its decisions and some of the articles in its statute. We cannot, for instance, forget that, during the last General Assembly, a resolution was adopted on 15 December 1989 stating that the limits on the public authorities are determined by the will of the people, as expressed in regular and fair elections. On the other hand, it will be impossible to require progressive development of justice

in the world if nothing is done to lessen the deep-seated social imbalances, among the Arab people also. But this in no way affects our clear and explicit denunciation of Iraq's unlawful invasion.

With equal determination, we consider that it will be necessary also to set about resolving the serious structural problems in the Middle East, by creating an atmosphere of cooperation in which it will be possible to achieve a collective system capable of ensuring stability, security, economic and social development and the recognition of the rights of all the people of the region, including those of the Palestinians and of Lebanon. The Community is prepared to make as far-reaching as possible a contribution, both political and economic, to this necessary process and, in that context, it is now prepared to adopt appropriate programmes for global measures in the Mediterranean, which could, in the future, be extended to the whole of the Middle East and the Gulf.

But no process of civil rehabilitation, however necessary, is possible until the aggression has been brought to an end and the breach of the law remedied.

The European Community appeals to Iraq's leaders to respect the decisions of the Security Council and, thereby, the unanimous demand of the international community. The latter is not harbouring hostility or animosity of any kind towards the people of Iraq, for whom it wishes a peaceful and prosperous future. It is to its leaders that it wishes to appeal, urging them to withdraw in the light of the dreadful prospects to which they are exposing their own people: the risk of the gravest deprivation and the still more tragic risk of devastating war.

The European Community and all its Member States earnestly wish to see a solution found by peaceful means, if possible without recourse to tragic military conflict. They remain absolutely determined to support with all means available to them the application of the UN resolutions.

In following this important path, the Council takes comfort in the judgment of this Assembly and asks of it the support it needs.

[After the ensuing debate Mr Vitalone, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers and of the Council stated:]

Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, in making this brief reply, I shall draw also on what I have been told by the President of the Council, who has had to confine to this morning his attendance in the House. Having listened to the whole of this morning's debate, President Andreotti wishes first of all to express his great thanks and sincere appreciation for the high quality of Parliament's contribution, which has certainly not failed to measure up to expectation. President Andreotti pointed out this morning, moreover, in the introduction to his speech, that we are here not only to report on our initiatives and justify our action, to have our decisions confirmed and to obtain guidelines for future action but because the special nature of the crisis we are currently experiencing requires the most widespread and keen awareness, not only at government level but among the people themselves, of the reasons underlying government action, to make the sacrifices required more acceptable and easier to understand.

I believe the European Parliament to be the most effective symbol — and not just a symbol — of this widespread democratic involvement. President Andreotti reminded us that when the fundamental principles of coexistence are at stake, when principles such as the irrevocable, absolute values of freedom and democracy are at stake, it is the representative institution, the parliamentary institution which must be called upon, so that it can lay down the lines which governmental action must follow.

May I also add — as far as my own personal and direct involvement in the parliamentary debate is concerned — that the Presidency's conviction is strengthened by the content of the debate which clearly indicates that we should continue along the path followed until now. For us, like the great majority, if not all of those who have spoken, the role of the United Nations in resolving the crisis is and remains fundamental. It has been said that the United Nations

represents the most significant, original and genuine expression of the international consciousness. Our Community cannot therefore fail to support and encourage any development designed to strengthen the central role of that body, to stress its vigour and the value of its decisions, to enable it to fulfil all its potential.

That certainly forms the background to the Presidency's action geared towards the rapid and complete application by the Community of Security Council Resolution 661 on the embargo against Iraq. It is for us a source of satisfaction to note how many authoritative voices have spoken today in favour of the strict, rigorous and exact application of the United Nations measures. Those measures — it is worthwhile pointing this out — were decided upon with a unanimity rarely seen before in the history of the United Nations, in relation to a country which, by attacking militarily a neighbouring but less powerful State, has committed a violation of international law which the community of States cannot tolerate or endorse without incurring or accepting the risk of creating new situations in which the independence and sovereignty of any State may be stifled or seized with impunity.

From the first moments of these dramatic events, the Twelve bore in mind that the essential corollary to a firm position *vis-à-vis* Iraq was to give renewed consideration to the Arab people, to whom, never so much as now — let us be extremely clear about this — unrelated to the extortion of Baghdad, we must show keenly, strongly, significantly and lastingly our solidarity, our friendship, our readiness to contribute, in a spirit of unselfish understanding and active cooperation, to resolving the complex and delicate problems affecting that region.

I have noted, in that connection, the mention in many of the speeches of the need to establish less irregular, more constructive and intense relations between the Community and the Arab countries, at a time when one of the countries of that region has, by the choices it has made, put itself outside the international legal order. I wish to point out here that during the days immediately following the onset of the crisis, the Twelve sought to provide a rapid and clear response to that need in the form of the Troika's mission to the main capitals of the Arab world. I would confirm here the commitment already stated by Italian Foreign Minister De Michelis and again confirmed today by the President of the Council, to promote in the near future a high-level meeting as part of the Euro-Arab dialogue, a meeting which could, I imagine, even be scheduled for some time during the first 10 days of next month in Venice and which will provide renewed impetus towards seeking peaceful solutions to the Gulf crisis.

I would point out finally that, thanks to the speedy initiatives of President Delors and the Commission, the Community has tackled resolutely the problem of providing tangible assistance to the countries in the region most affected by the current crisis, both in terms of the awesome exodus of tens of thousands of refugees as well as the impact and negative consequences respect for the embargo will have on the weakest and most fragile economies.

Some of the honourable Members who have spoken in this debate wish to stress that the management by the international community of this acute and worrying crisis makes us all aware of a problem of consistency in applying *all* United Nations resolutions.

This is a cry which rouses a profound response in the consciousness of those countries which have always believed in the role of the United Nations and have worked firmly and resolutely for it to be strengthened further.

Ladies and gentlemen, I do not, however, wish to see recognition for a just demand result in slowing down the proper action which the international community must take in this particular circumstance.

I wish to correct here an impression given in some of the speeches. I wish to confirm our full and sincere appreciation for the role played by the United States from the outset, by assuming the burden of taking the main responsibility for containing aggression which threatened to be even more devastating than has been the case.

The new climate of understanding and cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union, strengthened by this event, the new fabric of relations between the Soviet Union, the United States and the Community are a hopeful sign that the spirit of goodwill, genuine

cooperation and the factors of renewed trust which now at last govern international relations may actually be of benefit in tackling also the various crisis situations heralded by the continuing torments we are still experiencing in the world.

Mr President, honourable Members, the Gulf crisis has dramatically drawn our attention again to the need to work specifically so that the European Community is able to evolve its own significant role, the role of a protagonist on the world political scene. Rightly, a large number of today's speeches and the substance of various passages in the draft resolution under consideration highlight in clear-cut terms that requirement. In a world in which peoples' destinies are linked by a very close degree of interdependence, our Community must certainly develop further its own cohesiveness and its own means for independent political expression.

It is a fact, an objective and established fact, that increasingly growing attention is being paid to the European Community, faced with the request for solidarity from an ever growing number of countries. The recent, promising and in many ways highly satisfying progress achieved in Eastern and Central Europe helps us gauge the role that an increasingly close union between the peoples of Europe can and must develop on the international scene.

The guidelines this House has given to us are absolutely, strikingly clear: we must resolutely continue along the path which, on the basis of the intergovernmental conferences on monetary union and on political union, should lead us to achieve complete European Union.

I wish to conclude by drawing attention to the risk stressed this morning by President Andreotti: other crises may arise, other crises may severely test the endurance, the solidarity and the interdependency of the international community. That requires a different, a more particular form of relationship among the Twelve also. For that, political union is now more than ever not only a necessity but a historic opportunity we cannot and do not wish to miss.

90/316. Statement at the Plenary Session of the UN General Assembly on the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa (Agenda item 28)

Date of Issue: 12 September 1990

Place of Issue: New York

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Italian Delegation to the United Nations

Status of Document: Statement in International Forum

Mr Traxler: Mr President, I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 12 Member States of the European Community.

This Assembly is well aware of our position on apartheid. We strongly condemn it and we are fully committed to its eradication, by peaceful means and without delay. This abhorrent system of racial segregation and discrimination, institutionalized 42 years ago, runs counter to the most fundamental values in which our countries and peoples believe. We do not need to recall here our policy with regard to apartheid, since during the course of the 45th regular session we will have the opportunity to illustrate it in full detail. Rather, I would like to concentrate during the present debate on our assessment of the rapid and important developments that are taking place in South Africa.

This Assembly is convened at a time when hopes are running high that the dismantling of apartheid and its replacement by a democratic, united, non-racial society might at last be in prospect.

The Twelve participated actively in bringing about the international consensus on the declaration on apartheid and its destructive consequences, adopted last December by the 16th Special Session of the General Assembly under your Presidency. The Declaration sent a strong signal from the entire international community of the need to abolish apartheid. There have since been significant developments in South Africa. The report of the Secretary-General of 1

July 1990 on the implementation of the declaration offers, in this respect, ample evidence of progress. We wish to take this opportunity to thank the Secretary-General for his work. The commendable achievement in this report of providing a comprehensive, accurate and balanced picture of the political process under way in South Africa at a time of rapid movement deserves the praise of this Assembly.

Mr President, since last December, some very important steps forward have been taken. I refer in particular to the commitment by the Government to abolish the apartheid system; to the release of political prisoners and especially of Nelson Mandela, a courageous leader who has remained throughout his long captivity a source of inspiration for millions of South Africans opposing apartheid; to the unbanning of political parties and movements; to the substantial lifting of the state of emergency. Most importantly, a process of dialogue has been effectively set in motion with the talks held in Cape Town in May between the Government and the African National Congress and with their common commitment towards a peaceful process of negotiations. The Twelve, in expressing their strong support for this political process, pay tribute to the role played by President F.W. De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela and to the foresight and courage displayed in their efforts to bring about a new era in South Africa.

The report of the Secretary-General states that the country has reached the threshold of such a new era and that 'the political process on which it has embarked holds encouraging prospects of leading to the dismantlement of apartheid'. The Twelve share this assessment. A mission of the European Troika that visited South Africa from 11 to 14 April and had extensive contacts with all the political parties in the country had already noted a significant improvement of the political climate. Subsequent developments have confirmed this positive trend.

Mr President, we are well aware that a long and difficult road still lies ahead. While some of the discriminatory legislation, like the Separate Amenities Act, has already been scrapped, the bulk of the so-called 'pillars of apartheid' — the Group Areas Act, the Land Act, the Population Registration Act — has not yet been removed. At the same time, as the report of the Secretary-General points out, the process of change encounters difficulties and challenges at various levels: the acute social and economic problems affecting the black population, the politically-related violence and, in more general terms, the fact that fundamental change in any society often creates uncertainty, anxiety and fear. These adverse factors are to be reckoned with. But, as the Secretary-General stresses in his report, 'the challenge to nation-building has already begun to steer the people of South Africa in ways that hold the promise of profound and beneficial change'.

The Twelve have noted with keen satisfaction that further progress has been achieved since the report of the Secretary-General was written. We welcome the outcome of the important meeting between the South African Government and the African National Congress on 6 August. In particular, we attach special importance to the suspension of the armed struggle, proclaimed by the ANC, that was in our opinion a necessary prelude to the start of negotiations on a new constitution, as well as to the decisions on the release of political prisoners and to the amnesty of the exiles. As a result, the parties have stated that 'the way is now open to proceed towards negotiations on a new constitution'. We believe that this is a fundamental step forward in the process. The Twelve and the international community as a whole have long worked to create the opportunity for all South Africans to be able to determine the future of their country. Now that key problems for the negotiations to establish a new, democratic, non-racial constitution have been solved, this major objective appears to be within sight.

In the light of these developments, it is all the more disturbing to see that violence in the country has tragically increased to unprecedented levels. We have stressed many times in the past that a society divided along racial lines is bound to breed hatred and violence. But, necessary as it may be to recognize that the roots of the present problems lie in part in the very system of apartheid, this does not exonerate anyone from the responsibility to actively work to break the cycle of violence. This is indeed an urgent and fundamental task for the Government and all the political forces committed to peaceful change in South Africa. We note that in the

joint statement of 6 August the Government and the African National Congress have indeed expressed their serious concern in this respect and have committed themselves to undertake steps and measures to promote and expedite the normalization and stabilization of the situation. The Twelve expect the South African authorities to do their utmost to stop the violence in an impartial manner and urge the parties concerned to set about solving their differences by means of dialogue.

Reconciliation in South Africa cannot be achieved overnight. But it must be achieved and it has to come through a joint endeavour, which alone can bring about lasting results. The momentum that has been created in these months must not be lost. Now that the bases have finally been laid for the start of negotiations on a new constitution, such negotiations should get under way without delay. The Twelve call on all parties in South Africa to join in the process and make a full contribution to the establishment of a new society in their country.

The Twelve remain committed to exert all their influence to contribute to the emergence, at a time when the call of freedom is heard throughout so many parts of the world, of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa, in which all people should enjoy common and equal citizenship and where respect for universally recognized human rights is guaranteed.

90/317. Statement concerning Angola and Mozambique

Date of Issue: 13 September 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The Community and its Member States welcome the progress achieved in the peace negotiations under way in Angola and Mozambique. They hope that the negotiation will lead to an early cease-fire and to the establishment of conditions of peace and security in Angola and Mozambique. These conditions are indispensable for the relief of the exhausted peoples of those countries and to enable them to start along the path to reconstruction and development to which the Community and its Member States are ready to contribute.

In the light of the results achieved so far, the Community and its Member States call on the parties concerned to continue to make every effort to ensure the success of the peace negotiations.

90/318. Statement concerning Somalia

Date of Issue: 13 September 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The Community and its Member States are following with concern developments in the situation in Somalia.

They condemn the continuing human rights violations in that country and in particular the killings in Berbera by Somali military forces of 20 members of the Issaq ethnic group. They are concerned about the security situation in Mogadishu. They call on the Somali Government to ensure more effective protection of the life and property of foreign citizens as well as of diplomatic missions in Somalia.

The Community and its Member States welcome the plan to organize a round table between the Government and the opposition to put an end to the civil war and lay the foundations for a

renewal of Somalia's institutions. They therefore strongly appeal to all the parties concerned to seize this important opportunity for achieving national reconciliation, by active participation in the meeting of representatives of the Government and of all the other political forces in Somalia.

90/319. Statement concerning the embassies in Kuwait

Date of Issue: 14 September 1990
 Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome
 Country of Presidency: Italy
 Source of Document: The Twelve
 Status of Document: Declaration

The Community and its Member States denounce the very grave violation of the provisions of the 1961 Vienna Convention, which Iraq has subscribed to, perpetrated by the Iraqi occupying forces in Kuwait when they broke into the premises of the French and Dutch embassies and took away French nationals, one of them a diplomat.

The Community and its Member States similarly denounce those acts committed against other embassies and their nationals.

This represents an intolerable affront to international law and to the rights of the individual.

The Community and its Member States demand the immediate release of the captured foreign nationals and invite the Iraqi authorities to urgently respect the provisions of international law.

A Community *démarche* to this end will be made to the Iraqi authorities.

90/320. Statement concerning Ethiopia

Date of Issue: 14 September 1990
 Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome
 Country of Presidency: Italy
 Source of Document: The Twelve
 Status of Document: Declaration

The Community and its Member States are following with deep concern developments in Ethiopia and are alarmed at the continuation of the civil war and the intolerable drain of men and resources which condemns the country to a pattern of destruction and permanent misery.

They strongly regret the interruption of the negotiations and the pursuit of a military solution of problems which are political in essence and which therefore call for negotiated solutions.

The Community and its Member States earnestly urge all parties to the conflict to work urgently towards a resumption of the negotiations aimed at peaceful settlement between the Ethiopian Government and the EPLF and the TPLF.

They welcome the meeting of the six countries of IGADD and their efforts to improve mutual relations. They note with interest the proposal for an international conference on the Horn of Africa which they consider could be useful for a global settlement of the problems of the region.

The Community and its Member States note with deep concern the deadlock in the talks concerning the utilization of the port of Massawa, which is vital for the effective provision of aid to the population in the north of the country. The Community and its Member States hope that all the parties concerned in this humanitarian effort will agree on an operational plan for the distribution of food relief through Massawa. They reiterate their conviction that the settlement of this matter is crucial and most urgent for the relief of the victims of war and famine.

90/321. Statement concerning the Gulf Crisis

Date of Issue: 17 September 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The European Community and its Member States reiterate their utter condemnation of the policy of brutal aggression of the Iraqi Government, the increasing persecution of the citizens of Kuwait as well as of the foreign nationals in that country and in Iraq, the taking of hostages and the unacceptable violation of diplomatic premises in Kuwait. They welcome the unanimous adoption by the Security Council of Resolution 667, condemning Iraq for its actions which constitute a flagrant violation of international law and confronting this country with its responsibilities.

The Community and its Member States already stated clearly that they consider all acts perpetrated against one or more among them as committed against all. In response to new very grave illegal acts against their embassies in Kuwait, and taking into account the measures already taken by some Member States, they have decided of one accord to expel the military personnel attached to the Iraqi embassies and to limit the freedom of movement of the other Members of their staff.

In the same spirit of solidarity they agreed that their embassies in Kuwait will take charge collectively of the responsibilities, in particular those concerning the protection of nationals, of those embassies of which the personnel is forced to leave Kuwait as the consequence of illegal actions of the Iraqi authorities. Since the withdrawal of personnel has only been brought about by the material impossibility of staying on, the embassies are considered to remain open.

The Community and its Member States consider indispensable that the embargo decided upon by the United Nations leads the government at present in place in Baghdad to realize the suicidal character of its behaviour towards the international community. To this end, they reaffirm their commitment to put into operation, for their part, all necessary measures in order to enforce the embargo in all its forms and to consult with each other actively in order to facilitate the introduction of measures to monitor the embargo and to reinforce the sanctions against Iraq within the competent institutions.

In this perspective they renew their urgent appeal to all States to apply strictly, and make their nationals apply strictly, the resolutions of the Security Council. To this end they agreed to make diplomatic *démarches vis-à-vis* those countries suspected of not respecting the embargo in order to make them join the international action decided upon by the United Nations and to envisage, if needed, the introduction of appropriate measures — economic and others — in conformity with the UN Security Council resolutions against States not respecting the embargo.

In line with their decisions taken at the extraordinary ministerial meeting of 7 September in Rome, and in the spirit of Article 50 of the UN Charter, the Community and its Member States reaffirm their commitment to provide substantial short-term economic assistance to the countries most seriously affected by the strict implementation of the embargo and notably Egypt, Jordan and Turkey. The Community is determined to assist these countries in the sacrifices imposed on them by the present international crisis. The Community welcomes the substantial national contributions already announced by some Member States and notes the intention of other Member States to announce their contributions shortly. The economic assistance proposals submitted by the Commission (ECU 1.5 billion) will be examined as a matter of urgency. In this connection the Commission will provide an updated assessment of the needs of the countries concerned, the contributions already announced by other countries and international institutions, as well as the national contributions of Member States. The Council will adopt its final decision before the end of September.

At the same time the Community and its Member States commit themselves to examine — in concertation with other countries and international institutions — the possibility of economic assistance in favour of other countries also affected by the Gulf crisis.

90/322. Statement concerning Kampuchea

Date of Issue: 18 September 1990
 Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome
 Country of Presidency: Italy
 Source of Document: The Twelve
 Status of Document: Declaration

The Community and its Member States remain deeply concerned at the continuing conflict in Kampuchea. They seek a comprehensive political settlement which ensures the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and neutrality of Kampuchea, as well as the fundamental right of Kampucheans to choose their own government in free, fair and internationally supervised elections. They stress the need to see human rights protected and to avoid a return to the genocidal policies and practices of the past. Neither the Khmer Rouge nor any other Kampuchean group should be allowed to seize or retain power through the force of arms.

In this context the Community and its Member States welcome the efforts of the five Permanent Members of the United Nations Security Council and the role of the United Nations Secretary-General. They fully support the New York framework for a comprehensive political settlement agreed by the Permanent Five on 27 and 28 August. They also welcome the agreement by the Kampuchean parties in Jakarta on 10 September on the New York framework in its entirety as the basis for settling the Kampuchean conflict and the formation of the Supreme National Council. They note with approval that the Supreme National Council will represent Kampuchea externally, occupy the seat of Kampuchea at the United Nations, in the United Nations specialized agencies and in other international institutions and international conferences. The Community and its Member States now urge that the Paris International Conference on Kampuchea be reconvened at the earliest possible date in order to work out the details of the comprehensive political settlement.

They also call on all the parties to exercise maximum self-restraint to facilitate the achievement and implementation of a comprehensive political settlement in a climate of peace.

90/323. Question No 104/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the imprisonment of Dr George Mtafu, a neurosurgeon in Malawi

Date of Issue: 20 September 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Italy
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 8 February 1990

Can the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation take up the case of the only neurosurgeon in Malawi, Dr George Mtafu, aged 46, who has been held without charge or trial in Blantyre Central Prison since February 1989, after refusing to apologize for expressing disagreement with statements by the President for Life of the Republic criticizing high-ranking civil servants in northern Malawi?

Answer:

On 20 June 1990, the representative of the Presidency in Lilongwe carried out a *démarche* to the Malawian authorities in order to convey the concern of the European Community and its Member States at the human rights situation in that country.

The Presidency called for the release of those in detention and expressed concern about reports of maltreatment and even death of detainees and prisoners, as well as at the failure to hold public inquiries into such events.

The representative of the Presidency in Lilongwe will continue to monitor the situation closely.

90/324. Question No 105/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the imprisonment of Aung Din, a student leader in Burma

Date of Issue: 20 September 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 8 February 1990

Can the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation take up the case of the 26-year-old engineering student Aung Din, leader of the Burmese National Federation of Student Unions, who was arrested by the authorities on 24 April 1989 under martial law?

Answer:

Although the particular case to which the question refers has not been discussed in European political cooperation, the Community and its Member States used a number of different means, including public statements, to convey to Burma's military rulers in the period preceding the elections on 27 May that anti-democratic policies, including the detention of political leaders, were having a grave impact on relations between them and Burma.

In their recent statements on 6 June and 2 August, the European Community and its Member States welcomed the manner in which the people of Burma exercised their right to vote in the May elections. The Community called on the present rulers of Burma to respect the results of the elections, *inter alia* by immediately releasing political leaders in detention.

The Twelve are continuing to follow closely the development of the situation in Burma.

90/325. Question No 203/90 by Mr Glinne (S-B) concerning the French Embassy in Kabul

Date of Issue: 20 September 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 17 February 1990

While the Western powers are still refusing to re-open their embassies in Kabul, in order not to give indirect support by such a political move to the regime of Mr Najibullah, France has unilaterally decided to send a chargé d'affaires to the Afghan capital.

What is the Ministers' view of the French decision?

Answer:

The question asked by Mr Glinne does not fall within the competence of European political cooperation.

90/326. Question No 280/90 by Mr Robles Piquer (PPE-E) concerning the further violation of human rights in Burkina Faso

Date of Issue: 20 September 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 19 February 1990

On 25 December 1989 the Government of Burkina Faso announced the failure of another attempted *coup d'état*. On the same day the national human rights league announced that more than 50 people had been arrested and that others were likely to be arrested subsequently.

Further to the question of 20 November 1989, can the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation investigate the situation in this country and the treatment of detainees? Can they ascertain whether the non-recoverable grant of ECU 1 400 000 earmarked from the European Development Fund on 4 October 1989 is being used for its intended purpose of rural development and film documentation or whether it is simply being used for propaganda purposes? Similarly, can they ascertain whether the amount of ECU 31 500 000 earmarked on 5 June 1989 to combat desertification is being used for this purpose or whether the danger exists that it will be used to consolidate a government which does not appear to respect human rights?

Answer:

The Community and its Member States follow closely the human rights situation in Burkina Faso in the context of their regular review of developments in sub-Saharan Africa.

At its meeting held in Dublin on 25 and 26 June, the European Council stressed the importance of progress in the observance of human rights and in sound government management in sub-Saharan Africa.

The Commission follows closely the implementation of all cooperation programmes under the Lomé Convention and makes sure that they are implemented in strict conformity with their objectives.

90/327. Question No 282/90 by Ms Piermont (ARC-D) concerning teaching material defining Germany in terms of its 1937 borders

Date of Issue: 20 September 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 19 February 1990

In December 1989 the publishing house Zeitbild-Verlag GmbH, Mainzer Strasse 255, D-5300 Bonn 2, in conjunction with the Federal German Government's Press and Information Office, issued a leaflet for distribution to schools. Responsibility for the contents of the leaflet is claimed by the 'Study Group for Topical Education. W. Martin'.

This leaflet refers to the GDR as 'Mitteldeutschland' (Central Germany) and states that Germany does not end at the Oder and Neisse but continues to exist within its borders of 31 December 1937, encompassing the old German territories of Eastern Prussia, Pomerania, Eastern Brandenburg and Silesia. For details of the definitive borders, reference is made to a non-existent peace treaty.

1. What view do the Ministers meeting in European political cooperation take of such leaflets being issued, particularly among schoolchildren in the Federal Republic of Germany, following the opening of the Berlin Wall?
2. What view do they take of the fact that the German Government's Press and Information Office is helping to produce such documents?

Answer:

The honourable Member's question does not fall within the competence of European political cooperation.

90/328. Question No 324/90 by Ms Ewing (ARC-UK) concerning the embargo on trade in arms with China

Date of Issue: 20 September 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 21 February 1990

Is the Council aware of the fact that the United Kingdom Government has broken the terms of the Madrid European Council Declaration on China in the following ways:

(i) by issuing permits to GEC Marconi on 14 September 1989 to sell radar equipment for China's fighter planes, and

(ii) by endorsing high-level links with China through the visit of three MPs who went to China in late October?

Both of these actions contravene the Declaration which called for an arms trade embargo and a 'suspension of bilateral ministerial and high-level contacts'.

Answer:

While the specific questions raised by the honourable Member have not been discussed in the framework of European political cooperation, the honourable Member can rest assured that the Community and its Member States consult closely on the measures taken with regard to China. As the honourable Member will be aware, the then Foreign Secretary announced the terms of the ban on United Kingdom arms sales to China on 6 June 1989.

90/329. Question No 325/90 by Ms Ewing (ARC-UK) concerning independent observers at trials in China

Date of Issue: 20 September 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 21 February 1990

The Madrid Council Declaration on China agreed to raise the issue of human rights in the international forums and to ask for admittance of independent observers to attend the trials and visit the prisons.

Is the Council aware that on 30 November 1989, 11 Tibetan men were arrested for distributing counter-revolutionary propaganda and five received sentences of over 17 years, and did the Council make any formal requests for independent observers to attend these trials?

Answer:

The Community and its Member States have requested the Chinese authorities to allow observers to attend trials and visit prisons, as specified in the Madrid Declaration, but the Chinese authorities have turned down this request on the ground that it constituted interference in the internal affairs of China. No separate request was made in the particular instance to which the question refers. They have raised with the Chinese authorities the human rights aspects of the situation in Tibet and, as has been stated to Parliament on previous occasions, have used all suitable opportunities to seek to persuade the Chinese authorities to respond to the Community's concern, and international concern generally, about violations of human rights in China.

90/330. Question No 326/90 by Ms Ewing (ARC-UK) concerning martial law in Tibet

Date of Issue: 20 September 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 21 February 1990

Will the Foreign Ministers put pressure on the Chinese Government to lift martial law in Lhasa, Tibet, since it is clear that no acceptable political process can function under these circumstances?

Answer:

The honourable Member will have noted the announcement by the Chinese authorities that martial law has been lifted in Tibet.

90/331. Question No 414/90 by Mr Verhagen (PPE-NL) concerning unlawful killings in Liberia

Date of Issue: 20 September 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 5 March 1990

1. Are the Foreign Ministers aware of reports that in Nimba County (north-east Liberia) and in the capital Monrovia hundreds of unarmed citizens have been killed by rebels and government troops?
2. Are the Foreign Ministers also aware that during the invasion of 24 December 1989 government troops burned the villages of Butuo and Karnplay to the ground and killed a large number of the inhabitants?
3. Are the Foreign Ministers prepared to express their concern and call on the Liberian Government to bring an immediate halt to these unlawful killings?
4. What other steps will the Foreign Ministers take in order to put a stop to these alarming developments in Liberia?

Answer:

The Community and its Member States are following events in Liberia with deep concern. They have made two *démarches* to the Liberian Government concerning events in Nimba County and have also made various appeals to both the government and rebel forces deploring the loss of life and calling for an end to the killings. They have condemned the actions against the innocent populations and called on the parties in conflict to safeguard from violence embassies and places of refuge such as churches, hospitals, etc. where defenceless civilians have sought shelter. They have additionally urged all parties involved to seek a solution by peaceful means. In particular, the Presidency refers the honourable Member to the Twelve's statements on Liberia on 25 July and 2 August.

90/332. Question No 423/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning the detention of the Catholic bishops Liu Guangdong and Habei Li Side, and of Protestant leaders in China

Date of Issue: 20 September 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 5 March 1990

Would the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation take an early opportunity to interest themselves in the fate of the Catholic bishops Liu Guangdong, of the Yixian diocese, and Habei Li Side, of the Tianjin diocese, neither of whom are members of the official Patriotic Catholic Association and who were detained on 26 November and 8 December 1989, respectively? Would they also take an interest in the fate of the Protestant leaders who were detained in early October 1989 in Henan province and who have possibly still not been released?

Answer:

As has been stated to Parliament on many occasions, the Community and its Member States have consistently raised the question of human rights observance in China both directly with the Chinese authorities and in the appropriate international forums. In particular since the Madrid Declaration, EEC-China relations have been adversely affected by China's failure to ensure full respect for human rights. Although not all of the individual cases to which the question refers have been discussed in European political cooperation and raised in Beijing, I can inform the honourable Member that respect for religious freedom and the predicament of Rome-affiliated Catholics are among the specific concerns of the Community and its Member States in the context of human rights in China.

90/333. Question No 677/90 by Ms Miranda de Lage (S-E) concerning the CSCE Conference in Bonn

Date of Issue: 20 September 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 23 March 1990

The next CSCE Conference, which will be held in Bonn, will deal with economic cooperation in Europe. This conference is being held at a time when the political and economic reforms being introduced in Central and Eastern Europe are providing a new boost for economic cooperation and opening up encouraging new prospects. The Community has a key role to play in these economic reforms. Can the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation therefore say precisely what position the Community will adopt at the conference in Bonn?

Answer:

The special meeting of the European Council in Dublin on 28 April noted, as stated in the Presidency conclusions, that the Community had made a major contribution to the success of the conference and that the Bonn Document, which acknowledges the link between political pluralism and market economies, provides a basic orientation for future economic relations and cooperation in Europe.

90/334. Question No 1133/90 by Ms Ewing (ARC-UK) concerning the CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension

Date of Issue: 20 September 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 14 May 1990

What preparations are the Foreign Ministers making for the CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension which will be held in Copenhagen in June 1990 in order to highlight the injustices that still exist towards Jewish refuseniks in the Soviet Union?

Will the Foreign Ministers take the opportunity to demand that the following refuseniks be allowed to leave the Soviet Union:

Mr Lazer Rulyov-Kagan, address: USSR/RSFSR Gorkovskaya Oblast Stantsiya Burlopolom P/Ya. U3-62-4M;

Lev (born 1939) and Shellya (born 1941) Alexandrovsky, first refused 1979;

Boris Chernobilsky;

Vladimir Raiz, first refused May 1973, 23 February 1990 refusal reconfirmed. Mr Raiz is from Vilnius.

Answer:

In the final document of the Copenhagen meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE, held in June, the participating States reaffirm that 'they will respect the right of everyone to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country, consistent with a State's international obligations and CSCE commitments'. Restrictions on this right will have the character of very rare exceptions, will be considered necessary only if they respond to a specific public need, pursue a legitimate aim and are proportionate to that aim, and will not be abused or applied in an arbitrary manner.

As the honourable Member is aware, it has been the practice of the Twelve to avail [themselves] of suitable opportunities to convey to the Soviet authorities the position of the Twelve on human rights questions, including as necessary specific cases.

The Soviet authorities are fully aware of the concerns of the Twelve on the question of Jewish emigration.

The honourable Member will be also aware that Mr Alexandrovsky, Mr Chernobilsky and Mr Raiz have already left the Soviet Union.

90/335. Question No 1156/90 by Mr Robles Piquer (PPE-E) concerning Franco-German diplomatic cooperation

Date of Issue: 20 September 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 14 May 1990

The Franco-German Summit of February 1986 decided to set up an exchange of diplomatic officials from the two countries. In accordance with this agreement, the French diplomat Mr Michel Connan spent almost a year at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany while his German counterpart did the same in France. Summing up his experience, Mr Connan said: 'It is good form to say that Europe is not making progress, that it is proving impossible to overcome short-term interests'. He added: 'But the example of Franco-German relations and an experience such as my own show that much has been done' (*Le Monde*, 21 January 1990).

Shortly after, France and Germany tried another joint diplomatic experiment. The French Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Roland Dumas, described it as follows: 'As far as Franco-German cooperation is concerned, it is constantly being strengthened. In fact, I have proposed to Mr Genscher that a joint embassy be set up, on an experimental basis. If this experiment succeeds, we shall repeat it, possibly together with other Community countries.'

He added: 'We chose Mongolia because neither the FRG nor France has an embassy there'. The Minister even described how this Franco-German embassy would probably be organized (*Le Figaro*, 24 October 1988).

Both experiments may have major implications for the common foreign policy to which the united Community must aspire. Can the Ministers report on their progress?

Answer:

This question concerning relations between two Member States is not dealt with in the framework of European political cooperation.

90/336. Question No 1374/90 by Mr Robles Piquer (PPE-E) concerning the encouragement of democratization in Mexico

Date of Issue: 20 September 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 11 June 1990

The successes of the economic policy being followed by the present Mexican administration, leading to a reduction in inflation and the public deficit and an increase in non-petroleum exports, will be underpinned by the reprivatization of banks, a measure which has just been announced by President Salinas de Gortari.

This encouraging economic development is being accompanied by an agreement with the United States concerning the Mexican foreign debt and by certain signs of democratization, for example recognition by the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) of the opposition victory in the state of Baja California and the recent publication by a section of the PRI leadership of a document calling for more rapid democratization of this party. In addition, the attitude adopted by the authorities during the visit by His Holiness the Pope reflected genuine recognition of the spiritual convictions of the Mexican people.

Do the Ministers consider that appropriate measures by the Community could encourage this development in Mexico and the general tendency in Latin America to make qualitative progress towards coexistence in genuine freedom?

Answer:

The policies followed by the present Mexican administration are a matter of close interest to the Community and its Member States, who have consistently sought to encourage democracy, respect for human rights, and economic and social progress in Latin America. In this framework, they have pursued a political dialogue with the Rio Group of democratic Latin American countries of which Mexico is a Member. Since 1975, the European Community has had a cooperation agreement with Mexico, and in 1989 Commissioner Matutes officially opened the office of the Commission representative in Mexico City.

The Community and its Member States are determined to ensure that progress towards the strengthening of democratic structures as well as economic and social progress be encouraged in every possible way by the Community, making use of the mechanisms referred to above. It is also our objective that such progress in Mexico and other Latin American countries will lead to closer ties of cooperation with the Latin American region as a whole.

On the occasion of the European tour of President Salinas in January 1990, and in particular during his visit to the Commission, Mexico formally requested the revision of the cooperation agreement of 1975. The Commission will propose shortly to the Council a mandate to negotiate with the aim of updating this agreement and to take into account the present circumstances.

90/337. Statement at the Plenary Session of the UN General Assembly on problems affecting the international community

Date of Issue: 25 September 1990

Place of Issue: New York

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Statement in International Forum

Mr De Michelis: Mr President, while taking the floor on behalf of the European Community and its Member States, I would like to congratulate you on your election to the Presidency of the General Assembly. I am very happy to do so also because you represent a country with which Italy and the European Community maintain traditional relations of friendship and cooperation. You take up the presidency at a very difficult time of challenge for the United Nations. I am sure that your experience and diplomatic skill will greatly help to ensure a fruitful and constructive 45th Session of the General Assembly, in the interest of the international community. Let me also express the fullest appreciation of the European Community and its Member States for the Secretary-General and for his untiring efforts in favour of international peace.

I should also like to warmly welcome the admission as a full member of the United Nations of Liechtenstein, a member of the European family with whom the European Community and its Member States maintain intense and friendly relations.

The positions of the European Community and its Member States on the problems affecting the international community are fully illustrated in a memorandum¹ which circulates today and which forms an integral part of my intervention. Let me therefore concentrate here on some crucial aspects of the present juncture.

Mr President, never perhaps in the post-war period has the international climate changed so radically from one General Assembly to the next. I am thinking how different what I have to say on behalf of the European Community is from what I might have said not only one year but even just two months ago. This is the first General Assembly of the new world emerging from the lengthy post-war period. It is also the first that has to deal with a crisis arising after the end of the Cold War. We are thus subject to conflicting feelings of satisfaction at the end of East-West opposition and of concern at a new crisis stemming from the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait, which gives us a glimpse of new risks and new confrontations.

For the first time a State has been wiped off the map. This has never happened in the Middle East since the end of the Ottoman Empire. The very justification of the aggression is a challenge to international legality and to the political structure in the Middle East. Saddam Hussein claims that all borders in the region were drawn artificially to divide up the Arab nation and that the time has come for Baghdad to erase them and establish unity by force of arms.

In the developing world in particular, many countries have equally precarious borders, at times even more recent than those erased, which are capable of whetting further appetites. Tariq Aziz, the Iraqi Foreign Minister, claims that other Gulf States such as Qatar have no historical legitimacy. If this challenge were to go unanswered, it would herald a period of troubling uncertainty for the international community. We need to have a clear perception of what is at stake in a region politically no less inflammable than the raw material which provides the world with most of the energy it needs.

The Iraqi aggression represents a clear violation of basic principles of the UN Charter. Furthermore, if an irresponsible, aggressive power succeeds not only by annexation but also by intimidation and threats in deciding the policy of a region which contains 40% of the world's

energy resources, this could have repercussions throughout the world in terms *inter alia* of unemployment, inflation and recession. And let me note, in this respect, that such repercussions would hit more seriously the weakest economies and thus the poorest countries of the world.

The response has been commensurate with the awareness of the gravity of the breach of international law.

The combined opposition of so many countries, beginning with the Arab States, demonstrates the full extent of international protest and reinforces the moral and political authority of the United Nations at a time when there is an ever-growing awareness of the need for an institution of universal scope capable not only of laying down rules but also of ensuring they are applied, and of preventing intimidation, extortion and subjugation.

The world order stemming from the watershed of 1989 and the ensuing redefinition of international relations is not in crisis but is confronted by a very serious challenge. The resolutions of the Security Council are a sign that the international community not only wants to lay down certain rules but also has the means of enforcing them. The Cold War is really over and with it has vanished the fear that a regional conflict may escalate into an East-West confrontation. None of our predecessors could count on such a certainty.

The decisions of the United Nations create the conditions for Iraq's withdrawal by dint of a strict embargo and the maintenance of a collective response. The sands of the desert and the constant passage of time must neither wear away the broad political and military coalition which has been built up nor undermine the unprecedented unity forged under the banner of the United Nations. Our solidarity is no less important than the validity of our motives: we must not allow timidity, ambiguousness or economic shortages to open a breach in our resolve.

The European Community is strengthening its own internal cohesion and extending cooperation eastwards. It warmly welcomes German unification, which in early October will fulfil the legitimate aspiration that the German people have cherished for over 40 years. We consider unification as a positive factor in the development of Europe as a whole and of the Community in particular. It is making all of Europe stronger and more secure, and it will give even greater weight to Community action.

The Twelve are determined to achieve a first agreement in the negotiations on conventional armed forces in Europe and a substantial package of new security- and confidence-building measures in time before the CSCE Summit to be held in Paris. The signing of a first CFE Treaty will be an essential element for a successful CSCE Summit meeting and will also permit to take up negotiations on short-range nuclear forces. The Twelve will strive to ensure that the Paris Summit will mark the end of the ideological and military confrontation in Europe, and pave the way for building new conditions for peace and stability in Europe based on confidence and cooperation.

We have never been under the illusion that Europe could turn in on itself, that the CSCE could imply a release from needs, tensions and conflicts arising outside Europe, that in our smug satisfaction at our peaceful existence we could ignore the problems of others and the role of the United Nations.

This is demonstrated by the effective and timely response of the Community to the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait. It is understandable that the Community should be immediately aware of the gravity of what has happened, since Europe's recent history is full of lessons. Europe has learned that aggression must be nipped in the bud and that the victims are more often small, defenceless States. It takes note of the fact that Saddam Hussein justifies the annexation of Kuwait by claiming that the Middle-Eastern borders resulting from previous periods are worth nothing. He states a principle which is in exact contradiction with the UN Charter and with that, so fundamental for us Europeans, contained in the Helsinki Final Act, of respect for borders and of their possible modification only by peaceful means.

The Community reaction was the most far-reaching and perhaps the swiftest in its history. The Twelve were first to decide sanctions, they put their political weight behind their own decisions and the decisions of others to deploy forces, they granted transit facilities and they contributed

towards the adoption of decisions by the United Nations, which remains the fundamental reference point for their action. It is significant that the Community's action in respect of a crisis which has arisen outside our continent's confines has been overwhelmingly approved by public opinion in Europe.

If the European Community could do nothing but look inwards on itself, it would not have much of a future. However, it intends increasingly to play its role as a new political force with a sense of a long history, political farsightedness and economic might.

This crisis has demonstrated the EC's ability to mobilize its structure to face an exceptional challenge, but at the same time has provided an incentive to improve even further the Twelve's capacity to act unitedly on the world scene, which constitutes a further guarantee of effectiveness for the United Nations. To that end, starting from the conferences to begin in Rome in mid-December on institutional reforms and economic and monetary union, the Twelve have decided to strengthen their common political dimension and to offer a still more effective partnership to others in a world ruled until a short time ago by a mutual balance of terror.

To maintain the general consensus on the sanctions, steadfast international solidarity will be necessary. We all appreciated the promptness with which certain countries increased their oil production to restore the energy balance and the way others with equal swiftness re-established the strategic balance in the region.

The West, and first and foremost the Community, are ready to shoulder their part of the burden, material and otherwise, so that the embargo does not fail. After all, how could we build Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals and convert it to interdependence and the market economy if uncertainty continues to paralyse an area of vital interest to the whole continent? One need only think of the energy problems of the newly democratic countries in Eastern Europe.

The application of the embargo implies great sacrifices for certain countries. In the framework of broader international action involving other industrialized States and the main Arab oil-producers, the European Community will offer those countries a contribution to cope with the most serious consequences of the crisis. At their meeting in Rome on 7 September, the Foreign Ministers of the Community stated their willingness to support Jordan, Turkey and Egypt, the front-line States, and promised to consider the situation of other countries. We do not wish to abandon the poorest nations who are prepared to pay the heavy price of the sanctions.

Collective solidarity must be directed first and foremost to the Arab world. Only with the latter's full assistance will the political, diplomatic and economic isolation of Iraq be effective. No voice has been raised among the Arab States to justify the Iraqi moves. The attempts to call a new holy war have fallen on deaf ears.

Right from the outset of the crisis we have maintained the closest contacts with our main partners in the Arab countries and the Islamic world and we will continue to do so. The Community intends to speed up the application of the cooperation agreements and the negotiations of free trade with the Gulf States in the same spirit. We also intend to pursue the Euro-Arab dialogue with a meeting, following on that in Paris last December.

The European Community considers it vital to continue to seek a political solution, so avoiding to imperil by mistake or lack of patience the new order emerging thanks to the newly acquired strength of the United Nations. With the contribution of various countries it has been possible to set up a strategic shield to prevent the conflict from spreading. We also appreciate the efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to convince Iraq to put an end to a unanimously condemned violation. The waiting game will be won by the side with the staunchest determination to stand by the decisions taken, be they political, economic or military: by strictly complying with the resolutions of the Security Council, and by appropriately strengthening them, the international community will undoubtedly come out as the winning side.

However, the price of this broad consensus must not be ineffectiveness and the price of compromise must not be injustice. The region we are talking about is on the confines of Europe

and we are all endeavouring to see that the option of a settlement wins through. This must not entail compromises which violate the basic principles contained in the resolutions of the United Nations.

The search for a settlement may succeed only to the extent that we are steadfast in dissuading, and determined to isolate Iraq. Only firmness can open the way to such a settlement and prevent the start of a devastating conflagration. Remarking on the Munich Conference, Winston Churchill observed bitterly that the democracies had chosen dishonour to avoid war and in the end they had both war and dishonour. The lesson is still true. Today too firmness and dissuasive action are necessary to force the aggressor to back down and to prevent an armed conflict. They are also necessary when a dictator tries to shield himself with innocent hostages to stay our hand.

The Foreign Ministers of the Twelve pointed out clearly that each Member State would consider all Community nationals detained in Iraq and Kuwait as its own citizens, and stated that they hold the Iraqis individually responsible for their safety. Our intention was thereby to introduce an innovation into international practice which will not be without consequences. With the precedent of Nuremberg in particular in mind, we thus reinforced the idea of individual responsibility in international affairs.

We must prepare ourselves for a siege, which may be lengthy, to achieve the objectives of forcing Iraq to withdraw to its own borders, obtaining the release of all the hostages and restoring Kuwait's independence.

The consensus which has arisen in respect of this serious and dramatic act of aggression must provide impetus for resolving other crises and must confirm our commitment to eliminate other political injustices and promote the economic well-being of the region.

Saddam Hussein has brought his country to the brink of disaster after bleeding it white in eight years of war. He has ripped apart the fragile fraternity of the Arab world. He has made more difficult the search, which we must continue tenaciously, for a historic understanding between the Arabs and the West, between the Islamic and the Western world. However, the Middle East goes on in a desperately precarious state. One cannot put out one outbreak of fire, however threatening and serious it is, and let the others blaze away in the Occupied Territories and in Lebanon.

The military units deployed in the Saudi Arabian desert and the warship patrolling the Gulf are an effective response but they cannot replace a policy to reduce more general tension and instability. A solution of the current crisis which is not followed up by the drafting of guidelines for future political and economic action in the Middle East could be letters drawn in the sand, soon to be blown over and forgotten.

The European Community has been firm and consistent in its contribution towards the search for a solution to the conflict in the Middle East on the basis of Resolutions 242 and 338. That is and continues to be our policy, unwavering in recognizing the solution in the Palestinians' right to self-determination and in that of the State of Israel to exist within secure, guaranteed borders. Just as action was being stepped up to initiate dialogue between Israel and the Palestinians and as the international community was becoming increasingly alarmed at the intolerable situation in the Occupied Territories, the Iraqi aggression has delayed the search for a solution. The Community's policy continues nevertheless as before and it will not be distracted by the present crisis from the search for a just, lasting and comprehensive solution based on the aforementioned principles.

Lebanon, until recently one of the most successful models of religious tolerance in the Middle East, continues to tear itself apart. The European Community considers that only the application of the Ta'if agreements may help in the process of national reconciliation.

Over and above these present grave crises, the time has also come to begin reflecting on the introduction in the Middle East of a collective system capable of guaranteeing stability, security, economic and social development and recognition of the rights of all peoples. In Helsinki,

Presidents Bush and Gorbachev raised the possibility of a new order of peace, a commitment to work together with the countries in the area and outside to develop regional security structures and measures to encourage stability and peace.

In other words, without wishing to transfer the CSCE model, which has shown itself to be so effective in our continent, *in toto* across the Mediterranean, we consider that it would be worth endeavouring to introduce in that area principles and measures capable of reducing military imbalances, which are in general the prelude to other military adventures, curbing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, encouraging economic and social progress and fostering the peaceful coexistence of different cultures and civilizations.

The first test has shown that the new world order works positively, but the serious problems of a social and economic order which threaten international stability are far from being resolved and in some cases are even more disturbing. They require the momentum which can only gather within the United Nations, since of all problems they are most universal in origin and most widespread.

We are witnessing the war which all countries, but most especially certain Latin American States, are waging against drugs. This problem threatens our societies and our younger generations, and creates spontaneous solidarity between governments. The history of mankind knows no other scourge which has so permeated all regions of the world, affecting rich and poor countries alike, and overwhelming both the wealthy and the underprivileged. The Community intends to step up international cooperation on this problem. It will assist in the joint strategy under the aegis of the United Nations to control drugs production, their manufacturing and trafficking, as well as the use to which the profits are put by involving the banking system. Demand reduction is a main objective of the European Community and its Member States.

In the same vein, the emergence of intolerant forms of religious fanaticism and the uncontrolled flows of migrants which affect industrial societies stem essentially from conditions which deprive a large proportion of mankind of the cultural and material resources needed for a decent life. The problem of development will inevitably weigh increasingly on a world witnessing the disappearance of the most manifest and dangerous confrontation of the post-war period.

The Community intends neither to withdraw into its own well-being, which is based on openness to other economies, nor to reduce its commitment towards the countries in the Third World on account of its cooperation with Eastern Europe. The Community encourages regional integration, in particular within the framework of its reviewed Mediterranean policy. We are also convinced that it is for us to create a macroeconomic context favourable to growth and development through enhanced devolution of resources, which, however, must go hand in hand with domestic policies capable of promoting alongside State initiatives not only individual initiative but also respect for human rights. No external assistance may in fact compensate for ineffective national policies, as shown by the experience of the last decade.

Development and environmental protection appear increasingly to be a facet of the world's interdependence. We cannot expect four-fifths of humanity to go on living in the present conditions and at the same time hope that this does not have intolerable repercussions on man's capacity to live in harmony with nature. We cannot worry about tropical forests and look on impassively as many countries come to grips with a debt which precludes any possibility of development. In this connection the conclusions which Mr Bettino Craxi has arrived at in the work he was entrusted with by the Secretary-General of the United Nations provide many lessons. Many countries in the Community have already granted substantial reductions in the debt, but this is not enough. The problem of the middle-income countries, particularly those facing severe economic reconstruction programmes, must be tackled with special attention. Thought must be given to a new range of options in the framework of the Paris Club.

The Community considers that the strengthening of the multilateral trade system provides the best guarantee of international equilibrium and of sustainable development. The successful

conclusion, before the end of the year, of the Uruguay Round is all the more important against the background of the present crisis. It is a unique opportunity to achieve balanced and substantial progress in all fields of the ongoing negotiations.

Mr President, the United Nations has granted legitimacy to an unprecedented joint intervention. It is henceforward possible to perceive coexistence no longer hampered by the shackles of the Cold War. A form of world management, at least of the crises most likely to bring about destabilizing effects, is taking shape. The consensus reached to counter the Iraqi aggression must be preserved to take up other challenges. The spirit of this approach is already being put to use in the possible settlement of other conflicts, such as that in Kampuchea. The agreement between the opposing parties on a transitional administrative arrangement, an end to hostilities and free and fair elections within the framework agreed by the five Permanent Members of the Security Council, will have the political and material support of the Community.

The opportunity must be seized of applying in full the principles of the Charter to the peaceful settlement of other unresolved problems, such as that of Cyprus. The principle of universality is also of the utmost importance: for instance, the absence of the two Koreas is a vestige of the confrontation of yesteryear. We must prepare to welcome both, particularly as they wish to start off on a new footing in their mutual relations.

The United Nations is the first major attempt to democratize the international system, that is to say to apply to relations between sovereign States the principles on which the rule of law is based. Those principles, of which Europe witnessed such a solemn rebirth in the last year, are now gaining ground in all societies. Other barriers are falling, with resulting peace-bringing, innovative effects, beginning with that most odious barrier which has until now denied the majority of the population in South Africa their rights and dignity. The Community offers its support to all those, regardless of their colour, who are joining forces to build a new South Africa free of apartheid and of all other forms of discrimination. We are following this process very attentively, with a view to adjusting the Community's stand to its developments and we will continue to spare no effort to contribute to its successful conclusion.

Mr President, nothing more than the latest events convinces us of the role the United Nations is increasingly called upon to play in favour of justice and freedom. The European Community wishes to mobilize the growing cohesion among its Members and the whole weight of its moral, political and economic force to support the United Nations with a view to achieving these objectives.

Mr President, I have so far expressed the views of the Community and its Member States. Let me now conclude my intervention by adding a few remarks on behalf of my own country.

One further lesson of this crisis and the conclusion we draw from the end of the post-Cold War period prompts us to reflect on the need to adjust the structure and the functioning of the UN to the new reality of the international scene.

In the past the abuse of the exercise of the right of veto has too often paralysed the United Nations' capacity to put an end to the gravest crisis. Today, the outlines of a possible new scenario are emerging with the United Nations as the focal centre in a world at last free of the nightmare of a nuclear holocaust. This compels us as well to review the way the United Nations operates at a time which is no longer that of the immediate post-war period — and I am thinking *inter alia* of the reference to the status of the former enemy powers — but no longer even that of the Cold War.

Moreover, considering the progress so far achieved in European integration, thought should also be given in my view to institutional adjustments, within the United Nations, capable of granting a more visible role to an entity like the European Community, which Italy wants to see endowed with supranational structures for conducting foreign policy.

Thank you, Mr President.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 90/338.

90/338. Memorandum to the Plenary Session of the UN General Assembly

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This memorandum is circulated concurrently with the speech delivered to the General Assembly on 25 September 1990 by Mr Gianni De Michelis, on behalf of the European Community and its Twelve Member States. It forms an integral part of that speech.

The memorandum is intended to allow a full treatment of the issues discussed at the present session of the General Assembly.

Central and Eastern Europe

Events in Central and Eastern Europe speak for themselves. The European Council in Strasbourg and the subsequent European Council in Dublin have set firm guidelines for the contribution that the European Community will make to the development of closer relations with the other countries of Europe. The last European Council in Dublin welcomed the continuing progress being made in Central and East European countries in establishing pluralist democracy founded on the rule of law, full respect for human rights, and the principles of the market-oriented economy. It welcomed in particular the holding of free elections in Central and Eastern Europe and expressed the hope that these will lead to a fuller realization of democratic ideals which, of course, entail full respect for the rights of the opposition parties. It reaffirmed the right of individual citizens to participate fully in this process and called on all States to observe this principle without reservation. The Community expressed its deep satisfaction at the progress already made and in prospect towards overcoming the divisions of Europe and restoring the unity of the continent whose peoples share a common heritage and culture. Given the legitimate aspirations of the Baltic peoples, the Twelve continue to give their full support to the dialogue initiated between the representatives of the three Baltic peoples and the Government of the USSR, aimed at a political settlement.

In this spirit, the Community adopted or put in place over the past months a wide range of measures, including the agreement on the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the conclusion of trade and cooperation agreements between the Community and most of these countries, the Community programmes in the field of professional training and student exchange and important actions in the context of the G-24 cooperation. This action of [the] G-24 had been extended, following a decision by Ministers on 4 July, to the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia [and] Bulgaria. The next step in Community relations with Eastern countries will be the negotiation of association agreements which could include a free trade area, financial assistance and an institutional framework for the political dialogue.

Despite these positive changes, developments in some countries reflect the complexity of a long-term process:

On Romania, following outbreaks of violence last June, the European Community issued a statement on 18 June in which Ministers stated willingness of the Community to support countries committed to pluralist democracy based on the rule of law and respect for human rights. At the same time, they expressed the view that acts of violence, by whomever they are committed, constitute a major obstacle on the road to democratic change. In this connection, they urged the Romanian Government to commit itself to peaceful dialogue with political opponents. Munteanu's release, on 2 [sic], constituted an encouraging step.

Serious concern remains on Albania. The Twelve noted that decisions in the direction of some relaxation in the field of human rights were taken by the Albanian Parliament. The realization of these decisions, however, has been delayed. Following the highly disturbing events of last July,

the Twelve issued a statement in which they expressed the hope that the Albanian authorities will rapidly adopt the reforms and measures necessary for Albania to become engaged in a process of democratization bringing about a situation in which human rights are fully respected.

German unification

The Community warmly welcomes German unification. In Strasbourg in December 1989, the European Council recalled that the Community seeks the strengthening of the state of peace in Europe in which the German people will regain its unity through free self-determination. This process should take place peacefully and democratically, in full respect of the relevant agreements and treaties and of all the principles defined by the Helsinki Final Act, in a context of dialogue and East-West cooperation. It also has to be placed in the perspective of European integration.

At its special meeting in Dublin in April, the European Council looked forward to the positive and fruitful contribution that all Germans can make following the forthcoming integration of the territory of the German Democratic Republic into the Community. We are confident that German unification — the result of a freely expressed wish on the part of the German people — will be a positive factor in the development of Europe as a whole and of the Community in particular. The Twelve are pleased that German unification is taking place under a European roof.

In Dublin, on 25 and 26 June, the European Council welcomed the conclusion of the inter-German State Treaty which will promote and accelerate the integration of the territory of the German Democratic Republic into the Community. On 3 October, the day of German unification, the territory of the German Democratic Republic will become an integral part of the Community, where Community law will apply with only some transitional arrangements.

The European Community welcomes the signing in Moscow, on 12 September, of the Treaty on the final settlement with respect to Germany by the four powers holding particular rights and responsibilities in respect of German territory and by the two German States. The external aspects of the unification have thus been settled and Germany, while achieving its political unity, will recover its full and complete sovereignty.

CSCE

As a new quality of interdependence develops in Europe, the CSCE process will play a fundamental role as a source of stability and a framework within which to identify ways forward. A summit of the Heads of State or Government of the CSCE participating states, the first meeting of its kind since the signature of the Helsinki Final Act in 1975, will take place in Paris later this autumn and will be addressed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

The European Community attaches great importance to the comprehensive nature of the CSCE process which brings together the States of Europe, the United States and Canada and covers the full range of cooperation between peoples and governments.

At its meetings in April and June, the European Council set out the position of the Community on the future development of the CSCE. It is our belief that the movement to restore freedom and democracy in Central and Eastern Europe and the progress already made, and in prospect, in arms negotiations, now make it both possible and necessary to develop a wider framework of peace, security and cooperation for all of Europe. In this respect, the progress made at the Bonn Conference on Economic Cooperation and at the Copenhagen Conference on the Human Dimension should be recalled.

We expect that the summit, among other things, will:

- (i) make a decisive contribution to strengthening stability and cooperation in Europe, and to disarmament;
- (ii) take note of the results obtained in talks relating to German unity, in particular the Treaty on the final settlement with respect to Germany under international law;

(iii) provide a basic orientation for future economic relations and cooperation in Europe; a closer association between the Community and other States members of the CSCE is an example of such relations and cooperation;

(iv) set out guidelines for a democratic Europe and consolidate the principles of a State based on the rule of law.

The summit should take decisions on new institutional arrangements within the CSCE process and consider the relationship between the CSCE process and other relevant institutions such as the Council of Europe. In particular, the summit should take decisions on new mechanisms in the field of security and cooperation in Europe, including suitable means to avoid conflict and disputes, and on a parliamentary assembly.

Arms control and disarmament

In recent years, arms control and disarmament negotiations have intensified and achieved unprecedented progress due to the continuing improvement in East-West relations and the relaxation of international tensions. Sadly this trend is not general. When considering the wide area of arms control and disarmament, we stress that for the Twelve all relevant elements of military balance — nuclear and conventional — are of the utmost importance. Nuclear arms control and disarmament remain one of the Twelve's highest priorities.

The Twelve have repeatedly stated that conventional arms control and disarmament are equally essential and should urgently be pursued as an integral part of the disarmament process, in which all States should be actively involved. The subject of conventional disarmament should thus be kept at the forefront of the multilateral debate on disarmament. The Twelve take note of the substantial progress attained in the negotiations on conventional armed forces in Europe. They welcome the results being achieved in the security- and confidence-building negotiations. They are confident that the achievement of a CFE agreement, providing for the elimination of the capability for launching surprise attacks and for initiating large-scale offensive action, together with the adoption of further confidence-building measures, will represent a major step towards enhancing stability and security in Europe. They look forward to more structured cooperation among all CSCE participants on security matters. The Twelve hope that discussions will be started among the 35 aiming at establishing by 1992, after the Helsinki meeting, a new disarmament and confidence-building measures process open to all CSCE members who wish to participate.

The Twelve believe that the adoption of regional arms control and disarmament measures is one of the most effective ways for States to contribute to the general arms control and disarmament process. Therefore, attaining stability at lower levels and ensuring security for all and each one of the participating States — so that an appropriate balance of forces in all regions can be established — should be the main objective of the above process. It is up to the States of each region to find their own path to the conclusion of regional arms control and disarmament agreements, taking into account the specific characteristics of each region. Transparency and openness are vital requirements in order to strengthen mutual confidence and overall security.

Our common wish is to see the achievement of substantial and balanced reductions in the global level of nuclear weapons, beginning with those of the two superpowers. In this field, the USA and the USSR have a crucial responsibility. The Twelve support the United States and the Soviet Union in their current efforts in this field. While the INF Treaty is being successfully implemented, the Twelve believe in the need for further progress in nuclear arms control and disarmament. They look forward to the start of new negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on the reduction of short-range nuclear forces, beginning shortly after a CFE agreement is signed. They welcome the prospect of an early conclusion of a START agreement, announced by Presidents Bush and Gorbachev at the Washington Summit of last June. They also welcome the conclusion of protocols on verification of the two threshold treaties of 1974 and 1976, making possible their early ratification.

The Twelve also attach the utmost urgency to the objective of concluding a global, comprehensive and verifiable ban on chemical weapons. They therefore regret that only limited progress was made in the multilateral negotiations this year in Geneva. The Twelve express the hope that the recent agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union on the drastic reduction and final elimination of their respective chemical weapons arsenals may influence the multilateral negotiations in a positive way.

As they stated in the declaration on non-proliferation adopted by the European Council in Dublin last June, the Twelve also strongly support and are fully committed to the objective of nuclear non-proliferation. They believe that the further spread of nuclear weapons or other explosive devices would endanger stability and threaten regional and global security. They attach the greatest importance to the maintenance of an effective international nuclear non-proliferation regime and encourage the participation of further countries in the regime. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) is an important element in that regime. Upon conclusion of the Fourth NPT Review Conference, the Twelve note that in spite of the fact that the Conference could not produce a consensus on a concluding document, most of the work was done in a positive spirit and agreement was obtained on most aspects.

Cyprus

The European Community and its Member States remain deeply concerned about the situation in Cyprus, a member of the European family. They reiterate their support for the unity, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus in accordance with the relevant UN resolutions. They stress the need for the prompt elimination of the obstacles that are preventing the pursuit of effective intercommunal talks aimed at finding a just and viable solution to the question of Cyprus on the basis of the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General.

Middle East

The European Community and its Member States have consistently condemned both threats and acts of violence in the region, whatever their origin. In particular, on 20 April they deplored the threat made by Iraq to use chemical weapons and considered that the acquisition of weapons of mass destruction by any State in the Middle East region can only lead to heightened tensions and an increased threat to peace and stability. They urged all States to strengthen compliance with the 1925 Geneva Protocol and the Final Declaration of the 1989 Paris Conference on chemical weapons. They also appealed to all parties to exercise restraint and to refrain from any actions or statements which could increase tension in the region. They urged them not to damage the prospects of rapid progress towards dialogue and negotiation which are so urgently needed for a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. They recalled the obligation on all Member States contained in the Charter of the United Nations to refrain from the threat or use of force and emphasized that peace will be achieved not by a balance of terror but by the negotiation of just solutions to the conflicts of the region.

Gulf crisis

The following section of the memorandum is intended to complement the pertinent section of the speech delivered in the general debate by the Presidency on behalf of the European Community and its 12 Member States.

In July, the European Community and its Member States followed with apprehension the increase in tension in the dispute between Iraq and some Arab countries. They welcomed the diplomatic efforts that Arab countries and the Arab League itself were deploying.

On 2 August, following the breakdown of talks held in Jeddah under Arab auspices and the military aggression carried out the same day by Iraq against Kuwait, the European Community

and its Member States strongly condemned the use of force by a member State of the United Nations against the territorial integrity of another State. In their opinion this constitutes a breach of the UN Charter and an unacceptable means to solve international difference. They therefore fully support UN Security Council Resolution 660. They call upon all governments to condemn this unjustified use of force and to work for an early re-establishment of the conditions for the immediate resumption of peaceful negotiations. In this light they ask for an immediate withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait territory.

On 4 August, the European Community and its Member States reiterated their unreserved condemnation of the brutal Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and their demand for an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi forces from the territory of Kuwait. They consider groundless and unacceptable the reasons provided by the Iraqi Government to justify the military aggression against Kuwait and state that they will refrain from any act which may be considered as implicit recognition of authorities imposed in Kuwait by the invaders.

In order to safeguard the interests of the legitimate Government of Kuwait they decided to take steps to protect all assets belonging directly or indirectly to the State of Kuwait.

On the same occasion, the Community and its Member States confirmed their full support for UN Security Council Resolution 660 and called on Iraq to comply with the provisions of that resolution.

Pending a Security Council resolution introducing mandatory and comprehensive sanctions, they immediately adopted the following set of measures against Iraq:

- (i) an embargo on oil imports from Iraq and Kuwait;
- (ii) appropriate measures aimed at freezing Iraqi assets in the territory of Member States;
- (iii) an embargo on sales of arms and other military equipment to Iraq;
- (iv) the suspension of any cooperation in the military sphere with Iraq;
- (v) the suspension of technical and scientific cooperation with Iraq;
- (vi) the suspension of the application to Iraq of the System of Generalized Preferences.

The Community and its Member States reiterated their firm conviction that disputes between States should be settled by peaceful means, and their willingness to participate in any effort to defuse the tension in the area.

Following the adoption of Security Council Resolution 661 introducing mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against Iraq and Kuwait, on August 8 the European Community swiftly introduced legislation to implement that resolution, which it considers a fundamental instrument to restore international legality.

On 10 August, at the occasion of an extraordinary ministerial meeting held in Brussels to examine the situation in the Gulf, the European Community and its Member States rejected the announced annexation of Kuwait which is contrary to international law and therefore null and void, as stated in UN Security Council Resolution 662. They also rejected the announced removal of diplomatic missions from Kuwait and any attempt by the Iraqi authorities to exert powers of government within the territory of Kuwait.

They noted with appreciation the wide international solidarity which developed following the aggression and led to effective action by the UN Security Council. They welcomed the pre-eminent role played by the United Nations and agreed to strive to maintain and further enhance such international solidarity.

The European Community and its Member States reaffirmed their grave concern for the situation of foreigners in Iraq and Kuwait. They announced that no effort or initiative will be spared to ensure that all foreign citizens be allowed full and unconditional freedom of movement within and out of those countries. They addressed precise requests to this end to the Iraqi authorities, whom they hold fully accountable for the safety of their citizens.

The European Community and its Member States, having also in mind the vital European interests in the stability, territorial integrity and sovereignty of the States of the area, expressed

their readiness to take further initiatives, in the framework of the United Nations Charter, that will prove necessary to contain the conflict. They noted that certain Member States had already taken useful steps also to this end. They expressed their strong determination to engage in broad efforts to afford the necessary international solidarity with other States in the area threatened by the same aggressor in their efforts to comply with UN Security Council Resolution 661 and to force Iraq to restore Kuwait's sovereignty in compliance with UN Security Council Resolution 662.

They decided to maintain close contact with Arab governments and to offer their assistance to Arab efforts aimed at defusing tensions and restoring international legality, within the framework of UN Security Council Resolutions 660, 661 and 662. In this connection, the Troika of the Twelve at ministerial level paid a visit to Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Egypt on August 16 and 17 to discuss with the Arab side the possibility of cooperation aimed at achieving this common purpose.

At the second extraordinary EPC ministerial meeting on the crisis in the Gulf, held in Paris on 21 August, the European Community and its Member States expressed their deep concern at the situation of foreigners in Iraq and Kuwait and renewed their condemnation of the Iraqi decision to detain them against their will as contrary to international law. They fully supported Security Council Resolution 664 which requires Iraq to permit and facilitate their immediate departure from Iraq and Kuwait. They also denounced that the Iraqi Government had reacted negatively to many representations of the Community and its Member States.

As members of the international community, which is founded not only on law but also on clear ethical standards, the European Community and its Member States expressed their indignation at Iraq's publicized intention to group such foreigners in the vicinity of military bases and objectives, a measure they consider particularly heinous as well as taken in contempt of the law and of basic humanitarian principles. In this context the fact that some foreigners had been prevented from contacting their consular or diplomatic missions or had been forcibly moved to unknown destinations was a source of further deep concern and indignation. In this connection, they attached the greatest importance to the mission of two envoys of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to Baghdad.

They warned the Iraqi Government that any attempt to harm or jeopardize the safety of any EC citizen as well as the inviolability of any EC diplomat will be considered as a most grave offence directed against the European Community and all its Member States and will provoke a united response from the entire European Community. They also warned Iraqi citizens that they will be held personally responsible in accordance with international law for their involvement in illegal actions concerning the security and life of foreign citizens and the inviolability and immunity of foreign diplomats.

They called on all those who may influence the decisions of the Iraqi Government to have these measures revoked and supported the actions of the Security Council and the Secretary-General of the United Nations to this purpose. They confirmed their commitment to do all in their power to ensure the protection of the foreigners in Iraq and Kuwait and reiterated that they hold the Iraqi Government fully responsible for the safety of their nationals.

The European Community and its Member States, in the light of their condemnation of the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait as well as of their refusal to recognize the annexation of that State to Iraq, firmly rejected the unlawful Iraqi demand to close the diplomatic missions in Kuwait and reiterated their resolve to keep those missions open in view also of the task of protecting their nationals. The Community and its Member States noted with satisfaction that this position was shared by a great number of countries and was confirmed by Security Council Resolution 664, which requires the reversal of the illegal demand to close the diplomatic missions.

At the extraordinary ministerial meeting, held in Rome on 7 September, the European Community and its Member States reaffirmed their full support for the implementation in all aspects of the resolutions of the Security Council relating to the crisis in the Gulf and their

determination to be active in ensuring that they are respected. They are convinced that a complete implementation of the embargo decided by the Security Council with regard to Iraq is the essential condition for bringing about a peaceful solution to the crisis. They are fully implementing the embargo and call on all members of the international community to do likewise.

Conscious of the grave burden which the present crisis imposes on the economy of many countries, the European Community and its Member States expressed their determination to contribute to the effort being made by such countries to address the situation and faithfully implement the embargo. Countries most immediately affected by the implementation of the embargo, and notably Egypt, Jordan and Turkey, have applied for assistance to offset those short-term effects. The European Community and its Member States have taken a decision on the principle of extending such short-term financial assistance to these three countries. This assistance will take place in the framework of concerted action with other industrialized countries as well as with the countries of the region.

In this situation, the European Community considers essential that international cooperation is intensified and that the international institutions (IMF, World Bank, GATT and other bodies like the Paris Club) play their full role. In their opinion, the newly created EBRD should also contribute to the solution of the difficulties for the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. It is of crucial importance that all efforts are made to prevent the affected economies turning in on themselves.

In addition to the humanitarian aid already provided, the European Community considered that a major effort was necessary to assist in the repatriation of refugees from Iraq and Kuwait. It expressed its readiness to commit a substantial amount from its own budgetary resources for additional humanitarian aid. Member States will contribute to the joint effort, notably by providing transportation facilities.

The European Community and its Member States also reiterated their readiness to continue the political dialogue and to strive for an early opening and a rapid conclusion of the trade agreement negotiations with the Gulf Cooperation Council countries.

The Community and its Member States are moreover resolved to contribute to the bringing into being of a policy of regional cooperation aimed at influencing, in a constructive way, the solution of structural problems which afflict the Mediterranean area and the Middle East under the aspects of stability and of economic and social well-being. The forthcoming Palma meeting in the context of CSCE will be an important occasion to contribute to the much needed longer-term reflection on these problems.

At the same occasion, the European Community and its Member States reaffirmed their utter condemnation of the measures taken by the Iraqi authorities against foreign citizens in Iraq and Kuwait and against embassies in Kuwait. They insisted on full respect of the right to freedom of movement of foreign citizens in those countries. They regard these measures as totally unacceptable and contrary to international law and will continue to react to them with complete solidarity.

The European Community and its Member States deplored the fact that despite the efforts made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations through his emissaries and in person in the recent discussions in Amman, the Iraqi authorities have not complied with Resolution 664. They expressed the urgent wish that the Secretary-General of the UN could pursue his efforts and extend them to the situation of the diplomatic and consular representations in Kuwait by sending a mission in order to establish contact with them.

The Community and its Member States also looked for the early resumption of discussions between the Iraqi authorities and the ICRC and urged them to cooperate fully with the ICRC's efforts to establish forms of protection and assistance for foreign citizens held in Iraq and Kuwait.

They reiterated that the Iraqi authorities are obliged to allow all foreign citizens and not only women and children, held against their will, to leave. The European Community and its

Member States remain determined to do what is necessary to ensure their protection. They hold the Iraqi authorities fully responsible, in accordance with international law — including in their individual capacities — for the safety of foreign citizens.

At a time when the brutal aggression and annexation by Iraq of another Arab country affect the entire international community, and in particular the States of the Near and Middle East, the European Community and its Member States reaffirmed their determination to consolidate and reinforce the historic ties of friendship which bind them to the whole of the Arab world. They are ready to continue to contribute to the establishment in the region of a situation of peace, stability and cooperation, which is the only way to promote the economic and social well-being of all the people of the area.

To this end, they remain committed to the development of the Euro-Arab dialogue which was opportunely relaunched at the ministerial meeting last December in Paris. They will make the appropriate contacts with the Arab side with a view to the early convening of a meeting at ministerial level.

The Community and its Member States believe that high priority must be given to a solution of the crisis created by the Iraqi aggression of Kuwait, with the full and unconditional implementation of the relevant UN Security Council resolutions. It is a further injustice to the Arab people that Iraq's aggression against Kuwait has delayed the search for progress towards a solution to other problems of the region, such as the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Palestinian problem and the situation in Lebanon. They reaffirm their long-standing commitment to a just, comprehensive and lasting solution of the problems of the region, in conformity with the relevant UN Security Council Resolutions and the principles set out by the Community.

On 14 September, the European Community denounced the very grave violation of the provisions of the 1961 Vienna Convention, which Iraq has subscribed to, perpetrated by the Iraqi occupying forces in Kuwait when they broke into the premises of the French, Dutch and Belgian embassies and took away French nationals, one of them a diplomat. They similarly denounced those acts committed against other embassies and their nationals in Kuwait. This represents an intolerable affront to international law and to the rights of the individual.

The European Community demands the immediate release of the captured foreign nationals and invites the Iraqi authorities to urgently respect the provisions of international law. Several Community *démarches* to this end have already been made to the Iraqi authorities.

At the ministerial meeting in Brussels on 17 September, the European Community reiterated its utter condemnation of the policy of brutal aggression of the Iraqi Government, the increasing persecution of the citizens of Kuwait as well as of the foreign nationals in that country and in Iraq, the taking of hostages and the unacceptable violation of diplomatic premises in Kuwait. It welcomed the unanimous adoption by the Security Council of Resolution 667, condemning Iraq for its actions which constitute a flagrant violation of international law and confronting this country with its responsibilities.

The Community reaffirmed that it will consider all acts perpetrated against one or more of its Member States as committed against all. In response to new very grave illegal acts against several embassies of the Twelve in Kuwait, and taking into account the measures already taken by some Member States, the European Community and its Member States decided of one accord to expel the military personnel attached to the Iraqi embassies and to limit the freedom of movement of the other members of their staff.

In the same spirit of solidarity the Member States of the European Community agreed that their embassies in Kuwait will take charge collectively of the responsibilities, in particular those concerning the protection of nationals, of those embassies of which the personnel is forced to leave Kuwait as the consequence of illegal actions of the Iraqi authorities. Since the withdrawal of personnel has only been brought about by the material impossibility of staying on, the embassies are considered to remain open.

The European Community considers indispensable that the embargo decided upon by the United Nations leads the Government at present in place in Baghdad to realize the suicidal

character of its behaviour towards the international community. To this end, it reaffirmed its commitment to put into operation all necessary measures in order to enforce the embargo in all its forms and to consult actively in order to facilitate the introduction of measures to monitor the embargo and to reinforce the sanctions against Iraq within the competent institutions.

In this perspective the European Community renewed its urgent appeal to all States to apply strictly, and make their nationals apply strictly, the resolutions of the Security Council. To this end it agreed to make diplomatic *démarches vis-à-vis* those countries suspected of not respecting the embargo in order to make them join the international action decided upon by the UN and to envisage, if needed, the introduction of appropriate measures — economic and others — in conformity with the UN Security Council resolutions against States not respecting the embargo.

In line with the decisions taken at the extraordinary ministerial meeting of 7 September in Rome and in the spirit of Article 50 of the UN Charter, the European Community reaffirms its commitment to provide substantial short-term economic assistance to the countries most seriously affected by the strict implementation of the embargo and notably Egypt, Jordan and Turkey. The European Community is determined to assist these countries in the sacrifices imposed on them by the present international crisis. The European Community welcomes the substantial national contributions already announced by some Member States and notes the intention of other Member States to announce their contributions shortly. The economic assistance proposals submitted by the Commission (ECU 1.5 billion) will be examined as a matter of urgency. The European Community will adopt its final decision before the end of September.

At the same time the Community and its Member States commit themselves to examine — in concertation with other countries and international institutions — the possibility of economic assistance in favour of other countries also affected by the Gulf crisis.

Peace process in the Arab-Israeli conflict

The lack of any progress in the search for a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict is a source of deep concern to the European Community and its Member States. In this context, they are determined to encourage all efforts to promote dialogue between the parties directly concerned to the Arab-Israeli conflict, leading to the negotiation of a comprehensive settlement consistent with the principles they have set out, beginning with the Venice Declaration 10 years ago and further developed since, notably in the Madrid Declaration. In their opinion, this settlement should be found in the framework of an international peace conference under the auspices of the United Nations with the participation of the PLO. They also support every effort by the permanent members of the Security Council to create a climate of confidence between the parties which could contribute to this end.

The European Community stresses the urgent need for Israel to begin a political dialogue with the Palestinian people which could lead to a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement. Such a settlement should be on the basis of Resolutions 242 and 338 of the Security Council based on the principle of 'land for peace'. The European Community considers that in such a delicate situation, all channels of dialogue and negotiation should be kept open.

It also stresses that all parties have a responsibility to refrain from actions or statements which might impede steps towards dialogue and negotiation. The taking of human life and violence, whatever the circumstances, can play no part in achieving peace and reconciliation. The Community and its Member States have consistently condemned both threats and acts of violence in the region, whatever their origin.

Occupied Territories

The Community and its Member States consider that Israel's settlement policy in the Occupied Territories presents a growing obstacle to peace in the region and reiterate that Jewish settlements in the territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including East Jerusalem, are illegal

under international law. They recognize and support the right of Soviet Jews to emigrate to Israel and elsewhere. They are, however, firmly of the view that this right must not be implemented at the expense of the rights of the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories.

The European Community and its Member States remain seriously concerned at the situation in the Occupied Territories which adversely affects the living conditions of the people, compromises in a lasting way the future of Palestinian society and prevents the economic and social development of the Territories.

The lamentable position concerning the observance of human rights in the Occupied Territories has led the Community and its Member States to set out repeatedly their concern. They are resolved to step up their already significant support for the protection of the human rights of the population of the Occupied Territories. In this connection, they also call for further action, in accordance with the Fourth Geneva Convention, to ensure that protection. They remain concerned to ensure that the occupying power fulfils its obligations to the people of the Territories and to comply with its international responsibilities, notably in the area of health and education. In the present situation, and particularly with regard to the protection of the population, the United Nations, too, can and should play a useful role. The Twelve support such a role of the United Nations.

On the basis of the Strasbourg Declaration, the European Community and its Member States have taken a range of actions in order to arrest the deterioration of the economic and social situation in the Occupied Territories and to help preserve the future of Palestinian society. They confirm their determination to double direct Community aid by 1992. As an expression of the importance which they attach to facilitating the speedy and efficient implementation of the Community's expanding programme for the benefit of the population of the Occupied Territories, the European Council in Dublin invited the Commission to appoint a representative to the Occupied Territories for this purpose.

Lebanon

The European Community and its Member States are committed to the implementation of the Ta'if agreements. In their opinion there is no alternative to the process of national reconciliation and peace envisaged under those agreements. They have called on all parties concerned to support these objectives, with the exclusion of any recourse to violent means.

They have repeatedly expressed their full support for the constitutional order in Lebanon embodied by the President of the Republic and the Government appointed by him, so that, in accordance with the aspirations of the whole population, the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Lebanon can be restored. In their view this process implies the withdrawal of all foreign armed presence.

In this context, on 3 September, the European Community and its Member States welcomed the ratification by the Lebanese Parliament on 21 August of the Ta'if accord. They hope that this historic step will lead rapidly to implementation of all stages of the agreement. They deplore the continuing violence in the South of Lebanon and the Beqaa Valley and also deeply regret that General Aoun has still not accepted the Ta'if framework and the authority of President Hrawi and his Government. They urge him to show flexibility and accept the accord now that it has been duly ratified.

At this critical time in the Middle East, the European Community and its Member States wish to emphasize that the way forward in Lebanon must continue to be through negotiation and not the use of force by any side, causing further pointless bloodshed and destruction. The Community and its Member States appeal to all sides as Lebanese patriots to work towards a government which will achieve real national unity.

The Twelve welcome the recent release of some hostages held in Lebanon but remain concerned at the plight of those hostages still being held. The Twelve call for their immediate, unconditional and safe release.

Iran-Iraq

The Twelve continue to support the UN Secretary-General's efforts to achieve a negotiated settlement based on Security Council Resolution 598 as a whole. They have noted the recent Iraqi decision to withdraw its forces from the Iranian-occupied territories, to exchange Iraqi and Iranian prisoners of war and to acknowledge the validity of the Algiers agreement of 1975.

Western Sahara

The Twelve continue to support fully the efforts of the UN Secretary-General and his Special Representative, aimed at convening under the auspices of the United Nations a referendum on self-determination for the people of the Western Sahara. They are convinced that the Arab Maghreb Union can contribute significantly to this end.

In the opinion of the Twelve, the adoption by consensus of resolutions on Western Sahara at the 44th Session of the UN General Assembly and the 46th Session of the Commission on Human Rights commits the parties concerned to follow a constructive approach, so that a referendum on self-determination for the people of Western Sahara can be held under credible conditions at an early date.

Southern Africa

South Africa

The European Community and its Member States welcome the significant changes brought about in South Africa following the election, on 14 September 1989, of Mr De Klerk to the Presidency of the Republic. The period has been fertile in political events which could give a decisive turn towards the introduction of a democratic government and the abolition of apartheid. The release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, the unbanning of political organizations, the substantial lifting of the state of emergency, the commitment by the Government to abolish the apartheid system with a view to creating a democratic, united and non-racial South Africa as well as its willingness to enter into negotiations on the future of the country with the representatives of the majority are crucial elements which bear witness to the South African authorities' determination to adopt a more liberal and courageous attitude of clear overture to political reforms.

In this connection, the European Community and its Member States have constantly advocated the creation of a united, non-racial and truly democratic State which would offer all its people the benefit of common and equal citizenship as well as the guarantee of universally recognized human rights. Having called on all parties to remove the remaining obstacles to peaceful negotiations between all parties in South Africa and to refrain from violence or advocacy of violence, the Community and its Member States welcome the outcome of several rounds of pre-negotiations between the South African Government and the ANC, in particular the suspension of the armed struggle proclaimed by the ANC and the decisions on the release of political prisoners and an amnesty for exiles. The Community and its Member States therefore hope for a speedy start to negotiations on the new constitution.

They remain concerned, however, at the alarming increase of violence in South Africa at a time when the bases for such negotiations have finally been laid. They expect the South African authorities to do their utmost to stop the violence in an impartial manner and urge the parties concerned to set about solving their differences by means of dialogue in a joint endeavour to pacify the situation.

The European Community and its Member States recognize that a new South Africa will face acute socio-economic problems, which have been greatly exacerbated by apartheid. A post-apartheid South Africa must be able to avail itself of all the economic resources, including access to external finance, required to tackle them.

Through the programme of positive measures, the Community has been providing assistance to the victims of apartheid. The Community has decided to increase the programme and to ensure that it is adapted as necessary to the needs of a changing situation in South Africa, including those connected with the return and resettlement of exiles.

At the December 1989 European Council of Strasbourg, the Community and its Member States had decided to maintain pressure on Pretoria in order to promote the profound and irreversible changes they have repeatedly stood for. In June 1990, the European Council of Dublin affirmed its willingness to consider a gradual relaxation of this pressure when there was further clear evidence that the process of change already initiated continued in the direction called for at Strasbourg.

Namibia

The constructive negotiations which led to the December 1988 New York agreements on Namibia paved the way for the successful implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 and Namibian independence on 21 March 1990. The European Community and its Member States have always been firmly and resolutely attached to that institutional process. They accordingly gave a warm welcome to Namibia's accession to the family of independent nations and paid tribute to the central role played by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, his Special Representative and UNTAG in assisting the peaceful transition to independence under a constitution based on the principles of democracy and respect for human rights. The 25 and 26 June European Council of Dublin reiterated the commitment of the Community and its Member States to continue to give aid and support to the people of Namibia, in particular in the wider framework of the new Lomé IV Convention.

Angola and Mozambique

The Community and its Member States recently reaffirmed their conviction that a settlement of the conflicts in Angola and Mozambique was possible through dialogue. On 13 July they noted encouraging developments in each of the two countries.

In Angola, they welcomed the commitment to a multi-party political system likely to enhance the prospects for a genuine dialogue and for internal reconciliation. In this connection, they also noted with interest the contacts, under Portuguese auspices, between the Government of Angola and UNITA.

On Mozambique, they welcomed the positive outcome of the first official meeting between a delegation of the Government of Mozambique and RENAMO (Rome, 8 to 10 July) as well as the statement made by President Chissano on 31 July on the introduction of a multi-party system in Mozambique. The European Community and its Member States feel encouraged by the decision of the parties taken during the second round of talks in August to reconvene in Rome at an early date and hope that the above announcement will give a favourable impetus to the political and economic development of the country and contribute to national reconciliation.

The European Community and its Member States are ready, within the means available to them, to provide substantial and effective support for reconstruction and economic and social development in both Angola and Mozambique.

The Horn of Africa

The European Community and its Member States remain acutely concerned about the situation in the region, which is marked by continuing conflicts and widespread human suffering. They are convinced that just and lasting solutions can only be achieved by peaceful means and through negotiated political settlements, based on the respect for territorial integrity, independence and the principles of the UN Charter generally, ensuring where appropriate the full exercise of effective and genuine forms of regional autonomy. The plight of the populations

affected by famine and deprivation is a source of grave preoccupation to the Community and its Member States which are providing extensive food and other emergency aid where possible. The Twelve would like to express their concern with regard to the impact of these difficulties on the human rights situation in the Horn of Africa.

Despite serious difficulties arising in the context of the forwarding of aid (goods and medication) as illustrated by the tragic question of the Ethiopian port of Massawa, the Community and its Member States are doing all they can to relieve the suffering. They expressed their regrets about the decision to refuse permission to dock to a ship carrying a UN World Food Programme technical team to survey Massawa port. They conveyed these sentiments to the representative of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) in Washington with a strong call to cooperate in the utilization of the port of Massawa for the supply of aid to the people of northern Ethiopia. The Community and its Member States hope that all the parties concerned in this humanitarian effort will agree on an operational plan for the distribution of food relief through Massawa.

On a more general note they are willing to support any regional initiative which would encourage negotiation and reconciliation in Ethiopia, Sudan and Somalia. Concluding, the European Community and its Member States reaffirm that a military solution can never be an alternative to a negotiated and peaceful settlement of the situation of conflict pervading the Horn of Africa.

Senegal and Mauretania

The European Community and its Member States, while regretting that developments over the past year have not lived up to the expectations of the international community and that the two countries still have difficulties in solving their differences, also note with hope the decrease in the number and scope of incidents along the river Senegal in recent months. They hope that both countries will be able to return to the path of dialogue and negotiation in order to put an end to the controversy. The Twelve support the mediation efforts deployed by the OAU to this end.

Liberia

The European Community and its Member States have repeatedly expressed their concern at the deteriorating situation in Liberia. In this connection, they declared, on 25 July, that they followed with deep concern the course of events in Liberia. They deplored in particular the loss of life among the civilian population and the wholesale destruction caused by civil war and supported the efforts of all those who were working to restore peace in the country. The Community and its Member States launched an urgent appeal for an end to the sufferings of the Liberian people and to havoc and war in the country.

In the wake of that statement they reiterated, on 2 August, their concern about the grave deterioration of the situation, notably the flagrant violations of the respect for human life. They condemned the actions against the innocent population and appealed to the parties concerned for a cease-fire and to put an end to the bloody conflict through peaceful means. The Community and its Member States in particular called upon the parties to the conflict, in conformity with international law and the most basic humanitarian principles, to safeguard from violence embassies and places of refuge such as, for instance, churches and hospitals where defenceless civilians have sought shelter.

Latin America

1990 has seen a number of countries in Latin America take significant steps along the path of reconciliation and the full exercise of democracy. The European Community and its Member States noted with satisfaction the political and economic reform launched by some Latin

American countries with the aim to begin solving deep-seated problems which affect negatively their development prospects. However, the Twelve remain concerned at the human rights situation in a number of countries.

The Esquipulas peace process, reinforced in Montelimar on 3 April and by the economic summit in June, continues to reflect the determination of the Central American countries to build a future based on democracy, respect for human rights, social and economic progress, and regional cooperation. The European Community commends all the leaders concerned for their perseverance in this process.

The elections in Nicaragua, which took place freely and fairly, must serve to encourage neighbouring countries where the dialogue between political forces is still at a delicate stage.

The European Community and its Member States continue to attach great importance, in the context of national reconciliation in El Salvador, to the inquiry by the authorities of that country into the murder late last year of a number of Roman Catholic university staff and their co-workers. In this respect the Twelve also attach importance to the work of the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights on the human rights situation in El Salvador.

The effective functioning of the UN Observer Group on Central America (ONUCA) is a welcome illustration of the validity of the multilateral approach adopted by the Central American countries. The European Community and its Member States will continue to support the peace process in every way possible as is clearly illustrated by the political and economic communiqués adopted at the San José VI Ministerial Conference on 9 and 10 April, as well as the signature in Dublin on the occasion of the Agreement on a Central American payments system.

The European Community's relations with Latin America over the last decade and prospects for more efficient cooperation in the future were major topics of discussion at the EC-Rio Group meeting which took place in Dublin on 10 April. Our dialogue with this group of countries and with other Latin American groupings is continuing at this session of the General Assembly.

The Twelve were glad to participate at a high level in President Aylwin's investiture on 11 March, which marked the return of Chile to a State founded on law. They welcome the initiatives of the democratic Government aimed at re-establishing full respect for human rights and at giving justice to the victims of the excesses of the previous regime, a policy illustrated by the creation of the Commission of Truth and Reconciliation.

On the occasion of the investiture of the President-elect of Peru, Mr Alberto Fujimori, the European Community and its Member States addressed a message of solidarity to the Government of this country and expressed the hope that, having demonstrated once again during the recent general election and despite the difficulties with which it is faced its attachment to democracy, Peru will rediscover the path of peace and development, in full respect of the fundamental rights of the human person. The European Community and its Member States follow with attention and interest the implementation of the economic measures taken by the Peruvian Government aimed at improving the economic and social situation of the Peruvian people. In this connection, they express the hope that the first courageous measures implemented by the new Government of Peru will enable the conditions to be established for a lasting economic recovery assisted by active international solidarity.

The European Community and its Member States also follow closely the courageous measures of economic and financial stabilization taken by the new Brazilian administration.

The European Community and its Member States have expressed their solidarity and support for the efforts of those governments in Latin America, in particular the Colombian Government, which are most directly involved in the struggle against the evils of illicit drug production and trafficking. They share the concern of Latin American governments over other socio-economic problems, including those related to the servicing of external debt. They are heartened that the agreement which has been reached in Colombia on 15 March between the Government and an armed struggle movement clearly sets in motion in that country a dynamic of peace.

They believe that a number of factors, including the strengthening of democracy and initiatives to develop regional cooperation, offer new prospects to Latin America in the 1990s. The European Community, which is proud to share many ties of history and kinship with Latin America, will continue to examine the ways in which it can strengthen its relations with the region as a whole, through political dialogue as well as programmes of economic cooperation and technical assistance and give encouragement to processes of regional integration.

China

The European Community and its Member States, concerned at the human rights situation, express the sincere hope that China will resume the path of openness and reforms. In recent years, such policies enjoyed the Community's active support and indeed the support of the many neighbours and friends of China. The Community will pursue its dialogue with the Chinese authorities, using all available channels to urge on them, in our mutual interest, the pursuit of political and economic reforms, respect for human rights and openness to the outside world.

The European Community continues to attach importance to the smooth implementation of the Sino-British joint declaration on Hong Kong.

Kampuchea

The European Community remains deeply concerned at the continuing conflict in Kampuchea. It seeks a comprehensive political settlement which ensures the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and neutrality of Kampuchea, as well as the fundamental right of Kampucheans to choose their own government in free, fair and internationally supervised elections. It stresses the need to see human rights protected and to avoid a return to the genocidal policies and practices of the past. Neither the Khmer Rouge nor any other Kampuchean group should be allowed to seize or retain power through the force of arms.

In this context, the European Community welcomes the efforts of the five Permanent Members of the UN Security Council and the role of the UN Secretary-General. It fully supports the New York framework for a comprehensive political settlement agreed by the Permanent Five on 27 and 28 August. It also welcomes the agreement by the Kampuchean parties in Jakarta on 10 September on the New York framework in its entirety as the basis for settling the Kampuchean conflict and the formation of the Supreme National Council. It notes with approval that the Supreme National Council will represent Kampuchea externally, occupy the seat of Kampuchea at the United Nations, in the UN specialized agencies and in other international institutions and international conferences. The European Community now urges that the Paris International Conference on Kampuchea be reconvened at the earliest possible date in order to work out the details of the comprehensive political settlement.

It also calls on all the parties to exercise maximum self-restraint to facilitate the achievement and implementation of a comprehensive political settlement in a climate of peace.

Sri Lanka

The European Community and its Member States have followed closely the uncertain situation in Sri Lanka, conveying to the Government their serious concern about continuing threats to human rights. They deplore the resurgence of hostilities initiated by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam in June and the misery this has caused the civilian population in the affected parts of the country. They will support any initiative designed to restore peace in the country while maintaining the independence and territorial integrity of Sri Lanka.

East Timor

The Twelve have followed closely the developments in East Timor, including the human rights situation. The European Community and its Member States reiterate their support for the

contacts being held between Portugal and Indonesia under the auspices of the Secretary-General. They express the hope that a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable settlement may be soon achieved, in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter, thus fully respecting the legitimate interests of the East-Timorese.

India-Pakistan

The European Community and its Member States have been seriously concerned at the tension between India and Pakistan in the wake of the troubles in Kashmir. While they deplore the use of violence by Kashmir's militant groups, they are also concerned at reports of human rights abuses by the Indian security forces. They encourage the Indian Government in its efforts to prevent these. The European Community and its Member States enjoy excellent relations with India and Pakistan. They welcome and encourage efforts to de-escalate the state of tension between the two countries in the hope that this will lead to a fuller dialogue and a peaceful resolution of the differences between them. The European Community expresses the hope that the process of re-establishing democracy initiated 18 months ago in Pakistan will not be put in question.

Myanmar

The Twelve have welcomed the manner in which the people of Myanmar exercised their democratic right to vote in the elections. The results of the vote indicate a clear desire on the part of the people for a democratic multi-party system of government. They call on the present rulers of Myanmar to act upon the results of the elections by enabling the transfer of power to a civilian government chosen by the elected parliament. In this context they urge the present Government to release political prisoners immediately in order that they can play a full part in the democratic process.

Once the proper conditions have been established, the Community and its Member States look forward to participating in the major task that lies ahead of assisting economic reconstruction and development.

Vietnamese refugees

The European Community and its Member States reaffirm their commitment to the comprehensive plan of action as adopted at the International Conference on Indochinese Refugees held in Geneva, and hope that outstanding issues can be resolved concerning the repatriation of asylum seekers who fail to qualify for refugee status.

Korea

The Twelve express once again the hope that in conformity with the principle of universality of the Organization, the Korean people will be fully represented in the United Nations in the near future. They consider that the present international context is favourable for a reduction of the confrontation between the two Koreas, the last vestige of the Cold War. In this regard, the Twelve welcome the reopening of a direct political dialogue, as displayed in the unprecedented talks at the level of the two Korean Prime Ministers, and hope that these talks will lead to concrete advances.

Afghanistan

More than two years after the Geneva Agreement on the settlement of the situation relating to Afghanistan and one and a half years after the completion of the withdrawal of Soviet troops the Twelve continue to be concerned about the protracted conflict in Afghanistan.

The Twelve welcome the discussion between the United States and Soviet Union this year on means of promoting a settlement. In order to reach a comprehensive political settlement based

on the full and consistent implementation of the Geneva agreements, all parties concerned should intensify their efforts and cooperate to the fullest extent to achieve the goal of an independent and non-aligned Afghanistan. The Twelve underline the need for an intra-Afghan dialogue with a view to establishing a fully representative Government in which all segments of the Afghan people will take part. The Twelve confirm their support for the UN Secretary-General in his efforts to facilitate a settlement.

The Community and its Member States stand ready to contribute to the reconstruction of Afghanistan, once a just and lasting solution has been found.

Human rights

The defence of human rights in specific cases and situations as well as the promotion of the relevant concepts, principles and values form an integral and crucial part of the conduct of international affairs for the European Community and its Member States. This is illustrated by their efforts and interventions in international forums such as the Commission on Human Rights and ECOSOC as well as by bilateral initiatives under the CSCE/CDH mechanism on the human dimension and by other *démarches* on specific cases. Human rights policy will remain a central element of the European Community's external action. The Twelve reiterate their belief that human rights should receive a higher priority in the UN budget.

The year 1990, and more particularly the work of the 46th Commission on Human Rights, marked a new stage in the commitment of the Member States of the European Community to the human rights cause. The 46th CHR witnessed for the first time a common Twelve statement on country situations in addition to the Presidency's address on behalf of the Twelve. Following the enlargement decided upon by ECOSOC, the Twelve remain fully committed to the enhancement of the Human Rights Commission.

Drugs

The Twelve welcomed the political declaration and the global programme of action adopted by the General Assembly at its 17th Special Session, and fully support their implementation. The European Council in Dublin concluded that drug addiction and traffic in drugs are sources of great damage to individuals and society as well as to States and constitute a major menace to Europe and the rest of the world. In view of the extent of this scourge and in the perspective of a Europe without internal frontiers the Heads of State or Government agreed on the need for a coherent and effective policy at European level. In this connection, they reiterated the necessity to reinforce international and transcontinental cooperation in the fight against drugs and, in the Community context, considered that effective action by each member State, supported by joint action of the Twelve and the Community, should be a main priority for the future.

In order to enable the United Nations to play an enhanced role in the fight against drug abuse and to deal with the new tasks assigned to it, the European Community and its Member States believe that it is necessary to review the structure of the existing United Nations drugs units. This would pave the way for clear objectives so as to enable the United Nations to fulfil its role effectively and in a well-coordinated manner. They look forward to the publication of the report of the expert group set up by the Secretary-General. The European Community hopes that this report will form a useful basis for decisions by the UN to this end.

International terrorism

As the frequency and gravity of terrorist activities remains a subject of utmost concern nationally and internationally, the attitudes of States should continue to be very firm in this regard just as responses to the terrorist threat should be concerted to the largest extent possible. The abolition of internal frontiers within the Community by 1993 requires increased cooperation between the Twelve's police forces. The Twelve believe that under present circumstances the terrorist threat does not allow for any slackening of vigilance.

Law of the Sea

Concerning the 1982 UN Law of the Sea Convention, the European Community and its Member States remain convinced of its great importance for the upholding of a juridical order on the seas and oceans. They consider it essential that the Convention should receive universal support. To this end, it is necessary to resolve the problems posed by the Convention in the domain of mining in the deep-sea bed, as these problems are an obstacle to the ratification of the Convention by several States. The efforts which are taking shape with a view to launching a new dialogue, without preconditions or preconceived commitments, have the full support of the European Community and its Member States. We congratulate the Secretary-General for the efforts he has undertaken to this end and strongly hope that they will be crowned with success.

International economic situation

Between 1980 and 1990 world output grew by over 30%, the relative position of countries in the world economy changed and new poles of economic development appeared.

Growth in developed market economies reached an average 2.6% during the decade and the rates of growth in individual economies also became more similar due to the greater degree of cooperation.

The process of integration was most apparent in Western Europe and in particular in the EEC, as a result of the efforts of the Twelve in this field.

Among developing countries there was a great divergence. In Latin America the rate of growth plummeted to just over 1% a year during the 1980s compared to 5.5% in the previous decade. In Africa the rate of growth sharply declined from about 5% in the 1970s to less than 1% in the 1980s, and per capita output fell substantially over the period. Quite to the contrary, South and East Asia grew by over 7% a year in the 1980s and some of the most populous countries of the region grew faster than before.

The European Community is worried about the negative effects that should result in the world economy from the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. Not only has the price of energy become higher and unpredictable, thus affecting growth and development, but also any cut-backs on defence spending that could possibly have occurred as a result of the positive changes in Europe would be affected.

The abovementioned differences in the growing path and the increased level of economic interdependence stress the need for enhanced international cooperation in order to promote peace, growth and sustainable development.

The revitalization of the development process and the enhancement of environmental conditions must be regarded as the major challenges to the international community in the 1990s. Action to ensure a successful transition process in Eastern and Central Europe is also essential.

To meet these challenges the investment needs of the world will grow during the 1990s, particularly in countries undertaking economic reforms. This process will require an increase in savings both in developing and in developed countries.

Regional and interregional cooperation now taking place in different parts of the world undoubtedly represent a main factor of stability and prosperity that gives momentum to the broader initiatives undertaken in the framework of the UN system.

The European Community and its Member States believe that efforts must be deployed in order to strengthen international economic cooperation, improve national policy management, revitalize the development process and create better environmental conditions.

International economic cooperation

The European Community plays a major role in the world economic growth and in the multilateral liberalization of trade.

The Community has become one of the major poles of economic development through sound macroeconomic policies, greater economic efficiency and the efforts for the implementation of the European single market of 1993. All partners of the Twelve will benefit from the creation of a single market of, soon, 336 million consumers due to the openness of the European Community to world trade.

The European Monetary System is leading to a high degree of economic convergence and stability. The European Community has decided to launch an intergovernmental conference aiming at the creation of an economic and monetary union.

The first stage of that union has already begun; during this stage, closer surveillance and coordination of economic and monetary policies will contribute towards non-inflationary growth and a more robust international economic system.

At the same time, the Community will pursue its efforts in the field of agricultural policy reform.

German unification will reduce external imbalances and contribute to positive economic developments in Central and Eastern Europe which, through the encouragement of world trade, will be to the benefit of all countries.

In 1990 the European Community has taken important steps towards the reinforcement of its links with its nearest neighbours as well as with the rest of the world.

The European Community actively pursues negotiations with the Member States of the European Free Trade Association aimed at the creation of a European Economic Area of 18 countries, in which free circulation of goods, persons, capital and services will be realized to the greatest possible extent.

The relationship of the European Community with Central and Eastern Europe has shown remarkable progress. The Community has already concluded bilateral agreements with virtually all countries of the area. Preparations are under way to follow up certain of these agreements with a second generation of association agreements, which will progressively draw our countries together as political and economic reform in Central and Eastern Europe makes progress. The European Community is coordinating an action plan of economic assistance for Poland and Hungary on behalf of the 24 OECD nations. The coordination of assistance has been recently extended to other emerging democracies in Central and Eastern Europe, including Yugoslavia. The Community has also made a contribution to the development of vocational training in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

The Community has also initiated the establishment of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), in which 42 interested parties are participating. The Community holds 51% of the Bank's capital. We expect the new EBRD to begin its operation early in 1991 and to play a key role in giving support to private investment in beneficiary countries as well as to contribute to orderly transitions towards market economy and a sound basis for democracy.

In parallel, it is the Twelve's policy to facilitate the accession by Central and East European countries to the Bretton Woods institutions.

The European Community and its Member States have welcomed the efforts under way in the Soviet Union to liberalize and to create a more open, democratic and pluralistic society, and to move towards a market-oriented economy. They have indicated their willingness to fully support and assist these reform efforts by helping the Soviet Union to become more integrated in the international economic system. In this context, the European Community welcomes the recent admission of the Soviet Union to GATT as an observer. Moreover, the Dublin European Council asked the European Commission to consult the Government of the Soviet Union with a view to preparing urgently proposals covering short-term credits and longer-term support for structural reform.

The Community is currently discussing the renewal of its Mediterranean policy to take account of the evolution of the countries of the area and to support their efforts of cooperation with Europe, regional integration and economic development. In the Mediterranean basin, the

initiative of economic integration which is now under way deserves encouragement and support from the European Community. The creation of the Arab Maghreb Union and the other initiatives of economic integration will permit the European Community to further enhance its political and economic relations with Mediterranean countries.

The European Community and its Member States remain committed to the development of the Euro-Arab dialogue which was opportunely relaunched at the ministerial meeting last December in Paris.

The Community and its Member States are conscious of the grave burden which the present crisis in the Gulf imposes on the economy of many countries. Therefore, and in the spirit of Article 50 of the UN Charter, the Community and its Member States reaffirm their commitment to provide substantial short-term economic assistance to the countries most seriously affected by the strict implementation of the embargo and notably Egypt, Jordan and Turkey.

At the same time the Community and its Member States commit themselves to examine — in concertation with other countries and international institutions — the possibility of economic assistance in favour of other countries also affected by the Gulf crisis.

In addition to the humanitarian aid already provided, a major effort is necessary to assist in the repatriation of refugees from Iraq and Kuwait. The Community and its Member States are substantially contributing to the joint effort, by providing additional humanitarian aid and transportation facilities.

The European Community expresses its solidarity to the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council and hopes that the 1988 cooperation agreement will be followed by a trade agreement.

In Asia, common initiatives between the European Community and ASEAN have been strengthened during the year with the aim of developing industrial cooperation and investments.

With Latin American partners, the European Community pursues its efforts to diversify cooperation and trade. The European Community welcomes Latin American efforts in the field of regional cooperation and trade and reiterates its willingness to continue its cooperation within the framework of [the] San José agreements, thus promoting economic stability and peace in Central America. Furthermore, the Community is now completing its network of cooperation agreements with the countries of the Latin American region (Argentina, Chile etc.).

The Community is currently considering a new programme of cooperation with Asian and Latin American countries for the next decade, with a view to reviving and strengthening its development cooperation efforts.

The fourth ACP-EEC Convention was signed in Lomé on 15 December 1989. While consolidating what was achieved under earlier conventions, the new convention improves and develops the instruments of cooperation, extends cooperation to new subjects or areas and is intended to address developments in the economic situation of the ACP countries.

Concerning multilateral cooperation, the European Community believes that an open multilateral trading system, resisting protectionist pressures, is an essential external condition for sustainable development. Developed countries, despite generalized and regional preferential schemes, still maintain in some cases significant tariff and non-tariff obstacles to those exports of prime importance to developing countries, which reflect their national comparative advantages. While some developing countries have made progress in liberalizing their foreign trade, many others protect inefficient and rent-generating markets behind high tariff and non-tariff barriers often very detrimental to their own development. The particular problems of the least developed countries should however be borne in mind.

The European Community encourages regional cooperation among developing countries as a step towards a better integration in the multilateral trading system.

The Uruguay Round, to be concluded in Brussels next December, must be seized as a unique opportunity to achieve, through mutual concessions of both industrialized and developing countries, taking into account the state of their development, a strengthening of the international trading system and a major trade liberalization on the eve of the fourth development

decade. A further lowering of tariff barriers, the elimination of non-tariff barriers, a reinforced GATT framework with strengthened rules and disciplines and a widening of their scope to partially excluded areas (agriculture, textiles and clothing) and new areas (services, TRIPS, TRIMS) will contribute to these ends. The Community reaffirms its strong commitment to the Round. All involved — developed and developing countries alike — must contribute to a successful outcome.

A positive outcome of the Uruguay Round will pave the way for a further strengthening of the institutional framework of the multilateral trading system, considering the building up of an international trade organization.

Simultaneously, trade preferences *vis-à-vis* developing countries should be improved, in particular by making them more stable and transparent. The Community will examine which improvements can be made in its Generalized System of Preferences and in which way it could intensify its efforts in favour of least developed countries.

It is worth noting that ongoing reforms in Eastern Europe should stimulate East-South trade and that developing countries should gain from the resulting world growth and from the improved international division of labour. The Twelve do not expect this positive trade scenario to materialize overnight: it will require the adoption of a much more open trading system by East European countries.

Concerning the international monetary system, large imbalances, exchange-rate misalignments and instability, high interest rates and protectionist pressures represent a threat to steady growth. In the opinion of the Twelve, efforts need to be undertaken with a view to ensuring greater stability and convergence. The growing interdependence among different countries makes it necessary to pursue and improve international economic cooperation and in particular the system of multilateral surveillance.

The Twelve welcome the recent agreement on the increase of IMF quotas and the replenishment of IDA resources agreed last December.

Development

The new decade is opening against a background of favourable economic trends: almost eight years of uninterrupted world growth and trade expansion, political and economic reforms in Eastern Europe and the emergence of democratically elected governments in the developing world and particularly in Latin America. But these positive achievements shall be jeopardized if increasing poverty and demographic pressures spill over into social unrest and political instability, undermining the renewed climate of international cooperation based on mutual respect and the search for common approaches to problems.

In the developing world there is a growing awareness of the need to sustain growth and development by a stable macroeconomic framework, more competition and opening of markets. A more pragmatic approach is being generally adopted to the promotion of balanced and sustainable economic growth. Democratic institutions and respect for human rights are essential in the effective development of human resources and an equitable growth that meets the basic social and economic needs of all people.

The successful conclusion of the special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to international economic cooperation and in particular to the revitalization of economic growth and development of developing countries represents an effective relaunching of North-South dialogue and paves the way for more active forms of cooperation.

The international development strategy (IDS), along with other events which are to take place within the UN system, will cover basic issues of interest to developing countries. The strategy should be flexible so that it can respond to changing circumstances and it should be built on the achievements of the special session.

The second UN Conference on Least Developed Countries which successfully concluded its work in Paris on 14 September provided guidelines for reversing in the next decade the economic

and social decline in many LDCs during the 1980s. The European Community and its Member States welcome the outcome of the Conference, reaffirm their full endorsement of the Paris Declaration and consider the measures contained in the programme of action as a valuable instrument for promoting growth and development. We are all committed to effectively implementing the programme on the basis of the following principles: primary responsibility of LDCs for formulating and implementing policies and priorities for their growth and development, shared responsibility and strengthened partnership, the need for adequate external support to LDCs from developed partners, and the need to undertake commitments measurable and transparent enough to enable monitoring and assessment. In this framework, our efforts should allow the Community as a whole to exceed by the end of the decade the target of 0.15% of the gross national product as set out in the programme.

For the developing world, many of the major economic problems of the 1980s still remain unsolved. Heavy indebtedness, protectionism, high real interest rates and, in some cases, drying up of commercial financing are among the major external burdens to development. The recent increase in energy prices will add, at least for some time, new problems to non-oil producers.

In tackling the problems faced by developing countries, no external assistance and international cooperation can make up for ineffective domestic policies, as the experience of the past decades has shown. Growing heterogeneity in developing countries' performance reflects not only the possibilities open to them but also to a considerable extent their differing aptitude for carrying out effective national development strategies.

A durable improvement in developing countries' economic performance calls for a new balance between market forces and the economic role of the State. As the South Commission pointed out in its report on 'The challenge to the South's States', the role of the State, of planning, and of the market in the development process should be carefully evaluated. On the one hand, flexible and efficient markets, pricing policies reflecting economic realities and development priorities, encouragement of private sector productive activity and openness to trade and foreign investment are needed for improving resources use as well as income distribution. On the other hand, public sector activities must be refocused towards the provision of the necessary infrastructure and public services critical for human resources, in particular health and education; it is of particular importance to note that effective development requires a strong administrative capacity, efficient public services and, whenever possible, a substantial reduction in military budgets, which are considerably larger than ODA receipts.

National policies, through good government, should be supportive of investments as well as of efficient allocation and mobilization of resources and, in parallel with international cooperation, should also promote a diversification of the economic base thereby lessening the dependence on primary goods. The multilateral development agencies have a crucial role in assisting developing countries design and implement effective national policies.

Economic reforms in a number of developing countries are vulnerable to the long-term adverse trend in real commodity prices. In line with the EC's special efforts to address this problem within successive Lomé agreements (Stabex and Sysmin compensatory mechanisms and support for productive capacity and diversification), international cooperation, whether bilateral or multilateral, should provide greater opportunities for enhanced productivity, vertical integration and diversification.

This cooperation should take place through an early implementation of the Common Fund's Second Account and an improved functioning and revitalization of existing commodity agreements which must reflect and be consistent with market trends. A new International Coffee Agreement with economic provisions which resolve the problems of the old one would be of particular importance to a wide group of developing countries.

Aspects other than greater economic efficiency are of equal importance in the attainment of equitable and sustainable development: open, accountable political systems and the respect of individual rights represent a vital element for effective and equitable operation of economic systems.

Population growth should be at such a rate as to permit a reasonable balance with expanding resources. Family planning is particularly important for avoiding an aggravation of already difficult social, economic and environmental problems. Improved educational opportunities for women and their greater integration in the economy can contribute to stabilizing population.

Sustainable growth in developing countries requires an effective mobilization of domestic resources as well as additional resource flows. The Member States of the Community have already significantly contributed to the sizeable increase in World Bank and IDB resources in past years and more recently to the replenishment of the IDA and of the African Special Programme and will contribute to the agreed increase in the resources of the IMF.

The fourth Lomé Convention, covering the period 1991-95, provides for a 25% real increase in Community aid to the ACP countries.

The Member States of the European Community reiterate that their commitment to the developing countries will not be weakened by their support to the transition process in Central and Eastern Europe.

In this context they reaffirm their commitment to work in order to attain the accepted United Nations targets of devoting 0.7% of their GNP to ODA and, within that, 0.15% to the least developed countries. In addition, they underline their determination to improve the quality of the aid they provide.

The persistence and severity of the external debt problems of a number of developing countries demand continued attention. A supportive international environment is crucial to the effectiveness of national policies to tackle the debt issue. However, external assistance cannot compensate for inappropriate domestic policies and structures. Strong action to address structural problems remains essential in highly indebted developing countries. This action must rest on a strong political commitment and a widely shared domestic consensus.

Substantial progress has been achieved in expanding the resources of multilateral financing institutions and reducing the debt and debt-service of the poorest, highly indebted countries. Progress is being achieved in dealing with the debt overhang of middle income countries which are highly indebted to commercial creditors. Many EC Member States have already taken substantial measures to grant debt relief to least developed countries as well as to other developing countries in relation to their official debt, while others have committed themselves to implementing forgiveness as soon as possible.

Further progress is needed. The Community encourages the Paris Club to continue to review the implementation of the existing options that apply to the poorest countries and to consider, on a case-by-case basis, extending the Toronto terms to a greater number of least developed countries. In the case of the lower middle income countries which implement strong reform programmes, the Community encourages the Paris Club to lengthen the repayment period to take into account the special situation of these countries.

A review by the Paris Club of additional options to address debt burden would also be welcomed. Creditor nations should continue to play an important role through ongoing contributions to the international financial institutions, new finance and, for the poorest countries, public debt forgiveness.

High interest rates are burdening debtor developing economies. Drawing from the experience of measures recently taken by the World Bank, multilateral and regional institutions should also examine measures to alleviate debt service obligations of the poorest countries.

The Craxi report on debt commissioned by the UN Secretary-General will contribute to a common appraisal of debt problems that negatively affect many developing countries and that continue to require innovative approaches.

Access to modern technology and know-how, education and training, and scientific assistance are important and effective means of directly supporting the development process. The European Community and its Member States are actively promoting such new modalities of cooperation with developing countries.

Furthermore, in the European Community's cooperation with developing countries, emphasis is increasingly placed on the role of direct cooperation between private enterprises or public agencies of industrialized and developing countries. The EC is also reinforcing its cooperation in institution-building aiming at more effective public sector management.

These new forms of cooperation will be particularly effective where the domestic conditions in beneficiary countries create an environment propitious to business and investment. Of particular importance are the protection of intellectual property and other investment-related measures.

Environment

The European Community and its Member States believe that one of the most important responsibilities is to pass on to future generations an environment the health, beauty, and economic potential of which are not threatened. Environmental problems such as climate change, ozone depletion, deforestation, marine pollution, and loss of biological diversity cannot be solved without closer and more effective international cooperation and concrete action.

The production and consumption patterns, particularly of energy, that prevailed during the last decades in the industrialized and, more recently, in the developing countries, are not sustainable for future generations' development.

It is the European Community's view that global environmental problems can only be solved by intensive international cooperation in the management of natural resources. Such a system will require a global consensus and common disciplines with the support of all States, developed and developing, which must also implement appropriate domestic policies.

Industrialized countries have a special responsibility to encourage and participate in international action to combat global environmental problems and to support efforts to build into international structures the capacity to respond more effectively to global problems.

Foremost among these problems are the depletion of the ozone layer and man-made emissions that substantially increase the atmospheric concentrations of greenhouse gases. A business-as-usual approach will lead to additional global warming in the decades to come. The revision of the Montreal Protocol to phase out the use of chlorofluorocarbons by the year 2000 represents an important step towards better environmental management.

In addition, the 12 Member States of the European Community are in the process of committing themselves to stabilizing carbon dioxide emissions — the principal greenhouse gas — at present levels by early in the next century with a view to establishing a strong Community position in preparation for the Second World Climate Conference. The Community and its Member States will take all possible steps to promote, in the light of the report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), the early adoption of a Climate Convention and associated protocols, including one on sources and sinks of greenhouse gases, which include tropical forest protection.

The importance of developing new and updated instruments of environmental policy should be stressed. In this regard, particular attention should be given to economic instruments, i.e. those measures aimed at making explicit the environmental costs of different behaviours that the markets would not themselves take into account. This would be in conformity with the general 'polluter pays' principle.

The European Community and its Member States reiterate their support for the activities carried out within the United Nations and other international bodies in the field of environment. The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development will be an important opportunity to develop widespread agreement on common action and coordinated plans, and must enhance the capacity of decision-makers in developing countries to assess options and make decisions that are in their best interest. We welcome the constructive approach adopted by all those who participated in the Nairobi Preparatory committee. The conclusions drawn in the Siena Forum on International Law of the Environment should be considered by the 1992 Conference on Environment and Development as a positive contribution to common disciplines enforced through international cooperation and control.

Developing countries are also faced with increasingly grave regional and local environmental problems; the weakening of their natural resource base and ecosystems are cause for great concern. Measures and policies, including environmental policies, are needed in these countries to effectively address the underlying causes, whether these be of an economic, social, demographic or legal nature.

A favourable international economic climate that supports developing countries' economic growth is equally important for avoiding further degradation of their natural environment.

Industrialized countries need to assist developing countries in their environment-related efforts, *inter alia* by:

(i) the provision of additional financial resources (in this connection the financial mechanism of the revised Montreal Protocol has been set up, and a proposal for a World Bank Global Environment Facility has been made),

(ii) facilitating developing countries' access to, and transfer of, environmentally sound technologies, and

(iii) targeting of industrialized countries' bilateral and multilateral aid programmes on means of limiting the environmental damage, including losses of the world's tropical forests.

The European Community and its Member States are already in the process of providing more assistance to developing countries in their efforts to address local environmental problems. The fourth Lomé Convention provides for a special chapter on environmental cooperation; the new orientations for cooperation between the European Community and developing countries of Asia, Latin America and the Mediterranean Basin incorporate a priority to environmental protection; finally, and without diverting attention and resources from the developing countries, the European Community and its Member States are reinforcing their assistance to, and cooperation with, Eastern and Central European countries in their efforts to address environmental degradation that has developed through years of neglect.

The European Community and its Member States are determined to take action to increase forests, while protecting existing ones, in line with the principle of sustainable development, and recognize the sovereign rights of all countries to make use of their natural resources.

The destruction of tropical forests has reached alarming proportions. The European Community and its Member States actively support the commitment of some developing countries to help arrest this destruction and to provide sustainable forest management. The Tropical Forestry Action Plan must be reformed and strengthened, placing more emphasis on forest conservation and protection of biological diversity. The International Tropical Timber Organization must be enhanced to emphasize sustainable forest management and improve market operations. It is worth noting that the Commission of the European Communities is collaborating with the World Bank on a special programme aimed at the preservation of tropical forests in the Amazon.

90/339. EC-USSR joint statement

Date of Issue: 26 September 1990

Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome, New York

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: The Twelve with other actors

Status of Document: Joint Declaration

The European Community and its Member States and the Soviet Union, concerned that unresolved situations of conflict in the Middle East and the Gulf endanger international peace and security, generate new crises, spur the regional arms race and lead to an escalation of violence and extremism, have decided to adopt the following statement.

I. The Gulf crisis has to be urgently resolved. The invasion and military occupation of Kuwait, a sovereign and independent State, by Iraq have been condemned by the whole international

community. These acts must not be tolerated since they violate fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter and international law and create a new, dangerous source of tension in the region.

Proceeding from the principles of inadmissibility of the use of force to settle disputes between States and of the respect for the right of every State to safeguard its national independence and territorial integrity, the European Community and its Member States and the Soviet Union demand that Iraq strictly comply with the resolutions of the United Nations Security Council and immediately and unconditionally withdraw its forces from Kuwait.

They express satisfaction at the high degree of consensus among all members of the United Nations Security Council and the international community as a whole concerning the need to put an end as soon as possible to the invasion and to restore international legality.

They believe that such a consensus needs to be preserved in order for a political solution of the crisis to be achieved. The condition for this outcome is full compliance with the embargo decided by the United Nations. The European Community and its Member States and the Soviet Union are determined to continue to adhere to the sanctions decided by the Security Council and call on all other States to act in the same way. They are also prepared to consider additional steps consistent with the United Nations Charter.

Time does not work for the aggressor. It will only strengthen the determination of the international community to repeal the aggression and to fully restore Kuwait's sovereignty.

The European Community and its Member States and the Soviet Union urge the Iraqi authorities to allow immediately all foreign citizens who so desire to leave Iraq and Kuwait. They hold the Iraqi Government responsible for their safety.

II. The European Community and its Member States and the Soviet Union are also determined to multiply their efforts aiming at resolving the other conflicts of the region, such as the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Palestinian problem and the situation in Lebanon. The European Community and its Member States and the Soviet Union stress that they remain committed to the attainment of a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the region, in compliance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations Security Council.

Wishing to contribute to the security and welfare in the area, the European Community and its Member States and the Soviet Union confirm their readiness to cooperate with the countries of the area in establishing a comprehensive structure in the region and in drawing up to that end a set of rules capable of fostering peace, tolerance, stability, economic cooperation and development. They will consult each other in order to achieve these objectives.

The European Community and its Member States and the Soviet Union believe that practical measures should be taken, concurrently and in conjunction with the peace efforts in the Middle East, to build a climate of confidence aiming at resolving the problems of the whole area, to curb the arms race and to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction through adherence to the appropriate international agreements as well as through specific regional measures.

90/340. Joint communiqué of the European Community, its Member States and the Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf (GCC) and its member States

Date of Issue: 27 September 1990

Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: The Twelve with other actors

Status of Document: Joint Declaration

The European Community and its Member States and the Gulf Cooperation Council and its member States reiterate their strong condemnation of the invasion of Kuwait, an Arab State

victim of an aggression for which the President of Iraq is fully responsible, and their categorical rejection of the purported annexation, which is contrary to international law and is therefore null and void.

Seriously concerned at the grave and continued violation of international law perpetrated by Iraq, they jointly and solemnly reaffirm their common stance on the present situation in the Gulf and their commitment to prompt restoration of legality, security and stability in the area, based on the universally accepted principles governing the relations among States.

The European Community and its Member States and the GCC and its member States reaffirm their full support for all the United Nations Security Council Resolutions on the Gulf crisis and for their unconditional implementation in all aspects. They further stress their joint efforts in extending financial assistance to the countries most directly affected by the implementation of the United Nations embargo.

Profoundly convinced of the need for the widest and strongest cohesion of the world community in the efforts to restore international legality violated by Iraq and to protect the rights of all foreign nationals still held against their will in Iraq and Kuwait, they commit themselves to work together during the current session of the United Nations General Assembly in order to achieve this objective.

Both sides reiterate their full support for the people of Kuwait, suffering under foreign occupation, and their legitimate government and express their determination to actively cooperate in achieving the restoration of Kuwait's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity under its legitimate government.

The Community and its Member States and the GCC and its member States underline their determination to reinforce their economic cooperation. They agree actively to implement their existing cooperation agreement, and to start negotiations with a view to achieving a prompt and satisfactory conclusion of a free trade agreement.

They reaffirm their will to further develop such cooperation extending it to the political and cultural aspects so as to enhance mutual understanding and sustain jointly and in conjunction with other States of the Gulf region and with the assistance of the whole international community, all diplomatic and political efforts aimed at the restoration and consecration of peace, legality, stability and security in the Gulf.

90/341. Question No 132/90 by Mr Carvalhas, Mr Barros Moura, Mr Wurtz and Mr Miranda da Silva (CG-P,F) concerning the American intervention in Angola

Date of Issue: 28 September 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 8 February 1990

At the end of November 1989, an American L100 aircraft crashed in Angolan territory near a Unita base in Jamba. The aircraft had left the military base of Kamina in Zaire several hours before, and the accident was apparently the result of pilot error. Four or five United States citizens who were travelling in the aircraft died. A number of Unita members who were also on board survived. The aircraft was carrying CIA military equipment intended for Unita.

The American State Department confirmed that a number of North American passengers had been killed, while the CIA simply stated that 'it was not its policy to confirm or deny such information'.

The facts confirm that the United States Administration has been interfering in Angola, giving its support to an organization opposed to the legitimate government and thereby hampering the progress of the peace negotiations.

Can the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation give their views on this matter?

Answer:

The question raised by the honourable Members has not been discussed within the framework of European political cooperation.

90/342. Question No 911/90 by Sir James Scott-Hopkins (ED-UK) concerning an interim role for the United Nations in Kampuchea

Date of Issue: 28 September 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 17 April 1990

Recognizing the importance of the recent Australian initiative which seeks an interim role for the United Nations pending elections and the near broad endorsement of such an approach by the UN Security Council, I would like to ask whether all Member States will be indicating their support for this proposal to the United States, China and Asean.

Answer:

In their ministerial statement on Kampuchea on 20 February 1990, the Twelve welcomed the discussions taking place among the five Permanent Members of the United Nations Security Council and the active part played by the UN Secretariat. They also welcomed the proposals promoted by the Foreign Minister of Australia for an enhanced role for the United Nations in a comprehensive political settlement. The UN role had also been emphasized in the EC-Asean Joint Declaration agreed in Kuching on 16 and 17 February.

The likely nature of the UN's role in Kampuchea has become clearer in the intervening months, and could involve verification of the Vietnamese withdrawal and of a cease-fire, the overseeing of an interim administration, and ensuring free and fair elections. Governments of the Twelve have contributed, or are considering a contribution, to the UN Secretary-General's Trust Fund for the Kampuchean peace process. The honourable Member can rest assured that the Twelve will continue to use their common influence in support of an overall political settlement in Kampuchea in which the United Nations will have an indispensable part to play.

90/343. Question No 1335/90 by Mr Glinne (S-B) concerning the requirement for Member State nationals to obtain an entry visa for the United States

Date of Issue: 28 September 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 11 June 1990

The immigration law which came into force in the United States on 9 November 1986 authorized the Federal Government to select eight countries whose nationals would be exempted, on an experimental basis, from the requirement to obtain a visa when visiting the United States for a maximum of 90 days. These countries are Japan, Switzerland and Sweden and, from the Community, in decreasing order of the number of visa applications, the United Kingdom, Germany, France, and the Netherlands.

This represents discrimination against seven Community Member States, despite repeated representations to the US Congress by members of Parliament's Delegation for Relations with the United States and regardless of the joint visa policy operated by the three Benelux countries. The Luxembourg Government, which was then occupying the Presidency, made many efforts, consistently supported and then renewed by the Belgian Government, to obtain uniform treatment for the three countries, whereas the Spanish, Portuguese, Greek, Danish and Irish authorities merely murmured their disappointment in diplomatic language.

I should like to know whether European political cooperation is endeavouring to emphasize to the US Administration the notion of a political entity, which is how the European Community should be seen in the United States, and the advantages of complete reciprocity between the two partners. What results have been achieved, and what obstacles need to be overcome?

Answer:

Concerning the general question of US recognition of the Community as a political entity, the honourable Member will be aware of such developments as Secretary of State Baker's speech in Berlin in December 1989 on the enhancement of US-EC relations, the meeting in February between the President of the European Council and the President of the United States, and the discussion of transatlantic relations at the recent European Council, which expressed its satisfaction with the developments in the Community's relations with the United States, based on the structure laid down by the European Council in April and characterized by ever closer cooperation.

The 'complete reciprocity' to which the question refers is not yet close to achievement in the matter of visa policy, in that no Member State of the Community imposes a visa requirement on short-term visitors from the United States.

The Twelve have noted the present US experiment, designed to reduce administrative overheads, according to which short-term visitors from certain countries, including a number of Community Member States, are subject to special regulations which do not include a visa requirement. The implications of this procedure for the Community are being studied among the Twelve in the light *inter alia* of the progress being made towards the establishment of a coordinated approach to visa and immigration policy.

90/344. Question No 1342/90 by Mr Stevenson (S-DK) concerning the state of emergency regulations in South Africa, as applied to Gazankulu

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Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 11 June 1990

The Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation will be aware of the continued state of emergency regulations that still apply in South Africa.

Are the Ministers aware that these regulations still apply in the homeland of Gazankulu which permit any member of the security forces to arrest without warrant any person for 30 days if in the opinion of the arresting officer it is necessary for the maintenance of public order? The detention can then be extended for a further five months by the Minister of Law and Order without any representations from the detainee or their lawyer. Are the Ministers also therefore aware that an estimated 1 900 people have been detained in Gazankulu in recent weeks during increased non-violent opposition to the homeland system?

Will the Ministers indicate what action they are prepared to consider in the light of this repressive action by the South African Government?

Answer:

The honourable Member is certainly aware of the fact that the South African authorities' decision of 8 June 1990 to lift the state of emergency in the entire territory also applies to the homeland of Gazankulu. The only exception, for the time being, remains the province of Natal, where violence between rival black communities still explains the continued application of a series of special security measures. The honourable Member may, however, be assured that the Twelve will, for their part, continue to monitor developments in Natal with the utmost attention.

**90/345. Question No 1413/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E)
concerning the imprisonment of Father Thadeus Nguyen Van Ly in
Vietnam**

Date of Issue: 28 September 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 13 June 1990

Can the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation make representations regarding the release of Father Thadeus Nguyen Van Ly, sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment for 'opposing the revolution and attempting to destroy popular unity', who is apparently being held in Binh Tri Thien prison?

Answer:

The specific case referred to by the honourable Member has not been discussed in the framework of the European political cooperation.

The most recent EC *démarche*, concerning a number of detainees imprisoned for their political or religious beliefs, was made to the Vietnamese authorities on 29 December 1989. In the absence of a response, the Italian Ambassador, on behalf of the Irish Presidency, reminded the Vietnamese authorities of this *démarche* on 12 April 1990.

As the honourable Member is aware, relations between the Community and its Member States and Vietnam have been burdened for a number of years by the recurrence of human rights violations in that country. At various instances the Twelve have indicated to the Vietnamese authorities their grave concern with regard to the human rights situation and impressed upon them the adverse effect this has on public opinion in the countries of the Community as well as on relations with Vietnam in general. In this context the Twelve have called upon the Vietnamese authorities to respect the principle of freedom of religion intervening on behalf of Vietnamese representatives of a variety of religious groups in that country. The Twelve continue to monitor the situation closely.

**90/346. Question No 1414/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E)
concerning political detainees in Somalia**

Date of Issue: 28 September 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 13 June 1990

What representations have the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation made regarding the imprisonment for political reasons of students, writers (Mohamed Ali Dahir and Abdi Aden Queys), former soldiers and imams (Skeikh Ali Sufi) in Somalia, and what results have these representations had?

Answer:

The Community and its Member States have consistently made representations to the Somali authorities in defence of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The Presidency would refer the honourable Member to the declaration of the Twelve on Somalia, which was published on 13 July 1990, submitted to the Somali authorities by the Troika of ambassadors on the spot and communicated to the European Parliament.

The Somali authorities officially informed the Ambassadors of the Twelve in Mogadishu on 14 July 1990 of the amnesty for and freeing of leading members of the opposition and of their decision to organize a constitutional referendum on 31 October 1990 and multi-party elections at the beginning of next year.

The Community and its Member States are, however, continuing to follow the situation in Somalia very closely, and remain determined to press for greater respect for human rights in Somalia.

**90/347. Question No 1460/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E)
concerning the response of the Government of Guatemala to
European Parliament resolutions**

Date of Issue: 28 September 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 13 June 1990

What has been the response of the Government of Guatemala to the latest European Parliament resolutions on the violation of human rights in that country?

What improvements have the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation observed in the human rights situation in Guatemala over the last few months?

Answer:

The authorities in Guatemala are fully aware of the concern felt by the European Community and by its Member States and of the feeling expressed by the European Parliament at the violations of human rights in Guatemala. Regrettably, it cannot be said in response to the honourable Member's question that there has been measurable improvement in the human rights situation over the last few months.

However, the Twelve welcome the broadly based Escorial Agreement of 1 June under which the political parties and other forces in Guatemala have committed themselves to the attainment by peaceful means of a number of shared political objectives. It is essential that this opportunity for change is seized by all sides, both before and after the elections scheduled for the end of this year.

**90/348. Question No 1461/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E)
concerning new initiatives with regard to the Kurdish problems**

Date of Issue: 28 September 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 13 June 1990

In view of the constant acts of humiliation, persecution and attempted genocide inflicted on the Kurdish people in Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria, including the unjust resettlement of entire populations, what action do the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation intend to take apart from making statements and giving money to refugees?

Answer:

In their declaration of 21 July 1986, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs confirmed that respect for human rights is an important element in relations between third countries and the Europe of the Twelve. This declaration remains until today the cornerstone of the Community's thinking on human rights, which upholds its strong belief that protection and promotion of human rights, including the protection of minorities, is the legitimate and continuous duty of the world community and of nations individually. The Community and its Member States have never hesitated to act upon this as, in particular, the Governments of the States referred to by the honourable Member, will not have failed to notice.

The Community and its Member States acknowledge and welcome the position on human rights expressed on numerous occasions by the European Parliament, which they feel supports them in their efforts.

They follow with special attention the situation of the Kurdish minorities in all the countries where they are present.

Specific concern about the resettlement policy carried out by the Iraqi Government after the cease-fire with Iran was expressed by the Twelve in Baghdad in July last year.

**90/349. Question No 1568/90 by Lord O'Hagan (ED-UK)
concerning the Royal Family of the United Kingdom**

Date of Issue: 28 September 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 27 June 1990

There have been some shortsighted and tendentious discussions in the United Kingdom to the effect that current proposals for economic, monetary and political union might undermine the position of the Royal Family in the United Kingdom.

1. Do these proposals threaten the position of the Royal Family or Grand Duke of any Member State?
2. To what extent can the European Community take decisions which affect monarchies in Member States?

Answer:

The recent European Council in Dublin reviewed the preparatory work for the Intergovernmental Conference on Economic and Monetary Union and agreed to convene an Intergovernmental Conference on Political Union. Preparatory work for the latter Conference will be based on a document prepared by Foreign Ministers and included as an annex to the Presidency conclusions at the Dublin European Council.

I am sure the honourable Member will agree that proposals in relation to the two intergovernmental conferences are very far from having threatening implications for the Member States' institutions to which his question refers.

**90/350. Question No 1598/90 by Mr Verhagen (PPE-NL)
concerning the situation in Ethiopia**

Date of Issue: 28 September 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 2 July 1990

1. Can the Foreign Ministers pass on the latest information on the food supply situation in Ethiopia?
2. How do the Foreign Ministers view the EPLF's proposal for the port of Massawa to be placed under UN control to enable food supplies to be brought in again? Following the heavy fighting, what condition is the port in?
3. Are Foreign Ministers prepared to exert renewed pressure on the parties to the conflict to observe a cease-fire so that food supplies to the starving inhabitants can be stepped up?
4. In policy terms, how will the 12 countries of the European Community follow up the 'declaration of principles' on humanitarian aid to Ethiopia that was agreed on 23 April 1990 in New York? Are further consultations taking place between the European Community and the other signatories to the declaration?

Answer:

1. The Community and its Member States are aware of the continuing serious food situation in Ethiopia. The methods used for delivering relief supplies via the 'Southern Line', through the United Nations airlift and across the frontier are operating satisfactorily and appear to be able to meet the most pressing needs. However, the situation remains a delicate one, especially at Asmara. That is why the Community and its Member States consider that every effort should be made to start reusing the port of Massawa for the delivery of relief supplies.

2. At the ministerial meeting of political cooperation in Luxembourg on 18 June 1990, they therefore welcomed the recent announcement by the Ethiopian Government that it would accept in principle the use of the port of Massawa for the delivery of emergency aid. They regarded this as an important step in facilitating the international relief effort aimed at averting famine in northern Ethiopia. That is why they appealed most strongly to all parties to cooperate actively in bringing about the early reopening of the port and to facilitate the delivery and distribution of humanitarian relief through all available channels.

In their statement of 2 August 1990, the Community and its Member States regretted that a ship carrying a UN World Food Programme technical team to survey Massawa port had been refused permission to dock. This position and a pressing appeal to the Eritrean People's Liberation Front to be allowed to use the port of Massawa for the supply of aid to the people of northern Ethiopia were communicated to the EPLF representative in Washington on 27 July. The Community and its Member States also hoped that all parties concerned in this humanitarian effort would agree on an operational plan for the distribution of food relief through Massawa.

3. In their New York joint statement of 24 April 1990, the representatives of the European Community and its Member States, Canada, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and the United States of America not only appealed for compliance with a set of principles intended to guarantee and protect humanitarian aid in Ethiopia but also recommended that all humanitarian relief efforts on the part of the international community fully respect the guidelines adopted by the United Nations to govern such operations. An appeal was therefore made to all donors to respond generously to all elements of the humanitarian relief programme, including those relating to the measures to be taken to re-establish the normal functioning of port and airfield facilities and associated road links.

The competent bodies at Community and national level are currently studying the various possibilities for implementing the New York statement of principles. It is agreed that all signatories to the statement will keep each other informed and will consult one another in order together to bring their joint initiative to a successful conclusion.

90/351. Question No 1670/90 by Ms Oddy (S-UK) concerning Kashmir

Date of Issue: 28 September 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 4 July 1990

What view do the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation take on the current unrest in Kashmir?

Answer:

The subject to which the honourable Member refers is, by nature of its effect on regional stability as well as the human rights situation, given very considerable attention by the Community and its Member States. Ever since the unrest in Kashmir surfaced, they have followed the events and developments closely.

In that respect the honourable Member will recall the statement in which they expressed their grave concern at the deteriorating relations and heightened state of tension between India and Pakistan. Recalling their friendly relations with both the neighbouring States, the Community and its Member States earnestly appealed to them to practise mutual restraint and moderation. They emphasized their attachment to the principle of peaceful settlement of disputes and urged both countries to engage in dialogue to bring about a peaceful end to their differences.

Furthermore, at the European Council in Dublin on 25 and 26 June 1990, the Heads of State and Government discussed the current tension between India and Pakistan over the question of Kashmir. They welcomed and encouraged recent efforts to de-escalate the state of tension between the two countries. They expressed the hope that such initial positive steps will lead to a fuller dialogue and a resolution of the problem in order that India and Pakistan can resume full and fruitful relations.

90/352. Question No 1765/90 by Mr Cooney and others (PPE, S-IRL,UK) concerning submarine traffic in the Irish Sea

Date of Issue: 28 September 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 12 July 1990

A significant number of collisions by submarines with fishing vessels and pleasure craft, causing sinkings and damage, have occurred in the Irish Sea.

As a consequence, navigation in these Community waters by fishing vessels and yachts is both stressful and dangerous. The danger would be obviated if the submarines made passage through the Irish Sea on the surface.

Can the Ministers:

- a) agree that the present situation is dangerous and unacceptable?
- b) say when they intend to put this important question on their agenda?
- c) inform the Parliament of their discussions and of any initiatives taken to improve on the present, wholly unsatisfactory, situation?

Answer:

The honourable Members are referred to the answer given on 16 January 1990 to Oral Question No H-616/90 on submarine traffic in the Irish Sea. In reply to this question the then President-in-Office stated that while the Twelve were aware of the problem in the domain of maritime safety to which the question referred, it was not under discussion in the framework of European political cooperation.

90/353. Statement concerning German unification

Date of Issue: 2 October 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

Germany regains its unity today, thus ending an anomalous situation which has been for so many years the most visible sign of Europe's division, the legacy of a now long-past war. A people which has so enriched our common civilization is recovering its rightful place in Europe and in the world. It is finally witnessing the fulfilment of a yearning unswervingly supported by the Community and its Member States, which accordingly share all the more the German people's joy at this event.

This historic change has happened peacefully and democratically, in full compliance with the principles of the Helsinki Final Act. The Community and its Member States pay tribute to the steadfastness of the German people, which has nurtured through difficult years its desire for freedom and democracy today fulfilled, and to the wisdom of the governments and the statesmen who made it possible.

The restoration of German unity heralds a new age for Germany and all of Europe. It is a milestone along the road to the construction of a new framework for cooperation and stability in our continent, actively involving both sides of the Atlantic. The unification of Germany is occurring on the eve of major decisions which will mark the road that lies ahead for the European Community. Since the beginning, the FRG has made an outstanding contribution to European integration. A united Germany will continue to be a powerful factor for cohesion, which will help Europe along the path towards political union, and to achieving an even more influential role on the international scene.

Germany's regained unity facilitates the task of the Community and its Member States in consolidating, through the CSCE process and on the basis of the shared values of freedom and democracy, the climate of trust and friendly cooperation now extending throughout Europe. It will make all the sounder the framework for peace and security, solidarity, progress and democracy which we are on the point of achieving in accordance with the aspirations of all peoples of Europe.

The European Community and its Member States welcome the new citizens of the Community and express their warmest wishes to the German people and its Government for a shared future of peace and prosperity.

90/354. Statement concerning the Philippines

Date of Issue: 5 October 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

As previously stated, the Twelve Member States of the European Community condemn all violent illegal action and reaffirm their support for the democratic process pursued in the Republic of the Philippines by the duly elected government.

90/355. Statement in the Third Committee of the UN General Assembly concerning racism, racial discrimination and self-determination

Date of Issue: 8 October 1990

Place of Issue: New York

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Italian Delegation to the United Nations

Status of Document: Statement in International Forum

Mr Traxler: Mr Chairman, I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Community and its Member States on the first cluster of items, concerning racism, racial discrimination and the right to self-determination.

The European Community and its Member States have repeatedly stated their condemnation of racism and racial discrimination in all its forms, most explicitly in the declaration of the European Council on anti-Semitism, racism and xenophobia, made in Dublin on 25 and 26 June 1990. They reject absolutely the view that the treatment of any human being should be influenced by the colour of his or her skin. They are firmly convinced that any form of discrimination based on race, colour, descent, ethnic or national origin constitutes an offence to human rights and fundamental freedoms. Racism and racial discrimination represent a denial of the principle on which our free and democratic societies are established: equality, justice and liberty for all.

Instances of racial discrimination continue to occur in every country. No society is totally immune from this shameful behaviour; however, recognition that the problem exists is the first step towards its solution. The obligation is on governments to initiate and pursue vigorously policies which tackle this problem. Experience suggests that the most effective approach is one which combines legislation with a programme of education to eradicate deep-rooted prejudices and irrational hostility based on ignorance and fear. In keeping with their commitment to the principles of dignity and racial equality, the European Community and its Member States attach the highest importance to the promotion of understanding and tolerance among people of all races and to this end have taken a wide range of measures to combat racial discrimination.

The Charter of the United Nations commits the Organization to be at the forefront of the battle against racism and racial discrimination. From its establishment the United Nations has striven to raise public awareness of this phenomenon and has promoted the adoption of international instruments aimed at its elimination. The Universal Declaration, the Covenants and, most particularly, the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination all make clear the absolute unacceptability of such practices.

We celebrate this year the 25th anniversary of the adoption by the General Assembly of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination. The Convention, with 130 States parties, has the largest number of ratifications or accessions ever reached by any instrument adopted by the General Assembly in the field of human rights. Monitoring of the implementation of the provisions of the Convention is made by the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. Despite the high level of support which the Convention clearly enjoys, paradoxically the Committee faces serious financial difficulties because of the failure of a number of States parties to meet their financial obligations under the Convention.

Given the special responsibility of the United Nations for the implementation of various human rights instruments negotiated and adopted under its auspices, the United Nations and its

member States bear a common responsibility for ensuring that the financial problems, with which [the] CERD and other supervisory bodies are currently confronted, are appropriately addressed and solved. The Twelve again reaffirm their readiness to study all ideas, including those contained in Commission on Human Rights Resolution 1990/25, which both in the short and in the long term will enable [the] CERD and other human rights supervisory bodies to fulfil their mandates. But, first of all, the Twelve appeal to all those in arrears to meet promptly their financial obligations. In doing so they would clearly demonstrate the importance they attach to efforts aimed at the elimination of racial discrimination.

The continuing nature of the international community's commitment to the fight against racism was manifested in the proclamation by consensus in 1983 of the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. Concerned that disunity diminishes our effectiveness in pursuit of a common goal, the Twelve greatly welcomed the efforts evident in recent years to deal with this matter on the basis of consensus. In the interest of maintaining progress toward the achievement of the Decade's objectives we hope that this approach will be resumed and consistently continued.

The Twelve commend the Secretary-General for his comprehensive report on the implementation of the programme of action for the Second Decade. The Twelve have over the past year continued their support for the activities undertaken in the framework of the Second Decade. Several Member States have made financial contributions to the Trust Fund for the programme for the Decade and have participated in meetings convened under the programme.

Mr Chairman, apartheid, in South Africa, remains the most abhorrent form of racial discrimination. The European Community and its Member States have always unequivocally condemned this immoral system of institutionalized State racism. The objective of the European Community and its Member States is the complete eradication of the apartheid system by peaceful means and without delay and its replacement by a united, non-racial and democratic State in which all people shall enjoy common and equal citizenship and where respect for human rights is guaranteed.

Recently there have been significant developments in South Africa, in particular the commitment by the Government of South Africa to abolish the apartheid system. As the Secretary-General pointed out, South Africa has reached the threshold of a new era. A process of dialogue has been set in motion. The European Community and its Member States express their strong support for this political process which offers encouraging prospects of leading to the total abolition of apartheid and to a democratic, united, non-racial society. In this context the European Community and its Member States welcome the outcome of several rounds of pre-negotiations between the South African Government and the ANC, in particular the suspension of the armed struggle proclaimed by the ANC and the decisions on the release of political prisoners and an amnesty for exiles. The Community and its Member States therefore hope for a speedy start to negotiations on the new constitution. We are well aware, however, that a long and difficult road still lies ahead and that the principal pillars of the apartheid system have still to be removed. In the light of these developments it is all the more preoccupying to see that violence in the country has tragically increased to unprecedented levels. The European Community and its Member States expect the South African authorities to do their utmost to stop the violence in an impartial manner and urge the parties concerned to set about solving their differences by means of dialogue.

Mr Chairman, a further item on our agenda is the right to self-determination, a subject which is, in our view, one of the most important on the agenda of the United Nations.

The principles laid down in the Charter and the first article of the International Covenants, which is common to both, proclaim the right to self-determination. It is important to underscore that, under these instruments, self-determination is the right of all people and not the right of States. All human beings have the right to self-determination and they are entitled to exercise it, wherever and under whichever conditions.

The European Community and its Member States fully support this fundamental right and consistently strive for its universal respect and implementation. We are therefore deeply concerned at the too many instances in which the right to self-determination is denied to people, or they are deprived of it.

The European Community and its Member States have strongly condemned, therefore, the brutal invasion, occupation and annexation of Kuwait by Iraq. It constitutes a flagrant breach of the UN Charter and has been condemned, as such, by the Security Council. The international community has been united in its denunciation of this violation of fundamental principles and norms of international law. The European Community and its Member States recall the obligation for all States to implement the relevant resolutions adopted by the Security Council. We call, once again, for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of foreign troops from Kuwait and for the restoration of Kuwait's territorial integrity and sovereignty, under the authority of its legitimate Government. The Iraqi Government must respect its obligations and allow all foreign nationals, who wish to go, to leave Iraq and Kuwait. Its decision to use certain foreign nationals as a human shield is illegal and morally repugnant.

More than two years after the Geneva agreements on the settlement relating to Afghanistan and one and a half years after the completion of the withdrawal of Soviet troops, the Twelve continue to be concerned about the protracted conflict in Afghanistan. The Twelve underline the need for an intra-Afghan dialogue with a view to establish a fully representative government in which all segments of the Afghan people will take part. The Twelve confirm their support for the UN Secretary-General in his efforts to facilitate a settlement based on the respect of the right to self-determination of the Afghan people.

The European Community and its Member States seek a comprehensive political settlement in Kampuchea, which will ensure the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and neutrality of the country, as well as the fundamental right of Kampuchean to choose their own government in free and fair elections organized and conducted by the United Nations, as referred to in Security Council Resolution 668. In this context, the European Community and its Member States welcome and support the framework agreed by the five Permanent Members of the Security Council. They equally welcome the adoption of this framework by the Kampuchean factions in Jakarta on 10 September 1990, as the basis for an overall settlement. In particular, they support the agreement regarding the establishment of the Supreme National Council. We stress the need to see human rights protected and to avoid the return to the genocidal policies and practices of the Pol Pot regime. Neither the Khmer Rouge nor any other Kampuchean group should be allowed to seize or retain power through the force of arms.

The European Community and its Member States stress the urgent need for Israel to begin a political dialogue with the Palestinian people which could lead to a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement. Such a settlement should be on the basis of Resolutions 242 and 338 of the Security Council based on the principle of 'land for peace'. We consider that in such a delicate situation, all channels of dialogue and negotiations should be kept open. The European Community and its Member States consider that Israel's settlement policies in the Occupied Territories presents a growing obstacle to peace in the region and reiterate that Jewish settlements in the territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including East Jerusalem, are illegal under international law.

The people of Namibia have exercised their right to self-determination in a free and fair expression of their will. The European Community and its Member States have rejoiced that Namibia has, at last, taken its place in the United Nations as a free, sovereign and independent State.

We wish to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the central role played by the United Nations in assisting the peaceful transition of Namibia to independence.

The Twelve continue to support fully the efforts of the Secretary-General aimed at convening, under the auspices of the United Nations, a referendum on self-determination for the people of Western Sahara. We are convinced that if the parties concerned will continue to follow a constructive approach a referendum will be held at an early date and under credible conditions.

The Twelve have welcomed the manner in which the people of Myanmar exercised their democratic right to vote in the elections. The results of the vote indicate a clear desire on the part of the people for a democratic multi-party system of government. They call on the present rulers of Myanmar to act upon the results of the elections by enabling the transfer of power to a civilian government chosen by the elected parliament. In this context they urge the present Government to release political prisoners immediately, in order to allow them to participate fully in the democratic process.

Mr Chairman, the Community expressed its deep satisfaction at the progress already made and in prospect towards overcoming the divisions of Europe and restoring the unity of the continent whose peoples share a common heritage and culture. Given the legitimate aspirations of the Baltic peoples, the Twelve continue to give their full support to the dialogue initiated between the representatives of the three Baltic peoples and the Government of the USSR, aimed at a political settlement.

Mr Chairman, in our view, the exercise of the right to self-determination is a continuous process, not a single event. If people are, in the words of the Covenants, free 'to determine their political status and to pursue their economic, social and cultural development', they must have regular opportunities to choose their governments and their social system freely; and to change them if they so desire, without any threat of foreign intervention, *coup d'état* or state of emergency. It follows that each individual has the inherent right to exercise the other rights set out in the Covenants, such as the rights to freedom of thought and expression; the rights of peaceful assembly and freedom of association; the right to take part in the conduct of public affairs, either directly or through freely chosen representatives; and the right to vote for a candidate of his choice and to be elected at genuine, periodic elections.

The United Nations has a very important role to play in this regard. Wherever the exercise of the right to self-determination is violated, it is only natural that the matter be dealt with in the World Organization. The denial of this right anywhere is a concern of people everywhere.

Thank you, Mr Chairman.

90/356. Statement concerning the recent bloody events in Jerusalem

Date of Issue: 9 October 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The Community and its Member States have learned with dismay the news of the bloody incidents which have taken place in Jerusalem causing such a high toll of Palestinian dead and of injured persons.

The Community and its Member States consider unacceptable and once more strongly deplore the use of excessive force by the Israeli occupying forces in repressing Palestinian demonstrations, against a background of repeated violations of international law, in particular as regards the Geneva Convention on the Protection of Civilians in Times of War.

The tragic events in Jerusalem underline once again the need for a settlement of the Palestinian problem in accordance with justice.

The Community and its Member States reaffirm their commitment to a just, comprehensive and lasting solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict and to this end they support the principle of the convening of an international peace conference under the auspices of the United Nations.

90/357. Statement concerning security and cooperation in Europe

Date of Issue: 9 October 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Report to European Parliament

Mr De Michelis, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers and of the Council: Mr President, first of all let me apologize to you and the Assembly as a whole for being late. This was not my fault but due to air traffic problems. I also thank Vice-President Andriessen for making up for my delay by his speech, which has enabled me to be present at this debate and to explain to the European Parliament the Council's and the Community's position on a matter of great importance, in view both of the Paris Summit and of the future development of the Community and its process of integration.

I would now like to make a few preliminary remarks and point to some of the questions which the Community intends to work on in order to promote the CSCE process. These remarks stem from the events of recent months, which have gradually but drastically changed the framework in which the Helsinki II process, as it is now called, is taking place.

As noted in the Romeos report, the Helsinki II process was first proposed to President Gorbachev in Rome in a speech in the Campidoglio last year. Although less than a year has elapsed since then, the situation has changed radically and this debate is taking place here today only a few days after an official event, the unification of Germany. That is a first, great, important sign of the new prospects before us. The new objective, which now faces us in concrete terms rather than merely as an aspiration, is pan-European integration. The unification of Germany is the first concrete element of this integration of our continent and, over and above this, of what we generally call the Europe of Helsinki, i.e. a political dimension which geographically covers three continents, America, Europe and Asia, and stretches from San Francisco to Vladivostok.

This prospect of pan-European integration and the possibility of this very important part of the world joining us has evidently come up again now as a result of what has happened in the recent past, what has happened in recent months, especially in Eastern Europe, and of the effects this has produced in our part of the continent, in Western Europe and specifically within the Community.

It may seem obvious, but I think I must emphasize the historic change brought about by this new situation. To realize this is essential to our way of thinking about the future of the European institutions. Until yesterday, until the end of 1989 and even the time of President Gorbachev's Rome speech and his speech at Strasbourg in July 1989 on the 'common European home', the idea of pan-European integration remained a concept difficult to visualize in the near future and many considered it more utopian than politically feasible.

In past decades and earlier years, and even in the recent past, that has meant that when we discussed European integration we always confined ourselves to Western European integration, i.e. that of the Community, dwelling on the question of how to organize the rest of Western Europe round the Community. All that is now behind us. The summit which will begin in a few days' time here, within the Community, in the capital of one of the main Community countries, will send out a very clear and incontrovertible message to Europe and the world. Of course, when we speak of pan-European integration, given that we are aware that this will enormously increase our chances of action with a view to a more peaceful and better future, we also realize this will increase the problems we will have to deal with and, in a sense, enormously increase the political and historical responsibilities of Europe and, where appropriate, of the Community, towards the rest of the world.

If we manage to confirm the success of this integration process, which concerns a large section of humanity, this example will certainly be a beneficial one and have positive effects on many other situations that may arise and, probably, on the evolution of the international community as

a whole. If by any chance we should fail or come to a stop or prove incapable of matching up to this new historic prospect and new challenge, that could only have negative and extremely serious effects on the rest of the world.

These preliminary remarks are a necessary premise before we tackle the specific question of the CSCE in its new phase and speak of its development. Of course, especially as regards our Community, this part of Europe, this new perspective will, if only because of its importance and its scope — which, I repeat, is global and historic — pose new problems; for there is a risk that this new integration process, taking the place of the practical process under way for decades and that has indeed been speeding up in recent years in our Community, may to some extent come into collision with the Community process. It could be that people worry or begin to consider which of the two might come before or after the other and which of the two processes we should consider the most important. This carries the risk of dividing the Community into two camps: those who regard the Community process as of most importance and think that the CSCE must therefore take place at a sufficiently low level so as not to be an obstacle to resolving Community questions, and those, within the Community and outside it, who think that the pan-European concept is more important and that the logic of Community integration must be subordinated to that primary objective.

It is essential — and I believe that on this point Members must be very careful, both in their deliberations today and in the choices they take in future — that we do not give in to the temptation to establish this kind of opposition. In fact, whatever choice we make, if Community integration is regarded as more important and the CSCE process is to some extent relegated to a role secondary to the Treaty, if we give more emphasis and importance to horizontal pan-European integration, we will be committing the enormous error of sowing division and opposition within our continent, within the individual countries, within the Community itself. We absolutely must avoid that risk and endeavour, with regard to the CSCE process and the Paris Summit and the decisions that will be taken, to take our place in what is called the new institutionalized phase of the CSCE, with the aim of coordinating the two processes and creating a positive synergy, free of useless forms of opposition or superimposition, which could only prove negative and wasteful.

This is a complex question which cannot be fully resolved in this morning's debate. Yet as from now we must ask ourselves how to coordinate the horizontal pan-European integration process with the progressive vertical integration processes which it will be facing.

The vertical interactions evidently include those in the economic and social field and, in the near future, the political field, which will inevitably concern the European Community most. Personally I think the entire pan-European structure of the future could be organized around the European Community. Apart from the question of economic, social and, in the future, political vertical integration, there are also the other 'baskets', as they are called in the language of Helsinki, of security, of the constitutional State, human rights and pluralist democracy. So it will not only be a question of the Community but also of the other institutions or organizations to which the Community belongs — I am thinking in particular of the Council of Europe on the one hand and NATO and WEU on the other. We must ensure that the evolution of these existing institutions or treaties or associations, which are the practical means by which Europe can and did until yesterday become integrated in the various fields, is organized around the evolution of the CSCE process.

So when we speak in practical terms of the institutional options in Paris, we must remember to establish this connection. It is not easy and will require some work, but if I may suggest to Parliament what the keynote should be of the opinions it will be delivering, the proposals it may be advancing or the decisions it may be taking in the near future, let me say it must be this idea.

In that respect, from 20 January in Dublin when the Council considered this matter for the first time, until the New York meeting of CSCE ministers last Monday and Tuesday, we have tried to contribute by drawing up proposals for adoption in Paris with special reference to the question of institutionalization, which is what interests us now. This institutionalization should

be regarded as a 'soft' concept, with a council of ministers, a committee of permanent representatives and a secretariat to ensure continuity of activity, like the regular summits of Heads of State and Government and the follow-up conferences: the ones in Helsinki up to 1992 and the other follow-ups; all this must be seen as a kind of horizontal steering committee, designed simply to coordinate a vertical integration process around the existing institutions and also around new agreements or new institutions of the future. On the question that interests the Community most, we must make it quite clear, in the framework of the Paris conference and its decisions, that the second basket, the progressive organization of Europe, can only be achieved on the basis of concentric circles round the Community. That is now clear to us and we are already discussing it in practical terms. Around the Community — this is the first circle — negotiations are already under way on the European Economic Area, namely EFTA — the second circle; negotiations are already completed for 'suprassociation' agreements with Eastern and Central Europe by the end of this year — this is the third circle; in Paris yesterday we also had bilateral discussions between Italy and France on how to organize relations with the fourth circle, the Europe of Helsinki, i.e. our more distant and powerful partners such as the Soviet Union, the United States and Canada.

In the same context, it is quite significant that the European Community decided to adopt a transatlantic declaration between the Community and the United States, and that another, between the Community and Canada, is under discussion. It is our intention that these declarations should be signed on the first day of the Paris Summit to show that the participation of the 34 — the number of States now in the CSCE — can be based on new relations, quite apart from their participation in the CSCE on a basis of parity and equality. It is clear — and we also discussed this at a quadripartite meeting between the Council of Europe and the Community on Sunday in Venice — that in its future activities the Council of Europe must be conceived as a stage in this process and that the first objective is for all the European States — except Canada, the United States and the Soviet Union — to be full members of the Council of Europe by 1991. That will produce another strong element of integration, although limited to the field of action of the Council of Europe. It is also clear that in the security field this horizontal steering committee must be used to promote progress beyond the present situation where Europe is still split into an Atlantic Alliance, a Warsaw Pact and neutral, non-aligned countries, when in fact everyone believes that a genuine, single European security system is, if only in [blueprint], the inevitable, right and natural outcome of what has occurred in Europe in recent months. Here too we are faced with concrete facts: the NATO decision in London gradually to change its functions, its scope and its nature; the scheduled meeting in Budapest on 4 November of the Warsaw Pact when, according to the information available, the pact will be radically changed and probably survive only as a political alliance, reducing or totally eliminating its military functions and powers. Moreover — and the United States has lifted its final reservation on this point — we are preparing, with 'Helsinki 1992', to close the phase of disarmament negotiations between the military blocs. With the conclusion of the Conference on Conventional Forces in Europe I in Vienna, prior to the Paris conference, prior to a further negotiating phase, there is now open talk about launching a Conference on Conventional Forces in Europe II at Helsinki in 1992 which will lead to further negotiations on disarmament extending to all 34 European countries, and therefore no longer be based on disarmament negotiations between the two military blocs but also cover the neutral and non-aligned countries. That too is a welcome development.

I think we must be clear that the present Community has a central role to play in structuring and guiding this process, which is in part already under way and in part still to be negotiated and planned.

On the steering committee, this could operate according to only three possible theoretic systems: one is that the steering committee would include among its participants the two superpowers of yesterday, the Soviet Union and the United States, in such a way that they would have the decision-making power and thus to some extent have a power of influence over the others; the other is that a united Germany would also participate, in addition to the Soviet

Union and the United States; a third system would be that the steering committee would include the Twelve in such a way that they would have the main influence, the authority, I would even say the prerogative, of serving as an example of integration in order to direct the process.

Clearly all this must not only serve the interest of the Community, but also of Europe as a whole. That is the system that should prevail and because it might do so we must prepare ourselves to act, as the Twelve, and in unison (by taking the appropriate institutional decisions). Within the consensus of the 34, in which every country is equal, in which every country has the right to vote, in which decisions can be taken with the consensus of all, the Twelve must manage, from the Paris Conference on, to act as a real entity, more than they have done in recent months.

And that, if I may anticipate a discussion we will be holding in the next few days, is one of the points on which we must concentrate and which we must tackle during the preparations for and in the course of the second intergovernmental conference when the political dimension of the Community will be discussed. If there is one prior condition we must establish at once and on which we must agree, it is that the Community, the Twelve, must decide, and act as a unit in European foreign policy, in what we may call the foreign policy activities within the CSCE. So we must decide to move on from intergovernmental political cooperation to action as a Community. That is why the Italian Presidency endorses what Vice-President Andriessen said when he insisted on the usefulness and need for the Community and the Commission also to be involved, at the Paris Summit, in the launching of the new phase, from the moment of signature, so to speak, to the decisions to be taken.

There is some resistance among the Twelve on this point, by those who regard this as a purely American requirement. I do not know how things will go because — I repeat — we do not decide by ourselves. Nevertheless the Presidency firmly supports the Commission on this point, which concerns the fight to be waged and the line we will take. Evidently Parliament's role is extremely important here because, I am convinced, it reflects the will of the majority of the European Community.

Another question — which I want to indicate here — that particularly concerns the European parliamentary institutions, as it does the Community — the political community and the CSCE of tomorrow — is how to coordinate the various parliamentary bodies of pan-European integration.

Until now we have had two of them: the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and this European Parliament, although they have a different political and democratic weight and different powers and duties. Now we will have three, because among the decisions we will probably take, perhaps in Paris, is the decision to create a parliamentary assembly of the 34, i.e. of the enlarged Europe of Helsinki.[...]

There are quite a few parliamentary assemblies, but basically I am referring to these three, for the WEU and NATO assemblies have restricted and specific tasks, while these three are genuine parliaments, despite their different institutional and democratic weight, and as such are qualified to represent this wider integration of which I was speaking. The problem now arises of coordination and of creating the optimum premises for growing convergence between these institutions in order to avoid any duplication or, even worse, any opposition or differences between the measures, interests and judgments of the individual States and national parliaments.

In a proposal I made to the Council of Europe and which I will be making again on 6 November at the meeting with the Council of Europe ministers, I suggested that the States that participate in the Council of Europe, and therefore in its Parliamentary Assembly, and which therefore also participate in the CSCE process, should decide to send to the new CSCE parliamentary assembly the same delegations that participate in the Council of Europe assembly, in order to pave the ground for a kind of third assembly, if only as an extension of the second, which could then converge to form a single assembly in the Council of Europe as and when the various European States join the CSCE; that would to some extent resolve the question of coordination with the Soviet Union, the United States and Canada.

I also think that the European Parliament, which is obviously different from the others, must to some extent manage to become in a sense the leader of the process and at the same time a kind of magnet for it. Since it will then be a parliament in which national origins resolve themselves into a common European identity, it will be up to it to 'attract' these two new and convergent parliamentary assemblies, which will in any case have their seat here in Strasbourg, a city which must remain and be endorsed as the heart of parliamentary life in Europe, not only for the Community but also for the pan-Europe of the future. That is a question which the European Parliament — and I am speaking quietly here — must also remember when it discusses the organization of the European seats during our institutional debate.

I think the decision that will be taken in Paris will unequivocally signal that Strasbourg is destined to be the seat of Europe today and of the pan-Europe of tomorrow, and not just for functional reasons.

These are the main points I wanted to stress. In this context, there are also other questions that deserve further discussion, such as a few secondary but not marginal questions connected with the CSCE process. For example, the idea of organizing a centre for resolving crises, which has now been accepted partly because it forms part of the compromise with the Soviet Union, deserves to be studied with more attention. Such a centre could become an important factor of the future institutionalization of Europe, which the Community must promote and guide. And there are other questions to tackle concerning the new CSCE phase. It is not just a question of disarmament and civic security. I am thinking here of the problems of minorities, of the rules and principles that will enable people to coexist in the Europe of Helsinki without putting in question the two fundamental rules of territorial integrity and inviolability of frontiers.

Here too — and I am speaking not just as President of the Council but also as the representative of a country where this is a very topical issue — the Community must take the initiative and discuss this question, like others that have hitherto been set aside, in order to formulate appropriate guidelines.

There is another minor, but no less important institution that is being discussed; the centre for monitoring political elections. This should be located in a central European country to reflect the extension of the principles defined at Helsinki to an 11th principle, that of democratic pluralism, which was not enshrined in Helsinki I but which is now ripe for insertion in Helsinki II. That centre would be of some account too. In the Europe of tomorrow, the Europe of Helsinki, any monitoring operations must be carried out in the abstract by all the 34. In principle, that centre could monitor future elections in Bulgaria, in Romania in the Soviet Union, as it could, strictly speaking, in Italy, France and the United Kingdom. That is a quite substantial qualitative leap, which also raises a number of other questions.

I come now to a question which I think we will be dealing with in coming weeks, namely widening the spirit and scope of Helsinki. You may remember that this is not a new idea, since it dates back to the beginning of the process in the 1960s and was also set out by the Italian Foreign Minister, Mr Moro. Although there are no traces of it in the Final Act, it has been put forward on several occasions since then. During these years there has been talk of extending it to the Mediterranean area, the southern Mediterranean, a particularly sensitive area for Europe, as recent events have dramatically shown.

We cannot have security in Europe if we do not have it at its borders. This is a major issue which is already under discussion in the Community. Some countries, such as mine, put forward practical proposals in recent weeks with a view to organizing — downstream from the Gulf if I may say so — a conference of the Helsinki type for the Mediterranean and the Middle East. We shall be discussing that tomorrow in Rome at a meeting between four EC countries and five Arab and Maghreb countries. This idea has made great progress in recent weeks and is a clear consequence of the Gulf crisis and the ensuing difficulties, such as the most recent drama and bloodshed in Jerusalem yesterday. Obviously, there are many possible scenarios: apart from the question of how the Gulf crisis will end, the tensions will produce other crises and other conflicts. In the end, security may be restored by recourse to re-armament and the arms race

would, obviously, be likely to lead to further disputes. That is the very difficult road facing us. The serious events of yesterday — on which we want to state our position at once, considering what happened in Jerusalem yesterday totally unacceptable — suggest that the only possible direction to take is to affirm rules and principles for tackling and resolving such problems. That system worked in Europe and there is no reason why it should not work in other parts of the world. There is certainly no magic wand that brings immediate success. However, as European experience has shown — and we can certainly say that today in 1990 — the strength of such rules and principles eventually overcomes the tensions, the resistance, the hostility of systems, such as those in Eastern Europe, that appear to defy all call to reason. So it is reasonable to think that the same could also apply to the Mediterranean and the Middle East and even to situations that seem desperate at present.

I am sure the European Community, the Commission, the Council and the European Parliament will be able to face up to these new challenges without fear or delay, firmly taking the lead in this process, and aware that the whole future of the Community process depends on the ability to make even further and firm progress with the process of pan-European integration, of which this new CSCE, this Helsinki II, can in a sense act as the initial instrument, and thus to show that we are not only able to accept but also to meet the challenge thrown down by history.

90/358. Questions No H-839/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru and No H-698/90 by Mr Alavanos concerning peace and security in the Middle East and the Occupied Territories

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Question No H-839/90:

What is the opinion of the Foreign Affairs Ministers meeting in European political cooperation on the last resolution by the European Parliament on the situation in the Occupied Territories, adopted in June 1990, particularly as regards sending an international commission to investigate human rights violations, convening the five Permanent Members of the Security Council, extending UNRWA's mandates and adopting measures 'likely to exert international pressure on the Government of the State of Israel'?

Question No H-698/90:

What practical proposals do the Ministers meeting in political cooperation intend to put forward as a contribution towards the opening of negotiations between the parties concerned in order to put an end to bloodshed in the territories occupied by Israel and to secure the protection of Palestinians and peace and security in the Middle East? To what extent do the Ministers agree that a UN peace-keeping force should be sent into the area?

Mr Vitalone, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: Mr President, allow me to reply jointly to Questions Nos 698 by Mr Alavanos and 839 by Mr Arbeloa Muru which broadly concern the same subjects. The Community and its Member States have taken note of the resolution on the Occupied Territories which the European Parliament adopted on 14 June. The Dublin European Council devoted very close attention to the questions raised by the two Members and adopted a declaration that clearly expresses the position of the Community and its Member States on that question. In particular, the European Council pointed to its position of principle, which it has long held, on the Arab-Israeli conflict and expressed its determination to encourage any efforts to promote dialogue between the two directly interested parties with a view to the

negotiation of a global settlement, in line with the principles set out in the Venice Declaration 10 years ago and which have since been followed by others, in particular the Madrid Declaration. This settlement must be formulated within the framework of an international peace conference under the auspices of the United Nations and with the participation of the PLO. The European Council also expressed itself convinced of the need to give the utmost support to any attempts by the Permanent Members of the Security Council to establish a climate of trust between the two parties and to facilitate the convening of an international peace conference. The European Council also underlined the urgent need for Israel to open a political dialogue with the Palestinian people with a view to reaching a general, just and lasting settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Such a settlement should be based on Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 on exchanges of territories in return for peace. In this context, the Community and the Member States intend to keep in close contact with all the interested parties and in this spirit, last July, following a meeting between the Presidency and American Secretary of State Baker, the ministerial Troika visited Jerusalem and Tunisia to discuss the progress of the peace process with the Israeli authorities, the Arab League and PLO representatives.

The European Council also made it clear that the Community and its Member States were determined to increase their already significant commitment to protecting the rights of man and of the people of the Occupied Territories. In this context, the Council took as its point of reference the obligation incumbent on all parties to the Geneva Convention on the Protection of Civilians in Times of War, and the need to respect the provisions of that Convention. On several occasions the Twelve have asked Israel to comply with its own obligations towards the Palestinian people who live in the Occupied Territories, people who are protected by that Convention. The European Council also considers that further measures must be taken in line with the Convention to ensure this protection. In the present situation, especially as regards the protection of civilians, the Twelve consider that the United Nations also can and must play a useful role and the European Council has supported this view. That is the substance of my reply to the questions put on this matter. The tragic events of yesterday afternoon in Jerusalem, with all the violence and new victims they involved, once again showed the need to find a just, global and lasting solution, a just solution to the Palestinian problem. At this stage I shall confine myself to drawing your attention to the declarations made today by the Twelve on these events.

The Community and its Member States have learned with consternation of the bloody clashes which took place in Jerusalem, leaving a large number of Palestinians dead and wounded.

The Community and its Member States consider unacceptable and vigorously deplore the use of excessive violence on the part of the Israeli occupation forces in the repression of Palestinian demonstrators, which forms part of a pattern of repeated infringements of international law, notably as regards the Geneva Convention on the Protection of Civilians in Times of War.

The tragic events in Jerusalem underline once again the need to find a just solution to the Palestinian problem.

The Community and its Member States reaffirm their commitment to a just, global and lasting solution to the Israeli-Arab conflict and, with that aim in view, they support the principle of convening an international peace conference under the aegis of the United Nations.

Mr Arbeloa Muru (S): Mr President, thank you for your statement which I find in no way convincing. At this point, after the tragic events of which you have spoken, to confine ourselves merely to a peace conference as at the time of the Venice Declaration would be as though, after the invasion of Kuwait, we had wished and hoped for a peace conference to discuss the occupation of Kuwait. Mr President, the reality is far more cruel! How many more Palestinians need to be murdered: 1 000, 2 000, 3 000, 4 000, before the European Community dares to propose effective sanctions against the State of Israel?

Mr Vitalone: Mr President, let me, off the cuff so to speak, offer a few remarks on these events, partly by way of refuting the criticisms made by the honourable Member. Let me say that the massacre in Jerusalem has added further grounds for serious concern and strong tension to the already serious Gulf crisis, and here it is only fair and right to say that the aggression

perpetrated against Kuwait has unfortunately made it even more difficult to be as forceful and incisive as necessary in tackling all the problems connected with the solution of the painful crisis in the Middle East, and therefore naturally delayed the solution of these problems. I think at this point it is not particularly important to apportion blame for this absurd, unacceptable outburst of violence. Was the incident provoked by Israeli extremists? Was it the responsibility of Palestinian fringe groups who wanted to draw the world's attention back to the dramatic question of the Occupied Territories? Was it provoked by as yet unidentified extremist elements? There is a whole range of hypotheses that may be extended and expanded at a later date, but to try to reply to these questions does not, in my view, absolve us from the need for reflecting both calmly and seriously about the matter. The tragedy of Palestine is a tragedy which is becoming more painful by the day, by the hour. Once again it has involved excessive violence, disproportionate violence on the part of the Israeli authorities in repressing a demonstration which, it seems, was itself a violent demonstration. And here I cannot refrain from mentioning the repeated and systematic violations of the Geneva Convention which acts as a safeguard for the protection of all civilians in times of war. However, I think it is particularly important to emphasize what yesterday's President-in-Office of the Council, Mr Andreotti, repeated at the end of the bilateral Italy-France colloquies on this distressing incident: that 'we must not confuse the Gulf crisis with the Arab-Israeli conflict'. The Community and its Member States, let me firmly repeat, are seeking a solution to both problems with the same commitment and the same determination, including the problem of yesterday's events which, with their subversive charge, are leading to a new, deep division within the Arab world and threatening to worsen the latent crisis. The present situation in the Gulf, triggered by the claims of one State, which is in fact a member of the United Nations, to appropriate by violence and armed force another autonomous and sovereign State, regardless of its basic objectives, regardless of its cruel effects on the civilian population, risks sparking off an economic and political crisis without precedent at the cost, very probably, mainly of the weakest sectors of the international community, the Palestinians primarily, and with them the developing countries. We must prevent such unjust situations from recurring by using every possible political and diplomatic instrument, without however, combining and therefore confusing the various problems, and we must seek tenaciously, on the basis of the United Nations resolutions, to find options that actually deal with the root causes of the various conflicts, without any attempt to justify one error by another, one act of violence by another.

Mr Alavanos (CG): The President-in-Office referred to many hypotheses regarding yesterday's events, but there is only one reality: 20 Palestinians dead, 20 people belonging to a nation which has been without a fatherland for decades. He cannot talk of 'the same determination', because the same determination is not reflected by all-out mobilization on one hand, a few declarations on the other. I ask him again to what extent the Council is prepared to take specific measures against the barbarous and inhumane policy of Israel, similar measures to those taken over the Gulf crisis and whether Europe can go it alone and shake off the phobia syndrome of the United States which, as is well known, is Israel's protector even now.

Mr Vitalone: Mr President, may I repeat that the opinions and views expressed by the Council on the facts referred to in the question are those I have had the honour to put to you. As for further measures to be taken following this latest incident, it is clear that the Council still has to pronounce. It stated its position in a document that is crystal clear, which shows its resolve not to leave a single stone unturned, to make every possible effort to find a practical response to the dramatic situation in the Occupied Territories.

Mr Lane (RDE): The last part of Mr Alavanos' question asked to what extent the Ministers agreed that a United Nations peace-keeping force would be helpful in the area. After all, in South Lebanon a United Nations peace-keeping force has been quite effective over the last number of years. Does the President-in-Office think that the Council could foresee a similar force in the West Bank and Occupied Territories?

Mr Vitalone: We are very much in favour of a UN force in the region.

Mr Falconer (S): I will try to be as brief as possible and I would congratulate you for urging the President-in-Office to make his replies brief, because his replies were rather lengthy. When I listened to him I was reminded of Neville Chamberlain back in 1939 wringing his hands over the fascist invasions of Czechoslovakia and elsewhere. Can the President-in-Office advise us why it is that 50% of the force which is currently being deployed in Saudi Arabia cannot be transferred to the West Bank to ensure that the United Nations resolutions are carried out and enforced? Can he also advise us why we do not, as a first step in that direction, tear up our existing treaties with the State of Israel in order to ensure that they know that we treat all dictators and all semi-fascist States with the same kind of clarity we show towards Saddam Hussein?

Mr Vitalone: Mr President, I think the two problems must not be confused. I said a moment ago that combining the different problems involved does not help resolve them. I could reply that 50% of the force is available, given that the other 50% comes from one State, the United States, which are not the United Nations. We want to reaffirm our desire to find through resolutions which are absolutely unequivocal and clear, the resolutions of the UN Security Council, a way to resolve the Arab-Israeli problem as a whole. To take the two problems together would make it uncertain whether either could be resolved.

Mr McMahon (S): I will be very brief. There is a President-in-Office trying to enter the *Guinness Book of Records* by taking six minutes to reply to a question. Would he be prepared to call an informal or formal meeting of the political leaders, a meeting of political cooperation, to discuss the tragic events of yesterday?

Mr Vitalone: Provision has already been made for the Political Committee to discuss them next week.

Mr Gutiérrez Díaz (GUE): Mr President-in-Office, in this context, I should like to ask you some precise questions: is the Council prepared to set up an international committee of inquiry to look at the latest events in Jerusalem on the ground? Is it also prepared to call a Euro-Arab conference to look at the whole Middle East situation, on clear lines and treating all the situations with the same degree of justice?

Mr Vitalone: Mr President, the Council is certainly in favour of the first proposal put forward while simply remarking that this lies in the competence of the Security Council and therefore of the Permanent Members of the Security Council. On the second question, let me remind the honourable Member that at the initiative of Italy a Euro-Arab conference was convened, in response to a specific request by the European Parliament. The date of this conference was postponed in response to requests by some Gulf States who advised deferring it in order to ensure wider participation. However, this is a task which the Presidency-in-Office is bearing in mind and intends to fulfil, probably before the end of the year.

90/359. Question No H-942/90 by Mr Livanos concerning the implementation of United Nations resolutions on Cyprus and Palestine

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In view of the decision by the Council of Ministers meeting in political cooperation to implement the UN Security Council's resolutions concerning the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, will the Ministers say what criteria form the basis for the Community's policy of not taking similar action to implement the UN Security Council's resolutions on Cyprus and Palestine?

Mr Vitalone, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: The Presidency described in detail to Parliament the position and resolute action of the Community and its Member States following the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait during the debate in which President Andreotti took part on 12 September this year.

As for the UN Security Council resolutions on the Arab-Israeli conflict and Cyprus, the Community and its Member States maintain that they must be applied rigorously.

On the Arab-Israeli conflict, it has been affirmed since the Venice Declaration that these resolutions must form the basis for a settlement of the conflict. The recent Dublin European Council also issued a declaration on Cyprus, reaffirming the importance of finding a just and lasting solution to the question, in line with the relevant UN resolutions.

Mr Livanos (S): Nobody here was satisfied by the Council's replies. We have had many replies to all our questions. I shall remind you that we voted for the patriarchate of Jerusalem, yet we still had yesterday's events in Jerusalem.

Members are wondering, as we all are, not only how many more must be killed and how much blood will be spilled, but instead of spilling blood perhaps oil should be spilled on to some people for us to be more interested and so that the fleet can go to support these interests of certain countries. I should like this answer but from official lips.

Mr Vitalone: Mr President, I am sorry you are interpreting as evasive the Council's attempt to respond to the distressing events to which we have devoted some time in the debates in this Parliament, in the debates before the committees and in the many meetings of political cooperation.

I believe the line taken by the Community is very transparent, very firm and resolutely anchored in the UN resolutions, resolutions which are certainly not in the least connected with the oil question as far as the Arab-Israeli conflict is concerned.

I think that allegation is extremely unjust and attacks the ethics of the options the Council has chosen, on a very rigorous and precise basis, as this Parliament acknowledged in the September debate by a unanimous vote.

Mr Ephremidis (CG): I have been following with special interest the answers given by the President-in-Office, but he is applying an odd tactic which has obliged me to put this supplementary, or else I would not have taken the floor. He keeps saying they are following up matters, they are racked by agony, are tabling motions and making announcements. All right, that is by the by. But, in their agony, do they intend to propose something? What is the Council proposing, Mr President-in-Office? Maybe it is proposing sanctions against Israel and Turkey which have been violating dozens of Security Council resolutions, in Turkey's case about Cyprus? What do you propose? Only motions? Only a declaration of agony? Then do not leave us in this agony of uncertainty. Forget your hypocrisy. Are you making proposals? Will you now do so after this massacre? Will you now make proposals about the Cyprus issue, or will you exert pressure to unfreeze the fourth Financial Protocol? And of course you are exerting pressure on the Greek Government!

Mr Vitalone: Mr President, perhaps it is too obvious to point out that during the Council debates there was substantial agreement on the analysis and evaluation of the serious nature of the objective facts, and similar agreement on adopting the instrument of sanctions in response to the transgressions denounced by everyone. On questions of political cooperation and the decisions relating to political cooperation, the consensus rule applies. If there are no sanctions that means there is no unanimity on the instrument to be used.

Mr Falconer (S): Mr President, the Members who have spoken have shown their confusion about the way the President has given his answers, because the two issues are linked. You cannot divorce one from the other. If we in the Western democracies, so to speak, actually feel that confusion, then think how the Arabs feel about the double standards being applied in that particular part of the world. The President-in-Office cannot dodge these issues. There is a question to be addressed.

If you are going to describe Saddam Hussein as a fascist dictator with all the words that go with it, then the same standard has to be applied to the State of Israel, the way it attacks the Palestinians, the way it has taken over the West Bank, the way it has pushed people around. That is a reality which the Council must address. If the Council cannot address it, then this Parliament must start addressing that question.

Mr Vitalone: Mr President, I am most concerned that by giving in to dialectical arguments about events which are certainly very emotionally charged we risk destroying the climate of close cohesion which has so far characterized the debate in this Chamber on the Gulf question. So perhaps it is no use pointing once again to the role we assign to Parliament, as the central institution of Community life, which acts as a propulsive force, a force of encouragement and guidance for the Council's decisions.

Mr President, polemics are being engaged in here which I may define as broadly lacking in generosity towards the Council's initiatives: it is not the Council's intention to deny the interdependence between various events. That is an objective fact; there clearly are interdependences which we have underlined in various places, in various circumstances, with the same object in mind that underlies all the resolutions the Security Council adopted on the Gulf question. That is the need to consider possible solutions which, while drawing a distinction between the conflicting interests and the need to restore immediately two values which have been forfeited in the brutal aggression towards Kuwait, which means the release of the hostages and the independence of the territories that are being occupied, do not try to veil the need — which we all realize exists — to respond to the problems in this tormented part of the Middle East, problems which are particularly acute in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

What then is the mistake we want to avoid? I have tried to express my convictions and to point out that it is not useful to combine different problems, at the risk of confusing and complicating their solutions. It would certainly mean granting an unjust advantage to Saddam Hussein to equate events which certainly have a different origin, nature and development.

The need to find a solution to the problem of the Occupied Territories is a need the Council constantly bears in mind and which the Council has urged in all the international forums. The reference to the UN Security Council's resolutions on the subject is also a sign of the direction in which the Council proposes to proceed.

I would like to counter this unjust allegation of negligence on the part of the Council, or of its taking a superficial approach to matters which in fact deserve meaningful responses — and let me say I am doing so not for the sake of my own satisfaction but for the sake of the recognition the Council has received from this Parliamentary Assembly.

90/360. Questions No O-191/90/rev.3, No O-192/90/rev. and No O-193/90/rev.2 by Mr Gorla concerning the situation in Kampuchea

Date of Issue: 9 October 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Question No 191/90/rev.3:

At its meetings from 21 to 23 May 1990 in Dublin, and 19 to 21 September 1990 in Rome, and having heard the report on the mission undertaken to Kampuchea and Bangkok from 18 to 29 April 1990 by Mr Cheysson, Mr Bourlanges and Mr Lacaze, the Political Affairs Committee decided to table an oral question with debate to the Foreign Ministers meeting in EPC.

1. Can EPC inform Parliament of the stage reached in the international and intra-Kampuchean negotiations for a peaceful settlement?

Do the Foreign Ministers hope to secure a rapid halt to supplies of arms to all sides in the civil war, given that without these supplies the war would cease, or at least abate?

2. What are the intentions of the Member State Governments with regard to Kampuchean representation at the forthcoming session of the UN General Assembly, given the recent

decisions setting up a Supreme National Council, and complying with Parliament's resolution of 18 January 1990 and, in particular, its rejection of the granting of any mandate to the Khmer Rouge, the perpetrators of genocide, to represent Kampuchea at the United Nations or dominate a government responsible for administering the country?

3. In more general terms, has the time not come to end the total isolation in which the Kampuchean people have been living since 17 April 1975, the date on which the Khmer Rouge entered Phnom Penh?

The Phnom Penh authorities have stated that they are ready to play host to any technician, expert, teacher, etc., that they wish to see as many of their young people as possible travel abroad and receive training there, and that they wish to take part in the international technical and economic meetings dealing with the problems affecting Kampuchea.

Do the Foreign Ministers not see a need to make it possible for Kampucheans with valid reasons for so doing to enter their countries? This would require administrative measures to provide them with the necessary visas.

Do the Foreign Ministers not regard it as desirable that Kampuchean experts should be able to take part in international meetings dealing with the future of their country? This would entail representations to the UN Secretary-General and the directors-general of the specialized institutions urging them to extend the relevant invitations to Kampuchea on terms similar to those laid down *vis-à-vis* other countries whose governments are not recognized by the UN.

Question No 192/90/rev.1:

At its meetings from 21 to 23 May 1990 in Dublin, and 19 to 21 September 1990 in Rome, and after hearing the report on the mission to Kampuchea and Bangkok undertaken by Mr Cheysson, Mr Bourlanges and Mr Lacaze from 18 to 29 April 1990, the Political Affairs Committee decided to put an oral question with debate to the Council.

1. Does the Council of Ministers of the European Communities intend to comply with its formal undertaking, which it has affirmed on several occasions in ministerial meetings in Central America and with the parties to the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), whereby the Community is determined to provide technical and financial support for refugee repatriation programmes presented within the framework of the United Nations and fulfilling the following four indissociable conditions:

(i) a specialist UN institution, usually the High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), to be directly responsible for the physical safety of the returning refugees in the country in question;

(ii) each refugee to return voluntarily, this wish being expressed individually and in a manner that can be verified;

(iii) prior agreement between the country the refugee is leaving and the country to which he is returning, to be concluded under the auspices of the United Nations;

(iv) repatriation to form part of a development programme for the areas or regions to which refugees return, thereby ensuring that the repatriates are given direct support for the resumption of their activities and the development of the infrastructures (sanitary, educational, social, etc.) in the area, the developmental programme for the refugees and for those environmental regions that welcome them.

It should be pointed out that the Community has already taken similar action in Central America (Nicaragua, Guatemala, etc.) and is beginning to do so also in Laos.

2. Does the Council not consider, therefore, that it should support, politically and financially, the proposal put forward by the Prime Minister of Thailand to set up without delay, far from the border, a 'neutral camp' supervised by the United Nations, where Kampuchean refugees can be given asylum free from any political pressure and from any attempts to recruit them for combat?

Does the Council not agree that the freedom of every man and woman to choose his/her place of residence or refuge is a fundamental right, the exercise of which should be facilitated by the Community?

Question No 193/90/rev.2:

At its meetings from 21 to 23 May 1990 in Dublin, and 19 to 21 September 1990 in Rome, and after hearing the report on the mission to Kampuchea and Bangkok by Mr Cheysson, Mr Bourlanges and Mr Lacaze from 18 to 29 April 1990, the Political Affairs Committee decided to put an oral question with debate to the Commission.

1. Does the Commission, which has been providing funding over the past few years for Community NGOs, not consider that a technical fact-finding mission should be sent to Kampuchea to assess the activities of the various bodies and develop those which it deems to be most important in the current stage of the country's recovery?

2. Does the Commission not consider that it should be involved in the investigations which the specialist institutions of the United Nations have begun to carry out in Kampuchea (despite the fact that they do not recognize the Phnom Penh government nor do they intend to do so), so as to make suitable preparations for the repatriation of refugees when the time comes, and assess the considerable problems which Kampuchea will have in resuming development after a 20-year period in which investment came to a complete stop?

Mr Vitalone, President-in-Office of the Council: Mr President, I do not want to say very much, really, I should just like to find a way of expressing in simple terms what has been and is being done, what the Council has done in order to solve this painful problem. I would like, if I may, Mr President, to answer together Mr Gorla's two questions, that relate to different aspects of the situation in Kampuchea. The Council can confirm that action will be taken on the commitments recently entered into on the occasion of the Ministerial Conference between the Community and ASEAN that was held in Kuching in February. We then affirmed our commitment to the global action plan adopted at the international conference on Indochinese refugees that was held in Geneva in June 1989. This multilateral agreement should provide a permanent, final solution to the problem. We emphasize that it is in the balanced, coordinated implementation of the provisions of the global plan by all parties concerned that a humanitarian solution lies. I would like to start by tackling more specifically humanitarian problems, in regard to which the Community and Member States show particular concern and notable readiness to help, albeit with the restrictions, with which we are all familiar, imposed by the difficulties arising from the problems presented by the budget. On behalf of the Council I wish to confirm that the Community vigorously affirms the fundamental right of every man and every woman to be able freely to choose their place of residence or refuge. As the honourable Member who asked the question knows, it is the responsibility of the Commission to arrange Community action to help the refugees. And the important programme — we have to acknowledge to the Commission — has been devoted to the Indochinese refugees. Moreover, the Commission has already informed the Prime Minister of Thailand of his readiness to organize the setting up, a long way from the border, of a transit camp where those Kampuchean refugees that so desire can find welcome and help.

With regard to the more strictly political aspect of the problem, I would like to say that the results of the recent meetings in New York and in Jakarta — and I personally had the honour of delivering the opinion, the views of the Council of Ministers of the Twelve to the latter — has

brought about considerable clarification of the Kampuchean question. In the statement of 18 September¹ the Community and Member States, whilst re-emphasizing their deep concern at the situation in Kampuchea, expressed their congratulations for what had been achieved by the five Permanent Members of the United Nations Security Council, and for the part that the Secretary-General had played in this. We fully supported the framework agreement adopted in New York on 27 and 28 August by the five permanent members, which concerned an overall, global settlement of the Kampuchean question. And we noted with satisfaction the total acceptance by the Kampuchean parties at their Jakarta meeting on 10 September of the New York framework agreement in its entirety, as the basis for a solution of the Kampuchean conflict and the formation of the Supreme National Council. We also emphasize that this Council will represent Kampuchea in its external affairs, taking its place at the United Nations and the special agencies of the United Nations, and *vis-à-vis* all other international bodies and conferences. I should like to take this opportunity, Mr President, of expressing my very sincere hope that the Community and its Member States can accept, as soon as possible, the Supreme National Council as Kampuchea's representative in all international quarters. The Community and its Member States are, however, still profoundly concerned at the continuation of the conflict in Kampuchea. They are seeking a global, political settlement that will ensure the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and neutrality of Kampuchea, as well as the fundamental right of the Kampuchean people to choose their own government through free elections. We emphasize the need finally to see human rights protected, and to avoid a return to the policies and practices that made such cruel genocide possible. Neither the Khmer Rouge nor any other Kampuchean group must be allowed to take or retain power by force of arms. In this context the Community and its Member States call urgently for a new meeting to be called of the Paris Conference on Kampuchea, so as to finalize the specific aspects of the global political settlement. Mr President, the Community and its Member States will continue to follow very closely the way the situation in Kampuchea develops, and are ready to examine, when the time is right, and in a constructive spirit, what resources are available and necessary for close, effective cooperation with the new Kampuchea.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 90/322.

90/361. Questions No O-227/90 by Mr Nordmann and others, No O-228/90 by Mr Nordmann and others, and No O-226/90 by Mr Nordmann and others concerning racism and xenophobia

Date of Issue: 9 October 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

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Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Question No O-227/90:

What is the view of the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation on the report (Doc. A3-195/90) of the European Parliament's Committee of Inquiry into Racism and Xenophobia?

How do they intend to respond to the report's recommendations?

Question No O-228/90:

What is the view of the Commission of the European Communities on the report of the European Parliament's Committee of Inquiry into Racism and Xenophobia?

How does it intend to respond to the report's recommendations?

Question No O-226/90:

What is the view of the Council of the European Communities on the report of the European Parliament's Committee of Inquiry into Racism and Xenophobia?
How does it intend to respond to the report's recommendations?

Mr Vitalone, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers and of the Council: [...] Turning to the substance of the matter, Mr President, I will reply to the two questions together, although they were addressed to different bodies. The European Parliament's Committee of Inquiry into Racism and Xenophobia has done a remarkable job, which is reflected in the recommendations adopted on 17 July and which the European Parliament has now set out. In its recommendations, the Committee of Inquiry addresses Parliament, the Commission, the Council, the Member States and the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation. These recommendations, which are very diverse where they concern the Council and the Member States, call for direct recognition and careful, in-depth examination of the entire subject. In the context of combating racism and xenophobia, there are fundamental questions that arise concerning the status of Community citizens and non-Community citizens. The Council, let me repeat this emphatically, condemns totally and with the utmost firmness such odious phenomena as racism, anti-Semitism and xenophobia and regards the Committee of Inquiry's efforts to combat these unacceptable, shameful phenomena in whatever shape or form they appear as entirely positive.

That is why I want here to stress quite firmly [that] the European Council, which is the highest European body, felt it necessary, essential in fact, at the recent Dublin Summit to speak out very clearly and distinctly on this subject. The points made in the report adopted by the European Parliament's Committee of Inquiry were also considered by the Heads of State and Government in their declaration on anti-Semitism, racism and xenophobia of 26 June last. The European Council expressed its strong condemnation of the recent evidence of anti-Semitism, racism and xenophobia and, more particularly, of the expression of anti-Semitism that led to the desecration of graves. It is all the more saddening that such acts of aberration should enjoy any credit at all at a time when we are remembering the end of the Second World War. The European Council condemned these incidents most severely and pronounced itself in favour of adopting energetic measures to combat them wherever or whenever they occur within the Community. The Member States will determine what the most appropriate measures are to adopt in order to render their own national legislation against such acts effective.

The European Council noted, however, that these problems are not just confined to the Community States. Similar incidents have been recorded in other European countries too. The European Council bore in mind the declaration made by the Community institutions and the Member States on 11 July 1986 on racism and xenophobia: the supreme Community body regards respect for human dignity and the elimination of all forms of discrimination as of capital importance. These phenomena, including the expressions of prejudice against foreign immigrants, are unacceptable. The European Council also underlined the positive contribution that workers from third countries have made and are still making to the development and growth of the Community as a whole. In this context, the European Council has confirmed the importance of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the Council of Europe declaration on intolerance, and the current work within the CSCE. The European Council has given its full support to all measures, especially within the context of the Human Dimension of the CSCE, aimed at combating anti-Semitism, racism and incitement to hatred and xenophobia. The importance the Community and its Member States attach to this matter is reflected by the proposals they have put forward on combating racism and xenophobia and the measures taken by individual Member States at the human rights convention in Copenhagen where the Member States condemned racial and ethnic hatred, racism and xenophobia and confirmed that it was their firm intention to intensify their efforts to combat such phenomena in whatever shape or form they occur. Following that declaration against racism and xenophobia by the three institutions — Parliament, the Council and the Commission — on 11 June 1986, the

Council and the representatives of the Member States meeting in the Council adopted the resolution of 29 May 1990 on measures to combat racism and xenophobia. The Council is aware of the criticism that has been levelled at that document, in particular the assertion that non-Community citizens are excluded from the resolution's scope — or rather that they are not mentioned explicitly — that is to say citizens who are just as much the victims of racist and xenophobic behaviour.

For my part, going back to what I said before in this Assembly and during the debate before the Commission, I do not agree with this criticism. Like the institutional declaration of 11 June 1986, the resolution of 2 May 1990 is very general in scope and makes no distinction between Community and non-Community citizens. Allow me to add quite frankly that if non-Community citizens had been singled out for mention that would have introduced a distinction which we do not at all want to accept, given that the legal protection of these rights and values must be valid for all, impartially and to the same degree. If we think back to certain acts recently verified in some Member States, we find that the victims were not immigrants but in fact Community nationals.

So how can we fulfil our commitments in such an important sector? As the Presidency has indicated to your Committee of Inquiry, it intends shortly to organize a Council debate on the situation of immigrants, which should conclude with the formulation of specific proposals. This discussion within the Council should be based on the report to be drawn up by the Commission on the integration of immigrants and on a report by the Presidency giving an account of the activities of the *ad hoc* group on immigration of national coordinators for the free movement of persons. In this document, the Presidency will not fail to take the utmost account of the Committee of Inquiry's recommendations; in particular, where this comes within its terms of reference, the Presidency intends to urge those recommendations that concern better coordination with the Community institutions (Recommendation No 11) and those concerning better provision of information (No 19) and on alerting public opinion (No 20).

Turning to the recommendations addressed to the Council, I particularly note the one on the Convention on Human Rights and those concerning the transfer of certain activities related to the free movement of non-Community nationals that are currently dealt with by inter-governmental organizations to Community bodies, and on steps to be taken to ensure the full and correct implementation in all Member States of the Council directive — 77/486/EEC — on the education of children of migrant workers.

Let me make a final remark on the recommendations to the Member States: proposals could be put forward for the application of Recommendation No 54 on the legal status that non-Community residents and workers should acquire within a reasonable period, and of No 56, on ensuring that the forthcoming intergovernmental conference introduces into the Treaties competences relating to non-Community nationals. Lastly, I think that when the principles relating to the European Social Charter are drawn up, account could also be taken of some of the Committee of Inquiry's recommendations. The Presidency firmly hopes that the follow-up to this debate will contribute to the efforts the Member States must make, on a continuous basis, to ensure that the Europe of the Twelve is free of all racist or xenophobic behaviour. These are ideas, guidelines that can be put into effect and which we offer as a constructive contribution to the parliamentary debate.

90/362. Question No H-712/90 by Mr Dessylas concerning the illegal arrest and detention of Jaime Tadeo, President of the Philippines Farmers' Movement (KMP)

Date of Issue: 10 October 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

On 11 May 1990 the President of the Philippines Farmers' Movement, Jaime Tadeo, was illegally arrested by agents of the Philippines National Bureau of Intelligence (NBI, known for its activities under the Marcos dictatorship), and is still being illegally detained.

What immediate representations do the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation intend to make to the Government to ensure that democratic and trade union rights and the lawful activities of unions and other popular organizations in the Philippines are respected?

Answer:

The specific question asked by the honourable Member has not been dealt with in European political cooperation.

The Community and its Member States do, nevertheless, consider it very important that the Philippines, as a member of the international community, strictly observes all its commitments in the field of human rights, including the fundamental and democratic right of association.

90/363. Question No H-718/90 by Mr Bandrés Molet concerning the accreditation to the EC of a fugitive from Spanish justice

Date of Issue: 10 October 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

On 11 November 1988, the Examining Magistracy No 5 of Madrid issued a warrant for the arrest of Francisco Paesa Sánchez, under Summary Proceeding No 9/89, brought against José Amedo and Michel Domínguez in connection with the attack by the GAL (Anti-Terrorist Liberation Groups) which led to the death of a young man, Juan Carlos García Goena.

Francisco Paesa Sánchez was subsequently accredited to the European Community by the Government of São Tomé and Príncipe; the accreditation was accepted by the Community authorities in August 1989.

On what grounds can the Community accept the accreditation of a fugitive from Spanish justice who has been accused of collaboration with terrorism and who has been the subject of an international arrest warrant since 11 November 1988?

Answer:

The accreditation of Government representatives to the Communities from non-Community countries is not one of the responsibilities of European political cooperation.

90/364. Question No H-844/90/rev. by Mr Pesmazoglou concerning the freedom to express and practise religious beliefs in Albania

Date of Issue: 10 October 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Irrespective of the general turmoil in Albania, will the European political cooperation say what action it will take to secure the freedom in that country to express and practise religious beliefs?

The Albanian authorities' claims that this freedom is respected are not correct. This is a matter of great importance for the majority of Albanians who are Muslims but also for the approximate 10% of the population who are Catholics and some 20% that make up the Greek Orthodox minority in northern Epirus.

Answer:

Some of the measures adopted recently by the Albanian Parliament, such as the legalization of religious propaganda, tend towards greater flexibility in the field of human rights, although they still do not seem to go far enough. As the honourable Member knows, the events which took place in Albania in July led the Twelve to publish a statement in which they appealed to the Albanian authorities to respect international law and expressed the hope that the latter would quickly adopt the measures and reforms required to set Albania on the path towards democracy. In this statement, the Twelve also reiterated that respect for human rights and the principles of international law were essential preconditions for the establishment of normal relations with the European Community.

90/365. Question No H-852/90 by Mr Desmond concerning the Namibian debt

Date of Issue: 10 October 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Italy
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Do the Ministers intend to make representations to the Government of South Africa to ensure that it takes full responsibility for the Namibian debt which was accrued during the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa?

Answer:

The question raised by the honourable Member has not been discussed in European political cooperation. However, the Community and its Member States note that Namibia's debt prior to independence and other aspects of its future economic relations are the subject of negotiations between the Governments of South Africa and Namibia. The Community and its Member States hope that a solution to this problem will be found in the near future.

90/366. Question No H-855/90 by Mr Pierros concerning the murder of 27 Kurds in the village of Cefrimli

Date of Issue: 10 October 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Italy
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

During the night of 9 June 1990, special forces of the Turkish army murdered 27 Kurds, among them women and children. Following this tragedy, the local authorities placed a strict ban on journalists visiting the area. Do the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation not think that these actions are unacceptable and will lead to a dangerous escalation of tension in the region, with unpredictable consequences? What measures do the Foreign Ministers intend to take to bring an end to the flagrant violation of the human rights of an entire people?

Answer:

On the basis of information available to certain Member States, it appears that the specific incidents mentioned by the honourable Member should be attributed to Kurdish armed groups belonging to the PKK and not to special units of the Turkish armed forces.

In more general terms, the Foreign Ministers confirmed in their statement of 21 July 1986 that respect for human rights is an important element in relations between the Twelve and non-Community countries. This declaration remains the basis of the Community's position with regard to human rights. The Community and its Member States are also convinced that the protection and promotion of human rights, including the protection of minorities, is the lawful duty of the international community as a whole and of each individual State. The Turkish authorities are well aware of the stance taken by the Twelve on this issue. The Community and its Member States approve of the position on human rights adopted on a number of occasions by the European Parliament. They will continue to monitor closely the situation of Kurdish minorities in the countries where they are to be found.

90/367. Question No H-861/90 by Mr Gutiérrez Díaz concerning the murder of six Jesuits in El Salvador

Date of Issue: 10 October 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

The investigation into the murder of six Jesuits attached to the Central American University in El Salvador on 16 November 1989 is, according to the legal adviser to the Archbishop's office, María Julia Hernández, 'practically over', and 'has not involved any measures against the military personnel who ordered the killing'.

Proceedings have been brought by the judicial authorities against eight members of the armed forces, including the Director of the Military Academy, Guillermo Benavides.

What initiatives have the Ministers taken, or what initiatives do they intend to take, in accordance with their resolution calling on the Salvadorean authorities to undertake an exhaustive investigation into these murders and to punish those responsible?

Answer:

The Twelve are continuing to keep a close eye on the inquiry being held in El Salvador into the murders mentioned by the honourable Member. This affair is of particular importance on account of the horrific nature of the crime in question, and the significance of the efforts undertaken by the Salvadorean Government to bring the judicial procedure in this key case to a successful conclusion, efforts which form part of the quest for national reconciliation.

The Twelve will continue to pay a great deal of attention to the murder of the six priests and their two helpers, both at the United Nations and in their bilateral contacts with the Salvadorean authorities, who are fully aware of the importance which the Twelve attach to the successful conclusion of this inquiry.

The European Community and its Member States have supported the peace process in El Salvador and the other Central American countries by whatever means possible. In this context, the San José ministerial conference held in Dublin on 9 and 10 April 1990 emulated the previous conferences by helping to achieve progress in this field.

90/368. Question No H-862/90 by Ms Ruiz-Giménez Aguilar concerning the bank for the reconstruction of Central America

Date of Issue: 10 October 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Italy
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Do the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation intend to support the idea put forward by the US Secretary of State, James Baker, of establishing a bank for the reconstruction of Central America, along the lines of the new bank for the reconstruction of the countries of Eastern Europe?

Answer:

Any proposal which aims to strengthen cooperation between the West and the countries of Central America and its immediate area is in keeping with the well-defined objectives of the projects carried out by the Community and its Member States in the region under the San José process, the Lomé Convention and cooperation agreements with individual countries. It remains to be seen whether policy discussions with the United States can arrive at more precise conclusions on the terms for strengthening, and perhaps even harmonizing, cooperation efforts in the region, without the Community departing from the aforementioned schemes.

90/369. Question No H-867/90 by Mr Barros Moura concerning the speech by General Moerdani in Dili

Date of Issue: 10 October 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Italy
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

The authenticity of the recording of the speech by General Moerdani was confirmed by independent experts from the USA (see 'Assessment of authenticity of tape of speech by Indonesian Defence and Security Minister General (ret.) LB. Moerdani in Dili, February 3, 1990', *Indonesian Publications*, June 22, 1990). It is a threatening and intimidating speech which confirms the growing isolation of the Indonesian occupying forces and their willingness to use the most brutal means against the nationalist movement. Will measures be adopted, in accordance with Parliament's resolutions, to put a stop to all forms of cooperation by the EEC and its Member States with the Indonesian regime?

Answer:

Bearing in mind the Parliament resolutions mentioned by the honourable Member, the Twelve are keeping a close eye on developments in East Timor.

They will continue to do so and also make sure that the Indonesian authorities are kept aware of the importance attached by the Community and its Member States to strict respect for human rights.

90/370. Question No H-883/90 by Mr Falconer concerning the terrorist acts perpetrated in Europe by the Iranian Rafsanjani Regime

Date of Issue: 10 October 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Are the Foreign Ministers aware of the evidence linking the Iranian regime with terrorist acts perpetrated in Istanbul, Geneva and Cologne this year? Has any consideration been given to what action might be taken to prevent such terrorist acts by the Rafsanjani regime?

Answer:

The specific question raised by the honourable Member has not been discussed in political cooperation.

However, on several occasions the Twelve have expressed the hope that Iran's leaders will demonstrate by means of specific action willingness to develop constructive relations with the Community and its Member States and to contribute to the life of the international community in a peaceful fashion and in accordance with the standards governing relations between different countries. In such a way, Iran may return to its rightful place at regional level and within the international community.

90/371. Questions No H-884/90 by Mr Newens, No H-885/90 by Mr Simpson and No H-886/90 by Ms Díez de Rivera Icaza concerning human rights in Iran

Date of Issue: 10 October 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Question No H-884/90:

Are the Foreign Ministers aware of evidence which demonstrates a range of serious discrepancies and omissions in the report prepared by UN Special Representative, Galindo Pohl, on the human rights situation in Iran?

Question No H-885/90:

Are the Foreign Ministers aware that since January 1990 the Iranian regime has officially announced the public hanging of over 200 individuals in Iran? Have the Foreign Ministers considered what pressure might be applied to halt continuing large-scale human rights abuses in Iran?

Question No 50 H-886/90:

Are the Foreign Ministers aware of growing evidence of an increase in the repression of women in Iran since April of this year, including large-scale street arrests and public floggings on the grounds of unfit clothing?

Have the Foreign Ministers considered what pressure might be applied to halt human rights abuses of this sort in Iran?

Answer:

Allow me to give a joint reply to Questions Nos 884, 885 and 886, which relate to the same subject.

The Community and its Member States have continually supported the resolutions on the state of human rights in Iran which have been adopted by the UN General Assembly since 1985, and have repeatedly urged the Iranian authorities to observe the rules generally accepted by the international community. Respect for human rights in Iran was also a very important topic at the meeting of 16 May 1990 between the Troika of political directors and a representative of the Iranian Government.

Although they are still concerned by the state of human rights in Iran, the Twelve have noted that their efforts and those of other countries have already produced some results, in particular the willingness shown by the Iranian authorities to cooperate with the Commission on Human Rights.

In this context, it would appear from the report submitted by the UN Special Representative that, although respect for human rights still needs to be monitored closely, certain positive aspects may be noted. However, the assistance and vigilance provided by the UN with regard to Iran are still essential.

To support the efforts of the Special Representative and encourage continued cooperation between Iran and the Commission on Human Rights, the Twelve have decided to co-sponsor the resolution adopted by consensus on 7 March 1990. This resolution reflects as faithfully as possible the evidence, analysis and conclusions contained in the Special Representative's report as regards both the alleged or confirmed human rights violations and the signs of goodwill shown by the Iranian authorities and the improvements noted by Mr Galindo Pohl.

At the meeting of 16 May, the Twelve noted with satisfaction the Iranian authorities' willingness to allow the Special Representative to visit their country a second time. They hope that, on this occasion, the Iranian authorities will cooperate as much as possible with Mr Galindo Pohl.

90/372. Question No H-893/90 by Mr Melandri concerning the unstable situation in Africa

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Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

What is the Ministers' political assessment of the recent tragic events in Africa, which has lately experienced general instability owing in particular to the structural adjustment policies imposed by international financial institutions? What steps have the Foreign Ministers taken to condemn in particular the recent human rights violations in Somalia, Zaire and the Ivory Coast? What are their views on the politico-institutional process under way in Benin?

Answer:

1. The Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation are aware of the serious problems facing almost every country in Africa, particularly the worsening economic situation. The European Council in Dublin expressed its grave concern about sub-Saharan Africa. The economic situation in these countries, including their debt, is worrying. In stressing the

commitment of the Community and its Member States to continued development in Africa (through the Lomé Convention in particular), the European Council advocated progress linked with respect for human rights and sound government in sub-Saharan Africa.

2. In the field of human rights, and more specifically with regard to Somalia, the Presidency would first and foremost like to point out that the declaration by the Twelve on the Horn of Africa issued in Dublin on 20 February 1990 registered, *inter alia*, the Community's grave concern about human rights violations in this country. It also stressed the urgent need for a political solution to the conflict within Somalia as the sole guarantee of peace and future stability. In this context, the Community and its Member States welcomed the proposed constitutional reforms and hoped that these might also lead to improvements in the field of human rights. In a later declaration of 13 July, following the clampdown in Mogadishu in June 1990, the Community and its Member States observed once again that the expectations of governments and international public opinion had been dashed by the use of repressive measures which violated basic human rights. The Community and its Member States immediately demanded that the Somali Government release the political prisoners and resume the process of genuine national reconciliation.

It later turned out that the parallel action taken within the framework of European political cooperation (declarations), the European Parliament (Resolution of 12 July 1990), the European Parliament Committee on Development and Cooperation (letter from Mr Saby) and the Commission of the European Communities (contact between the Commission and the Somali Ambassador to the EC) contributed towards the release of the persons arrested in June.

3. Following the action taken by the Zairean police forces at the university campus in Lubumbashi which resulted in the death of several students and injuries to many others, the Community and its Member States decided to communicate their grave concern to the Zairean authorities. The Italian Ambassador, representing the Irish Presidency, made an approach to the Zairean Foreign Minister on 30 May 1990 during which he:

(i) reiterated the importance attached by the Community and its Member States to the protection of human rights and referred to the human rights provisions contained in the new Lomé Convention;

(ii) stressed that the Community and its Member States were deeply concerned about the tragic events which took place at the university of Lubumbashi;

(iii) called on the Zairean authorities to open an inquiry into the events and take whatever measures necessary against those members of the security forces who had been involved in the murders or other breaches of human rights.

4. As regards those parts of the question concerning the Ivory Coast and Benin, the Presidency would like to inform the honourable Member that these were not discussed in European political cooperation.

90/373. Question No H-908/90 by Mr Papoutsis concerning the illegal population settlement by Turks in Cyprus

Date of Issue: 10 October 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

In view of Turkey's declared intention of proceeding with the illegal settlement of Famagusta in Turkish-occupied Northern Cyprus, what will the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation do to prevent this development and what firm measures will the Italian Presidency take in this field?

Answer:

As the honourable Member is aware, the Twelve are deeply concerned about the Cyprus question and have held a joint position on this issue for some time now. Recently, at the European Council meeting of 25 and 26 June 1990 in Dublin, the Heads of State and Government issued a statement reiterating their concern at the stalemate in the talks between the two communities.

They also took this opportunity to reaffirm their previous statements and express their support for the unity, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus, in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions, and Resolution 550/84 in particular. Moreover, the Heads of State or Government emphasized the need to quickly overcome any obstacles preventing the resumption of meaningful talks between the two communities. In this context, they reaffirmed their commitment to supporting efforts aimed at finding a fair and viable solution, such as the goodwill visit by the Secretary-General of the United Nations which was recently confirmed by Security Council Resolution 649/90.

90/374. Question No H-910/90 by Mr McMahon concerning South Africa

Date of Issue: 10 October 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Can the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation inform the House whether there has been any shift in Community opinion on the issue of sanctions against South Africa following upon the Dublin Summit of June 1990 and the July part-session of the European Parliament?

Answer:

The Community's position concerning the restrictive measures adopted towards South Africa remains unchanged. In addition, the Community and the Member States are continuing to pay close attention to developments in that country.

In this context, they expressed, on 9 August 1990, their great satisfaction at the outcome of the meetings which had recently been held in Pretoria between the South African Government and the ANC. The conclusions of these meetings were greeted as new and significant steps towards national reconciliation and the establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa — a project to which all political forces should make their full contribution.

In particular, the Community and the Member States have welcomed the suspension of the armed struggle announced by the ANC and the decisions to release political prisoners and grant an amnesty to exiles. They have also noted the significant developments taking place in South Africa and have expressed their desire to see a rapid start to negotiations on the new constitution.

The Community and its Member States are, however, concerned at the rising violence in South Africa at a time when the bases for opening negotiations on the new constitution have finally been established. On 20 August 1990, they expressed their condemnation of this new wave of violence, with its substantial number of victims, viewing the recent incidents as an obstacle to the efforts of all those who are working towards the establishment of a non-racial democracy in South Africa.

The Community and the Member States have consistently condemned all recourse to violence, and wish to see an end to this pointless bloodshed. They expect the South African

authorities to do all in their power to put an end to the violence on an impartial basis, and urge all the parties concerned to resolve their differences through dialogue in a common endeavour to achieve peace.

In view of the complexity of the situation in South Africa and the precarious nature of the balance between the significant progress which has been achieved in South Africa and the country's serious internal problems, the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation will certainly wish to make a detailed analysis of the situation, with a view to defining the position of the Community and the Member States with regard to South Africa, from both short and medium-term perspectives.

90/375. Question No H-913/90 by Mr Seligman concerning the restoration of peace in Lebanon

Date of Issue: 10 October 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

The Lebanese people continue to suffer the horrors of civil war and foreign intervention, while British citizens continue to be detained there as hostages. Attempts by the United Nations to restore peace have so far not met with success.

Lebanon's problems may be said to be part of the general conflict in the Middle East and can be traced back to the decisions of certain Member States of the European Community after the First World War.

Would the Council of Ministers now use its prestige and influence on behalf of the Community to exhort the Security Council of the United Nations to intensify its efforts to provide an effective peace-keeping force so that the Lebanese people may be enabled to seek democratic, political solutions to the problems which divide them, free from military involvement on the part of certain of their neighbours?

Answer:

The Community and its Member States are of the opinion that a solution to the Lebanese problem must come first and foremost from all the people of Lebanon themselves with the support of the Arab World and, in particular, of the Tripartite Committee set up at the Arab Summit in Casablanca. The UN Security Council shares this opinion, as evidenced *inter alia* in the declaration by its President of 27 December 1989.

In this context, the Community and its Member States fully support the implementation of the Ta'if Agreements. In their opinion, there is no alternative to the process of reconciliation and restoring peace to the nation, set out in these agreements.

The Community and its Member States welcome the ratification of these agreements by the Lebanese Parliament on 21 August this year, in the hope that this historic move will quickly lead to the implementation of all the phases of these agreements.

The Community and its Member States have repeatedly expressed their support for the legal authorities in Lebanon, as represented by the President of the Republic and the Government appointed by him, so that, in accordance with the wishes of the whole population, the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Lebanon may be restored. They are of the opinion that this process requires the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Lebanon.

They deeply regret that General Aoun has not yet accepted the Ta'if framework and the authority of President Hraoui and his Government. They urge him to display more flexibility forthwith and to accept this agreement which has now been ratified.

In this critical period in the Middle East, the Community and its Member States would like to stress that progress in Lebanon must be made by negotiations and not by the use of force on any side, which could lead to further bloodshed and futile destruction.

The Community and its Member States call on all parties to work as Lebanese patriots towards forming a government that would guarantee true national unity.

90/376. Question No H-937/90 by Mr Crampton concerning the declaration on nuclear non-proliferation

Date of Issue: 10 October 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Noting that the declaration on nuclear non-proliferation in the Presidency conclusions of the European Council in Dublin in June supports the regime of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and stresses the need for all States to join the efforts of the Treaty to eliminate the risk of nuclear proliferation, will the Foreign Ministers seek to persuade the nuclear weapon State which is a Member of the EC and is not a signatory to sign, and press the nuclear weapon State which is a Member of the EC and has signed the Treaty to implement Article 6 of the Treaty and desist from further increasing its arsenal of nuclear weapons which is certainly against the spirit of the Treaty if not the rules?

Answer:

It is quite correct to stress the importance of the declaration on nuclear non-proliferation adopted by the European Council in Dublin on 25 and 26 June 1990.

This declaration is particularly significant given that it is the first time that the European Council has adopted a common position on this subject. It should be seen in the context of a process of coordination on questions of nuclear non-proliferation being pursued by the Twelve with a view to preventing the spread of nuclear weapons or other explosive nuclear devices which could threaten stability and undermine regional and global security.

The Twelve attach the greatest importance to the maintenance of an effective international system of nuclear non-proliferation, and recognize that the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) is an important element of this system.

In the declaration of the European Council, the Twelve, whether or not party to the NPT, committed themselves to active efforts to achieve a satisfactory outcome to the subsequent talks.

In this connection, stress should be laid on the active contribution made by the Twelve to the fourth conference on revision of the NPT, in which all the Member States took part, either as full participants or as observers. In addition, it may be pointed out that this year, following last year's innovatory procedure, the Presidency will deliver a joint declaration on behalf of the Twelve to the General Conference of the IAEA.

The specific matters raised in the question have not been considered by European political cooperation.

90/377. Question No H-947/90 by Mr Kostopoulos concerning the differing responses to similar situations in Iraq and Cyprus

Date of Issue: 10 October 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

In the light of UN Security Council Resolution 665 which provides, *inter alia*, for military measures of enforcement, one is inevitably reminded of the situation in the Republic of Cyprus, 40% of whose territory has been occupied for the last 16 years following the Turkish military invasion.

Answer:

As the honourable Member knows, the Twelve have always been in favour of the UN resolutions supporting efforts aimed at seeking a just and viable solution to the problem of Cyprus. In particular, they support the UN Secretary-General's good offices mission. In addition, the Presidency has reminded Parliament on a number of occasions of the Twelve's position regarding a solution to this problem which should be based on the principles of the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of Cyprus.

90/378. Question No H-958/90 by Mr Avgerinos concerning problems facing travellers crossing the Greek-Yugoslavian border

Date of Issue: 10 October 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

On 23 August 1990 two Greek nationals (and European Parliament officials) crossing the Greek-Yugoslav border had their luggage checked by a Yugoslav policeman who confiscated five books on the history of northern Greece and two paintings.

What representations do the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation intend to make to the Yugoslav authorities to ask them to justify the confiscation of these personal effects?

Answer:

The question raised by the honourable Member has not been discussed in European political cooperation.

90/379. Question No H-969/90 by Mr Lalor concerning EC-US relations

Date of Issue: 10 October 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Will the Council of Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation outline its views on how EC-US relations can be further developed during the period of the Italian Presidency?

Answer:

As you know, under the Irish Presidency the principle of regular EC-US meetings was agreed, at the level of the Council Presidency, the Foreign Affairs Ministers, the heads of political departments and experts. These new mechanisms, based on a very dense network of dialogue and cooperation which over the last 20 years has created the closest relationship the Community and its Member States enjoy with a third country, supplement the very useful relations between the Commission and the American authorities in its areas of competence.

I can assure you that the mechanisms of dialogue with the United States have continued to develop over recent months under the Italian Presidency along the lines set by Irish Prime Minister Haughey and President Bush at their meeting of 27 February 1990. For example, the Troika of Foreign Affairs Ministers met Secretary of State Baker on 10 September and all the Community Foreign Ministers met Mr Baker in New York on 25 September. Troika meetings involving the heads of political departments and their American counterparts are continuing and there have already been several Troika meetings of experts and their American counterparts.

In the light of recent events in Europe and the prospect of political union, it has been decided to give a new dimension to our relations with the United States. The two sides are currently preparing a solemn declaration on transatlantic relations. This declaration, which stems from an idea launched by Secretary of State Baker in Berlin, later taken up by Mr Genscher and others, aims to give formal expression to the common values which form the basis of the special relations between the Community and the United States, and, in this spirit, to define the ways in which this partnership may be developed. The declaration will also mention the areas in which the two sides will undertake to strengthen cooperation, in particular economic and trade relations, scientific research and major transnational issues.

The Presidency also wishes to point out that the text of a Euro-Canadian declaration is also being prepared with the Canadians in order to complete the framework of transatlantic relations.

90/380. Question No H-972/90 by Mr Killilea concerning the EC-Eastern Europe-Soviet Union Summit

Date of Issue: 10 October 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

In the context of the most welcome easing of tensions between East and West and the consequent improved prospects for better political, trade and cultural relations, does the Council of Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation share the view that an EC-Eastern Europe-Soviet Union Summit would spearhead the way for even greater understanding and cooperation?

Answer:

Mr Killilea's proposal for an EC-Eastern Europe-Soviet Union Summit was not discussed by the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation.

However, the forthcoming meeting of the CSCE in Paris in November will provide an opportunity for the European Community, the countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, which will all be taking part, to open the way 'for even greater understanding and cooperation'.

It was in this spirit that the Heads of State or Government emphasized at their meeting in Dublin on 25 and 26 June 1990 that the forthcoming CSCE Summit should make a decisive contribution to strengthening stability and cooperation in Europe and to disarmament and should provide a basic orientation for future economic relations and cooperation in Europe. A close association between the Community and other member States of the CSCE is an example of such relations and cooperation. Lastly, the Heads of State or Government said that the CSCE Summit should set out guidelines for a democratic Europe and consolidate the principles of a State based on the rule of law.

90/381. Question No H-980/90 by Mr Andrews concerning hostages in Lebanon

Date of Issue: 10 October 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Will the Council of Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation under the Italian Presidency give an undertaking that it will continue the work for the release of all hostages held in Lebanon so actively pursued under the Irish Presidency?

Answer:

As under previous presidencies, during the Italian Presidency the Community and its Member States will make strenuous efforts to achieve the release of all those who are held against their will. They again call on everyone in a position to influence those holding the hostages to use that influence to bring about their immediate and unconditional release. In their contacts with all the parties concerned in the region, the Community and its Member States have not ceased to raise the question of the hostages.

90/382. Question No H-984/90 by Mr Fitzgerald concerning Amnesty International

Date of Issue: 10 October 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Will European political cooperation comment on its relations with Amnesty International and state if it has any proposals to convene a special meeting with this organization to discuss a common approach to human rights throughout the world?

Answer:

The Community and its Member States acknowledge the leading role played by Amnesty International in the field of information and duly appreciate the merits of this organization, devoted to the cause of human rights, when it draws the attention of the international community to violations of these rights wherever they occur.

Nevertheless, I should say that if one bears in mind the difference between an organization such as Amnesty International and the Community institutions, a common policy on human rights throughout the world, as the honourable Member suggests, would be hard to achieve. Consequently, the honourable Member's suggestion of holding a special meeting of European political cooperation with Amnesty International cannot be envisaged. Furthermore, although exchanges of views between the Member States and the NGOs responsible for safeguarding human rights are useful, it seems essential to respect the independence of these NGOs from political power, in order to preserve the effectiveness and credibility of their action.

European political cooperation will continue to coordinate activities for the protection of human rights, in particular through the Working Group on Human Rights.

90/383. Question No H-992/90 by Mr Price concerning the European Parliament resolution on the kidnapping and imprisonment of Mr Mordechai Vanunu

Date of Issue: 10 October 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Italy
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

What response has the President-in-Office received from the President of Israel and from the Government of that country to the representations made following the European Parliament's resolution of 14 June 1990 concerning the imprisonment of Mordechai Vanunu?¹

Answer:

The Presidency has informed the partners of the adoption of the resolution of Parliament of 14 June 1990 calling on the Israeli authorities to pardon Mr Vanunu or to commute his sentence. The specific case of Mr Vanunu has not been raised by European political cooperation, but a number of Member States have raised the matter with the Israeli Government on a bilateral basis in previous years. In addition, the Twelve take up all opportunities to remind the Israeli Government of the importance which they attach to full and universal respect for human rights.

¹ OJ C 175, 16.7.1990

90/384. Question No H-998/90 by Mr Beazley concerning Article 51 of the Geneva Convention Prohibiting the Conscription of Inhabitants of Occupied Territories to Serve in the Armed Forces of the Occupying Power

Date of Issue: 10 October 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Italy
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Following the declaration of independence by each of the Baltic States, Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonian conscripts have withdrawn from Soviet military service to be arrested subsequently by Soviet military police, exemplified on 13 May 1990 by the departure from their unit stationed at Milovice, Czechoslovakia, of Egidijus Nauseda, Virgilijus Dubauskas, Renatas Baboulis and Virgius Krikstoponis, now in solitary confinement. Will the Foreign Ministers ensure that fundamental human rights in States with which the Community has cooperation agreements are respected in their entirety for all persons on their territory, including individuals with the Soviet armed forces, and indicate their concern to the Czechoslovak authorities for the fate of these four individuals?

Answer:

The question raised by the honourable Member is not dealt with by European political cooperation. Nevertheless, the Community and its Member States, in their declaration of 21 April on the situation in Lithuania, pointed out that they believe firmly in a solution acceptable to everybody — which to our mind should imply achievement of a consensus between the centre and the periphery, leading towards a solution to the main political, legal, economic and social problems — must be sought and that this can be achieved only through discussion. Finally, they stated that they intend to monitor carefully the changing situation and any implications it may have for the policy of the Twelve.

90/385. Question No H-1006/90 by Mr De Rossa concerning the Kampuchean seat at the United Nations

Date of Issue: 10 October 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Will the Foreign Ministers state their view of the continued holding of Kampuchea's seat at the UN by the Khmer Rouge-dominated 'National Government of Kampuchea', and will the Twelve present a challenge to the recommendation of the UN Credentials Committee this autumn if it recommends that the UN seat for Kampuchea remain with the 'National Government of Kampuchea'?

Answer:

The outcome of the recent meetings in New York and Jakarta have shed new light on the matter raised by Mr De Rossa.

In the declaration of 18 September 1990, the Community and its Member States reiterated their deep concern at the situation in Kampuchea but welcomed the efforts of the five Permanent Members of the UN Security Council and the role of the UN Secretary-General. They fully support the framework adopted by the five Permanent Members in New York on 27 and 28 August this year for a global political settlement. They also welcome the agreement given by the Kampuchean parties on 10 September in Jakarta to the framework as a whole adopted in New York as the basis for a settlement of the Kampuchean conflict and the formation of the Supreme National Council. They note with approval that the Supreme National Council will represent Kampuchea abroad and will hold Kampuchea's seat at the United Nations, at UN specialist bodies and at other international institutions and conferences.

In this connection, the Community and its Member States urge that the Paris International Conference on Kampuchea be reconvened at the earliest opportunity with a view to finalizing the finer points of the global political settlement.

90/386. Question No H-1025/90 by Ms Dury concerning the influx of Soviet workers onto Community employment markets

Date of Issue: 10 October 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

According to the Belgian Minister for Labour, Mr Van den Brande, forecasts made in the USSR estimate that several million Soviet workers could emigrate to the European Community countries to seek employment.

Are these forecasts well founded and what action is being taken to prepare for this situation?

Answer:

The Ministers meeting in European political cooperation are fully aware of the consequences which the policy of economic reform will have in particular on the level of employment in the Soviet Union.

The forecasts mentioned by the honourable Member regarding the migrant flows which may result from these reforms have not been discussed within European political cooperation.

90/387. Question No H-1032/90 by Mr Elliott concerning human rights abuses in Kashmir and Punjab

Date of Issue: 10 October 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Italy
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Will the Foreign Ministers please indicate if they have made any representations to the Indian Government concerning the well authenticated reports of serious abuses of human rights by the police and army in the provinces of Kashmir and Punjab? Are they also prepared to press the Indian Government to ensure that the numerous residents of Indian origin in EC Member States, many of them actually Community citizens, with friends and relatives living in these provinces are able to visit them without undue restriction and to maintain regular contact by letter and telephone to assure themselves as to their safety and well-being?

Answer:

The Community and the Member States are paying close attention to the situation in Kashmir and Punjab, and will continue to do so.

In this context, the Community and the Member States have on several occasions made their position on human rights clear to the Government of India, which is therefore fully aware of their views on the matter.

90/388. Statement on the occasion of the Day of Solidarity with South African political prisoners

Date of Issue: 11 October 1990
 Place of Issue: New York
 Country of Presidency: Italy
 Source of Document: Italian Delegation to the United Nations
 Status of Document: Message

The 12 Member States of the European Community welcome the opportunity provided by this Day of Solidarity with the political prisoners in South Africa to reiterate their total rejection of apartheid, an abhorrent system of institutionalized racism that they have constantly and unequivocally condemned and to which they remain resolutely opposed.

The Twelve associate themselves with the objectives of this Day, strongly expressing their solidarity with those who have been deprived of their freedom because of their opposition to apartheid.

They are therefore glad to note that substantial progress has been achieved in this respect since last year.

The Twelve welcome the fact that a number of political prisoners has already been released, among them Nelson Mandela, a courageous leader who has fought tirelessly against apartheid even from his prison cell during almost three decades of captivity.

They also welcome other important steps taken in order to create the climate necessary for negotiations on constitutional reform, including the unbanning of political parties and movements, the substantial lifting of the state of emergency, the suspension of the death penalty, as well as the suspension of armed struggle on the part of the African National Congress.

The Twelve learned with keen satisfaction of the agreement reached last August as a result of the political dialogue initiated between the South African Government and the African National

Congress, providing for a phased release of political prisoners and for the return of political exiles and declaring that the way was now open to proceed towards negotiations on a new constitution.

Much more work is needed before the apartheid system is dismantled and a new, united, democratic, non-racial South Africa is created. But the Twelve believe that events are now clearly moving in the right direction. They urge all parties in South Africa to commit themselves now to peaceful negotiations and call on the South African Government to take all steps necessary to ensure a successful outcome of those negotiations.

On the occasion of this Day of Solidarity, the Twelve wish to reiterate their call for the speedy release of all political prisoners.

90/389. Explanation of vote in the Fourth Committee of the UN General Assembly — Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries (Agenda Item 112.)

Date of Issue: 12 October 1990

Place of Issue: New York

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Italian Delegation to the United Nations

Status of Document: Statement in International Forum

Mr Traxler: Mr Chairman, I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 12 Member States of the European Community on the draft resolution and draft decision contained in Document A/45/23 (Part IV).

The Twelve wish to reaffirm their strong support for all efforts in accordance with the Charter to eliminate colonialism. They also reiterate their unwavering commitment to the right of the peoples of the remaining non-self-governing territories to self-determination.

Furthermore, the Twelve do not hesitate to oppose any activities — such as the depletion of indigenous natural resources — of foreign economic and other interests which might impede the process of self-determination of the peoples of non-self-governing territories.

However, like in previous years, the draft resolution before us fails to take into account that foreign investments often contribute greatly to the economic and social development of those same territories. The lack of a distinction between beneficial and harmful activities and the underlying assumption that any foreign investment as such is detrimental constitute a major flaw of the draft before us.

In this context, the Community and its Member States recall the appeals contained in other resolutions and decisions, previously adopted, for acceleration of the economic development of non-self-governing territories.

The Twelve have reservations of principle with regard to a number of specific paragraphs in the draft resolution which do not conform to the Charter provisions concerning the division of competence between the General Assembly and the Security Council. They also deplore the singling out of individual countries, in particular in operative paragraph 5 of the draft resolution and in paragraph 7 of the draft decision.

The Twelve express their concern that this Committee once again has to deal with a draft decision relating to military activities in non-self-governing territories, since this subject is not on the list of the agenda items allocated by the General Assembly to the Fourth Committee.

These remarks, Mr Chairman, are not new ones. The Twelve have made them repeatedly in the past and they regret to see that, once more, they have not been taken into account.

With respect to southern Africa, the Twelve recall that the situation in Namibia was the basis for the reference to apartheid under this item. In view of the welcomed independence of Namibia, the Twelve feel that matters relating to apartheid no longer fit in the framework of the

Fourth Committee, which deals with decolonization. The Twelve will have the opportunity of reiterating their condemnation of apartheid and racial discrimination under the appropriate agenda items.

It is for these reasons that the Twelve are not able to support the draft resolution and draft decision before us.

90/390. Statement in the First Committee of the UN General Assembly

Date of Issue: 15 October 1990

Place of Issue: New York

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Italian Delegation to the United Nations

Status of Document: Statement in International Forum

Mr Cambiaso: Mr Chairman, on behalf of the European Community and its Member States, I wish to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the chairmanship of the First Committee of the General Assembly. I would also like to extend my good wishes and congratulations to the other members of the Bureau. I am convinced that under your leadership, the First Committee will be able to complete its work successfully. You can be assured of the support of the 12 Member States of the European Community in the accomplishment of the high task you have been entrusted with.

The Community and its Member States welcome the increasingly positive trend in the East-West relations that was already apparent at the last session of the First Committee. This trend has been further accelerated as a result of the dramatic political changes in Central and Eastern Europe and of the continuing progress of the countries of that region in establishing democratic societies. The declarations of the European Councils of Strasbourg and Dublin stress the importance of those developments, which give substance to a long-standing hope: that the division of Europe may be finally overcome in accordance with the objectives of the Helsinki Final Act and through the CSCE process, which has brought together the peoples and governments of Europe, Canada and the United States of America. In this context, the unification of Germany constitutes a milestone in the history of our continent and paves the way to increased stability and cooperation.

Promising indicators have also been emerging in other regions. Positive developments have been brought about in southern Africa, where the dialogue between South Africa and its neighbours, along with the prospects of the abandonment of apartheid in South Africa, seems to be conducive to a more promising future for that region. In Central America, the elections in Nicaragua, which took place freely and fairly, will hopefully contribute to defuse tensions in that area, notwithstanding the serious internal difficulties that the Government of Managua has to face. Even the Kampuchean conflict has shown significant signs of evolution. The last Jakarta meeting represented an encouraging step towards the reaching of a comprehensive settlement of the conflict that has so far prevented that country from sharing the benefits of peace and development.

Sadly, such a trend is not general and many conflicts remain unsolved, while others break out. The ruthless aggression, invasion and occupation of Kuwait by another member of this body has cast dark shadows on an otherwise generally encouraging background.

In the difficult circumstances determined by the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait, the action of the UN and of the Security Council has been prompt and aimed at creating the necessary conditions for a solution of the Gulf crisis in accordance with the terms of the UN Charter.

The Twelve believe that peace and security can only be achieved through a full and generalized observance of the principles set out in the UN Charter and of the other relevant obligations of international law. They wish to recall the primary responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security as well as the obligations of all

Member States to implement its relevant resolutions. The Security Council, in fact, can play an important role for the establishment of improved general conditions, conducive to international stability. The Twelve wish also to stress the important role that the Secretary-General is called to play in this field.

As regards the role of this Committee, we expressly hope that the unacceptable violation of the UN Charter by the Government of Baghdad may be brought to an end without delay, so as not to harm the expanding process of arms control and disarmament.

Mr Chairman, arms control and disarmament negotiations have intensified and achieved unprecedented progress in the course of recent years. The Twelve are fully confident that concrete results in bilateral and regional arms control negotiations by increasing mutual confidence will in turn promote progress in global arms control and disarmament, thus strengthening international peace and security.

The validity of a number of principles on which the arms control and disarmament process should be based in order to achieve results has been proven: i.e., the need to enhance stability at the minimum necessary levels of forces and armament, predictability, openness and confidence in relations between States; security interests of all parties concerned should be taken into account and promoted; effective verification mechanisms in accordance with specific disarmament agreements should be developed; and above all, reductions of armaments to the lowest possible levels should take place in conditions of undiminished security for all.

The United Nations plays a central role in the multilateral process of disarmament. Such a role should be enhanced in various ways, as multilateral measures are of increasing importance. Thus the UN needs to be able to make progress in the numerous and important questions pertaining to arms limitation and disarmament inscribed in its agenda.

Nuclear disarmament remains one of the Twelve's highest priorities. We support the United States and the Soviet Union in their current efforts in the various fields of disarmament and arms control. In the view of the Twelve, all relevant components of the military balance, nuclear and conventional, are of the utmost importance. Since the process of disarmament affects the vital security interests of all States, they must all be actively involved and contribute to measures of disarmament and arms limitations.

As I have pointed out before, we believe that a regional approach has an important role alongside bilateral and multilateral negotiations in a wider geographical framework. In this context, we welcome the adoption at the Disarmament Commission's 1990 session of a report on conventional disarmament, worked out under the chairmanship of a Member of the Twelve. The UNDC report is an important document in the process of facilitating conventional disarmament on a global scale. The adoption of regional arms control and disarmament measures, which must take account of the particular characteristics of each region, and the intentions of all countries concerned, constitutes one of the most important and effective ways through which States can contribute to the global arms control and disarmament process.

This is one of the foremost lessons of the talks under way in Vienna within the framework of the CSCE process. The CFE negotiations aim at strengthening security and stability in Europe through the establishment of a stable and secure balance at lower levels of conventional armed forces, which includes conventional armament and equipment, the elimination of disparities prejudicial to stability and security and the elimination as a matter of priority of the capability for launching surprise attacks and for initiating large-scale offensive actions. The CBMs negotiations represent an equally important pillar of our security as they aim to develop further the regime of the Stockholm document and open up new areas of confidence-building with a view to promote further transparency and openness in the military field and thus contribute to further reducing the dangers of military confrontation in Europe. The Twelve look forward to an imminent and successful conclusion of both sets of negotiations.

The CSCE process as a whole plays a fundamental role in the process of change in Europe. At a time when the European continent is actively engaged in overcoming its historical divisions, the CSCE provides a necessary framework for intensifying political dialogue, for ensuring the

effective exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and for promoting cooperation, thus making a decisive contribution to strengthening peace and security in Europe and fostering the disarmament process.

The Twelve are confident that in such a context new concepts of security at a regional level can be developed, notably through the establishment of conciliation mechanisms as well as of innovative forms of multilateral cooperation in the field of security. The achievement of a first agreement in the negotiations on conventional armed forces in Europe will contribute to the subsequent pursuit of more far-reaching measures aimed at enhancing stability and security in Europe.

This will represent a very important part of a new pattern of security relations in Europe. The Twelve expect that the CSCE Summit to be held in Paris on 19 November by, *inter alia*, welcoming the signature of the CFE Treaty and endorsing the progress in the negotiations on security- and confidence-building measures will pave the way towards a wider and lasting framework of peace, security and cooperation throughout Europe.

The Twelve hope that discussions will be started among the 34 aiming at establishing by 1992, after the Helsinki meeting, a new disarmament and confidence-building measures process open to all CSCE members who wish to participate.

Mr Chairman, among the factors of increased stability in the present international situation, there are two which look particularly important: the satisfactory implementation of the INF Treaty which eliminates a whole class of nuclear weapons, as well as the prospect of an early conclusion of a START Agreement, resulting in substantive cuts in the strategic arsenals of both the United States and the Soviet Union, already announced by Presidents Bush and Gorbachev. The Twelve welcome these developments. We consider that making further progress in nuclear arms control continues to be one of the most serious challenges facing the world today. We therefore believe that the need for progress in nuclear arms control and disarmament requires that special attention continue to be paid to such issues. Our common wish is to see the achievement of substantial and balanced reductions in the global level of nuclear weapons, beginning with those of the United States and the Soviet Union. In this field, the US and the USSR have a crucial responsibility.

In this context we have also taken note with appreciation of the commitment of the USA and the USSR to initiate early consultations about negotiations on further reductions of strategic weapons. The Twelve have also taken note of the agreement reached by the USA and the USSR on the verification Protocols for the 1974 Threshold Test Ban Treaty and the 1976 Peaceful Nuclear Explosion Treaty, making possible their early ratification.

In this connection, I would also like to mention that those of the Twelve who are parties to the PTBT will participate in the Amendment Conference of January next year.

It is anticipated that negotiations on the reduction of short-range nuclear forces in Europe between the United States and the Soviet Union will begin shortly after a CFE Agreement is signed. Proposals have already been formulated for the elimination of all nuclear artillery shell in Europe, once negotiations on short-range nuclear forces begin. The Twelve welcome these developments. We hope that these negotiations will lead to concrete results at an early date, as part of the process leading towards a significant overall reduction in the level of nuclear weapons.

As in previous years, the First Committee's agenda includes proposals for nuclear-weapon-free zones in certain parts of the world. The creation of such zones should contribute to stability in the regions concerned, to non-proliferation and to the disarmament process in general, provided all States affected are prepared to cooperate on the basis of freely concluded agreements and in conformity with internationally agreed principles.

At the Dublin Summit, the Community and its Member States emphasized their firm commitment to the objective of nuclear non-proliferation. They believe that if it proved possible to check and reverse the nuclear arms race, that would help strengthen the non-proliferation regime. We attach the greatest importance to the maintenance of an effective international

nuclear non-proliferation regime and will make every effort to contribute to strengthening non-proliferation and encouraging the participation of further countries in the regime. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) is an important element in that regime. Upon conclusion of the 4th NPT Review Conference, the Twelve note that in spite of the fact that the Conference could not produce a consensus on a concluding document, most of the work was done in a positive spirit and agreement was obtained on most important issues.

Mr Chairman, the Twelve believe that the Conference on Disarmament, the sole multilateral disarmament negotiating forum in the UN system, represents an indispensable forum in the field of disarmament.

The growing number of observers at the CD's proceeding is an encouraging development and an acknowledgment of the CD's current and potential role in promoting world peace and stability. The Twelve also express their satisfaction with the efforts which were positively initiated at the last session of the CD aimed at improving the agenda and the working procedure of the Conference. The Twelve state their undiminished interest in various items on the agenda of the Conference on Disarmament. They take note with satisfaction of the consensus which was possible to achieve in the last session of the CD on the re-establishment after several years of unsuccessful attempts of an *ad hoc* group on a comprehensive test ban. They also look forward to an early substantive progress in the discussion on the prevention of an arms race in outer space, considering that space is an important area for cooperation in the interest of the whole international community. Moreover, the Twelve attach the utmost urgency to the objective of concluding a global, effectively verifiable, comprehensive ban on chemical weapons. Regrettably, this year's negotiations within the CD have shown limited progress and they have not been conducive to a speedy conclusion of the convention despite the political inputs given by the Paris conference. A lot of work — particularly in the field of verification — is still necessary in order to resolve the outstanding issues in the shortest possible time. We welcome the agreement between the US and the USSR on the destruction of a large part of their chemical weapons stockpiles and express the hope that the crucial issues still to be tackled in the multilateral negotiations will benefit from the continuing dialogue between these two countries. Nevertheless the bilateral agreement can be no substitute for the endeavour still necessary to attain the goal of a total chemical weapons ban. The Twelve will make every effort to ensure that the positive outcome in the bilateral context be reflected in the multilateral negotiations.

The Twelve are fully aware of the diversity and the complexity of the problems to be solved. At the same time they have taken note with interest of the idea of a 'ministerial session' of the Disarmament Conference to be held at a suitable time to overcome the remaining obstacles and conclude the negotiations.

Fully aware of the risks of proliferation of chemical weapons, the Twelve, in conjunction with other States, have taken the necessary steps to prevent the diversion of chemical products from their legitimate uses. The Community and its Member States consider that such measures will remain necessary until a universal convention banning such arms has come into force.

The Twelve call on all countries to adhere to the convention banning biological weapons and to take the necessary steps to ensure that it is effectively applied. To this end, they have urged the countries not parties to the Treaty to become parties before the Third Review Conference of next year. They also call for wider compliance with the confidence-building measures introduced at the Second Review Conference in 1986, looking forward to their further strengthening and expansion.

In this, as well as in other areas relevant to disarmament, notably that of military budgets data and aggregates, transparency as provided by the UN standardized system of reporting is a vital requirement for the strengthening of mutual confidence and overall security. This applies equally to international arms transfers: arms control and restraint in arms transfer undertaken in one region in the world should be consistent with the overall objective of contributing to defuse tensions worldwide, thus creating a virtuous circle by arms control and restraint in arms transfers in other regions of the world.

The First Committee can play an increasingly effective role in the disarmament process, particularly if its procedure can be further rationalized. To this end, it seems opportune that Member States act with a new degree of flexibility and pragmatism, pursuing the simplification of the agenda. New emphasis should be laid on the search for an expanded meaningful consensus as well as encouraging the merger of draft resolutions. A more frequent biannualization or multiannualization of items is a way we also propose to tread. To this aim the Twelve have made a serious effort to contain the number of their proposals submitted to the First Committee.

The Twelve express their appreciation of the positive results, both in substance and procedure, of the last UNDC session. The way to a full implementation of the reform of the Commission is now open and carries the promise of doing work of a more effective kind within that body. In line with this new spirit of cooperation which should imbue the works of the UNDC, we hope that it will be possible to reach consensus on the 1991 working agenda of the UNDC during this session of the General Assembly.

The Community and its Member States are bearing in mind the importance of the relationship between disarmament and development, and are convinced that the 1987 International Conference contributed towards a better understanding of the role and complexity of this relationship.

The Twelve have taken good note of the work carried out by the Secretary-General in implementing the action programme adopted by the International Conference of the relationship between disarmament and development and the report he drafted on the subject.

The Twelve believe that the wish expressed by many States at the 44th UNGA gradually to convert their military resources to civilian purposes can foster the cause of peace.

We also acknowledge the progress in the programmes of research and study promoted by the UN, on the subjects of international arms transfers and of the role of the UN in the field of verification and nuclear armaments. We see, particularly in the present international juncture, an opportunity for expanding the UN role in this field and we welcome initiatives such as the recent Kathmandu meeting on the security-enhancing role of security- and confidence-building measures, aimed at fostering regional awareness of disarmament goals.

At the same time useful activities have been carried out by UNIDIR in the first 10 years of its existence. We look forward to an increase in the positive contribution made by this institution to international awareness on disarmament issues.

Mr Chairman, I would like to conclude by reiterating the commitment of the European Community and its Member States in giving you their full support during the proceedings of this Committee. As in the past, the Twelve are ready to play an active and constructive role, sparing no effort in order to ensure a successful outcome of all the important deliberations about to begin.

90/391. Statement before the Plenary Session of the UN General Assembly concerning cooperation between the United Nations and the Asian-African Legal Consultative Committee (Agenda Item 20.)

Date of Issue: 16 October 1990

Place of Issue: New York

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Italian Delegation to the United Nations

Status of Document: Statement in International Forum

Mr Traxler: Mr Chairman, I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 12 Member States of the European Community.

The Twelve have always had high regard for the quality of work of the Asian-African Legal Consultative Committee. Most of them follow closely its sessions as observers.

We are highly appreciative of the work undertaken up to now by the Committee, in particular as regards the strengthening of the role of the United Nations and of its principal organs.

The Twelve would like to underline how much they appreciate the important contribution Mr Frank X. Njenga is making as the Committee's Secretary-General.

We have listened with great interest to his intervention and have taken careful note of the current activities as well as of those under preparation.

The Twelve have already had the opportunity to support in the past various initiatives undertaken by the Asian-African Legal Consultative Committee, especially as regards the rationalization of the procedures in the General Assembly.

They congratulate the Committee for the constructive cooperation that exists between it and the United Nations. They hope that this cooperation be strengthened and become even more fruitful in the future.

Thank you Mr Chairman.

90/392. Statement concerning Rwanda

Date of Issue: 18 October 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The European Community and its Member States are following with concern the development of the situation in Rwanda. They express their disquiet on the subject of respect for human rights.

They express the wish that current problems can be resolved peacefully among all the parties concerned. They underline the vital necessity of entering into dialogue in order to find a solution that will take into account the situation of Rwandan refugees resident in neighbouring countries. In this context, the Community and its Member States support any initiative of regional concertation aimed at devising a just and lasting solution to the problem of the refugees. They consider that the involvement of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees is called for in this process.

They express the hope that such concertation can take place as soon as possible and that hostilities on Rwandan territory will end immediately so that a dialogue can be established with a view to a peaceful settlement such as to ensure regional stability.

90/393. Statement concerning Sri Lanka

Date of Issue: 22 October 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The European Community and its Member States have followed closely the uncertain situation in Sri Lanka. They deplore the resurgence of hostilities initiated by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam in June, and the misery this has caused the civilian population in the affected parts of the country. They have noted reports of massacres by the LTTE and of indiscriminate bombing of civilian areas by the Sri Lankan Air Force. The Community and its Member States recognize the serious difficulties faced by the Sri Lankan Government but urge that only minimum necessary force should be used in restoring peace and maintaining order in the country.

The Community and its Member States have regularly conveyed to the Sri Lankan Government their serious concern about continuing threats to human rights. They have particularly urged the Government to act against the so-called death squads, and to make every

effort to bring the perpetrators of illegal killings to justice. In this context, the Community and its Member States note with regret that the inquiry into the killing in February of Mr Richard de Zoysa has made such little progress. They also hope that the Sub-Commission on Disappearances of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights will visit Sri Lanka soon. Meanwhile, the Community and its Member States note that obstruction of citizens intending to testify to the said Sub-Commission is contrary to Resolution 1990/76 of the United Nations Commission for Human Rights, which calls on all Governments to allow unhindered contact between private individuals and United Nations human rights bodies, and condemns all acts of intimidation and reprisal.

The Community and its Member States strongly support the efforts of the democratically elected Sri Lankan Government to overcome the challenge posed by terrorist activities. But in doing so, the Community and its Member States urge the Government to observe its international obligations in the field of human rights. The Community and its Member States wish to draw attention to the fact that Member States will be considering their future assistance for the development of Sri Lanka's economy with reference, among other factors, to the Government's performance in regard to human rights.

90/394. Statement in the Fourth Committee of the UN General Assembly concerning self-determination

Date of Issue: 22 October 1990

Place of Issue: New York

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Italian Delegation to the United Nations

Status of Document: Statement in International Forum

Mr Traxler: Mr Chairman, I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 12 Member States of the European Community.

This year we have witnessed, with the independence of Namibia, a landmark in the process of decolonization. The Community and its 12 Member States take this opportunity to express once more their profound satisfaction at the successful completion of a political process — the transition of Namibia to independence — that they have strongly supported and to which they have actively contributed. They are committed to continue to support Namibia in its efforts for economic and social development. The presence of Namibia as a full member of our Organization, which we warmly welcome, is testimony to the perseverance of the Namibian people, to the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and the staff of UNTAG, to the constructive spirit of the negotiations which led to the transition plan and to the determination of the international community to see it implemented.

The Twelve follow with particular attention the developments in Western Sahara and welcome the adoption of Resolution 658/90 by the Security Council of 27 June 1990, which endorsed the report of the Secretary-General containing the settlement proposals as accepted by the two parties on 30 August 1988 as well as an outline of the plan provided by the Secretary-General in order to implement those proposals.

In accordance with this resolution the Secretary-General dispatched a technical mission to the region during the past month of August and is to present a new report to the Security Council. The Twelve hope that, on the basis of this report, the Security Council will be able at an early date to adopt a further resolution authorizing the launching of the United Nations operation which should lead to the exercise of self-determination by the people of Western Sahara.

The Twelve hope that the two parties will fully endeavour to cooperate with the Secretary-General in his final efforts to pave the way for an early settlement of the question of Western-Sahara. In this context, they strongly hope that once again this year the General Assembly will be in a position to adopt a consensus resolution on Western Sahara.

The Twelve follow closely the developments in East Timor, including the human rights situation. They reiterate their support for the contacts being held between Portugal and Indonesia under the auspices of the Secretary-General. They express the hope that a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable settlement may soon be achieved, in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter, thus fully respecting the legitimate interests of the East Timorese.

Mr Chairman, the history of decolonization is one of the great success stories of the last four decades. Since 1945 more than 80 former colonial and other territories have attained independence. As a result, the map of the world has been almost entirely reshaped and the membership of the United Nations has more than tripled.

In this context, the United Nations has played a significant role, particularly in contributing to the definition of general principles and in encouraging colonial peoples to exercise their right to self-determination. The Twelve confirm their support for the principle of self-determination and for actions consistent with the Charter aimed at eliminating colonialism.

The importance of the principle of self-determination is in no way affected by geographic location or population size. But it is equally clear that, precisely because of the success achieved in decolonization over the years, the amount of work that remains to be done has been substantially reduced. This is reflected in the changing agenda of this Committee, which has become correspondingly small.

In the light of the progress achieved in decolonization, the Twelve believe the time has now come for all of us to look seriously at the work of the Fourth Committee. Its agenda is now largely complete and we believe that it has become increasingly captive to ideas and procedures that now bear little relationship to reality. It is not, in our view, acceptable to be presented with texts that cannot be negotiated or influenced and that make our Committee look like the last outpost of frozen ideology in the United Nations.

The substance of the drafts submitted for our decision appears in some cases actually worse than last year. A particularly striking example of redundancy and artificial inflation of the work of this Committee is the continued reference to apartheid and to the policy of the South African Government in the draft resolutions after Namibian independence has rendered irrelevant the consideration of such matters in the framework of decolonization. Furthermore, the language proposed appears biased and anachronistic, in that it neither reflects the consensus language adopted by the General Assembly on apartheid in December 1989 and in September 1990, nor does it take into account the changes which have occurred in South Africa over the past year.

This runs the risk of rendering irrelevant the work of our Committee. Let me, therefore, Mr Chairman, be clear and unambiguous: the Twelve believe that before next year's session we must look very seriously at the Fourth Committee and its agenda and procedures.

The Twelve hope that serious efforts will be made in the future to shorten the draft resolutions submitted by the Special Committee, to eliminate language and concepts that are outdated and unnecessarily contentious, to present documents, reports and texts more concisely with emphasis on aspects which are the subject of precise recommendations, to avoid the duplication of work between the sub-committees, the Special Committee and the Fourth Committee, namely in the hearing of petitioners. The Twelve emphasize in this context the need to respect the recommendations of the report of the Group of High-Level Intergovernmental Experts to review the efficiency of the administrative and financial functioning of the United Nations, as approved by the General Assembly in Resolution 41/213.

These suggestions do not aim in any way at reducing the scope of the items under our consideration, but simply at making better use of our limited resources, helping to streamline the procedures and to improve the quality of our work.

Thank you, Mr Chairman.

90/395. Statement concerning topical political questions in the Community and at the international level

Date of Issue: 23 October 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Report to European Parliament

Mr De Michelis, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers and of the Council: Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I shall take this important opportunity to address Parliament, as President-in-Office of the Community, to give a kind of mid-term account of the Presidency, that is, to give a brief account of how the Community's international activities have progressed and, in this context, of the debate within the Community during these three months or so of our Presidency and, in particular, to set out a few ideas about the proposed timetable for the remaining part of the presidency with special reference to the Community's international activities in Europe and the world. I think it is extremely important to give this account, to draw some lessons from what has happened and to make a few forecasts on what we expect in the future, because I believe we are all aware of the absolutely exceptional nature of this second half of 1990, which is difficult to compare in importance to preceding periods and, I hope, will not be comparable to the periods to follow. If we consider what is likely to happen in the next two months, thinking only of the most important issues, we can see how essential it is to reflect and discuss in detail how we can, together, guide the Community through this extremely delicate time.

In the next eight weeks we will be seeing two extremely important intergovernmental conferences and the final phase of their preparation which, as everyone must now realize, has attracted great attention and created great tensions among governments and national parliaments and in national public opinion. We will discuss economic and monetary union and political union. There will be a major pan-European summit in Paris on 19, 20 and 21 November, the CSCE Summit when 34 Heads of State and Government will not only report on what has happened in Europe in the past 12 months — and not just in Eastern Europe — but will also inaugurate a new and very advanced stage, still inconceivable yesterday, in the process of pan-European integration and will also take institutional decisions, which we discussed in this Chamber two weeks ago.

The Paris Summit, which opens a new phase in the pan-European integration process, will take place at a time when the transition from past to present has become an extremely acute and delicate issue in one part of Europe, in Central and Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union. We have realized in recent days that the most delicate stages of the process of democratic change and economic reform of this part of our continent are not behind us but lie ahead, and that the most difficult times will come in the near future. And the Community not only has the right but has the duty to say what preparations it intends to make to ensure that this delicate stage of political and economic reform does not end in a setback, a defeat, which would be terrible for us too.

Moreover, in these same weeks to come and in this same context — which we can call the CSCE or pan-European context — the Community as such will have to enter into the negotiations with EFTA which, as we are now quite clear, is important not only in economic and commercial terms but also in political terms, with a view to completing or promoting pan-European integration at least in Western Europe. So we have, within our continent, the future of the Community, the historic advent of the pan-European integration process, and outside our continent at least two other extremely important events or trends: the Gulf crisis, with the decisions and role the European Community, the Western European countries, will have to take in the coming weeks, and the GATT negotiations, which are the most important economic and commercial, but also political, negotiations at world level, negotiations on which it will depend whether the integration of the world economy in the 1990s and, in a sense, the international political dialogue can take positive steps forward rather than becoming embroiled in contradictions and conflicts.

All this will happen in the next eight weeks. So I think you may well agree with me that our main task, and in particular that of the Presidency-in-Office of the Community, is and above all will be to seek to maintain the utmost cohesion in the Community at the highest possible level, whether on the basis of the existing rules or on the basis of the differences that exist among us, in order to guarantee and ensure that the Community can play an active and positive role, i.e. be a protagonist and not a victim, or even worse an impediment, in the positive evolution of the processes to which I have referred. Each one of us must therefore approach the various decisions with the necessary sense of realism and an awareness of the exceptional nature of the situation we are now living through. I sometimes have the impression that many of us in the end concern ourselves with only part of the question and measure our satisfaction or dissatisfaction only in terms of that part, without taking account of the situation as a whole. That leads us to evaluate the situation inadequately or even to misjudge it, so that the activities of the Community and its various institutions — the Council, Parliament and the Commission — risk following the wrong lines. If I had to give a summary account of the first three months of the Presidency — not of what the Presidency has done but of what has happened under the Presidency — with a view also to understanding what we must do in the coming months, I would say that account is definitely positive. I do not understand those within our institutions or among the public or in the press who say that the Community is misfiring, is acting less energetically, is remaining in a sense on the margins. I do not understand such views. We must evaluate the Community's activities in terms of concrete reality, not of abstract ideals.

When we judge the Community's actions with respect to the Gulf crisis, we cannot compare it with the United States. The Community is not yet a single national or supranational entity with a single government. It is a more complex system whose rules of play must be observed. It is true that the Community reacted less effectively than the United States, but not than the Europe or the Community of yesterday. In these eight weeks I have seen the Twelve and the Community prove more able than ever to react promptly and effectively on the basis of our rules of play. Of course when we speak of military missions or initiatives, we as a Community do not have any powers or legitimacy. We have had to resort to the Western European Union, to a complex and pragmatic endeavour to achieve coordination between two very disparate institutions. No one is to blame for that; it is simply the objective situation in which we found and find ourselves.

If we look, for example, at the way the Community reacted in other areas — and I am thinking of the embargo, I am thinking of the aid to countries hit by the embargo or the economic crisis — I think we have achieved miracles, all of us: the Member States, the Council, above all the Commission. I remember when we spoke of the embargo a few days after the invasion of Kuwait. The Community took a decision at Council level with its political directors, on 4 August, three days later, that is to say 24 hours after the United States; and the Commission and the Council legally implemented these measures within a very few days, cutting corners as never before. We anticipated the UN Security Council. In the case of aid to the countries affected by the embargo we managed to complete the decision-making process between 7 September and 1 October. To some that may seem a long time, but it is very little time when you consider the time normally taken, together with the resistance encountered in some quarters here too; for there are still some among us who are very careful about procedures because they fear that a *de facto* change of procedure would modify the way the Community operates. In its resolution of 12 September, the European Parliament confirmed and strengthened the position taken by the Council at its political cooperation meetings, reacting most promptly and coherently and giving democratic support to the adoption of a common position on the part of the 12 European countries.

These are the principles we have affirmed: respect for international law and for the decisions of the UN, unprecedented support for United Nations action. They are minor aspects, but never before the Gulf crisis did we manage to unite the 12 ambassadors in the Security Council to coordinate our activities. In these two months we have all overcome our reciprocal differences. This continued endeavour to find a peaceful, political, negotiated solution to the crisis is not only

a symptom of great cohesion in the Community: the news and small signs that reach us from many sides show that this is also a road which I do not say will lead to certain success but that was worth exploring. The assertion repeated by the Community through the Council's decisions that time is on the side of the international community and not of Saddam Hussein, and which indicated a certain political line, has proved to be the right option as opposed to the desire for speed, accelerated action, for the sudden adoption of extreme decisions that others elsewhere advocated.

It is difficult to foresee what will happen, but what is happening now shows that our position was worth taking, was potentially useful, and that Europe's actions were not as marginal as might have seemed at first sight. True, we did not send out a coordinated European military force of 200 000 men; that we did not do. Not because of lack of will, but because the conditions for doing so did not exist, do not and will not for some time. But within the framework of the existing rules, the existing situation, we have made enormous progress.

Let me also point out to this Parliament that in our activities and our decisions we anticipated the institutional reforms and the formal reforms and have already created the groundwork for the political union we want to endorse by a conference. This can indeed only be the groundwork. We are speaking of a matter of a few weeks and about situations of a kind with which we are familiar. We are bearing these factors in mind. In the space of these few weeks, we — and not only the Germans but we as a Community — have completed the process of German unification. Now it is no longer under discussion; it seems a matter of fact. But it was not such a simple matter when you remember that this process began with the collapse of the Wall last November, continued with the East German elections on 17 March and ended a few days ago, on 3 October. It involved enormous political and government efforts. The Commission is much to be praised for managing to deal so well with such an extremely difficult issue in such a short time. Yesterday the Council virtually approved its conclusions. Now we are expecting Parliament to do its part, today or tomorrow. On Monday we will have the formal approval and by November we will be able to take a range of measures to carry out a task which is indeed the right one, on which everyone agrees, but which is not a simple matter: it is a matter of integrating in depth a Community State. It is as though we had become 13 in just a few months in the context of a difficult situation for, as we know, the economic, social, political and cultural differences were enormous. It is not a question of the accession of an equal country to the Community but of an accession that is from some aspects more difficult than that of Spain and Portugal, which took seven years at the time. This time it has taken six or seven months.

All this is an indication that we cannot speak of the Community 'losing steam', as the English journalists say. I think the reverse is true. And the CSCE? Perhaps we have forgotten what the situation was like six months ago. Does it seem quite normal now that we should be signing the agreement on conventional disarmament on 17 or 18 November, before the Paris Summit? Does that seem a mere trifle? It is the outcome of a whole political process. True, the Community is not directly involved in disarmament, but the common political action of the Twelve was decisive in achieving the conclusion of the agreement on conventional disarmament, in creating the appropriate political conditions for overcoming the final negotiating difficulties, which we overcame in New York a few days ago.

To quote another date relating to the CSCE process, yesterday we took a decision, small perhaps, but important. The Twelve decided to fight in order to ensure that in Paris the Community will sign treaties and declarations drafted in the joint name of the Presidency of the Council and the Presidency of the Commission. That means we want to confer a special role on the Community and underline its formal presence in this important political and diplomatic process as an entity that can act as one, that not only wants to act as one but also knows how to do so and has begun to do so. As I said, these are minor matters. When we decided in Paris in August, in relation to the delicate and dramatic problem of our hostages in Kuwait and Iraq, to affirm formally that the Community believes that all the citizens of the 12 countries must be defended by the 12 countries as though they were their citizens, we created a foundation stone of

European citizenship even before any treaties on this. These citizens in difficulties who are still there are the first 'European' citizens, and the concept of 'all for one and one for all' that we affirmed by word and deed is the first real element of political union, even if there is still a long way to go. Then there are the preparations for the conferences. Obviously one could want more and it would be right to want more, but no one can be so superficial or casual not to see what a long way we have come, not to see how things were not 100 years ago, not 10 years ago, but 12 months ago. What was the situation in the Community as regards monetary union a mere 12 or 18 months ago? What was the situation at the Madrid summit? And what is it today? We certainly still have some way to go, we have certainly not yet solved all the problems, we certainly still have to fix the time scale for the final phase. That is certain. But 18 months ago some Member States still said 'we do not talk about this'. Only seven or eight months ago some people said that we would never get past phase I. And now we are in phase II and there is wide if not yet total agreement about a single currency.

What about political union? Who in this Parliament thought — not 12 months ago but 9 months ago — that we would actually be able to begin the Conference on Political Union at the end of 1990? Who could imagine that in January or even February? We decided it between March and June and we have now reached an advanced stage in the preparations. The debate this morning, Mr President, showed that there are indeed still many problems, difficulties even, but that as of now we are discussing the matter. All this has happened in the space of a few months. Are these signs that the Community is losing steam? I think the reverse is true.

At this delicate stage, the question is how to maintain this élan in the weeks to come, and above all how to maintain our coordination, cohesion and unity. That is not easy. It was easy, dear friends in the European Parliament, to agree on European Union when it was a question of words and when it was written into every document in past years: it meant nothing then. But when we come near the decision-making time, that is when the differences begin to emerge and it becomes more difficult to remain united. That is our task, that is the task that the Presidency feels as a heavy weight on its shoulders. But it is a common, institutional task — on the part of the Council, Parliament and the Commission — to which we must commit ourselves.

There are some simpler questions too. I think the question of the CSCE and its future is simpler. So is cooperation with Eastern Europe, although it will require complex negotiations. And in spite of everything I regard as a simpler question the process that will lead us via the Conferences to define the shape of the Community of the 1990s and of the 21st century.

I also see some more difficult questions. There is the question of the Gulf, at the final stage, when we will have to remain united in the same position, at the difficult moment when the crisis comes to an end. The GATT negotiations are an extremely difficult question. Here again, who can be sad or shocked that we are endeavouring to reach a compromise on agriculture? Who can be so ingenuous as to think that because we wanted and want to be one Community, we did not still find these questions difficult? These are very difficult negotiations, not only within the Community and for the Community, but also with the other countries. It is a complex give-and-take situation, in which agriculture represents only one aspect and of which social and political, and not just economic, questions connected with agriculture form only a part. So who can then say that because we are making enormous efforts to discuss this question that means that only our words are positive and that the facts are entirely negative? That is not the truth.

We have experienced other situations of the kind in the past and the Community has made headway. We have experienced marathons, discussions, irate encounters. They do not shock me; I would be surprised if they did not occur. This is certainly a delicate situation because it is clear that a Community failure not on agriculture but in the GATT would have grave repercussions on everything else. Similarly, if the convergence of action on the Gulf question were to be broken in coming weeks, our work on political union would lose a great deal of credibility.

Great efforts need to be made. I believe we can make them if we work together. To this end we convened an extraordinary European Council in Rome. Although I cannot enter into that

debate with you, given that the European Council is made up of Heads of State or Government, I can still make a contribution to your debate by indicating the reasons for and utility of that extraordinary European Council. Some people might indeed say that some of the reasons why we planned it in June no longer pertain. It is true, German unification [has already been achieved, the CSCE, the Paris summit] defined. In June the problems still loomed large; luckily they no longer do so today. But we must also say to our critics that, fortunately or unfortunately, other matters have come up since. The Gulf question did not exist in June; it does now. The events, if we can call them that, connecting the intergovernmental conferences have moved further forward now, so that this discussion seems useful. The Italian Presidency, in the person of President Andreotti, intends to concentrate the agenda of that informal and therefore summary Summit on three points: the two conferences, further pressure for their preparation, and the impetus which the European Councils must give.

As for monetary union, that will begin on 13 December, i.e. before Rome II. That is the last chance to try to give it the impetus we seek to give it.

The question of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe involves serious difficulties. Perhaps we will not be able to say what we thought we could say in Dublin. It is not the fault of the Community or the Presidency if the decisions on *perestroika* were only taken a few days ago. But it is right for us in our important political discussion to give a political sign to the Soviet Union, which is facing the enormous question of economic and institutional reform, and to the Eastern European countries which are facing elections in Poland, a difficult situation in Yugoslavia and difficult economic situations everywhere.

And then there is the Gulf. I have become aware of a criticism in many countries: why did we not meet to discuss the Gulf? But if we want to ensure European cohesion in the difficult weeks to come, that requires discussion by the Heads of State or Government. A meeting of Foreign Ministers, even if that is their professional role, is not sufficient to guarantee that when the difficult moment comes of political or military decision-making — for neither can be excluded — by the Heads of Government, we have cohesion without prior discussion. The summit will be useful in that respect too and the suggestions coming from the European Parliament will usefully supplement and add to our discussion. So I can say here and now that the Italian Presidency is prepared to come to Parliament in November to report on the outcome of the summit and to open a dialogue with Parliament on the Rome I Summit and the Rome II Summit.

I believe that these are all considerations that we should look at as a whole. Parliament must tell us — who are in the most difficult front-line, who have to dirty our hands most with compromise and who also have to come to terms with the existing situation, who are condemned to having a little less vision, less of an overall plan, because we are situated within our governments who in turn reply to their parliaments and have to take account of their national circumstances — whether it shares this idea, which may not be optimistic but is objective, of a major impetus that is still under way today and that is being fed by world events, or whether it does not. It must say so and it must urge us on, not with empty words, not with slogans, but in concrete terms, by discussing the merits of the various questions, working in a spirit of cooperation which, I believe, exists. I can say, after this morning's meeting, that the level of interinstitutional relations between the Council, Parliament and the Commission has never been so high. I do not think that is thanks to us, who have always been here, but to the situation. The will, the awareness is there, so let us use it, for, I repeat, we have been through decisive weeks and we are facing even more decisive weeks, and because the future of Europe will reveal itself more clearly in these tests of European cohesion, with the actions, the activities, the behaviour that involves, than in thousands of speeches and documents which may well depict wonderful structures but collapse when they encounter reality.

That is the spirit in which we have tried, modestly, to do our part in these last months. We shall seek to do so with the help of everyone in the coming weeks, and I think we can ask that we should work jointly, for what is at stake is truly, and here I speak without rhetoric, in the long-term interest of our countries, our Community and, above all, the European ideal which I believe is being discussed and worked for here more than anywhere else in our continent.

90/396. Conclusions of the special meeting of the European Council in Rome, held on 27 and 28 October 1990 (Extracts only)

Date of Issue: 27/28 October 1990

Place of Issue: Rome

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: European Council

Status of Document: Conclusions of the European Council

[...]

Progress towards European union

At this crucial time for Community integration, the European Council has decided to take a further step towards European unity.

The European Council held a detailed discussion, on the basis of the reports submitted by the Presidency, on the state of preparation of the two Intergovernmental Conferences on Political Union and [on] Economic and Monetary Union to open in December of this year and to proceed simultaneously, in accordance with the timetable set in Dublin.

Conference on Political Union

[...] In the sphere of foreign policy, the European Council recorded consensus on the objective of a common foreign and security policy¹ to strengthen the identity of the Community and the coherence of its action on the international scene, both of which must be capable of meeting new challenges and commensurate with its responsibilities. The Community's international action will be open to the world and will give a significant role to development policy. The Community will also strengthen its links with the other European countries for which ever-closer cooperation structures must be sought, geared to their individual circumstances.

The European Council noted the need to review the procedures and mechanisms for preparing, adopting and implementing decisions where foreign policy is concerned, so as to increase the coherence, speed and effectiveness of the Community's international action.

The European Council considers that no aspect of the union's external relations will in principle be excluded from the common foreign policy. The European Council noted that there was a consensus to go beyond the present limits in regard to security.¹ The content and detailed rules for the role of the union in the security sphere will have to be defined gradually in the light of the various aspects covered by this concept and without prejudice to the obligations arising out of the security arrangements to which Member States are party.

The European Council requests the Foreign Affairs Ministers to continue the preparatory work leading up to the opening of the intergovernmental conference. The Presidency will report on this work and will take account of the opinions of the European Parliament and the Commission.[...]

Relations with the USSR

The European Council heard a preliminary report from the Commission following talks with the Soviet Government, held pursuant to its mandate from the European Council in Dublin, with a view to drawing up proposals on short-term credit and longer-term support to be given to structural reforms.

The European Council stressed the importance attaching to the success of the reforms undertaken by the Government of the Soviet Union.

The European Council expressed the will that the Community should make a substantial, concrete contribution to the success of these efforts by means of cooperation in various areas.

The Commission was instructed to submit, before the next European Council meeting, proposals for the decisions to be taken.

Should any situation requiring emergency action arise before that date, the Council will take whatever decisions are required on the basis of proposals from the Commission.

The European Council stressed the importance of close cooperation between the Community, the competent international organizations and the other countries wishing to support the endeavours of the Soviet Government. The European Council accordingly asked the Commission to put forward proposals for a major commercial, scientific and technical cooperation agreement with the USSR.

Central and Eastern Europe

Cooperation

The European Council noted with satisfaction the progress made in the development of cooperation between the Community and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe in the general context of the activities of the Group of 24 and the Phare programme. It also noted the prospects offered by the new association agreements which will help to further cooperation in all areas — economic, financial, cultural and political — between these countries and the Community.

The European Council is aware of the Community's special responsibility towards these countries at a time when their efforts to achieve structural adjustment, together with the transition to market economy, are meeting with additional difficulties due to external economic disturbances affecting in particular their financial position.

The European Council considers that, in these circumstances, the Community has a duty to help to consolidate and develop the general process of reform being undertaken in these countries, notably by playing its part in the stabilization of their financial situation.

In this context the European Council hoped that the economic reforms and democratic developments in Yugoslavia would meet with success within the framework of increased respect for human rights and the preservation of the country's unity and territorial integrity.

Emergency aid

Among the numerous urgent problems arising in Central and Eastern Europe the European Council, in response to a submission from the Hungarian Government, expressed its solidarity with Hungary's efforts to solve its acute economic problems and to steer its transformation into a market-oriented economy.

It reaffirms its determination strongly to support Hungary on its path towards democracy, stability and economic development, which implies the refusal of violence and respect for legality. In this context, the European Community and its Member States will help Hungary to overcome its problems, in particular in the field of energy supplies, in the framework of the Group of 24. They will also endeavour to make bilateral assistance available at short notice, especially through the disbursement of the second tranche of the Community loan.

Gulf crisis and the Middle East

The European Council discussed the Gulf crisis and the situation in the Middle East and adopted the declarations in the Annexes.²

CSCE

The European Council adopted the declaration in the Annex.³

Relations with the United States and Canada

The European Council was informed of the progress of talks with the United States and Canadian authorities on drafts of joint declarations on relations with the United States and with Canada. The question will be examined again by the General Affairs Council on 12 November 1990.

Uruguay Round

The European Community remains firmly committed to making a full contribution to a positive outcome of the Uruguay Round within the time-scale laid down at the Brussels ministerial meeting. This, combined with the efforts which the Community expects of its partners, will strengthen the multilateral system of free trade, and thus maintain and foster world-wide prosperity, which is particularly necessary to combat the economic dangers linked with the Gulf crisis. The European Council requests the Council to adopt an agreement enabling the Community's agricultural offer to be submitted to the contracting parties.

¹ On these points the United Kingdom delegation prefers not to pre-empt the debate in the inter-governmental conference.

² Annexes omitted. See *EPC Bulletin*, Docs 90/399 and 90/398.

³ Annex omitted. See *EPC Bulletin* Doc. 90/397.

90/397. Statement concerning the CSCE

Date of Issue: 28 October 1990

Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: European Council

Status of Document: Conclusions of the European Council

The European Council reaffirms the essential role of the CSCE process — which brings together the peoples and governments of Europe, the United States and Canada — in the transformation of the continent. In this perspective the summit in Paris will provide a historic opportunity to continue to build, on the basis of the dynamic achievements of the CSCE, a democratic, peaceful and united Europe. For this purpose the Community and its Member States have submitted in Vienna a comprehensive range of proposals.

The European Council considers that every effort should be made to ensure that the substance of the document for the summit in Paris adequately reflects the historical significance of that event. The Community and its Member States will continue to contribute fully to this work. The Community and its Member States will, by signing the document of the summit, subscribe to all the commitments therein.

90/398. Statement concerning the Middle East

Date of Issue: 28 October 1990

Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: European Council

Status of Document: Conclusions of the European Council

I. The European Council expresses its deep dismay at the continuing violence in Lebanon. It hopes that a process of national reconciliation will effectively develop in that country. It reaffirms its strong support for the implementation of the Ta'if agreements, which must be carried out by all concerned as soon as possible, thus bringing about the full restoration of the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of a Lebanon free of all foreign troops.

The European Council calls on all parties in Lebanon to take part in this process and to cooperate with a view to the immediate restoration of conditions preventing the recurrence of such violence. The Community and its Member States will continue to support that process fully and stand ready to participate in the reconstruction of the country.

II. The European Council reaffirms its long-standing commitment to a just solution to the other problems of the region and the determination of the Community and its Member States to spare no efforts to that end.

In this context, it intends to work for a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian problem in conformity with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations Security Council and the principles set out by the Community in its previous declarations. To this end, it repeats once again its support for the principle of the convening, at an appropriate time, of an international peace conference.

The lack of any progress in the search for a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict is a source of deep concern to the Community and its Member States, who are determined to encourage all efforts to promote dialogue between the parties directly concerned.

The European Council welcomes United Nations Security Council Resolutions 672 and 673, reaffirms its support for the role the United Nations can and should play in protecting the rights of the Palestinian people and calls once more on Israel to meet its obligations under the Fourth Geneva Convention on the Protection of Civilians in Times of War and to cooperate with the United Nations. The tragic events that have occurred in Jerusalem show once more that the status quo in the Occupied Territories is unsustainable. Just as the Community and its Member States deplored those events, so they express the same feelings concerning the tragic acts of violence committed against Israeli citizens. Reminding all concerned that violence breeds violence, they repeat their appeal for calm and restraint.

III. The European Council welcomes the normalization of the relations between the Community and its Member States and the Islamic Republic of Iran.

IV. The European Council believes that all opportunities should be taken for the solution of the conflicts in the region. It is convinced that relations of trust and cooperation must be fostered among the countries of the region so as to establish a situation of stability, security, economic and social welfare and respect for civil and political rights, to prevent the recurrence of crises, to curb the arms race and to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. The Community and its Member States are ready to cooperate with the countries concerned in the search for principles, rules and structures to that end and to contribute to the success of the task entrusted by relevant resolutions to the United Nations Secretary-General to examine measures to enhance security and stability in the region.

V. Just and lasting solutions to the different problems of the region can only contribute towards strengthening the historical links between Europe and the countries of the Middle East and giving full meaning to the role that the Arab world should play in the international community.

90/399. Statement concerning the Gulf crisis

Date of Issue: 28 October 1990

Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: European Council

Status of Document: Conclusions of the European Council

The European Council expresses its deep concern at the continuing deadlock in the Gulf crisis, with the persistent violation of international legality by Iraq, and in particular the prolonged and destructive occupation of Kuwait, the oppression and deportation of its population, the holding of foreign hostages and the repeated violations of conventions governing diplomatic relations. Such acts cannot be tolerated. The Community and its Member States attach the highest priority

to the solution of this crisis, on the basis of the United Nations Security Council resolutions, and reaffirm that no solution is possible without the prior implementation of these resolutions.

The European Council demands that Iraq immediately, completely and unconditionally withdraw its forces from Kuwait, that the legitimate Government of Kuwait be restored and that all foreign citizens who so desire be allowed to leave Iraq and Kuwait.

The European Council, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations Security Council, condemns the Iraqi practice of holding foreign nationals as hostages and keeping some of them in strategic sites. It reminds Iraq of its international obligations in this respect and holds the Iraqi Government fully responsible for their safety. The Member States of the European Community reaffirm their total solidarity in achieving the freedom of all foreign citizens trapped in Iraq and Kuwait and denounce the unscrupulous use which Iraq is making of them with the sole and vain purpose of trying to divide the international community. They unreservedly condemn this manoeuvre which, carried out in contempt of the most basic humanitarian rules, can only complicate prospects for a solution to the crisis. They affirm their determination not to send representatives of their governments in any capacity to negotiate with Iraq the release of foreign hostages and to discourage others from doing so. They ask the Security Council to continue its efforts to achieve the immediate departure of all hostages and they encourage the Secretary-General to send a special representative to Iraq to this end.

The European Council also demands that, in accordance with the Vienna Convention, Iraq permit the free and unhindered departure of diplomats accredited to Kuwait who are at present prevented from leaving Iraq.

The European Council expresses its satisfaction at the high degree of consensus among all Members of the United Nations Security Council and the international community as a whole on the above principles. It believes that such a consensus needs to be preserved in order for a peaceful solution of the crisis to be achieved. The Community and its Member States are determined scrupulously to adhere to the embargo and to the other measures decided by the Security Council and call on all other States to act in the same way. They are also prepared to consider additional steps consistent with the United Nations Charter.

The Presidency will notify the text of this Declaration to the Iraqi Government.

90/400. Statement in the Special Political Committee of the UN General Assembly concerning UNRWA (Agenda Item 74)

Date of Issue: 29 October 1990

Place of Issue: New York

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Italian Delegation to the United Nations

Status of Document: Statement in International Forum

Mr Traxler: Mr Chairman, I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Community and its Member States.

When the activities of UNRWA began 41 years ago, it was projected that the Agency would have simply a provisional role. Instead, because of the deterioration of the situation in UNRWA's five fields of operation, the Agency now plays a role which has never been more necessary for the benefit of more than two million refugees in the Near East. Clearly, this is proof of its great value to the refugees both from a humanitarian and a political point of view. As long as the Palestinian problem has not found a solution within the framework of a global political settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, UNRWA will continue to play an essential role in providing education, health and basic welfare services, as well as emergency relief.

Mr Chairman, the Community and its Member States wish to express to the Commissioner-General their greatest appreciation for the unwavering commitment shown by him and his staff since his taking office and for the excellent report that he has submitted to the General Assembly which they commend for the absolute impartiality.

Unfortunately, as the report of Mr Giacomelli underlines, the political and economic situation in the region has not improved.

The Community and its Member States will state their position on the situation in the Occupied Territories and in Lebanon when the relevant items are examined in the General Assembly and in the Special Political Committee. However, it is important to point out here that these unsettled conditions cause a worsening of the economic situation and render UNRWA's task even more difficult.

The uprising in the Occupied Territories continued during the period covered by the Commissioner-General's report. Since then the tragic events which took place in Jerusalem on 8 October demonstrate that the Israeli authorities continue to apply unacceptable, repressive measures and to commit violations of human rights. Between 1 July 1989 and 30 June 1990, more than 20 000 Palestinians, suffering from beatings, tear-gas inhalations and rubber bullet or live-ammunition wounds, sought emergency medical attention in local hospitals and the Agency's clinics. The Community and its Member States deeply appreciate the essential role played by UNRWA in providing health care and assistance.

The Israeli authorities applied other severe measures in the Occupied Territories, ranging from damage to property, demolition and sealing of individual shelters and houses, to incarcerations on a large scale. It is worthy of mention that in some instances, UNRWA staff's representations were instrumental in preventing arrests of children or obtaining their early release.

In the West Bank, schools reopened in late July 1989. The Agency's vocational training centres were allowed to stagger their reopenings between March and May 1990. However, owing to selective closure orders by the Israeli authorities as well as to strikes, school life was severely disrupted. In Tulkarm in the West Bank, for instance, the Agency's schools were open for only 41 out of 141 school days scheduled for the 1989-90 school year. Universities remained closed throughout the reporting period. As a result, the problems faced in trying to provide adequate education to 135 000 young Palestinians in the Occupied Territories continued to be among the major concerns of the Agency. The Community and its Member States, therefore, while welcoming the recent reopening of certain facilities and of the University of Bethlehem, hold that the situation remains unsatisfactory. The Community and its Member States express their appreciation to the Agency for its continuing efforts to meet the special circumstances prevailing in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and fully support the programme of activities as described by the Commissioner-General in his annual report.

Finally, the Community and its Member States welcome the efforts made by the Agency to promote income-generating projects to assist the families of refugees in becoming self-sufficient. These projects could help beneficiaries to improve their standard of living as an interim measure, pending a permanent peace settlement.

The Community and its Member States express their concern at the infringement by the Israeli authorities of UNRWA's rights, privileges, immunities, and its capacity to discharge its functions effectively. In this respect, the Community and its Member States underline the unacceptability of administrative actions hampering the Agency's operations, such as increasing red tape and new and time-consuming clearance procedures for activities that used to be carried out within the Agency's authority.

Violations of premises, such as that which took place at the Rimal Health Centre in Gaza town in June 1990, in which many infants and children were injured, must be condemned strongly.

Mr Chairman, the Community and its Member States note with satisfaction that in Lebanon the Agency has managed to carry out its regular functions and to provide a considerable degree of emergency assistance, notwithstanding the grave problems still affecting the country.

The Agency's constant endeavours to manage a large-scale programme of activities while trying to ensure, to an optimal extent, staff safety, must be appreciated. Regrettably, the Agency's staff has sometimes been exposed to threats, physical violence and the danger of

kidnapping. In a few cases, Palestinians apparently affected by the high state of tension and uncertainty throughout most of the country have exhibited aggressive behaviour in their dealings with the Agency and its staff.

The Community and its Member States have profound sympathy for the civilian population which has suffered from the violence in Lebanon. Therefore, they welcome the fact that UNRWA's resources have permitted it to continue to extend its emergency assistance as well as most of its regular programmes, including education, to the entire Palestinian community and not merely to registered refugees.

Mr Chairman, the Community and its Member States are deeply concerned at the narrow funding base for UNRWA, which affects not only its regular activities, but especially its emergency programmes in Lebanon, in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

In view of the financial implications for UNRWA of the events in the Gulf, it should also be mentioned that the Agency has now to face an additional demand for assistance because of the loss of the remittances which Palestinians working in Kuwait used to send back to their families living in UNRWA's five fields of operation.

While the Community and its Member States fully appreciate the valuable services that all the host governments continue to provide for the Palestinian refugees, they note that a number of Western countries, including the European Community and its Member States, continue to provide the great majority of the Agency's total budget. In this respect, the Community and its Member States wish to underline that the Community itself is the second largest donor to UNRWA (20%). In addition, the Community, together with its Member States, is the major donor (43%), thus providing the largest share of the Agency's total budget.

I would like to take this opportunity to recall that under the new Convention of 23 April 1990 between the EEC and UNRWA, the European Community has decided to increase its yearly contribution to the educational, health and feeding programmes of UNRWA. The contribution of the Community, in addition to the sums provided by individual Member States, for the 1990-92 period amounts to a total of ECU 132 million (equivalent approximately to USD 173 million). Moreover, owing to the deterioration of the situation, the European Commission has decided to provide emergency aid for the benefit of the Palestinian people for a total of ECU 1.3 million (equivalent approximately to USD 1.7 million) in 1990.

Mr Chairman, UNRWA remains a political and humanitarian necessity pending a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Community and its Member States are committed to the search for peace in the region. The Community and its Member States reaffirm their commitment to a just, comprehensive and lasting solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict and to this end they support the principle of the convening of an international peace conference under the auspices of the United Nations. In the meantime, the Community and its Member States will continue to do their best in contributing to the work of UNRWA. We encourage other Member States to join in the political and financial support of the Agency.

Thank you, Mr Chairman.

90/401. Statement in the Third Committee of the UN General Assembly concerning drug abuse and related illicit production and trafficking

Date of Issue: 1 November 1990

Place of Issue: New York

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Italian Delegation to the United Nations

Status of Document: Statement in International Forum

Mr Traxler: Mr Chairman, I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Community and its Member States on the fifth cluster of items relating to drug abuse.

The dramatic increase in drug abuse and related illicit production and trafficking is one of the most serious issues confronting the international community, not as a temporary emergency, but as a crisis of a structural nature. The drug problem has spread all over the world leaving few countries untouched. It destroys the dignity of human beings, threatens the fabric of family life and puts whole communities at risk. The growing scale of the phenomenon is such that it now has the potential to destabilize democratic governments, distort economic development and corrupt the due process of law.

The problems caused by drug abuse and related illicit production and trafficking are certainly not new ones, even if their scope and extent are now greatly increased. There are already in place many programmes designed both to reduce demand and to restrict the supply of illicit drugs. At national level, where rests the primary responsibility for dealing with drug abuse, many governments and local authorities have considerably enlarged their efforts in recent years.

However, the universal nature of the drug problem necessitates a response which extends beyond purely national measures. The illicit trade in narcotics has a destructive impact in the life of many countries. If the international community is to deal effectively with this scourge, then the national efforts of governments must be complemented by effective concerted action both at the international and regional level. The European Community and its Member States consider that all countries, whether they are producing, transit or consuming countries, have a shared responsibility in combating and eliminating the drug problem.

The United Nations has long recognized the need for concerted international action. Through the UN a number of important instruments have been adopted in the field. The Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs 1961, as amended by the 1972 Protocol, and the 1971 Convention on Psychotropic Substances have created a system of international control for the licit trade in drugs. The adoption in 1988 of the Convention Against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances represented a further significant extension in the international legal framework. The Convention will enter into force on 11 November of the current year. The Convention's innovative provisions in such areas as confiscation of assets, monitoring of international trade in substances — the so-called precursor chemicals — used in the illicit manufacture of drugs, are carefully designed to impede and disrupt drug trafficking operations to the maximum possible extent. The European Community and all its Member States have signed this Convention and have ratified, or are taking the necessary steps to ratify it as soon as possible. We urge all States to do likewise and, pending its entry into force for each of them, to apply provisionally the norms contained in the Convention.

The role of the United Nations has of course extended beyond the legal area, and important political declarations were adopted at the Vienna Conferences of 1987 and 1988 and, last February, at the 17th Special Session of the General Assembly. In this regard we also recall that a significant contribution to the fight against drug abuse was made by the comprehensive multidisciplinary outline and fresh impetus to international cooperation was given by the London Declaration approved last April by the World Ministerial Summit to Reduce Demand for Drugs and to Combat the Cocaine Threat. What is important now is that the process of implementation, as decided also by the special session through the adoption of the global programme of action, gets promptly under way.

The European Community and its Member States, therefore, attach particular importance to the provisions in the global programme of action which refer to the monitoring of the implementation of the programme itself, such as the monitoring capacity of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs and the periodical reporting of the Secretary-General on the steps taken by governments to fight drug abuse and related illicit production and trafficking.

In order to enable the United Nations — which in our opinion is the most appropriate forum — to play a more effective role in the fight against drug abuse and related illicit production and trafficking, the European Community and its Member States believe that it is imperative to create a single drug unit under the responsibility of a full-time head, directly reporting to the Secretary-General. The unified structure, headed at the proper level, will be enabled therefore

to fulfil its role with the necessary authority and efficiency. The European Community and its Member States are confident that their views will be reflected in a decision to be taken promptly by the United Nations and afterwards implemented as a matter of urgency. Once the new structure will be in place it will have, in our view, to maintain a close working relationship with CSDHA and WHO, as well as with other relevant organizations within the United Nations system. The benefits of unification can, of course, be fully realized only if the necessary resources are available. We are therefore encouraged by the terms of the global programme of action which provide that a higher priority should be accorded to the allocation in the drugs area of the necessary financial, personnel and other resources and that this should be reflected in the medium-term plan for 1992-97 as well as in the programme budget for the biennium 1992-93. The European Community and its Member States expect that this will be taken fully into account in the budget-making process. The European Community and its Member States are also looking forward, with interest, to examining the report of the expert group on the economic consequences of drug abuse. We believe that their report will help the United Nations in discharging their growing responsibilities in this field.

For their part, the European Community and its Member States have agreed that reducing the demand for drugs in our countries should be a priority for action. To this end, they are implementing an extensive range of coordinated programmes which include dissuasion, prevention, education and treatment and rehabilitation. Measures have been taken to assist the reintegration into society of drug abusers and drug-addicted offenders. On these matters the European Community and its Member States reaffirm the necessity that drug addicts fully benefit from the respect due to the human person.

Turning to the question of illicit trade related to narcotic drugs and in the perspective of the single European market of 1992, the European Community and its Member States also give particular attention to the strengthening of controls at its external borders: to that end, we have intensified our cooperation in police and customs-related matters and are preparing common external regulations. The cooperation is taking steps, as well, in order to ensure the most effective implementation of all existing legislation and new efforts are made with a view of bringing national legislations closer together.

Recognizing the necessity, in order to help these efforts, to control the trade in precursor chemicals, the European Community and its Member States have already taken preventive steps and are in the process of approving comprehensive and sound measures. Cooperation between customs authorities in this area has already been enhanced. It is important to underscore that all governments, including those of the producing countries, should ensure that neither traffickers nor financial institutions benefit from the illicit trade in drugs. This should be done by introducing legislation, outlawing money laundering and concluding cooperation agreements to trace, freeze and confiscate the proceeds of trafficking. In this context, we also welcome the report of the Financial Action Task Force. The European Community and its Member States have on many occasions expressed their support for those countries which are actively seeking to curtail the supply of narcotics for illicit use.

Implementation of UN conventions and programmes is a priority for the European Community and its Member States. Furthermore, we are fully committed to a policy of cooperation with developing countries aimed at reducing illicit production and disrupting trafficking in drugs. We recognize the importance of an overall approach to rural development in this regard, including the establishment of viable crop substitution programmes, fully respecting the jurisdiction and sovereignty of countries and taking into account, within the framework of the Lomé IV Agreement, factors such as access to markets for the products of such programmes. In the framework of bilateral cooperation the European Community allocated to this purpose ECU 16.8 million between the years 1987 and 1989, equivalent to approximately USD 20 million. This figure has been significantly increased for the current year: in 1990 the contribution will be ECU 9.8 million, or approximately USD 11.8 million. The Community's support to LDC's is directed mainly towards the prevention and reduction of drug consumption, alternative development sustaining the replacement of illicit crops, and training of drug specialists. Contributions by the

European Community and its Member States account for over 75% of the total contributed to the United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control. The Twelve intend to continue their support and hope that others will join them, so that the Fund will be enabled to satisfy more requests of countries in need of assistance. In this context, we welcome the ongoing cooperation, in particular of the INCB with the WHO, in dealing with the links between drug abuse and AIDS, a further tragic dimension to this phenomenon.

Convinced that action at the international level must be complemented by effective regional measures, the European Community and its Member States have taken a series of steps to intensify their cooperation. They have established a High-Level Group of Coordinators (CELAD) with a mandate to ensure the maximum cohesion within the Community and, therefore, the most effective contribution of the Community to the fight against drugs. CELAD will report to the European Council in Rome in December on the progress of the European plan against illicit drugs. A further indication of our commitment is the establishment within the structure of European political cooperation of the Working Group for ongoing consideration of the international aspects of the drug problem. Within the Twelve the fight against drug-related crime will continue to be pursued both through the TREVI Group, which is comprised of Ministers of Justice and of the Interior, and the Mutual Assistance Group between the customs authorities. Moreover, mention should be made of the important public health activities in the framework of the group 'Toxicomania'. The Member States also attach particular importance to their cooperation with other European States in the Pompidou Group, which is comprised of 20 European States, including the Twelve together with the Commission as an observer, and operates in the framework of the Council of Europe. A tighter cooperation is now being started between this group of Western European nations and those of Central and Eastern Europe, in particular in the control of drug trafficking, but also in demand reduction strategies. The recent extension of the Honlea system to the European region marks, in our view, a further strengthening of the European cooperation against illegal drugs.

In evaluating the situation of illicit production and trafficking in specific regional areas, matter for concern is raised by the significant increase in the production and illicit traffic of opium and heroin in the region known as the Golden Triangle. Matter for concern and for evaluation is also raised by the situation of illicit production and trafficking of drugs in the area known as the Golden Crescent. Some signs of improvement and, hopefully, of recovery from a very difficult situation can be registered in the continent of South America. The European Community and its Member States are prepared to consider increasing their assistance programmes for all countries of these areas, whose Governments are willing to increase their efforts and to participate actively in multilateral programmes. Similar support can be expected by all countries from different geographical areas, including Africa and the Caribbean, provided they are ready to recognize the seriousness of the problem and to cooperate in our common fight.

Mr Chairman, a great deal is being done in the fight against drug abuse. However, the sad reality is that measures which may have seemed adequate in the past are now clearly inadequate for the scale and dimensions which this scourge has assumed. To combat it the international community has to work together more closely than ever before. A greater determination worldwide should prevail and the international community should be totally convinced that the time for political declarations has passed while the time for concerted action has arrived.

I thank you, Mr Chairman.

90/402. Statement in the Fifth Committee of the UN General Assembly concerning the respect for privileges and immunities of officials of the United Nations (Agenda Item 126 [B])

Date of Issue: 1 November 1990

Place of Issue: New York

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Italian Delegation to the United Nations

Status of Document: Statement in International Forum

Mr Traxler: Mr Chairman, the Italian Delegation has the honour to speak on behalf of the 12 Member States of the European Community on item 126 [B], dealt with by Resolution 44/186, adopted without a vote on 19 December 1989, on respect for the privileges and immunities of officials of the United Nations, specialized agencies and related organizations and by Decision 44/440 requesting an early distribution of the relative report, which we also adopted without a vote on the same subject on the same date. The Twelve will speak at a later stage on parts (a) and (c) of the same agenda item.

Mr Chairman, the Twelve believe that the subject of respect for the privileges and immunities of officials of the UN system is worthy of particular attention especially now.

The Twelve want first of all to express their support for action by the Secretary-General in cases of arrest, detention or any other matters relating to that respect which is due to UN staff in the exercise of their functions in connection with and on behalf of the organizations as spelled out in Article 105 of the Charter.

They also thank Legal Counsel Fleischhauer for his introductory statement on October 24 in which he so carefully analysed the ground on which our consideration of the item must be based.

The situation in that field is still alarming and recent developments on the international scene do not give ground for any optimism. The report of the Secretary-General (A/C.5/45/10) gives evidence of some cases where even the same parties which declare their support for the organization or want UN help, disregard the privileges and violate immunities of its staff. Any hindrance to the normal exercise of their duties constitutes an obstacle to the implementation of the mission entrusted by the international community to the organizations of the United Nations system. This, of course, is unacceptable and may even prejudice any claim for assistance from the international community other than in compelling humanitarian circumstances. From the report of the Secretary-General some new cases appear that unfortunately must be added to those that we already had to deplore last year. They appeal to all governments and other groups responsible for the illegal detention of UN staff members immediately to release them. As in previous years, the Twelve wish to remember the case of Alec Collett who has been missing without news since 1985.

The Twelve are concerned about all such violations. They deem unacceptable the disregard for Article 105 of the Charter that has been displayed by some Member States. The Twelve strongly urge all Member States to scrupulously respect the privileges and immunities of all officials of the United Nations and the specialized agencies and related organizations.

The prompt administration of justice in all fields is always necessary. The Twelve cannot accept the need for respecting domestic rules and gathering the appropriate evidence as a pretext for unnecessary delays. Such delays cannot constitute a pretext for failure to respect Article 105 of the Charter and the 1946 Convention. There is no excuse for failure either to provide the competent United Nations authority with adequate and timely information about staff members or to allow access to them. Arbitrary detention, or negligence, or even excessive zeal and red tape which may be an obstruction to United Nations activities, must be severely condemned.

Mr Chairman, the 12 Member States of the European Community renew their appeal to all governments for their utmost solidarity in exercising any possible pressure for obtaining the respect of international law, including the Charter, the Convention of 1946 and other relevant international instruments and several bilateral agreements. The Twelve reiterate their support to the Secretary-General and the executive heads of the agencies for obtaining that respect.

Thank you, Mr Chairman.

90/403. Statement in the First Committee of the UN General Assembly concerning regional disarmament

Date of Issue: 2 November 1990

Place of Issue: New York

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Italian Delegation to the United Nations

Status of Document: Statement in International Forum

Mr Cambiaso: Mr Chairman, I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to outline the position of the 12 Member States of the European Community concerning regional disarmament: an issue on which, as a result of cooperative and fruitful consultations with Peru, Pakistan and other countries, a specific draft resolution has been introduced.

As the Twelve have stated during the general debate, concrete results in regional arms control negotiations, by increasing mutual confidence, are conducive to progress in global arms control and disarmament, thereby strengthening international peace and security.

The Twelve believe that the adoption of regional arms control and disarmament measures is one of the most effective ways for States to contribute to the general arms control and disarmament process. Therefore, attaining stability and security for all of the participating States — so that an appropriate balance of forces in all regions can be established — should be the main objective of the above process. The States of each region should find their own path to the conclusion of regional arms control and disarmament agreements, taking into account the specific characteristics of their region. Transparency and openness are vital requirements in order to strengthen mutual confidence and overall security.

The Twelve have welcomed the promising indications emerging from different regional contexts. In my previous general statement on behalf of the Member States of the European Community, besides the European developments, I cited in particular southern Africa and Central America. Unfortunately, a very serious crisis in the Gulf region is giving rise to grave concerns to which the international community is giving an appropriate response through the United Nations. It is necessary to ensure that the overall positive circumstances prevailing in the world and resulting also from the growing awareness of the importance and possible benefits of regional disarmament will not be disrupted, as a new order of international relations is taking shape.

As the Italian Foreign Minister recalled in the General Assembly on behalf of the 12 Member States of the European Community, 'the time has come to begin reflecting on the introduction in the Middle East of a collective system capable of guaranteeing stability, security, economic and social development'. The search for regional security structures and measures to encourage stability and peace, should, without wishing to transfer a specific model to other regions, be pursued in order to promote principles which are a basis for enhancing stability at the lowest possible level of military forces, curbing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and encouraging economic and social progress.

The Twelve also consider positively the recognition in the UNDC framework, as reflected in the report agreed at the 1990 session, that 'the regional approach to disarmament is one of the essential elements in global efforts' and cannot be disregarded. Therefore they would like to join their voice to those who have proposed that the question of regional disarmament be considered among the items of [the] UNDC working agenda in 1991.

The adoption by consensus of Resolution 44/117 B on regional disarmament at the 44th UNGA is another testimony of the general resolve to stress the importance and to expand the international awareness of regional disarmament. The current session of the First Committee is demonstrating greater awareness of the importance of a regional approach.

Transparency, openness and predictability at the European regional level are shedding new light on confidence and security in the region. The CSCE process is disclosing new prospects for our region as the Paris Summit of November is being actively prepared.

Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter explicitly calls on the States to encourage regional disarmament initiatives. The Twelve recall that provision and stress that disarmament should be a concern of all countries and not only of great powers, military alliances or specific regions. All countries must therefore feel actively involved in the disarmament process and must contribute to greater overall security by means of efforts, in particular by reductions of armed forces at the regional level.

90/404. Statement before the Plenary Session of the UN General Assembly concerning cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (Agenda Item 30)

Date of Issue: 7 November 1990

Place of Issue: New York

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Italian Delegation to the United Nations

Status of Document: Statement in International Forum

Mr Traxler: Mr President, I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Community and its 12 Member States.

This debate on the cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity is for the Community and its Member States a welcome opportunity to reaffirm the importance they attach to the relationship existing between the two organizations.

The close historical, cultural and geographical ties between European and African countries give Africa a special place in the considerations of the Twelve. Their own experience of regional cooperation makes them fully aware of the great benefits that such cooperation can bring. They therefore strongly encourage it. The European Community and its 12 Member States believe that the way in which African countries are working together and their joint efforts deserve the full support of the United Nations. They are pleased to note that the ties between the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations have become closer in all fields over the years.

The Twelve are convinced that the Organization of African Unity has a very important role to play in strengthening the national independence of its members both politically and economically, particularly in the current international atmosphere. Where conflicts continue, they believe that the countries most directly concerned should be encouraged to find solutions. This applies not only to political problems, but also to economic, social and environmental ones.

The Twelve are convinced that African problems are best settled by African solutions. They are therefore happy to note the active and positive work being done by the Organization of African Unity in a number of complex and difficult areas. The Twelve have particularly welcomed the close cooperation between the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity in the search for a peaceful solution to the problems of the continent, in particular the problem of Western Sahara.

This year the international community has witnessed the effective implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia and the accession of that country to independence, which has marked a historic step forward in the process of decolonization. The European Community and its Member States salute this achievement and pay tribute to the central role played by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, his Special Representative and UNTAG in assisting the peaceful transition to independence under a constitution based on the principles of democracy and respect for human rights. They take this opportunity to pledge once more to the people of Namibia their friendship and support and they remain committed to assisting in Namibia's future economic and social development, notably in the framework of the Lomé IV Convention.

Mr President, Africa is endowed with vast resources, both actual and potential and yet it contains more than half the economically least developed countries in the world. The Twelve intend to continue their cooperation with all African countries in order to help in the search for solutions to their present economic and social problems. In recent years, the European Community and its 12 Member States have provided over 50% of the total assistance received by African countries. The European Community and its Member States played an active role, two years ago, in the successful mid-term review of the United Nations programme of action for African economic recovery and development. There is no doubt that, in order to support the efforts of the African countries themselves to solve their particular difficulties, additional

resources will be needed. The Twelve reaffirm their commitment to participate in the efforts needed to make such resources available. The major contributions of the European Community and its Member States bear witness to their commitment to the objectives of the programme of action.

In the recent past, the Twelve noted with satisfaction the commitment undertaken by the Heads of State and Government at the OAU Summit in July 1990 to 'the further democratization of our societies and to the consolidation of democratic institutions in our countries'. Some of them have committed themselves to introducing multiparty systems. The Twelve believe that democracy and development are closely connected. They are convinced that adherence to the principles of pluralistic democracy, apart from being a goal in itself, can give a favourable impetus to social and economic development.

The Twelve regard their commitment to the cause of Africa in all areas as a way to safeguard the stability of the continent and to broaden their cooperation both with African governments and with regional organizations and the Organization of African Unity. They believe that the Organization for African Unity will continue to play an important role in African and world affairs, in conformity with the principles guiding the United Nations and in pursuit of our common goals. The European Community and its Member States are confident that the close ties of friendship and cooperation which exist between them and all members of the Organization of African Unity will be further strengthened in all areas in the years ahead.

90/405. Questions No 1873/90 and No 1874/90 by Ms van Putten (S-NL) concerning human rights and religious freedom in Singapore and Malaysia

Date of Issue: 12 November 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 20 July 1990

Question No 1873/90:

The Government of Singapore tabled a bill, 'The maintenance of religious harmony', aimed at religion in Singapore, particularly Christianity, which will, in effect, prohibit the clergy from speaking out on injustices they perceive in government policies. The background to this was the detention in 1987 of 22 persons, some of whom were connected with the Church, more precisely with priests of the Catholic Church. As Parliament has been adjourned, the bill is expected to be retabled without substantial changes.

1. Have the Ministers approached the Singapore Government on this matter, as it infringes the right to religious freedom? What has been communicated to the Government of Singapore? What has been the Government of Singapore's reply?
2. If no approaches have been made to the Singapore Government, what do the Ministers propose to do?

Question No 1874/90:

1. Are the Ministers aware of the recent detentions in the Malaysian State of Sabah of three persons, Banabas Tapin alias Benedict, Albanus Yudah and Damit Undikai, under the Internal Security Act? The three are alleged to be involved in a plot 'to take Sabah out of Malaysia'.
2. Have the Ministers taken any steps to express their concern on these three detentions to the Malaysian Government, especially when the Chief Minister of the state of Sabah, Datuk Joseph Pairin Kitigan, has called for them to be given a trial in open court?
3. What has been the response of the Malaysian Government to the approaches of the Ministers?

4. What steps do the Ministers propose to take if they have not approached the Malaysian Government on this matter?

Answer:

The specific issues to which the honourable Member refers have not been discussed in the framework of European political cooperation.

However, as the honourable Member is aware, the Community and its Member States are following closely events and developments in Singapore and Malaysia, which have a bearing on the human rights situation in those countries, in particular the operation of their respective Internal Security Acts.

It may be observed here that the interest demonstrated thus far by the European Community and no less by the European Parliament, has not been without a measure of success. It goes without saying that the Twelve will continue to bring to the attention of the authorities of both Singapore and Malaysia, at the appropriate time and moment, their well-known preoccupations with regard to the strict adherence by nations and governments to the principle of human rights.

90/406. Statement concerning El Salvador

Date of Issue: 16 November 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

One year after the murder, in El Salvador, of six Jesuit fathers and two of their co-workers at the University of Central America, the Community and its Member States express their grave concern regarding the absence of real progress in the judicial investigation as well as the lack of cooperation on the part of certain sections of the armed forces. They reiterate their conviction that the clearing up of these cases, which constitutes a key factor for democratic consolidation and for the independence of the judiciary, should lead to the just and exemplary sentencing of those responsible.

The case of the Jesuit fathers cannot be seen in isolation from the continuing report on human rights violations in El Salvador. The Community and its Member States urge all parties concerned to spare no efforts to improve the human rights situation in that country.

90/407. Intervention à l'occasion de la réunion au sommet des pays participant à la C.S.C.E.

Date of Issue: 19 November 1990
Place of Issue: Paris
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Statement in International Forum

Monsieur le Président, en ma qualité de président du Conseil européen, j'ai l'honneur de prendre la parole devant vous aussi bien au nom de la Communauté européenne que de l'Italie.

Cette rencontre des chefs d'État ou de gouvernement de l'Europe, du Canada et des États-Unis, quinze ans après la réunion qui aboutit à la signature de l'acte final à Helsinki, marque le passage historique entre deux époques de l'histoire européenne: le triomphe dans tout le continent de la démocratie et de l'État de droit comme résultat de la ferme volonté des peuples de voir réaliser leur propre aspiration en une société libre et équitable; la fin de la guerre froide et des derniers héritages des partages de la Seconde Guerre mondiale, le début d'une époque que nous voulons de paix et d'amitié entre nos peuples.

L'Europe tout entière peut aujourd'hui se reconnaître dans les valeurs communes de l'État de droit et de la démocratie pluraliste, dans le respect commun des droits de l'homme et des libertés fondamentales.

Tel est le résultat d'un processus qui a duré des décennies, à l'aboutissement duquel le courage de tous ceux qui ont su garder vive la lumière de la raison a contribué de façon décisive, même lorsque cela semblait utopique face aux ténèbres de la répression.

Dans cette situation nouvelle, nous sommes certains que le respect et l'exacte considération de tous les États participants sont dirigés vers les efforts de ces peuples qui essaient de reconquérir, par des moyens pacifiques, la pleine expression de l'identité nationale dont ils ont bénéficié jusqu'à il n'y a pas longtemps.

La contribution donnée par la Conférence sur la sécurité et la coopération en Europe a été aussi décisive. Les dix principes de Helsinki ont constitué en même temps le point de départ pour donner à l'Europe divisée une référence commune et le point d'arrivée pour son unité retrouvée.

Des années de négociations, longues et patientes, ont laissé ouvertes les voies de communication, même dans les moments où cela paraissait plus difficile. Ce lieu de rencontre que représente la C.S.C.E. a renforcé la conviction qu'il n'y a pas d'alternatives au dialogue pour résoudre les problèmes entre les États. Le succès que nous célébrons aujourd'hui est le meilleur espoir pour l'avenir. Notre rencontre de Paris veut non seulement être une célébration, mais aussi et surtout un engagement solennel de bâtir une communauté de nations où la paix et l'amitié puissent prévaloir.

Les erreurs du passé ne seront pas renouvelées, et la confiance dans cette affirmation ne vient pas seulement de la conviction de notre dessein, mais de la certitude qu'il est désormais profondément ancré dans la conscience de nos peuples. Le souhait de vivre en amitié, et entre amis, est désormais un sentiment commun.

Rien ne montre plus clairement ce nouveau climat en Europe que le fait que le peuple allemand se soit réuni en un seul État, conformément aux principes de l'acte final et en plein accord avec ses voisins.

Monsieur le Président, la C.S.C.E. a réuni les destinées des pays de l'Europe et de l'Amérique du Nord, rendant ainsi irréversible leur engagement commun à la coopération et à la sécurité.

Au sein de la C.S.C.E. la Communauté européenne et ses États membres ont souligné dès le début leur conviction que la défense et la promotion des droits de l'homme est responsabilité première des gouvernements. Nous avons toujours affirmé que leur application effective répond à l'intérêt légitime de la communauté internationale et qu'elle est inséparable de la poursuite de la paix et de la sécurité internationale. Je crois que cette conviction, que nous avons partagée avec beaucoup d'entre vous, a donné ses fruits au cours des événements qui se sont déroulés en Europe.

Le respect des droits de l'homme reste, et restera, la pierre angulaire du processus de la C.S.C.E. Notre intérêt commun, réaffirmé aujourd'hui à Paris, est de promouvoir les valeurs politiques et les principes fondés sur la dignité de la personne humaine. Cet intérêt dressera une barrière naturelle contre toute conception excessive du rôle de l'État, et contre ces formes de pensée — jadis si prédominantes entre nous — selon lesquelles chaque État est comme un flot visant à l'autosuffisance dans un milieu essentiellement hostile.

Le respect des droits de l'homme doit toutefois être complété par le rôle de l'individu dans le développement économique et social.

Nous partageons de plus en plus l'opinion que l'activité responsable et créative des individus, exercée dans le respect de la dignité humaine et dans le contexte de la justice sociale, est à la base du bien-être de toutes nos nations. C'est cela aussi le message que nous adressons de Paris, avec l'assurance de notre disponibilité pour œuvrer plus unis dans des domaines tels que la protection de l'environnement, la coopération scientifique et la culture, et pour développer en qualité et en ampleur nos relations avec les pays de la Méditerranée.

Monsieur le Président, la Communauté européenne a participé dès le début au processus de la C.S.C.E. Déjà en 1975, à l'occasion de la signature de l'acte final, M. Aldo Moro, alors

président du Conseil italien et du Conseil européen, déclara qu'il souscrivait [à] l'acte final de la Conférence dans cette double qualité. Depuis lors, l'intégration européenne a fait de grands pas en avant, et cela s'est traduit dans la participation croissante de ses institutions au processus de la C.S.C.E. et à la construction de la nouvelle architecture de l'organisation politique en Europe. La Communauté et ses États membres soulignent l'importance qu'ils attachent au développement, dans le cadre de la C.S.C.E., d'étroites relations intereuropéennes, en particulier avec les nouvelles démocraties en Europe centrale et orientale. Mon collègue Jacques Delors, président de la Commission, illustrera la contribution que la Commission, dans les domaines relevant de sa compétence, apporte, avec le Conseil, au processus C.S.C.E.. Je tiens à souligner que le Parlement européen est aujourd'hui présent, pour la première fois, à cette Conférence, représenté par son vice-président, M. Gheorges Romeos.

La C.S.C.E. a donné une contribution significative à la consolidation de la sécurité en Europe, soit par la limitation des armements, comme le témoigne la signature ici à Paris de l'accord fondamental C.F.E., soit par le processus graduel de renforcement de la sécurité entamé avec l'acte final et développé ensuite à Stockholm et à Vienne. Des mesures concrètes et vérifiables de contrôle des armements et de renforcement de la sécurité contribuent à un climat global de confiance, qui à son tour rend plus aisé l'accord sur des mesures ultérieures de sécurité.

Les négociations sur les armements conventionnels en Europe et sur les C.S.B.M. vont se poursuivre sur la base de leurs mandats actuels, en vue de la réunion sur les suites de Helsinki en 1992. Nous souhaitons une coopération plus structurée dans le domaine de la sécurité, à travers des discussions et des consultations parmi les Trente-quatre, pour donner lieu, après la réunion de Helsinki, à de nouvelles négociations sur le désarmement et sur les mesures de confiance et de sécurité ouvertes à tous les pays participant à la C.S.C.E.

L'approfondissement de la compréhension et de la coopération entre nous a atteint un niveau où nous estimons tous qu'il est opportun de développer un nouveau contexte institutionnel dans lequel notre dialogue puisse se consolider davantage. Dans cet esprit, nous avons décidé de nous rencontrer plus fréquemment et de constituer un Conseil des ministres des Affaires étrangères, assisté par un secrétariat, dans le but de créer le noyau politique de cette nouvelle phase de la C.S.C.E. Celle-ci sera en outre marquée par la création de deux autres institutions, un Centre pour la prévention des conflits, dont les fonctions peuvent être développées ultérieurement, et un Bureau pour les libres élections. Enfin, nous tenons à mettre en évidence le rôle que la dimension parlementaire peut jouer de manière efficace dans le développement d'un cadre C.S.C.E. cohérent, harmonieux et complet.

En même temps, nous allons également concentrer notre attention sur les facteurs d'instabilité en Europe, dont les implications pour la sécurité sont réelles, mais difficiles à affronter selon les conceptions traditionnelles de défense.

Nous accueillons avec faveur la perspective d'une première réunion C.S.C.E. consacrée au problème des minorités nationales. Il reste encore la possibilité d'un développement ultérieur de mécanismes comportant l'intervention de tiers pour la solution pacifique des différends. L'opportunité fournie par la réunion qui sera convoquée à La Vallette au début de l'année prochaine sur ce thème devrait donc être exploitée à fond.

Monsieur le Président, l'Europe peut aujourd'hui regarder le futur avec enthousiasme. Cette Europe, qui est en train de se concrétiser même en des formes institutionnelles, représente l'accomplissement d'une vision idéale que déjà Victor Hugo, dans le lointain 1849, esquissait ainsi: 'Un jour viendra' — je cite — 'où vous France, vous Russie, vous Italie, vous Angleterre, vous Allemagne, vous toutes, nations du continent, sans perdre vos qualités distinctes et votre glorieuse individualité, vous vous fondrez étroitement dans une unité supérieure, et vous constituerez la fraternité européenne... Un jour viendra où l'on verra ces deux groupes immenses, les États-Unis d'Amérique, les États-Unis d'Europe, placés en face l'un de l'autre, se tendant la main par-dessus les mers.'

Cet espoir est peut-être en train de se réaliser.

90/408. Statement before the Plenary Session of the UN General Assembly concerning the situation in Central America (Agenda Item 28)

Date of Issue: 20 November 1990

Place of Issue: New York

Country of Presidency: Italy

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Mr Traxler: The overall positive trend is encouraging and the European Community and its Member States commend the Central American nations for their perseverance in the implementation of the Esquipulas peace process and for their determination to build a regional framework for democratization, respect for human rights [and] social and economic cooperation.

A number of Central American countries have taken significant steps along the path of national reconciliation and towards the full exercise of democracy. The Twelve wholeheartedly welcome these developments and they are committed to support them.

The Twelve underline the importance of free and fair elections in all countries of the region in conformity with the spirit of Esquipulas II.

The Twelve regard as a historic event the free and fair elections held last February in Nicaragua. The commendable manner in which the electoral process took place, the subsequent orderly transition to a new government, the agreements reached at Toncontin and Montelimar, providing for voluntary demobilization, repatriation and relocation of members of the resistance, constituted crucial developments in the reinforcement and the consolidation of democratic institutions, the rule of law and national reconciliation in Nicaragua.

They take this opportunity to pay tribute to the excellent work done by the United Nations Observers Group in Central America, by the International Support and Verification Commission and by the United Nations Observer Mission for the verification of the elections in Nicaragua in carrying out their delicate and important tasks.

The Twelve hope that it will be possible through the joint efforts of all parties involved to continue strengthening the process of national reconciliation in Nicaragua, thus creating the basis for a solution to the urgent economic and social problems of the country.

The Twelve believe that the process of national reconciliation and democratization in Nicaragua should serve to encourage other countries of the region where the dialogue between political forces has reached a delicate juncture.

In El Salvador we have seen the promising resumption of negotiations between the Government and the FMLN, which has resulted thus far in the Geneva Accord of 4 April 1990, the general agenda and schedule for a comprehensive negotiation process issued in Caracas on 21 May 1990 and the Human Rights Accord signed in San José on 26 July 1990.

The Secretary-General's personal representative is playing an important role in the process, and in recent talks the parties have decided to place even greater emphasis on his active role as intermediary.

The Twelve hope that the negotiating process will gather new momentum and that, with the Secretary-General's personal representative's help, it will reach its objective, as identified in the Geneva Accord of 4 April 1990: that the parties will put an end to the armed conflict through political means as soon as possible, promote the democratization of the country, guarantee unrestricted respect for human rights, and reconcile Salvadorean society.

The Twelve note with serious concern the continuing reports of human rights violations in El Salvador and urge all parties to spare no effort to improve the situation in this respect.

They continue to attach great importance to the findings of the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights on the situation in that country.

One year after the assassination in El Salvador of six Jesuit priests and two of their assistants of the University of Central America, the Twelve express their grave concern at the absence of real progress in the area of judicial procedures and at the lack of cooperation from certain sections of the armed forces.

The Twelve reiterate their conviction that a clearing up of these cases, which constitutes a key factor for the consolidation of democracy and the independence of judicial power, should lead to a just and exemplary sentence for those responsible.

The Twelve follow with great concern the human rights situation in Guatemala and hope that a framework for the strict respect of human rights will be created in the country. They attach great importance to the progress of the dialogue, initiated in Oslo and continued in El Escorial, Ottawa and Quito between all political parties and social and economic forces and the URNG, under the auspices of the Commission for National Reconciliation and with the participation of an observer of the Secretary-General, with a view to achieving a peaceful and lasting solution to the conflicts in that country.

The Twelve hope that the new government and all parties concerned will support the dialogue initiated in Guatemala and contribute to its positive outcome.

The Twelve once again stress the importance of complying with the agreements subscribed by the Central American Presidents in the Tela and San Isidro de Coronado Summits for the promotion of peace, security and democracy in the region.

They urge all irregular forces operating in the area to join the constitutional political process of their respective countries, and call upon governments to create adequate conditions for all parties involved to be able to exercise their political rights with full guarantees to their security.

The Community and its Member States would like to recall that the Community budget for 1990 included a provision for USD 7.8 million to finance actions aimed at encouraging the democratization process in Central America; this includes notably measures to promote free and fair elections as well as measures for the repatriation of refugees.

The positive developments in East-West relations, as well as the active involvement of the United Nations and Organization of American States have been instrumental in bringing about peaceful solutions to Central American problems; nevertheless, the present achievements would not have been possible without the determination and the political will of [the] people and countries concerned.

The European Community and its Member States confirm their willingness to intensify in a concrete and effective manner their relations with Central American countries within the framework of the political and economic cooperation created by the San José ministerial conference held in Costa Rica in 1984 and thereafter pursued at annual meetings.

In welcoming the progress made in the political arena the European Community and its Member States believe that full attention must also be devoted to solving economic and social problems in Central America. They view the endeavours of Central American States towards economic integration with particular sympathy. In this respect, the European Community and its Member States underline the results of the Antigua Summit of June of this year.

The European Community and its Member States believe that the completion of the European single market in 1992 and the progress made in the integration of Central American economies open new prospects which must be explored in order to make more fruitful the cooperation between the European Community and Central America.

The European Community and its Member States recall that following the sixth ministerial meeting the European Community has taken concrete steps, notably with regard to the Central American regional payments system, to increase its commitments for projects of cooperation from USD 110 million in 1989 to USD 150 million in 1990 and to participation in regional programmes in the sectors of tourism and fisheries.

They regard the seventh San José ministerial conference as further opportunity for strengthening the political and economic dialogue.

The European Community and its Member States reaffirm their intention to contribute to the achievement of the goals and objectives of the special plan of economic cooperation for Central America (PEC), as a way of assisting the efforts being made under the Esquipulas II Agreement.

Furthermore, the European Community and its Member States reiterate their decision to lend their technical and financial support to the process of establishing the Central American Parliament both in its material and technical organization and in the holding of the electoral processes.

Once again the Community and its Member States express the hope that the ratification process of the Central American Parliament be concluded in the light of the new political atmosphere in the region.

The Twelve call upon the countries of Central America to continue their efforts to guarantee the respect of human rights in that region. The Community and its Member States reaffirm their intention to contribute to the achievement of the goals and objectives set by [the] Esquipulas agreements.

Thank you, Mr Chairman.

90/409. Question No H-1093/90 by Mr Dessylas concerning the fresh acts of barbarism committed by Israel against Palestinians

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Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

The appalling crime recently committed by Israel — 34 Palestinian demonstrators in Jerusalem were killed, over 1 000 more injured and hundreds arrested — is the product of the contempt for, and flagrant violation of, international law and the UN resolutions on the rights of the Palestinian people and the Middle East conflict by the same forces which have now chosen hypocritically to invoke international law and the UN in the case of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

When will the 12 Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation finally take specific measures against Israel to force it to respect international law and the UN resolutions?

Mr Vitalone, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: In their 9 October declaration on the tragic events that occurred in Jerusalem, the Community and the Member States once again very resolutely deplored the use of lethal weapons by the Israeli forces of occupation in order to suppress the demonstrations.

Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, these events once again confirm that the status quo in the Occupied Territories cannot be sustained. The European Council was happy to welcome Resolutions 672 and 673 of the UN Security Council and reaffirmed its support for the role the United Nations can and must play in protecting the rights of the Palestinian people. And once again the UN has reminded Israel that it must observe the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention on the protection of civilians and cooperate with the United Nations with a view to implementing its resolutions.

The European Council is resolved to urge an overall, just and lasting settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict and to the Palestinian question, in line with the UN Security Council's resolutions and the principles it set out in earlier declarations. To that end it once again reaffirmed that it was in favour in principle of convening an international peace conference as soon as possible.

Mr Dessylas (CG): The tens of thousands of victims of Israel have had enough of official declarations, sympathy and crocodile tears. Mr President-in-Office, please drop the verbiage and give me a proper reply. The UN has passed a number of resolutions on the Palestine

question, one of which states that Zionism equates with racism. What steps are you planning to ensure that the resolutions of the UN are implemented? Will you be seeking the expulsion of Israel from the international organizations? Will you be stopping assistance to Israel and cutting off its finance? Will you be imposing economic sanctions? On imports and exports? Will you be cutting off diplomatic relations with the Israeli terrorist State? Tell us please. Which of these steps do you intend to take? Or are you going to continue playing Pontius Pilate?

Mr Vitalone: We are taking a position that has been known for some time, a position aimed at resolving the problem and not at further narrowing the options that remain open in the context of finding an effective settlement to this bitter, tragic and sad situation.

The Gulf crisis which we are unfortunately living through and which has such adverse effects on the Occupied Territories, has certainly made this prospect even more difficult to achieve: the Twelve have, however, agreed to approach the Secretariat of the Gulf Cooperation Council and call for more support for the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories. The heads of mission of the Troika have carried out information campaigns on this question and will continue to do so in Tel Aviv during their frequent contacts with the Israeli authorities.

Let me add a political comment, even if it is not directly related to the specific subject of the question; if I did not do so I would not perhaps be doing justice of bearing witness to the range of initiatives the Twelve have undertaken and are undertaking. We know that the Arab world regards this new wave of violence as confirmation of the close links between the situation resulting from the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the situation of the Occupied Territories.

There are Arabs who want the Community to adopt the same approach to the Arab-Israeli conflict as the Twelve took to the problem of Kuwait. The Security Council resolutions, such as 672 and 673 which condemn Israel, and the decision to send a mission from the General Secretariat to the region are signs of a definite desire on the part of the international community to resolve the problem.

The attitude taken by the Tel Aviv Government greatly reduced the chances and prospects of this Security Council mission; clearly it was an attitude that offered ample room for manoeuvre and propaganda to the maximalist fringes, to the most intransigent Palestinian fringes who accuse the international community, the United Nations, the Community itself of applying different yardsticks to the two problems.

On 30 October the UN Secretary-General forwarded a report on the events in Jerusalem and raised the question of Security Council intervention to secure a meeting between the contracting parties of the Fourth Geneva Convention on the Protection of Civilians in Times of War and discuss measures that could be adopted under that Convention.

As you know, Israel signalled that it was prepared to receive a visit from a United Nations representative, while at the same time imposing restrictions that would seriously modify the nature of that mission. This is the point reached by the Twelve and the international community in general in their efforts to demonstrate to the Arab world that we are aware of the Palestinian problem and that we have a common resolve to help find a just settlement once the Gulf crisis has finally been resolved in line with the Security Council resolution.

If there is a certain interconnection — and there certainly is — between the two crises, there is no link — and this must be made quite clear and the idea avoided — between their solutions. For that is the approach proposed in a number of statements by the Baghdad Government. To entertain that idea would simply compound the difficulties and would in no way promote the resolution of this delicate and sensitive question. The European Council very firmly reiterated these views on 28 October.

Mr Hughes (S): Mr President, a number of points arise but I will restrict myself to one or two. I should like to ask the President-in-Office whether or not he would agree that more often than not the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation are responding to short-term political expediency and turning a blind eye to events that unfold. We should not have needed a tragedy like Temple Mount to cause the Community to react, let alone on paper. We have a similar ongoing situation in Syria and in Iran, but because it suits the Community we are turning a blind

eye. What mechanisms do the Foreign Ministers have in place to study ongoing human rights problems and major problems of this sort? As a specific example, Galindo Pohl, the UN Special Representative looking into human rights in Iran, reported yesterday very critically on the human rights situation in Iran. Will the Foreign Ministers consider that situation as a matter of course, or will it need a tragedy to cause them to consider it and respond to it?

Mr Vitalone: Let me quite calmly but also quite firmly reject these allegations, which obscure the truth, and the truth is one of timely intervention. Suffice it to note that on 2 August, the same day as the brutal Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, European political cooperation reacted very firmly, anticipating the solutions that were subsequently proposed by the Security Council and the entire international community.

We responded in full awareness of the gravity of the situation, in full awareness of the issues at stake, namely the irrevocable and unimpeachable values that belong to the entire civilized world. I believe that to pretend that political cooperation was weak, intermittent or inattentive, or worse, that there was a certain hypocrisy in the nature of the responses, which were given in a quite distinct and incontrovertible manner, would be an act of ungenerosity towards an endeavour in which everyone was morally bound and committed to hold their head high and give a deterrent answer which would make it possible — that is indeed true — to prevent these terrible events from provoking acts of equal brutality.

Mr Andrews (RDE): First I want to say that I am in no way anti-Zionist or anti-Israeli and I admire the way the Foreign Minister skates on ice, so to speak, with words, because, no matter what he or anybody else in this House might say, the fact of the matter is that the brutality and genocide taking place in Palestine is on a parallel with what is happening in Kuwait. We have reacted in an appalling way to the situation in Palestine. For more than 20 years the Palestinian people have been treated in the most terrible way and I think it has to be said that the European people are not prepared to stand by while young children, 5, 10, 11-year-olds, are shot with impunity on the streets, people's heads, arms and legs [are] being broken, and for what purpose? I want to repeat that I am not anti-Zionist, I am pro-Israeli but what Israel is doing in Palestine is as bad as what Saddam Hussein is doing in Kuwait. It must stop and this Parliament must stop it and I think the Presidency of the Council should do something about it. I do not think the Foreign Minister's answer to Mr Hughes was sufficiently correct, honest and open. Mr Hughes is absolutely right. This House has a responsibility in this area and our responsibilities are not being taken seriously enough.

Mr Melandri (V): I would like to ask the Minister, with reference to his own words, what is the Community prepared to do in practical terms to ensure that the UN resolutions are not observed just by some countries but by others too?

In the case of Iraq, we have an embargo, certain measures have been taken, and so on. Israel, on the other hand, has not respected the UN resolutions for 20 years and more but, so far as I know, the Community is preparing a new financial protocol with that country.

If that is the response, I would like to know what the Community intends to do in practical terms.

Mr Vitalone: It is obvious that any decision the Community might take to support the State of Israel will have to take account of the way the current crisis develops and observe the values which the entire international community, including the Twelve, have called on the State of Israel to respect, in censuring the events in Jerusalem, and condemning most severely and without any indulgence the excessive recourse to force. I myself noted the use of lethal weapons during the recent events in Jerusalem.

As for future plans, I think I have already indicated them. A wide-ranging debate has been held during which we discussed the prospects to which the Italian Presidency has already on several occasions drawn the attention of the Twelve, and the possibility of drawing up a plan which, by transposing the Helsinki rules to the Mediterranean and the Middle East, could finally tackle and resolve the Arab-Israeli problem.

I believe it right to underline what has already been said this evening. We see certain correlations between the crises affecting the Occupied Territories and the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait. But we also underline once again that the two questions must be resolved separately rather than being assimilated, for that would probably make it impossible to find a just settlement to these tragic events: and I mean tragic both for the Occupied Territories and equally so in terms of the violation of human rights and loss of individual liberty that is apparent in Kuwait.

Yet the two questions must be looked at very clearly and with the knowledge that to give in at this moment to the temptation of placing them on the same plane would simply be to play into the hands of those who at present at least do not seem to want to remedy the unlawful situation that has established itself in Kuwait.

Mr President, on several occasions we have told Israel, notified Israel of the resolve of the Twelve to help solve the problem provided the essential conditions have been restored for protecting the fundamental rights of the Palestinian people. We shall continue to work towards [this] both bilaterally between the EC and the State of Israel, at the level of each of the Twelve nationally and by activating all the UN machinery for tackling and resolving this very painful problem.

90/410. Question No H-1125/90 by Mr Cooney concerning the Commission's foreign policy initiatives

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Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

In regard to the political initiative in the sphere of foreign policy taken by the Commission in condemning the tragic events of 8 October in Jerusalem, will the Foreign Ministers state if they approve of the Commission taking such initiatives?

Were they consulted before the initiative in question was taken and have arrangements been made to coordinate the views of the Ministers and the Commission in the event of the latter taking further initiatives?

Mr Vitalone, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: The Community and the Member States adopted a position on the events of 8 October, in the framework of European political cooperation, in line with the provisions of the Single Act. That position was made public on 9 October in a declaration whose text was forwarded to the European Parliament. The statement to which Mr Cooney is referring was issued by the Commission under its own responsibility.

Mr Cooney (PPE): It may be an error in translation but the Minister's reply came across to me as saying that the statement was approved by the Commission. My point is that the Commission appeared to be taking an initiative in an area of foreign policy. Perhaps the Minister would clarify this for me and confirm that the Commission did not take any such initiative.

Mr Vitalone: I think I can affirm that the Commission's statement on the events of 8 October does not differ substantially in content from what had already been affirmed in the Council of Ministers. But since that was an assessment made by the Commission, the Council may not make any pronouncement that might appear to impinge on the Commission's autonomy.

Mr Cooney (PPE): Now that the President-in-Office has clarified his answer, it does appear that the Commission took an initiative in the area of foreign policy. Could I ask the President-in-Office where he sees the Commission getting its jurisdiction to take such an initiative? It appears to me that the Commission in taking such an initiative was acting *ultra vires* and was not acting within Article 30 of the Single Act.

Mr Vitalone: It would be more correct to put that request to the Commission. However, I think I can interpret the Commission's initiative as making use of a faculty which is described in the Single Act as the Commission's power to participate in political cooperation activities.

90/411. Question No H-1169/90 by Mr Seligman concerning the restoration of peace in Lebanon

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Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

The Lebanese people continue to suffer the horrors of civil war and foreign intervention, while British citizens continue to be detained there as hostages. Attempts by the United Nations to restore peace have so far not met with success.

Lebanon's problems may be said to be part of the general conflict in the Middle East and can be traced back to the decisions of certain Member States of the European Community after the First World War.

Would the European political cooperation now use its prestige and influence on behalf of the Community to exhort the United Nations Security Council to intensify its efforts?

Mr Vitalone: It would be more correct to put that request to the Commission. However, I think I can interpret the Commission's initiative as making use of a faculty which is described in the Single Act as the Commission's power to participate in political cooperation activities.

Mr Seligman (ED): I thank the President-in-Office for that answer though it is slightly vague as to what we are going to do next. As Lebanon has been the scene of conflict for more than 1 000 years, what steps are the Foreign Ministers contemplating to put relations between Christians and Muslims on a new footing? This is quite important for our own Islamic populations and our relations with the Islamic States in the Middle East.

Mr Cooney (PPE): There is an implied criticism in the question as to the effectiveness of the peace-keeping force in Lebanon. Could I ask the President-in-Office whether he would agree with me that one of the reasons why the United Nations interim force in Lebanon might not be fully effective is the failure of the Israeli defence forces to withdraw to the international border and the maintenance by Israel of surrogate militias in the area of operation of UNIFIL? Would he further agree with me that the one part of Lebanon which has experienced relative peace and prosperity has been the area of southern Lebanon, south of the Litani River, and that this has been entirely due to the effectiveness of the United Nations interim force in Lebanon?

Mr Vitalone: There is no doubt that any foreign presence will only aggravate the situation in the Lebanon and that is why we referred to the Ta'if agreement. The extension of the legitimate Government's authority to the entire Lebanese territory is in fact one of the preliminary conditions set out in the Ta'if agreement for achieving the objective of national reconciliation which everyone wants. However, it is impossible to believe that recent events, including the attempt to reunite Beirut, have largely resolved the problem or that the simple abandonment by one of the occupying forces would herald a solution or an end to this delicate, intricate and complex question.

It is however a first and major step in the right direction. The strengthening of the authority of the Lebanese Government and institutions throughout the national territory contains the seeds of that principle of sovereignty that must be affirmed in all regions, including the territory of Lebanon. That is a task for which the regular army will certainly have to draw on the political support of the parties involved, who must withdraw behind the lines stipulated in the Ta'if agreement.

I believe it would be foolhardy and rash at this point to hazard any theories about rapid solutions to this problem. I hope, however, that if the ideas set out in the Ta'if agreement on the

question of the various forces — Palestinian, Christian, pro-Israeli — and the various troops stationed in the territory are pursued correctly, we might see an end to this period of assassinations, massacres and executions that has accompanied the fall of General Aoun and led to the loss of the Christian Maronite leader Dany Shamoun, thereby prejudicing the participation of that same Christian community in trying to tackle the Lebanese situation, and losing an important voice in the peace dialogue.

I am confident that all the interested parties have a new sense of the history that nation has the right to construct for itself in peace and security.

Mr Kostopoulos (S): There is another aspect that I would like the Minister to give a reply on. Syria has arrogantly imposed military and, in my view, fascist rule in Lebanon, and the Minister has of course mentioned the death of the Maronite Christian leader, Shamoun, and the killing of large numbers of Christians.

Does the Community's indulgence towards Syria have anything to do with the fact that Syria is colluding with the Americans in the Gulf crisis and has ranged itself against Saddam Hussein?

Mr Vitalone: I confirm what I tried to say in a few brief minutes on a situation which it would be euphemistic to describe as complex. Certainly the international community has an obligation to create all the preconditions for politically isolating the Baghdad Government. That this also involves concessions to the Syrian Government on the Lebanese question is something I must exclude absolutely. It is a question of finding a settlement with the cooperation of everyone — including the Damascus Government, whose influence in the country is not at all negligible — that respects the fundamental values of peace, justice and protection of that martyred nation.

90/412. Question No H-1177/90 by Mr Kostopoulos concerning Europe-America's 'stooge' in the Gulf crisis

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Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

In addition to the considerable risks to world peace posed by the prolonged Gulf crisis, there is another factor involved that should give cause for concern in Europe. Do the Ministers meeting in European political cooperation not believe that, instead of approaching this crucial issue absolutely unequivocally on the basis of European interests, Europe is being dragged by the American war-machine into a totally confused venture in which it is uncertain where responsibilities lie? Do they intend to change track and review their position, implementing an independent European strategy in the subsequent course of events?

Mr Vitalone, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: In reply to an earlier question I had occasion to state the position taken by the Community on the Persian Gulf crisis. I would say that from the beginning of that crisis the Community and its Member States adopted a firm, courageous, intransigent and determined position, a position that came to be based on complete and unconditional approval of and indeed support for the draft and final resolutions of the United Nations Security Council on the matter, which led the Community to call firmly on the Baghdad Government to restore and respect the minimum requirements of international law. The Community and its Member States have expressed and are again expressing their own satisfaction at the wide consensus among all the members of the UN Security Council and I would say in the international community in general on the principles at the basis of the resolutions that have been approved. We think this consensus must be sustained so that we can achieve a peaceful solution to the crisis. We unreservedly condemned the cynical exploitation by Iraq of the illegally held foreign nationals; we described the exploitation of this human shield as violating every rule for the protection of human dignity, every rule of international relations. We have had very close contacts with the other Western partners, especially the United States of

America, which has stationed a large military force in the region, without surrendering any of the autonomy, the dignity, the power of proposal and political initiative that belong to the Twelve and that the Twelve have duly exercised.

I believe that the question by Mr Kostopoulos introduces a negative tone that is unacceptable.

Mr Kostopoulos (S): Yes, of course, I do take a negative stance as far as opposing this venture is concerned, and over the Minister's attitude. I do not think it is right, in this day and age, that Europe should act like a stooge of American imperialism and participate uncritically in America's actions. Sadly, this is what is happening in the Gulf. There is a glaring absence of an independent European strategy for finding a way out of this terrible crisis. Whatever the outcome, war or a peaceful solution, Europe's interests are going to be decided under the cloak of American hegemony. In my opinion Europe should have a geopolitical strategy of its own which it should adhere to even when it conflicts with the interests and objectives of its erstwhile protecting superpower.

Mr Vitalone: I do not want to take up Mr Kostopoulos' polemic demand but I believe that when we are dealing with tragedy it does no good to anyone to speak in slogans. I said a moment ago that as early as 2 August, the European Community, European political cooperation, the European Council, anticipated the United Nations and United States resolutions and reacted very firmly to the insult we regarded as directed at the international community, i.e. the brutal aggression against Kuwait by the Iraqi regime. We called for the application of the Security Council resolutions, we have kept faith with that commitment, we have remained consistent in the position we have adopted, namely that observance of the demands set out by the Security Council is the only way to prevent the crisis from plunging into a military conflict. To assert that there has been a loss of autonomy, that the Twelve have in some way tried to appease an imperialism of which I can find no trace, is, in my view, very far from the truth and makes no constructive contribution to the search for ways to prevent the terrible threat that is beginning to take shape on the horizon of the Gulf crisis.

Mr Dessylas (CG): A supplementary question. Do you believe that the 450 000 American troops in the Gulf are there to impose a diplomatic solution, the economic embargo of Iraq and some form of peaceful solution to the crisis, or are they there for war? And if they are there for war have you pondered how severe the repercussions will be for Europe's workers?

Mr Vitalone: I believe the honourable Member is asking for a reply from the President-in-Office and not a personal reply. If I was to give my personal opinion I would say that the American military force was deployed there to prevent any expansion of the area of crisis, to avoid the repetition in other States in the area of the events which led to the loss of Kuwait's liberty. What are the prospects? Mr President, I think we are all working, working every moment of the day and with a heart full of emotion to seek solutions that can ward off the terrible threat that is unfortunately taking shape, I repeat, on the horizon of the peace dialogue. We want to strengthen the wide cohesion among the international community because we believe that alone can lead to a return to reason that might lead the Baghdad Government to restore the rule of law it has so flagrantly violated.

Mr Andrews (RDE): I do not think the President-in-Office should get too excited over the discussion taking place about the independence of European foreign policy. It is an issue that we have pursued in this Parliament and within the European Community generally for a long time and there are a lot of people who feel very strongly that Europe should have a foreign policy independent of the United States or anyone else for that matter and it is a long time coming. I think that after this discussion and after the situation has developed in the Gulf we might soon arrive at the conclusion that we need an independent foreign policy.

I would ask the President-in-Office if he is aware that delegations who have been asked to visit Iraq, in some cases by support groups, have been intimidated and requested by Ministers — including in my own government a Progressive Democrat minister, Mr O'Malley — not to go. When they asked why they should not go they were told the Americans do not like this. Is this behaving independently? I do not believe it is.

The second question I would ask the President-in-Office is whether he is aware of the UN resolution which also says that food and medicines should be excluded from the embargo against Iraq. Do you not think this is the approach we should take?

Mr Vitalone: I would like to reply a little more fully to the second question. I believe that the Community's decision was a painful one but also a considered and decisive one. Any concession to the blackmail and flattery of the Baghdad Government puts in question the very delicate values which are those of human life. All the Community Governments are most sensitive to these values. The decision not to encourage and not to authorize any government or other missions which, however indisputably humane their aim, would in the end only reward a cruel, sophisticated strategy designed to crack the united front of international solidarity is a political decision of the highest moral value. I defend and recognize the unexceptionable nature of that decision. I am sorry if anyone gives credit to the view that it was a decision taken to please our partners over the Atlantic. I believe that the United States did not for a moment harbour the view that a compromise solution could be discussed in this matter either. It is a question of values which I believe all of us, Mr Andrews, regard as inviolable and which we must respect as such, even if this will probably disappoint the legitimate expectations of certain individuals. Any endeavour to resolve only a particular element of this serious and complex problem would without doubt hurt those others who remained in Iraq prisoners of a political decision I cannot describe as other than criminal.

90/413. Statement concerning the meeting of the European Council in Rome on 27 and 28 October 1990

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Status of Document: Report on European Council

Mr Andreotti, President-in-Office of the Council: It is now two months since my last speech here and it is with great pleasure that I am once again speaking before the European Parliament to report on the main results of the European Council of 27 and 28 October and to outline the objectives we intend to achieve at the second Council to be held under the Italian Presidency in mid-December.

Our European vocation lies at the base of all our activities as the Presidency and this approach is more necessary than ever today if we are to tackle the major challenges posed by international events in a spirit of solidarity and unity. It has been said quite rightly for the past year that we, in our part of the world, are going through a period of capital political importance: that is certainly true of Europe and perhaps it is also true on a world scale. Never before have the forecasts and ambitious plans of the men of State who came before us and who laid the foundations of European integration had so much chance of success. We are well aware that the United States of Europe will not be established tomorrow. Yet the process on which we have embarked and which we shall attempt to pursue is tending in the right direction and at a much faster pace than we expected in the recent past. We are heading gradually and irreversibly along the road towards supranationality, at the end of which stands European union.

In 1985, during the preceding Italian Presidency, and supported by the great majority of Member States, we urged the convening of the intergovernmental conference that led to the signature of the Single Act. Notwithstanding the many criticisms, the Single Act had the merit of reviving the project of monetary union, completing the internal market and putting an end to the separation, in both theoretical and legal terms, between the competences of the Community, in the narrow sense of the term, and political cooperation. In short, as from 1985 the first steps were taken towards that future order whose full scale we can only see fully today.

Today the conclusions of the European Council of Rome confirm that there is a general resolve gradually to transform the Community into a European Union, to expand its political dimension, to pursue the objective of a common external relations and security policy, to strengthen the Community institutions and to expand their powers and increase their democratic legitimacy.

In other words, it has been confirmed that we are seeking to define ever more precisely the special identity of the Community and its unitary profile on the international scene.

Economic and monetary union and political union are the fundamental twin pillars of European union. The first implies the convergence of economic policies and a centralized monetary policy; the second adapts the Community's political and institutional profile to the new tasks we want to assign to it now that the Community has acquired a new dimension both within and without.

At the October European Council, the Presidency attempted, well before the inter-governmental conferences began, to ascertain the degree of political consensus among Member States on the key questions of European union, while also trying to promote the process that began in Dublin and make adequate preparations for the conferences.

On economic and monetary union we took a decisive step in Rome. Its framework is now much clearer: economic union is supported by an open market system that combines stable prices with growth, employment and protection of the environment, and aims at healthy national budgets and the pursuit of social cohesion. Monetary union is based on a centralized monetary policy under a new supranational institution, the European Central Bank, which is independent of all outside influence but must also be accountable to the politically responsible institutions.

With the creation of this new institution, we must reconsider the institutional structure in order to define the relations between the new institution and the existing institutions and adjust the overall institutional framework to the principles, defined in Rome, of respect for mutual balance and a general increase in powers.

When the final phase of economic and monetary union is achieved, the exchange rate will have to be fixed irrevocably and the Community will finally have a single currency, the ecu, which will be the expression of its identity and its unity. I would like to dwell on this aspect a moment. For the first time in the history of Europe we are conferring on the Community one of the distinctive and essential powers that has been taken historically as an affirmation of national sovereignty: the right to mint money. The implications of this development for European union are easy to imagine. A single monetary policy in itself represents far more than just the nucleus of a united Europe.

We shall move towards that objective gradually, step by step. That is why, in addition to short-term aims, we also set medium and long-term objectives in Rome. The second phase, which will begin in 1994, will be acted out against the backcloth of the completion of the internal market: ratification by the Member States of the new Treaty, the first steps towards independence of the members of the new monetary institution, an end to monetary financing of budget deficits, increasingly wide adherence to the exchange-rate agreement of the European Monetary System. We have also assumed that the Treaty would envisage interim provisions on the transition of the subsequent stages of monetary union in order to take account of the specific needs of individual States.

As regards political union, the Rome results were less definite, but that was only to be expected given the less advanced state of preparation and the variety of subjects involved.

What emerges very clearly is the objective I stated at the beginning of my address, namely the definition of a common external and security policy, although this certainly does not mean that we do not appreciate or are minimizing the importance of NATO's role. If it manages to achieve this aim, the Community will in our opinion achieve its ambition of acting as an increasingly strong and credible protagonist, harmonizing its deeds with its intentions.

So on the question of economic and monetary union we can say that we have now paved the way for the activities of the intergovernmental conference; on political union we will need further debate at the level of Heads of State and Government.

That is what we intend to do in Rome in mid-December: the Presidency hopes to define a general framework for political union which — without of course going into the details of the negotiations which will be taking place at the intergovernmental conference — will give the necessary impetus to enable it to make rapid and effective progress. The Foreign Ministers are working on this now and we expect them to consider the options before us in depth.

They must look into three main aspects.

First, in view of international events, the Member States of the Community must assert their presence more strongly on the international scene so that they can defend their interests more successfully and help build a more just international order, with more respect for human rights and common values. Their action will be the more effective the more they prove able to adopt common positions and act upon them.

As regards external and security policy, the union must be given the capacity to decide and act with a single voice and to define, on the basis of a flexible institutional mechanism, the major priorities of the Community's external activities.

Secondly, it must reaffirm that the citizen is central to the construction of Europe and that Community policies concern the fundamental areas of daily life. The future Treaty must enshrine the concept of European citizenship, together with a range of political, social and economic rights based both on the existing rules and on the future structure of the union. These rules must be guaranteed by adequate political and legal protective machinery.

Thirdly, we must make up the European institutions' democratic deficit by giving the European Parliament more say in the legislative process and increasing its powers of control and participation in the setting up of the other institutions. We think this can be done in practical terms by the following means: participation by Parliament in the appointment of the President and the members of the Commission; extension of the assent procedure; full participation by Parliament in the Community's legislative process; increasing Parliament's budgetary powers.

European union must also be based on the principle of subsidiarity; when this is incorporated in the new Treaty, in the appropriate form and place, it will become possible to define the competences of the union more clearly. The union must in any case possess a flexible and highly-developed instrument — some people want a revised and stronger Article 235 — to enable it to acquire new competences.

It is in fact the European Parliament that formulated the principle of subsidiarity, on the basis of the Spinelli report, the recent debates in the Political Affairs Committee and the Committee on Institutional Affairs and the thoughts of Mr Giscard d'Estaing. I am sure your debates will give rise to new and more specific proposals on how to apply this principle.

It is understandable that Parliament's evaluation of the process of institutional reform will depend on the results obtained in these areas. I shall not pretend that divergences may not emerge, especially on the question of the procedures and degree of Parliament's participation in the legislative process. Irrespective of the agreement of principle, there are different positions, with some people wanting to give Parliament co-decision-making powers while others basically want to improve the existing cooperation procedure. The Italian Government will urge that we go beyond the existing procedure and introduce the principle of co-decision-making for legislative acts, although we are keeping an open mind about the machinery for achieving this. Moreover, we are certainly not forgetting the proposals the European Parliament has put forward on this subject on several occasions.

Divergences of view also exist on other aspects of Parliament's powers such as its power of legislative initiative, the extension of the assent procedure and its participation in the union's external and security policy.

We must also tackle and settle the question of how to secure closer involvement of the national parliaments in common action. In the same context we must seek the widest possible

consensus on the fundamental objective of constructing the union. We can do so by associating the European Parliament and the national parliaments in it more closely and by seeking to establish the appropriate machinery for associating them. However, and I must say this plainly, this is not a technical or organizational problem. Even if the parliaments of the 12 Member States are based on universal suffrage and membership of political parties, they all have a different degree of interest in European issues and their activities in this field vary widely from country to country. Until the governments receive a strong and definite impetus from their parliaments and specific political guidelines, the intergovernmental aspects will loom very large in Community life. I hope this aspect will be discussed adequately at the European assizes in Rome next week and that a clear message will be issued in terms of future initiatives.

Forgetting for a moment, if I may, my capacity of President-in-Office, let me now turn to a significant question. In Italy a referendum was organized during the recent European elections asking whether this Parliament could exercise constituent functions. Unfortunately, the definite trend in that direction, supported by a massive 'yes' by the Italian voters, has not so far found the expected response elsewhere.

In this context, and given this trend, we must also settle the details of the question of the European Parliament's involvement in the preparation and activities of the intergovernmental conferences.

The Rome European Council formulated the practical procedures under which this involvement could be achieved, so that Parliament could make its own timely contribution and be kept constantly informed of the progress made.

Compared to the precedent constituted by the Single Act, this is a new and positive factor. The proof is the preparatory interinstitutional conferences that have taken place so far. I am happy to be able to confirm that the Italian Presidency is prepared to promote further preparatory interinstitutional contacts prior to the conference on political union, as Mr De Michelis assured President Barón on 12 November. The Presidency will therefore be able to inform the parliamentary delegation of the report it will meanwhile have drawn up for the December European Council and give an account of the observations and proposals put forward by Members, which will no doubt be both useful and timely.

It is in this same perspective that the Rome European Council has provided and will arrange for interinstitutional meetings to continue to be held even during the intergovernmental conference. We may regard the principle of this procedure, which is in itself a significant innovation, as now established. A calendar of interinstitutional meetings can be fixed by common accord at the beginning of the intergovernmental conference. These meetings could prove very useful at the final stage of the conference's activities, before the Member States' representatives adopt their conclusions. Given that the intergovernmental conferences will decide their own working procedures, they will have to determine how to give the European Parliament the right to make its voice heard when the outcome of the conferences' activities come up for approval. I hope that when Parliament evaluates the results of the conferences, it will emerge that the procedures outlined a moment ago — and which are also aimed at ensuring that the conferences are kept informed of the European Parliament's positions — have achieved a wide convergence.

The importance we attach to this result is confirmed by our firm resolve not to submit to the Italian Parliament the law authorizing the ratification of future treaties until the European Parliament has delivered its opinion on the matter, after the conclusion of the intergovernmental conference, as happened in the case of the Single Act. We are supported here by the unequivocal message we have received from our own parliament and I hope the same will apply in the other 11 Member States.

So for our part, as the Presidency and in future as a delegation, we intend to try to ensure that the climate of interinstitutional cooperation will always prove as fruitful as possible.

In this context let me also reaffirm the Presidency's commitment to highlight, in the documents drawn up for the intergovernmental conferences, the specific contributions made by the European Parliament on the various subjects that may be dealt with at these conferences, some of which will be debated during this part-session.

Let me also underline how important it is that this process, which will enable the Council to apply the provisions of the Treaty for the convening of intergovernmental conferences, takes place as rapidly as possible if we want to meet the mid-December deadline recently confirmed by the Rome European Council. All this is closely bound up with the settlement of the question of the involvement of national structures, beginning with the parliamentary structures, to which I alluded a while ago. This is a moment of truth here in the Community.

As usual, the Rome European Council also looked at several topical international issues that are particularly urgent and must be given priority: above all the Gulf crisis, the Middle East, the CSCE and relations with the United States and Canada.

The Gulf crisis is the first great challenge of the post-Cold War period. Its repercussions are very serious, not only in terms of international law and the new order based on that law which we are currently building in the name of *détente* and cooperation between States, but also in political, economic and humanitarian terms.

The international community reacted immediately to the serious breach of law perpetrated by Iraq. For its part, the European Community played a prime role promptly and effectively, supporting full and total implementation of the UN decisions and also, in more than one case, proposing in advance guidelines which the highest international authorities then endorsed.

The 10 Community declarations adopted between 2 August and 28 October summarize the political thinking of the Twelve during the course of the crisis and until today, even before any commitments were entered into or decisions taken.

Today we have reached the delicate stage where the Iraqi regime is maintaining its early attitude of defiance and still shows no sign of wanting to go back on its annexation of Kuwait, despite the initiatives taken by the Arab States. The absurd tribulations imposed on thousands of hostages further worsens the tension, but have not managed to split the united front shown by the United Nations.

Faced with this attitude, our response remains clear and unequivocal. This crisis created by Iraq can be resolved only by immediate and full acceptance in Baghdad of the resolutions adopted by the UN Security Council.

In this context we must make every effort to avoid resorting to force and to encourage the search for a diplomatic solution. But this attitude must not be regarded as a sign of compliance. The solidarity and pressure of the entire international community are the best evidence of our resolve: only the strict application of the embargo can offer any hope that a negotiated solution will prevail and avoid a possible military conflict.

The Rome European Council reaffirmed these positions and also warned the Baghdad regime that the manoeuvres to which the hostages are being subjected can only impair the prospects of such a solution.

The international rule of law must be restored, because only on that basis can a solution be found to the other serious problems in the region and can it be decided in agreement with all the countries concerned what forms and structures are most likely to guarantee peace, stability and well-being throughout the region.

It is indeed clear to everyone that the call for simultaneous solutions to the problems of the Middle East put forward in some quarters is a difficult one. But as President Bush pointed out in his speech to the United Nations on 1 October, there is an objective link between the various questions. Once the Gulf problem has been resolved, peacefully we hope, the international community, and the EC in particular, which cannot disregard the 1980 Venice declaration on the Palestinian cause and has devoted constant attention to the Lebanese tragedy, must show the

same determination to resolve the remaining problems in the region, with a view to world security. The authority acquired by the Security Council and the unity displayed by its five Permanent Members also open up new prospects for the solution of these problems.

As I repeated during my recent talks in Washington as President-in-Office of the EC, accompanied by President Delors and Mr De Michelis, any proposals for a solution to the Kuwait crisis must concentrate on three basic aspects: the unconditional withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait, the release of all the hostages and the establishment of a security system that can guarantee the stability of the region as a whole.

This very morning, the meeting of Heads of State and Government of the CSCE concluded in Paris.

We have signed very important documents: the treaty on the reduction of conventional weapons in Europe, together with the joint declaration by NATO and the Warsaw Pact, the CSCE document and the new measures to strengthen confidence and security in Europe (CSBM).

The Paris Summit has thereby consolidated and translated into operational agreements the exceptional events that occurred recently and the new climate that exists in Europe today. The foundations have been laid for building the new Europe, in which the 34 countries are no longer adversaries but partners who want to cooperate in all the main areas — political, economic and cultural — while respecting the principles solemnly laid down in Helsinki 15 years ago and which have now been reaffirmed. The Paris Summit not only defined the new institutional forms of this cooperation but also approved specific rules on the prevention of factors of instability, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the protection of national minorities, on the basis of a common effort by all the participating countries to protect and promote the basic human values.

In this context, particular stress was laid on the fact that the protection and promotion of human rights are one of the fundamental responsibilities of the States and that the effective exercise of these rights is inseparable from the search for international peace and security. Respect for human rights has as its corollary the recognition of the role of the individual in ensuring that economic relations can develop to the full in a climate of social justice.

The United States and Canada make a substantial contribution to the European order. In agreement with the Governments of Washington and Ottawa, we decided to take the opportunity of this address to the European Parliament today to officially announce the conclusion of the declaration on the relations of the Community and its Member States with these two countries.

These two parallel agreements — which are similar but not identical — outline a new long-term framework for relations between the two sides of the Atlantic.

These two declarations are intended as a solemn reaffirmation of transatlantic solidarity, the day after the signature of the Paris Charter. That solidarity played a fundamental role in paving the way for progress towards a reunified and free Europe and continues to play an essential part in the 'new Europe' we saw being consecrated in Paris. It is a role that has also been recognized by the member States of the other alliance that is now about to be dismantled.

Let me point out that it is most significant that the United States and Canada wanted to formalize the partnership relations that were established not with the European allies in general but with the European Community. These relations reflect the emergence of the Community as a unitary protagonist on the international scene in the perspective of European Union.

In the two documents that will be published in the next few days, we set out in concise form the historical ties and common values and objectives that create special links between the democracies of North America and those of Western Europe and guide us in our activities.

In particular, we point out that the principle of consultation on all major issues of mutual interest lies at the very heart of our relations as partners, so that we can bring our respective positions closer together without impairing the independence of either partner.

These declarations also codify the system of regular consultations between the Community and the United States and Canada established in recent years and expand it in certain respects.

The Italian Presidency considered this one of the main tasks assigned to it by the Dublin Summit. It has endeavoured to accomplish it with tenacity and, it is happy to say today, has done so successfully.

There is no doubt that the goals achieved at Paris are important ones; however, we are faced with new time-scales now.

First of all we must make progress in further reducing conventional forces in Europe. The negotiations on a second Conventional Forces in Europe agreement must begin at once, with a view to achieving even wider forms of disarmament and reducing the military line-ups to structures that are basically defensive. At the same time we must begin to negotiate the reduction of shorter-range nuclear weapons, in line with the timetable fixed at the last NATO summit in London.

The present situation of East-West relations and the completion of the Conventional Forces in Europe agreement now make it possible to envisage forms of stability that are less dependent on nuclear weapons. In this situation and in order to ensure a balanced process of disarmament, I consider it most desirable for the United States and the Soviet Union to try rapidly to finalize the proposed agreement, along the lines of the agreements of principle already reached.

In other areas of disarmament, however, the progress is less obvious; I am thinking in particular of chemical weapons, where less headway has been made than was hoped with regard to the rapid conclusion of the Geneva negotiations on the destruction and banning of these instruments of death. So I think it was appropriate to propose holding a conference at ministerial level as soon as possible in order to give the necessary political impetus to the negotiations and ensure they are not further delayed by an exaggerated concern for technical detail but are concluded by the end of 1991. Similarly, the meeting to be held next year on the periodic review of the 1972 treaty on biological and bacteriological weapons will offer an opportunity to set out more rigorous rules on transparency and, possibly, verification, to effectively prevent the possession, production and use of that type of weapon.

We are faced today with a worrying situation: while we are embarking on drastic arms cuts in Europe, it is proving difficult to bring about a similar process in other parts of the world. A flagrant example is the Gulf crisis, where we are witnessing a disturbing concentration of weapons, probably including chemical and perhaps even bacteriological weapons.

In the final month and a half of the Italian Presidency of the Council, I think these are the main issues we will have to tackle, and we will continue giving the utmost priority to resolving them.

In this endeavour we hope we can count on the unfailing support of this Assembly, to which we intend to turn more and more often so that it can debate these matters and exercise its powers of control.[...]

I would like to say a few words on security. It is certainly a major issue and in the light of many events, but especially these recent agreements, it has acquired a special aspect we need to consider and reconsider. Some Members have spoken somewhat critically of NATO, regarding it as old hat; others depict it as topical. Just look at how unconcerned the ex-Communist countries of Eastern Europe are about NATO, as it stands now, in the course of transformation.

In a sense, looking at it during this transitional phase during which Soviet and American soldiers will remain on German territory for some years, I do not think this is the moment to get rid of NATO. I also think that by underlining the actual substance of NATO — Article 2 which has been the subject of such controversy — that is to say the non-military aspects of NATO, and by greatly expanding and gradually enabling these aspects to prevail, it will be possible for NATO to provide the kind of guarantee that also comes from the establishment, through the CSCE, of the presence in Europe of Canada and the United States of America; and I think we should look at Europe from that aspect. There are therefore some questions we must look into, but I am only touching on them here, for they are extremely delicate. Let us hope instead that the future will enable us to look increasingly calmly at all these aspects because on the day when

we have to formulate an exclusive system of security, quite separate from the wider link-up now offered by NATO, a whole range of questions will need to be resolved within our ranks. For we must not forget that apart from the great majority of countries that signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty there are also nuclear countries. This would create a difficulty which does not exist at present and which we have not had to face for quite a long time, thanks to the wider framework represented by NATO, which has never forced us to classify our countries under different headings.

Let me make a final comment and suggest that we should determine which subjects need to be codified with a view to defining our competences. Throughout the years we have on occasion interpreted the Treaty of Rome rather widely and enlarged these competences, only to find ourselves faced not infrequently with legal difficulties. And since a large part of these competences relate to the social aspects of European integration, we must determine them more closely if we believe that the search for cohesion, which is one of the tasks laid down in the Single Act, must lead to giving a more highly developed social aspect to our Community life. Let me conclude by saying that we are living through a very important time when we consider what has happened in Germany with unification, and the way in which it happened. I think a few months ago the idea of unification would have been almost inconceivable as would the signature in Moscow of the act of unification. It was something quite inconceivable. Fortunately, however, it was conceived and achieved. And it is also the Germans who have underlined the importance of strengthening the Community and NATO. From this point of view, the opportunity offered by the present intergovernmental conferences is quite outstanding. If we do not exploit this particular frame of mind and this sense of high responsibility on the part of the German political thinkers we might find in future that we are again presided over by forces that are inspired only by technical and financial theories which, however respectable, would slow down the process of European integration. I think we must endeavour to turn the Eleven into Twelve — and I really hope this will happen. I am speaking on a slight note of optimism here given that in the communiqué of the Rome European Council, even the United Kingdom, although it did not give a favourable opinion, at least expressed a number of positive views on the monetary conference aspect of the document presented by the Italian Presidency and approved by the other Eleven. Perhaps this optimism is a little shortsighted, but I really hope, as I think we all hope, that we will not encounter any insurmountable obstacles on the road to Europe.

90/414. Question No H-868/90 by Mr Barros Moura concerning the report by Amnesty International on executions in East Timor

Date of Issue: 21 November 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

According to Amnesty International's annual report, at least 20 people were illegally executed in East Timor by the Indonesian security forces in 1988 and 1989. The report described particularly horrific cases of torture and murder. It also referred to the existence of more than 100 political prisoners held by the occupying forces.

What steps will the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation take to safeguard human rights in East Timor, in line with Parliament's resolutions on this matter?

Answer:

The particular Amnesty International report which the honourable Member mentions has not been discussed by the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation.

However, during the October part-session the honourable Member was given assurances regarding the joint position of the Twelve on developments in East Timor. It goes without saying that the Twelve will continue to remind the Indonesian authorities of the importance which the Community and its Member States attach to the scrupulous respect for human rights.

The honourable Member is also referred to the memorandum attached to the speech by the Presidency to the 45th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, which stated that the Twelve were closely watching developments in East Timor, including the human rights situation. The European Community and its Member States reiterated their support for the contacts between Portugal and Indonesia under the auspices of the Secretary-General. They hoped that a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable settlement might soon be achieved, in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter, thus fully respecting the legitimate interests of the East Timorese.

90/415. Question No H-927/90 by Mr Alavanos concerning threats to colonize Famagusta

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Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

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Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Turkish Cypriot threats to colonize Famagusta have seriously complicated the Cyprus problem.

What measures have the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation taken or what measures do they intend to take in response to Turkey's course of action, especially after the Presidency's visit to Ankara and in the light of the resolution the European Parliament adopted in July concerning Turkey's compliance with UN resolutions, the resumption of a dialogue between the two communities and the search for a just solution in Cyprus?

Answer:

It should first of all be pointed out that according to the information available to the Presidency there has been no transfer of people to Famagusta but only threats to install settlers.

The deep concern of the Twelve over the impasse affecting the dialogue between the communities has been made clear on previous occasions. The common position of the Twelve, which the partners have maintained for some time on this issue, has also been reiterated. This position is based on earlier declarations by the Twelve, on the relevant UN resolutions (especially Resolution 550/84) and on the resolutions adopted by the European Parliament.

The Twelve support the efforts towards achieving a just and reasonable settlement, in particular on the basis of the good offices mission of the UN Secretary-General. The Italian Foreign Minister, during a visit to Ankara on 27 July 1990, called on his Turkish counterparts to refrain from any action which might make the Secretary-General's mission more difficult.

Lastly, the honourable Member should remember that the question of special Community aid to Turkey is not within the competence of European political cooperation.

90/416. Question No H-1017/90 by Mr De Rossa concerning the proposal to merge European political cooperation and WEU

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Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

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Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

What is the current position with regard to the proposal apparently made by the President of the Council of Foreign Ministers which envisaged a merger between European political cooperation and the WEU and how do the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation feel it will affect countries which are not members of the WEU or, in the case of Ireland, not members of NATO or the WEU?

Answer:

All the questions concerning the definition and implementation of a common foreign and security policy, including the Italian proposals on the subject and those already made or still to be made by other Member States, are currently being given consideration with a view to the Intergovernmental Conference on Political Union.

This Conference will be responsible for adopting conclusions on the subject; the common aim is to define what political union really means in order to act in a more consistent manner at international level.

At this stage, therefore, the Presidency is not in a position to state the Council's position on the question.

90/417. Questions No H-1021/90 by Mr Melandri and No H-1066/90 by Mr Taradash concerning the economic relations between the EEC and China

Date of Issue: 21 November 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Question No H-1021/90:

What is the position of European political cooperation on the resumption of normal economic relations with China? Do the Ministers agree that it would be appropriate, before restoring full relations with Beijing, to obtain formal and substantive commitments to uphold human rights in China, beginning with a pledge to release the hundreds of political prisoners still detained in Chinese prisons?

Question No H-1066/90:

Having regard to newspaper reports concerning the statements by the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr De Michelis, according to which, in his capacity as President of the European Council for Foreign Affairs, he is to request that relations with China be resumed, can the Council state whether the events of Tienanmen Square have already been forgotten, whether reports of hundreds of executions carried out daily would not provide grounds for continuing the freezing of relations and can it also state what considerations, other than the importance of the Chinese market, have given rise to this decision?

Answer:

A joint answer will be given to Questions H-1021/90 and H-1066/90 which deal with the same subject.

The Community and its Member States have not spared any effort in their support for human rights in China and they have not failed to make known their concern in this area, both through bilateral contacts and within the competent international bodies. They have noted a number of positive moves by the Chinese authorities in recent months (release of a number of political

prisoners, lifting of the state of emergency, etc.) but they did not miss the opportunity to reiterate the Community's position when the Foreign Ministers of the Troika and the Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China met in New York on 28 September during the UN General Assembly. On that occasion the Chinese Foreign Minister stated that he understood and accepted the interest of the international community in the human rights situation in his country and he pointed out that China was an active participant in various international bodies and conventions in this particular area. He also voiced the intent of his Government to incorporate regulations on the protection of human rights in national legislation and the need for protection to be guaranteed by such legislation. Lastly, he reaffirmed the determination of his Government to make irreversible progress towards reform and openness.

In view of these facts and of the positive attitude shown by the Chinese Government in the area of foreign policy – which has also made it possible to maintain essential international agreement during the Gulf crisis and to arrive at the initial stage of a solution for Kampuchea – the Community and its Member States on 22 October approved the following measures concerning China:

- (i) possibility of bilateral and high-level contacts at ministerial level;
- (ii) gradual resumption of cooperation programmes by the Community and its Member States;
- (iii) agreement on funding for development projects by international financial institutions.

In view of the problems and the undeniable shortcomings which still exist with regard to human rights in China, the Twelve have decided to maintain the embargo on the sale of arms and military cooperation which was decided by the European Council at its meeting in Madrid in June 1989.

The Members of the European Parliament may rest assured that the Community and its Member States will continue to monitor the human rights situation in China and they will make every effort to ensure that human rights are respected and to encourage compliance and openness. The decision of 22 October, which allows the resumption of talks with the Chinese authorities, is also intended to allow the Community to operate with greater effectiveness, especially in the area of human rights.

90/418. Questions No H-1049/90 by Mr Ephremidis, No H-1137/90 by Mr Papoutsis and No H-1138/90 by Mr Romeos concerning the absence of Greece from the Conference on Security and Cooperation in the Mediterranean

Date of Issue: 21 November 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Question No H-1049/90:

The Foreign Ministers from four of the five southern Mediterranean Member States (Spain, Italy, Portugal and France) and their counterparts from the Maghreb countries are to meet in Rome on 10 October 1990 to prepare for a Conference on security and cooperation in the Mediterranean. Why is Greece not taking part in this meeting?

Question No H-1137/90:

Regarding the first meeting on security and cooperation in the Mediterranean held in Rome following an initiative from the President-in-Office of the Council and given the importance of

such an initiative, were the Foreign Ministers aware of this initiative and, in particular, of the reasons for the exclusion of Greece, which is a solely Mediterranean Community country, while Portugal, which is not a Mediterranean country, did take part?

Question No H-1138/90:

Regarding the first meeting on security and cooperation in the Mediterranean held in Rome following an initiative from the President-in-Office of the Council and given the importance of such an initiative, were the Foreign Ministers aware of this initiative and, in particular, of the reasons for the exclusion of Greece, which is a solely Mediterranean Community country, while Portugal, which is not a Mediterranean country, did take part?

Answer:

A joint answer will be given to Questions H-1137/90 and H-1138/90, which are identical, and to Question H-1049/90 which Mr Ephremidis tabled on the same subject.

The ministerial meeting held in Rome on 10 October was convened by the countries in the western Mediterranean with the aim of creating a new framework for regional cooperation in that area of the Mediterranean.

The meeting was not held in a Community or European political cooperation context and has not therefore been discussed by the Twelve. As usual, however, the Presidency informed the other Member States of the outcome of the meeting.

90/419. Question No H-1053/90 by Ms Banotti concerning Raoul Wallenberg

Date of Issue: 21 November 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Could the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation indicate whether they will follow up on the case of Raoul Wallenberg with the appropriate Soviet authorities, following the recent statement by the Soviets that they are to re-investigate his disappearance at the end of the Second World War?

Answer:

The Twelve welcomed the Soviet authorities' decision to reopen investigations into the disappearance of Raoul Wallenberg and hope that these will clarify his tragic case. They intend to follow the matter closely and keep in touch with the competent Soviet authorities.

90/420. Question No H-1060/90 by Mr Bandrés Molet concerning the ratification of the Convention on the Rights of the Child by the EEC Member States

Date of Issue: 21 November 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

The Convention on the Rights of the Child was adopted by the UN in 1989 and entered into force on 2 September this year.

Thousands of children will benefit from the application of this Charter, since they will be able to seek legal protection from sectarian assault, premature military conscription and enforced separation from their parents. The Convention has so far been implemented by 44 countries, but unfortunately some Member States of the EEC have not yet ratified it.

Have the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation considered taking any steps to encourage the ratification of the Convention by all the Member States of the EEC?

Answer:

More than 10 years after the International Year of the Child and 30 years after the Declaration on the Rights of the Child, a draft Convention on the Rights of the Child was submitted to the 44th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, which adopted the Convention in November 1989.

The Twelve had expressed their hope at the time that the Convention might be adopted by the General Assembly in the best possible circumstances. They accordingly welcomed the agreement which was reached and voiced their desire for speedy ratification of the Convention.

The Twelve share the honourable Member's opinion on the importance of the Convention on the Rights of the Child and on its ratification as a matter of urgency by all States, especially the Member States of the European Community.

Most of the Twelve have signed the Convention and two Member States have already ratified it. It came into force on 2 September 1990. A number of Member States have begun the procedures for ratification in their national parliaments.

90/421. Question No H-1081/90 by Mr Newton Dunn concerning Romania

Date of Issue: 21 November 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Draft legislation for the media published by the Romanian Ministry of Justice prescribes the same conditions as those specified in legislation in force during the Ceauşescu era. Given the weakness of the opposition in Romania, do the Foreign Ministers agree that free press and criticism are essential in paving the way to pluralism and as such represent a litmus test of the sincerity of the National Salvation Front?

Answer:

The Community and its Member States share the honourable Member's view that free press and criticism are fundamental aspects of any democracy and represent a test of the sincerity of the National Salvation Front. Moreover, they have made representations to this effect to the Romanian authorities on a number of occasions over the last nine months and will continue to do so to ensure that they endeavour to introduce full pluralist democracy based on the rule of law and genuine respect for human rights.

90/422. Question No H-1096/90 by Mr Van der Waal concerning the situation of the Papuan population in Irian Jaya and Papua New Guinea

Date of Issue: 21 November 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

The situation of the Papuans in Irian Jaya is still a matter of grave concern. They are still being driven from their homelands, robbed of their property and threatened with the loss of their religious and cultural identity. Many have lost their lives in resisting and others have fled to camps in neighbouring Papua New Guinea. Yet even there they are not safe. On 22 July Mr Salosa, a resistance fighter, was arrested and extradited to Indonesia, where he was executed on 14 August. In July and August the Indonesian army took action against refugees in Papua New Guinea territory.

On 13 June this year I asked how far the resolution on human rights in Indonesia¹ had been put into effect. Minister Geoghegan-Quinn, President of the Council, said that this had not yet been discussed within European political cooperation, but that European political cooperation was willing to consider what can be done in this respect.

Can European political cooperation explain what has since been done within European political cooperation about the situation of the Papuans?

Answer:

The position of the Community and its Member States regarding human rights is well known. In this connection, the Community and its Member States have always shown particular concern for the situation and rights of minority groups. On numerous occasions they have expressed their position concerning human rights to the Government of Indonesia. The honourable Member may rest assured that they will continue to do so.

The specific case to which the honourable Member refers has not been considered in the framework of European political cooperation.

¹ OJ C 94, 11.4.1988, p. 191.

90/423. Question No H-1107/90 by Mr Pompidou concerning children in Romania suffering from AIDS

Date of Issue: 21 November 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Is European political cooperation aware that, according to British press sources, the Romanian Government has authorized the testing on one to five-year-old children by a team of doctors of a new treatment, known by the code name of FLV-23/A, the results of which are described as 'suspect' by some authorities in the Community?

Could European political cooperation obtain all the necessary information on this subject from the Romanian Government?

Answer:

The matter of the testing of FLV-23/A on 84 children at Calantina hospital is being followed very carefully by the Twelve.

The Romanian Secretary of State for Health, Mr Gheorghe Iacob, stated that the Government had adopted the conclusions of the World Health Organization and would accept any checks requested by the Organization. In accordance with this commitment, and following the WHO assessment report of 26 October 1990, the organization and the Romanian Ministry of Health advised the discontinuation of these tests. On 27 October the Ministry decided to put an end to the tests.

90/424. Question No H-1109/90 by Mr Cot concerning a postage stamp issued by the United Nations

Date of Issue: 21 November 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

What steps have been taken or are envisaged to obtain the withdrawal by the UN of its 36 — cent postage stamp depicting the crime of robbery, illustrated by three Jewish figures in traditional dress, which flouts the joint declaration on racism and anti-Semitism of 11 June 1986?

Answer:

According to the information available to the Presidency, the postage stamp referred to by the honourable Member is one of a series of six commemorative stamps issued by the United Nations on 13 September to mark the Eighth United Nations Congress on Crime Prevention held in Havana between 27 August and 7 September 1990. Each stamp in the series shows figures in 'fancy dress' to illustrate one of the main topics on the agenda of the Congress. It would seem unlikely that the UN postal administration intended to depict any particular group or religion with these figures.

Although the question raised by the honourable Member has not been discussed in the framework of European political cooperation, the Presidency would like to reiterate the clear and precise position on anti-Semitism, racism and xenophobia which was taken by the European Council at its Dublin meeting, as well as the Declaration by the Community institutions and the Member States on racism and xenophobia of 11 June 1986, both of which are still entirely valid. It must also be said that this position was made absolutely clear to Parliament by the Presidency during the debate on this matter at the October part-session.

90/425. Question No H-1116/90 by Mr Blaney concerning security

Date of Issue: 21 November 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Do the Foreign Ministers not agree that extension of the scope of cooperation on security cannot be envisaged as long as one Member State maintains an active military presence in a territory to which another Member State formally lays claim?

Answer:

Bilateral questions between two Member States do not fall within the sphere of competence of European political cooperation.

Moreover, all the questions concerning the definition and implementation of a common foreign and security policy are currently being given consideration with a view to the Intergovernmental Conference on Political Union. This conference will be responsible for adopting conclusions on the matter. The conference will adopt its conclusions by consensus.

90/426. Question No H-1129/90 by Ms Pollack concerning Antarctica

Date of Issue: 21 November 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Italy
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Do the Foreign Ministers intend to make any representations on behalf of the Community to the effect that Antarctica be declared a wilderness park within which the extraction of oils and minerals and other commercial, military and polluting activities should not be permitted?

Answer:

The question raised by the honourable Member has not been discussed in the framework of European political cooperation.

90/427. Question No H-1156/90 by Mr Bowe concerning Sri Lanka

Date of Issue: 21 November 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Italy
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Is the European political cooperation aware of the renewed fighting in the north-east of Sri Lanka between government security forces and the Tamil guerrillas, resulting in heavy loss of civilian life, destruction of property and displacement of some 600 000 persons?

Will European political cooperation urge the parties to the conflict to implement and encourage respect for an immediate cease-fire, return to the process of negotiations and invite the United Nations Secretary-General to facilitate the resolution of the difficulties which have led to the present impasse and arrange the provision of appropriate relief to the affected areas, if necessary, through the International Committee of the Red Cross?

Answer:

The Community and its Member States are closely following the unstable situation in Sri Lanka. Following the recent violent incidents in that country, the ambassadors of the 12 Member States in Colombo made joint representations to the Sri Lankan authorities and conveyed the grave concern of the Community and its Member States concerning repeated violations of human rights. In their statement of 22 October 1990, the Community and its Member States deplored the resumption of fighting in June by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and the suffering which this is causing the population of the region. The Community and its Member States firmly support the effort of the democratically elected Government of Sri Lanka to tackle the problem of terrorism. However, the Community and its Member States also reminded the Government to abide by its international commitments in the field of human rights.

The Community and its Member States reminded the Sri Lankan authorities that decisions on future development aid to the Sri Lankan economy will be taken in the light of the Government's attitude to human rights. The Community's approach seems to have made the Sri Lankan Government aware of the gravity of the problem and to have helped promote the human rights debate in Sri Lanka, which will probably be taken up at parliamentary level. While it is possible to make representations to the elected Government, it is virtually impossible to influence the Tamil rebels; it is therefore extremely difficult to contribute to the conclusion of a cease-fire agreement and to avoid further suffering, as called for in the question.

90/428. Question No H-1183/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru concerning the political importance of Parliament resolutions on human rights

Date of Issue: 21 November 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

What political importance do the Foreign Ministers attach to European Parliament resolutions on human rights? To what extent are they influenced by such resolutions when they stand up for human rights? Why is no reference ever made to them in their declarations?

Answer:

As the honourable Member is aware, the Community and its Member States are vigorous in defending and promoting human rights. In this connection, the Community and its Member States pay careful attention to the resolutions and positions of the European Parliament. Moreover, the Presidency regularly provides Parliament with a memorandum on the activities undertaken in this area by the Community and its Member States.

90/429. Question No H-1185/90 by Mr Hughes concerning the visit to Iran by UN Special Representative Galindo Pohl

Date of Issue: 21 November 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Have the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation considered the visit made to Iran by Galindo Pohl from 8 to 15 October 1990 and, if not, will they consider it?

Answer:

The Community and its Member States welcomed the fact that Galindo Pohl has been able to visit Iran a second time in his capacity as special envoy on the human rights situation in that country. The Community and its Member States intend to coordinate their position on the results of that visit as soon as the announced report is considered at United Nations level.

90/430. Question No H-1186/90 by Mr Newman concerning Dr Ismail Beskici, Kurdish scholar awaiting trial in Turkey

Date of Issue: 21 November 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Dr Ismail Beskici, a Kurdish scholar, is in prison in Turkey awaiting trial. If convicted, he could face up to 20 years' incarceration. The 'crime' he is charged with under Articles 141 and 142 of the Turkish Constitution is writing a book about Kurdistan.

Have the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation discussed Dr Beskici's case and, if not, will they do so in the near future?

Answer:

It must be said first of all that the Community and its Member States pay close attention to the human rights situation in Turkey. The Turkish authorities are well aware of the Twelve's position on this matter. As was indicated to the European Parliament during the September part-session, the Foreign Ministers reaffirmed in their declaration of 21 July 1986 that respect for human rights is a vital element in relations between Europe and third countries. That declaration remains the basis of the Community's policy on human rights.

The protection and the encouragement of human rights, including the protection of minorities, are legitimate duties of the Community, and the Member States are pleased that this approach corresponds with the position adopted on numerous occasions by Parliament.

By adhering to the relevant international conventions on human rights, Turkey has freely subscribed to the principles thereof, and the Community and its Member States have not hesitated and will not hesitate to bring instances of violations in this area to the attention of the Turkish Government.

The case to which the honourable Member refers has not been discussed in European political cooperation. According to certain sources, Dr Beskici was released on 25 July and many of the charges against him were dropped, but he could still be tried for some of his publications.

90/431. Declaration on EC-Canada relations

Date of Issue: 22 November 1990

Place of Issue: Brussels

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: The Twelve with other Actors

Status of Document: Joint Declaration

The European Community and its Member States on one side, and Canada on the other,

Bonded by their common heritage and close historical, political, economic and cultural ties,
Guided by their faith in the values of human dignity, intellectual freedom and civil liberties and
in the democratic institutions which have evolved on both sides of the Atlantic over the
centuries,

Considering the recent revolutionary changes that have transformed the face of Europe and the
new hope for durable peace and cooperation among nations on the basis of those universal
values,

Recognizing that transatlantic solidarity has played a historic role in preserving peace and
freedom and can greatly contribute in the future to the continued stability and prosperity of
Europe and North America,

Resolved to strengthen security, economic cooperation and human rights in Europe by every
possible means, both in the framework of the CSCE and in other forums,

Noting the firm commitment of Canada and the EC Member States concerned to the North
Atlantic Alliance and to its principles and purposes,

Determined to strengthen peace, foster economic well-being and social progress throughout the
world, and cooperate in meeting the challenges confronting all their nations,

Building on the privileged relationship established by the Framework Agreement for Commer-
cial and Economic Cooperation between the European Communities and Canada, signed in
1976, as well as by the arrangements agreed in 1988 on a political dialogue,

Bearing in mind the accelerating process by which the European Community is acquiring its own
identity in economic and monetary matters, in foreign policy and in the domain of security,

Determined further to strengthen transatlantic solidarity through the variety of their international relations,

Have decided to endow their mutual relations with a long-term perspective.

Common goals

Canada and the European Community and its Member States solemnly reaffirm their determination further to strengthen their partnership; in accordance with their common values and their commitment to the aims and principles of the United Nations Charter, they shall in particular work together to:

Support democracy, the rule of law, and respect for human rights and individual liberty, Safeguard peace and promote international security, especially by cooperating with other nations of the world against aggression and coercion and other forms of violence by strengthening the role of the United Nations and other international organizations, and by contributing to the settlement of conflicts in the world,

Pursue policies aimed at achieving a sound world economy marked by sustained economic growth with low inflation, a high level of employment, equitable social conditions and a stable international financial system,

Promote market principles, reject protectionism and expand, strengthen and further open the multilateral trading system,

Reaffirm their commitment to help developing countries in their efforts towards political and economic reforms by improving development assistance, broadening market access, strengthening the debt strategy and encouraging the efficient use of foreign assistance and national resources,

Provide adequate support, in cooperation with other States and organizations, to the countries in Europe undertaking fundamental economic and political reforms and encourage their participation in the multilateral institutions of international trade and finance.

Principles of partnership

To achieve their common goals, they will consult on humanitarian, political and economic issues to ensure that their efforts will have maximum effect. On matters of mutual interest, and in particular within international bodies, they will exchange information and seek close cooperation, in the spirit of this declaration.

Ad hoc consultations, to be held as the need arises, will greatly benefit from the mutual knowledge and understanding acquired through the regular meetings listed in the last section of this Declaration.

Economic, scientific and cultural cooperation

Both sides recognize the importance of strengthening the multilateral trading system. They will support further steps towards liberalization, transparency and the implementation of GATT and OECD principles concerning both trade in goods and services and investment.

They will further develop their dialogue, which is already under way, on other matters such as technical and non-tariff barriers to industrial and agricultural trade, services, competition policy, transport policy, standards, telecommunications, high technology and other relevant areas.

They will support the activities of the IBRD, IMF, OECD, G-24, EBRD and other multilateral forums.

Their mutual cooperation shall also be strengthened in various other fields which directly affect the well-being of their citizens, such as exchanges and joint projects in science and

technology, including space, research in medicine, environmental protection, energy conservation and the safety of nuclear and other installations, and in communications, culture and education, including academic and youth exchanges.

Transnational challenges

Canada and the European Community and its Member States will join their efforts in meeting transnational challenges in the interest of their own peoples and of the rest of the world. In particular, they assign a high priority to:

- (i) the combating and prevention of terrorism,
- (ii) the fight against the production and consumption of drugs and related criminal activities, such as illegal trafficking and the laundering of money,
- (iii) the control of the proliferation of the instruments of war and weapons of mass destruction,
- (iv) the protection of the environment and the pursuit of sustainable development within each country as well as the preservation of the fragile global ecosystem, which calls for effective international action and multilateral cooperation,
- (v) appropriate measures concerning large-scale migration and the flow of refugees.

Institutional framework for consultation

Both sides will make full use of the mechanisms established under the EC-Canada Framework Agreement and enhance their consultative arrangements through:

- (i) regular meetings, in Canada and in Europe, between the Prime Minister of Canada on one side and, on the other, the President of the European Council and the President of the Commission;
- (ii) biannual meetings, alternately on each side of the Atlantic, between the President of the Council of the European Communities, with the Commission, and the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada;
- (iii) annual consultations between the Commission and the Canadian Government;
- (iv) briefings by the Presidency to Canadian representatives, following EPC meetings at the ministerial level.

Both sides are resolved to develop and deepen the existing procedures for consultation in the light of the evolution of the European Community and of its relationship with Canada.

Both sides welcome the actions taken by the European Parliament and the Canadian Parliament in order to improve their dialogue and thereby bring closer together the peoples on both sides of the Atlantic.

90/432. Declaration on EC-US relations

Date of Issue: 23 November 1990

Place of Issue: Brussels

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: The Twelve with other actors

Status of Document: Joint Declaration

The United States of America on one side and, on the other, the European Community and its Member States,

Mindful of their common heritage and of their close historical, political, economic and cultural ties;

Guided by their faith in the values of human dignity, intellectual freedom and civil liberties, and in the democratic institutions which have evolved on both sides of the Atlantic over the centuries;

Recognizing that the transatlantic solidarity has been essential for the preservation of peace and freedom and for the development of free and prosperous economies as well as for the recent developments which have restored unity in Europe;

Determined to help consolidate the new Europe, undivided and democratic;

Resolved to strengthen security, economic cooperation and human rights in Europe in the framework of the CSCE and in other forums;

Noting the firm commitment of the United States and the EC Member States concerned to the North Atlantic Alliance and to its principles and purposes;

Acting on the basis of a pattern of cooperation proven over many decades, and convinced that by strengthening and expanding this partnership on an equal footing they will greatly contribute to continued stability, as well as to political and economic progress in Europe and in the world;

Aware of their shared responsibility, not only to further common interests but also to face transnational challenges affecting the well-being of all mankind;

Bearing in mind the accelerating process by which the European Community is acquiring its own identity in economic and monetary matters, in foreign policy and in the domain of security;

Determined further to strengthen transatlantic solidarity, through the variety of their international relations,

Have decided to endow their relationship with long-term perspectives.

Common goals

The United States of America and the European Community and its Member States solemnly reaffirm their determination further to strengthen their partnership in order to:

Support democracy, the rule of law and respect for human rights and individual liberty, and promote prosperity and social progress world-wide;

Safeguard peace and promote international security, by cooperating with other nations against aggression and coercion, by contributing to the settlement of conflicts in the world and by reinforcing the role of the United Nations and other international organizations;

Pursue policies aimed at achieving a sound world economy marked by sustained economic growth with low inflation, a high level of employment, equitable social conditions, in a framework of international stability;

Promote market principles, reject protectionism and expand, strengthen and further open the multilateral trading system;

Carry out their resolve to help developing countries by all appropriate means in their efforts towards political and economic reforms;

Provide adequate support, in cooperation with other States and organizations, to the nations of Eastern and Central Europe undertaking economic and political reforms and encourage their participation in the multilateral institutions of international trade and finance.

Principles of US-EC partnership

To achieve their common goals, the European Community and its Member States and the United States of America will inform and consult each other on important matters of common interest, both political and economic, with a view to bringing their positions as close as possible, without prejudice to their respective independence. In appropriate international bodies, in particular, they will seek close cooperation.

The EC-US partnership will, moreover, greatly benefit from the mutual knowledge and understanding acquired through regular consultations as described in this Declaration.

Economic cooperation

Both sides recognize the importance of strengthening the multilateral trading system. They will support further steps towards liberalization, transparency and the implementation of GATT and OECD principles concerning both trade in goods and services and investment.

They will further develop their dialogue, which is already under way, on other matters such as technical and non-tariff barriers to industrial and agricultural trade, services, competition policy, transport policy, standards, telecommunications, high technology and other relevant areas.

Education, scientific and cultural cooperation

The partnership between the European Community and its Member States on the one hand, and the United States on the other, will be based on continuous efforts to strengthen mutual cooperation in various other fields which directly affect the present and future well-being of their citizens, such as exchanges and joint projects in science and technology, including, *inter alia*, research in medicine, environmental protection, pollution prevention, energy, space, high-energy physics and the safety of nuclear and other installations, as well as in education and culture, including academic and youth exchanges.

Transnational challenges

The United States of America and the European Community and its Member States will fulfil their responsibility to address transnational challenges, in the interest of their own peoples and of the rest of the world. In particular, they will join their efforts in the following fields:

- (i) combating and preventing terrorism;
- (ii) putting an end to the illegal production, trafficking and consumption of narcotics and related criminal activities, such as the laundering of money;
- (iii) cooperating in the fight against international crime;
- (iv) protecting the environment, both internationally and domestically, by integrating environmental and economic goals;
- (v) preventing the proliferation of nuclear armaments, chemical and biological weapons and missile technology.

Institutional framework for consultation

Both sides agree that a framework is required for regular and intensive consultation. They will make full use of and further strengthen existing procedures, including those established by the President of the European Council and the President of the United States on 27 February 1990, namely:

- (i) biannual consultations to be arranged in the United States and in Europe between, on the one side, the President of the European Council and the President of the Commission, and, on the other side, the President of the United States;
- (ii) biannual consultations between the European Community Foreign Ministers, with the Commission, and the US Secretary of State, alternately on either side of the Atlantic;
- (iii) *ad hoc* consultations between the Presidency Foreign Minister or the Troika and the US Secretary of State;
- (iv) biannual consultations between the Commission and the US Government at Cabinet level;
- (v) briefings, as currently exist, by the Presidency to US Representatives on European political cooperation (EPC) meetings at the ministerial level.

Both sides are resolved to develop and deepen these procedures for consultation so as to reflect the evolution of the European Community and of its relationship with the United States.

They welcome the actions taken by the European Parliament and the Congress of the United States in order to improve their dialogue and thereby bring closer together the peoples on both sides of the Atlantic.

**90/433. Question No 1893/90 by Mr Gutiérrez Díaz (GUE-E)
concerning the murder of six Jesuit priests in El Salvador**

Date of Issue: 23 November 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 2 August 1990

According to Maria Julia Hernández, the Archi-episcopal Legal Adviser, the inquiry into the murder on 16 November 1989 of six Jesuits from the Central American University of El Salvador has practically closed and the soldiers who ordered the killings have gone unpunished.

Charges were brought by the legal authorities against eight soldiers, including the Director of the Military Academy, Guillermo Benavides.

What measures has the Council taken or does it intend to take to ensure compliance with its resolution calling on the Salvadorean authorities to see that these murders are fully elucidated and the guilty punished?

Answer:

Reports of complications in the conduct of the inquiry into last November's university murders led the Twelve to make a further *démarche* to the authorities in El Salvador last June to underline the importance which the Twelve attach to the correct carrying out of the judicial procedures which have been initiated in this case.

In the memorandum¹ distributed as an integral part of the Presidency's speech to the UN General Assembly on behalf of the Community and its Member States, it was reiterated that in the context of the process of national reconciliation in El Salvador, the Community continues to attach importance to this investigation. As the honourable Member knows, the Community and the Government of El Salvador together reaffirmed their commitment to a process of dialogue and reconciliation within El Salvador in the joint political declaration issued at the San José VI Ministerial Conference in Dublin in April.

The authorities in El Salvador are thus fully aware of the domestic and international attention that is focused on the investigation into the murder of Father Ellecuria and his co-workers, and of their corresponding responsibility to do everything within their power to enable this investigation to be brought to its proper conclusion.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 90/338.

**90/434. Question No 1912/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E)
concerning human rights in Haiti**

Date of Issue: 23 November 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 2 August 1990

What response has the Community received from the Government of Haiti to the many efforts recently made to advance human rights in that country?

Answer:

The honourable Member is referred to the answer to Written Question No 2066/90,¹ which concerns Haiti.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 90/437.

90/435. Question No 1915/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) concerning human rights in Guatemala

Date of Issue: 23 November 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 2 August 1990

What response has the Community received from the Government of Guatemala to its various recent representations on the matter of human rights in that country?

Answer:

The honourable Member will recall that in reply to his previous question on Guatemala, No 1460/90,¹ it was stated that the authorities in Guatemala are fully aware of the concern felt by the European Community and by its Member States and of the feeling expressed by the European Parliament at the violations of human rights in Guatemala. Regrettably, it still cannot be said that there has been a measurable improvement in the human rights situation.

However, as was also stated in reply to Question No 1460/90, the Community and its Member States welcome the Escorial agreement of 1 June and consider it essential that this opportunity for change is seized by all sides, both before and after the elections scheduled for the end of this year.

In this context, they take note of the meetings held in Ottawa between a delegation of the URNG and representatives of private enterprises (CACIF), as well as the meetings held in Quito between the URNG and representatives of Guatemala's religious institutions. On both occasions, a delegation of the National Reconciliation Council attended the talks.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 90/347.

90/436. Question No 2012/90 by Mr Langer (V-I) concerning violent incursions by 'garimpeiros' into Yanomani native territory in the state of Roraima in Brazil

Date of Issue: 23 November 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 1 September 1990

The Brazilian Native Missionary Council (CIMI) has recently complained of fresh incursions by 'garimpeiros' (gold prospectors) into native territory, in particular Yanomani territory in the state of Roraima (Brazil), using secret landing strips illegally put into operation and involving the destruction of large areas of Amazon forest, poisoning the rivers with mercury, bringing

disease and decay to the area and thereby jeopardizing seriously and irreversibly both the survival of the native population, which is already living in extreme hardship, and the highly delicate environmental equilibrium. Such aggressive and dangerous activities which had been at least partially rooted out after the awareness of a large section of the Brazilian and international community had been aroused, now appears to be starting up again with the apparent connivance or at least passive acquiescence of the local authorities and the police, according to trustworthy reports received by the CIMI or publications such as the *Porantim*. President Collor recently delivered a number of important statements on this problem in Europe and elsewhere, which may be belied by the facts if these developments are allowed to continue uncurbed by the competent authorities.

What measures do the Ministers intend to take or have they taken through the appropriate channels to confirm that the Community is extremely concerned at such developments and that its relations with Brazil depend in no small measure on safeguarding the native people and their natural environment, which are currently under threat from 'garimpeiro' incursions and other dangers?

Answer:

While the case of the Yanomani Indians has not been the object of specific actions within the EPC framework, the position of the European Community on human rights questions, including the protection of minorities, is well known. The Community and its Member States have taken note of Parliament's clear statement on the Yanomani Indians and related issues in the resolution adopted on 18 January. Single Member States have taken up this issue bilaterally on different levels. They are also aware of, and encouraged by, the Brazilian President's expressions of concern over the plight of the Yanomani and other similar groups. In this connection, it should also be pointed out that President Collor is showing renewed sensitivity with regard to the native problem. He has strengthened the FUNAI, a body responsible for protecting the Indians in the Amazon forest, and has replaced its top administrators. This renewed commitment on the part of the President was, moreover, reaffirmed in the speech he made recently at the 45th Session of the United Nations General Assembly. The issues to which the honourable Member refers in his question will continue to be kept under review by the Twelve.

90/437. Question No 2066/90 by Mr Glinne (S-B) concerning the restoration of a Duvalier-style regime in Haiti

Date of Issue: 23 November 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 5 September 1990

On 22 January 1990, General Prospère Avril, President of the military government of Haiti, instructed the Ministry of Information to introduce censorship of the media to check the 'truth and accuracy' of news and prevent it from being used to 'stir up the population'. Brutal paramilitary forces have been set up alongside the army, which has still not been purged of its worst elements, in addition to the presidential guard and the plain-clothes political police. All broadcasting is controlled, with the exception of weather, sport and non-subversive religious programmes, while brutal arrests, arbitrary detention and State-sponsored violence have again become commonplace (400 murders have been reported since January 1989 according to reliable sources).

A state of emergency has been declared and the articles of the democratic constitution of 1987 concerning fundamental human rights have been suspended. Democratic parties and associations

are unable to function. In short, despite attempts to present a front to the outside world, Haiti has once again become a Duvalier-style regime four years after the departure of the notorious dictator and the intervening rule by General Namphy.

What are the Foreign Ministers' views on this matter, are they concerned at the serious violations of human rights and do they still consider that preparations should be made for fair elections in accordance with the letter and spirit of the 1987 constitution without any attempt to stifle public opinion and the right to communicate freely other than by 'bush telegraph' or 'teledyol' as it is known in the local dialect? In addition, what is the nature and scale of the aid given to Haiti by the Community and its Member States? How can the Republic of Haiti remain a Member of the Convention of Lomé when Articles 5 and 13 of that text require the signatories to respect the dignity and fundamental rights of individuals and peoples?

Answer:

As the honourable Member will be aware, General Avril, to whom the question refers, left Haiti last March. A provisional Government headed by a Member of the Supreme Court, Madame Pascal-Trouillot, was then installed and given the task of leading the country towards elections which should enable democracy to be established in Haiti. The Community and its Member States, in a statement on 29 June, reaffirmed their support for the holding of free, fair and democratic elections in Haiti. The United Nations and the international community are giving active support to the organization of these elections, of which the first round is scheduled for 16 December.

In general, it is the policy of the Community to encourage the authorities in Haiti to strengthen democratic institutions under which human rights will be protected and further steps taken to rectify the conditions of deprivation in which many of the people of Haiti live. While the European Community and its Member States share the deep concerns of the honourable Member at the violations of human rights which are still often reported from Haiti, they are convinced that their contribution to Haiti's development through the Lomé Convention remains a positive opportunity to influence the course of events.

The precise nature and scale of the aid given to Haiti by the Community and its Member States is not under consideration in the framework of European political cooperation.

90/438. Statement in the Third Committee of the UN General Assembly concerning the report by the ECOSOC (Agenda Item 12)

Date of Issue: 26 November 1990

Place of Issue: New York

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Italian Delegation to the United Nations

Status of Document: Statement in International Forum

Mr Traxler: Mr Chairman, on behalf of the European Community and its Member States I have the honour of addressing the Third Committee of the General Assembly on Item 12 of the agenda concerning the human rights aspects in the report of the Economic and Social Council.

Promoting respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms is one of the purposes of the United Nations, indeed it is a presupposition for the others, in particular the maintenance of international peace and security and the achievement of international economic cooperation.

Human rights inherently belong to all human beings and are not granted by governments nor bestowed by States. Unless we all scrupulously and constantly uphold our obligations, we undermine the very foundations of the United Nations. The violation of human rights in any part of the world is a legitimate concern of States, the UN and the world public at large. Such concern and its concomitant activity cannot be construed as constituting an unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of States. This point has been made very clear by the International Court of Justice.

The establishment of the standards — by international agreement or custom — which require States to ensure and promote the respect for human rights, both civil and political as well as economic, social and cultural, represents only the first stage in the attainment of a universal regime of human rights. In this regard, the respect for such rights must be clearly guaranteed and, in the final analysis, systematically assured, taking into account standard setting and monitoring and the enrichment of the notion of human rights in harmony with social and technological evolution.

The connection between democracy, human rights and sustainable development has become more and more evident. In the context of international development cooperation there is growing recognition that respect for human rights, the rule of law, political pluralism and accountable and efficient government institutions are central to the efforts to secure dynamic economic growth and equitable distribution, as recognized in the final document of the Second United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries last September. Promotion of respect for human rights is an essential element in the Fourth Lomé Convention between the Community and its partners, the African, Caribbean and Pacific States, as well as in the Community's development cooperation with the countries in Asia and Latin America.

Mr Chairman, the ending, in these very days, of the Cold War era represents a historical moment in the advance of human rights, which sees the success of fundamental freedoms and the achievement of pluralist democratic systems in a number of countries.

Less than a year elapsed between the fall of the Berlin Wall and the creation of a unified Germany and the holding of democratic elections in much of Central and Eastern Europe. This is proof of how quickly events can happen when a people's determined pursuit of ideals of freedom is strengthened by the solid support of the international community and by the determined desire for change of statesmen who have contributed so much to the cause of the free and peaceful development of nations.

The Twelve welcome these developments and express the hope that these will lead to a fuller realization of democratic ideals which, of course, entail full respect for the rights of the opposition parties. They have set firm guidelines for the contribution that the European Community will make to the development of closer relations with the other countries of Europe.

Mr Chairman, it is the opinion of the Twelve that a shadow has been cast as the result of a specific event involving shocking violations of international law, in particular the rights of individuals and peoples, and of the basic principles governing peaceful relations among States.

By its brutal invasion and occupation of Kuwait, Iraq has tried to destroy a sovereign and independent State and systematically crushed its cultural identity and wrought humiliation and suffering on a people which is now forced to choose between life as a refugee elsewhere or as a victim at home.

The European Community and its Member States demand that Iraq immediately, completely and unconditionally withdraw its forces from Kuwait, that the legitimate Government of Kuwait be restored and that all foreign citizens who so desire be allowed to leave Iraq and Kuwait. They attach the highest priority to the solution of this crisis on the basis of the UN Security Council resolutions and reaffirm that no solution is possible without the prior implementation of these resolutions.

Mr Chairman, an essential role of education, training and assistance in the area of human rights, directed at governments as well as at public opinion and individuals, is fulfilled by the Centre for Human Rights in Geneva. In this regard, however, the relevant structures and resources must be adequately funded. It is the responsibility of the Secretary-General and the Member States to ensure that the necessary resources are provided to strengthen the UN programmes on human rights from within the overall existing budget.

The Twelve reiterate their position, as expressed in their statement on the medium-term plan to this Committee on 7 November, that they regard human rights programmes not only as a main priority of this Committee but also as one of the main priorities of the Organization as a whole. If the UN is to fulfil its important responsibilities in this vital area, the Centre for Human Rights,

which carries out the human rights programmes, should be strengthened and given the funds to perform its functions properly. In this context, the Twelve regret that the Secretariat has failed to submit to the General Assembly the brief report requested by ECOSOC Resolution 1990/47, operative paragraph 3, on proposals for actions taken in 1990 and those planned for 1991, as interim solutions to the problems posed by the resource situation, set out in Document E/1990/50.

The Twelve have always greatly valued the advisory services and technical assistance programme. They consider it important as a potential preventive mechanism as well as a way to assist countries in the transitional process to democracy and the rule of law. They note that there has been a significant increase in requests for assistance. They welcome this development and hope that it will be possible, including through the Voluntary Fund for Advisory Services, to respond positively to these demands. They are convinced that practical counselling and problem-oriented assistance should be the main focus of the programme.

If one looks at future initiatives of the United Nations, the attainment of an international human rights regime could receive a boost and a necessary contribution from the World Conference on Human Rights which is planned for 1993. The European Community and its Member States attach great importance to this meeting, *inter alia*, to review current compliance with human rights standards and to examine the ways and means to further protect and promote human rights, including an enhancement of the existing mechanisms of the United Nations. They thus intend to contribute to the preparations which are needed for the success of the Conference and for the wider mobilization of intergovernmental bodies, non-governmental organizations and public opinion.

The Twelve would like to take this opportunity to stress the fact that the non-governmental organizations have a fundamental role in the defence of human rights, providing an invaluable contribution to the proper formulation of the relevant principles and programmes and representing a vital channel for prompting, assessing and forming international awareness of the human rights cause. Today, they are happy to see that the courage of individuals and of national and international associations for the defence of human rights has been rewarded by the attainment of what at the outset seemed impossible.

Mr Chairman, drawing attention to violations and monitoring the protection of human rights are a fundamental duty of the international community. The involvement of the United Nations in the specific situations of certain countries should not be interpreted as hostility towards the countries in which these situations occur. As no government can absolve itself from its responsibility to ensure respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, it is incumbent on the international community as a whole to make the promotion of human rights one of its priority tasks. The most systematic way of doing this is in fact offered by the international forums which provide not only a platform for raising awareness and assessment but also appropriate and valuable machinery for monitoring and advice.

In order to monitor compliance with the established norms, the Commission on Human Rights greatly benefits from the system of special rapporteurs, thematic rapporteurs and working groups. They play an essential part in making the international community better informed of and thus better equipped to deal with the wide range both of specific situations and of certain particularly gross violations of human rights. Therefore, it must be remembered that full cooperation with these mechanisms is a duty of all governments. By improving and extending such objective mechanisms, the international community can ensure considerable and concrete advances for the human rights cause. Nor can we forget the vital addition which is supplied by the normative and assessment activity of the Subcommission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, including its rapporteurs and *ad hoc* groups, as well as the monitoring work carried out by the treaty bodies, as already pointed out in the Community's statement on the human rights instruments. In this context the Twelve have also indicated on numerous occasions that the financial problems of the Committee Against Torture and the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, which stem from the failure of a number of States parties to pay their contribution in full, must be resolved as soon as possible.

The existence of international human rights standards and mechanisms nurtures the courage of men and women struggling for freedom. The increasing efforts at implementation carried out by the UN bodies in this field have provided the peoples of the world an important ground for help. To this end, a special contribution — among others — comes from the special rapporteur on torture, the special rapporteur on summary or arbitrary executions, the special rapporteur on religious intolerance and the Working Group on Disappearances.

Notwithstanding some positive developments reported by the special rapporteur on torture, the Twelve note the conclusion in his report that the situation has clearly deteriorated in a number of countries. Numerous allegations of torture and ill-treatment of prisoners continue to be made. The Twelve share the special rapporteur's alarm at the appearance of allegations referring to the torture of children and juveniles.

The Twelve note with dismay that the number of allegations received by the special rapporteur for summary or arbitrary executions continues to increase and that this terrible phenomenon remains widespread in many parts of the world, together with the rapidly spreading practice of 'death threats', often against human rights defenders.

The Twelve also note the alarming increase in the number of cases of politically-motivated disappearances, as recorded in the latest report of the Working Group on Disappearances. Of particular alarm is the extent to which paramilitary groups, which in some cases appear to enjoy a measure of immunity from military or government control, are associated with campaigns of abduction.

The special rapporteur on religious intolerance points out in his latest report that infringements of freedom of religion or belief persist in many regions of the world and in extremely varied forms.

However, the European Community and its Member States are pleased at the progress shown in this regard by the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, as part of their various moves towards the creation of a State based on the rule of law. The most recent in a welcome pattern of developments is the new law on freedom of conscience and on religious organizations adopted in the Soviet Union, which guarantees the right of citizens to choose their own religion and to profess their faith according to the various rites, as well as equal rights before the law for all religions.

Mr Chairman, the European Community and its Member States intend to do their utmost to contribute to the attainment of an international human rights regime. Indeed, the defence of human rights together with the promotion of the relevant concepts, principles and values forms an integral and crucial part of the conduct of international affairs for the Community and its Member States.

Europe itself has played a part in the historical task of promoting human rights, both in the framework of the Council of Europe and as part of the CSCE process. Indeed, the protection of human rights is facilitated when States acting on a regional basis come together to create new institutions to promote respect for human rights. Symbolic of this is what has happened in Europe since the signing in 1950 of the European Convention on Human Rights. This Convention established the European Commission on Human Rights and the European Court of Human Rights — the rulings of this latter body are binding — specifically to monitor the failings of States parties. The Twelve, each of which has had findings made against it by the European institutions, are constantly working on the improvement of human rights practices and readily admit that there is a long way to go in improving such practices.

Other advances in the area of human rights in Europe were marked by the Helsinki Final Act of 1975 and the subsequent CSCE process. The Convention just mentioned and the Helsinki Final Act now form two columns at the heart of the whole new architecture of the European continent. We consider that the Convention referred to above — and to which the countries of Central and Eastern Europe are to become signatories following their accession to the Council of Europe — should be the point of reference for the formulation of new commitments under the human dimension of the CSCE.

In this context, we should like to mention the second meeting of the CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension which took place in Copenhagen last June and which resulted in significant developments in the fundamental area of human rights. All the States which took part reiterated their conviction that the protection and promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms are among the basic aims of the State, and for the first time they all affirmed their determination to support and promote the principles which underlie democracy and the rule of law. The Copenhagen document represents major progress on the freedom of movement, the fight against intolerance and the protection of minorities. As for the CSCE Summit which has just taken place in Paris, it formally reaffirmed the commitment to a united, peaceful and democratic Europe, founded on law and dedicated to the respect for human rights.

Mr Chairman, in the context of the dramatic events occurring in Central and Eastern Europe, the Twelve continue to give their full support to the dialogue initiated between the representatives of the three Baltic peoples and the Government of the USSR, aimed at a political settlement.

Mr Chairman, a cause of continuing concern in Europe is the situation in Albania. The Twelve noted that decisions in the direction of some relaxation were taken by the Albanian Parliament. However, the implementation of these decisions remains unsatisfactory. The Twelve hope that the Albanian authorities will rapidly implement the reforms and measures which are necessary for Albania to become engaged in a process of democratization bringing about a situation in which human rights are fully respected.

The Twelve are also concerned at the situation of human rights in Kosovo in Yugoslavia.

Mr Chairman, within the European family there are still other unresolved conflicts which are a cause of deep concern, namely the situation in Cyprus, including the human rights aspect. The European Community and its Member States reiterate their support for the unity, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus, in accordance with the relevant UN resolutions. They stress the need for the prompt elimination of the obstacles that are preventing the pursuit of effective intercommunal talks aimed at finding a just and viable solution to the question of Cyprus on the basis of the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General.

Mr Chairman, the recent successes of freedom and democracy in Central and Eastern Europe and Latin America inspire hope in those countries where tyranny and violence still exist.

Wars and conflicts involve intolerable loss of life and the tragic erosion of the basic human rights. Furthermore, they frequently provide an unacceptable pretext both for the governments involved and sometimes for their neighbours to maintain exceptional legislation denying citizens their fundamental freedoms, detaining them without trial and often torturing and executing them, and subjecting minorities to particular discrimination. However, the most basic human rights are inalienable and are guaranteed under international law and may not be derogated from under any circumstances.

The human rights aspect is now an integral part of the peace-making and peace-keeping activities of the United Nations. Examples may be found in Namibia's independence and in the peace process in Central America.

Mr Chairman, the Charter of the United Nations commits the Organization to be at the forefront of the battle against racism and racial discrimination, of which the most abhorrent form remains apartheid in South Africa. The European Community and its Member States have always unequivocally condemned this immoral system of institutionalized State racism. They have constantly advocated the complete eradication of the apartheid system by peaceful means and without delay and its replacement by a united, non-racial and truly democratic State which would offer all its people the benefit of common and equal citizenship as well as the guarantee of universally recognized human rights.

Positive developments have taken place in South Africa during the last year. As the Secretary-General has pointed out, South Africa has reached the threshold of a new era. However, a long and difficult road still lies ahead. Central pillars of the apartheid system have yet to be removed. This should be done through the abolition of all discriminatory laws, the

release of political prisoners, the return of exiles and the passing of new legislation. They note that the South African Government has committed itself to the completion of the process of reform in the next parliamentary session and through negotiation of a new constitution thereafter.

The Twelve welcome the dialogue initiated between the South African Government and the ANC. With the Pretoria Minute of last August a new milestone was reached and the two parties have stated that the way is now open for constitutional negotiations which, in the view of the Twelve, must lead to the total abolition of apartheid and to a democratic, united and non-racial society.

The Twelve remain concerned at the alarming violence at a time when the basis for such constitutional negotiations are finally being laid. They expect the South African authorities, in keeping with their public commitments, to do their utmost to prevent the violence in an impartial manner and urge the parties concerned to set about solving their differences peacefully by means of dialogue in a joint endeavour to achieve national reconciliation.

Through the programme of positive measures, the European Community and its Member States have been providing assistance to the victims of apartheid. They have decided to increase the programme and to ensure that it is adapted as necessary to the needs of a changing situation in South Africa, including those connected with the return and the resettlement of exiles.

Mr Chairman, in many areas of Africa the dramatic situation of the local population often has most damaging consequences for the full enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms. This remains for the European Community and its Member States a matter of deep concern.

In some countries extra-judicial killings have been reported. The Twelve trust that, after due inquiry, the proper authorities will take the necessary measures against those found guilty of such violations. In this context, the Twelve recall the concern they expressed at the tragic events that took place in May of this year at the university campus of Lubumbashi in Zaire.

In particular, the European Community and its Member States remain acutely concerned by the situation in the Horn of Africa, which is marked by continuing conflicts and widespread human suffering. They express their concern with regard to the impact of these difficulties on the human rights situation. They are willing to support any regional initiative which would encourage reconciliation in Ethiopia, Somalia and Sudan, and reaffirm that a military solution can never be an alternative to a negotiated and peaceful settlement.

Likewise, the European Community and its Member States hope that a peaceful solution may be found to recent events in Rwanda. In this regard, they support every initiative for a regional agreement aimed *inter alia* at finding a just and lasting settlement of the problem of Rwandan refugees in neighbouring countries.

The present situation in Liberia is tragic. The European Community and its Member States deplore in particular the loss of life among the civilian population and the wholesale destruction caused by civil war. They condemn the actions against the innocent population, calling upon the parties concerned for a cease-fire, to put an end to the bloody conflicts through peaceful means and to safeguard from violence, in conformity with international law and the most basic humanitarian principles, places of refuge where defenceless civilians have sought shelter. They are also particularly concerned at the fact that with the worsening of the conflict more than 700 000 Liberians have now sought asylum in neighbouring countries while many more have been displaced within their homeland.

Mr Chairman, arbitrary detention, physical and psychological torture, disappearances, summary executions and other atrocities perpetrated by the Iraqi occupiers sadly reflect the reality of life in Kuwait today. The Twelve strongly condemn these outrageous acts committed against innocent individuals.

In Iraq and occupied Kuwait, we have witnessed the wrongs suffered by the hundreds of thousands of African, Arab and Asian workers who have been forced to make a hurried return

to their own countries, without their possessions. The less favoured nations are particularly suffering because of the disastrous economic and social consequences throughout the world of Iraq's actions.

The Twelve also strongly deplore the ongoing violations of the basic principles for the protection of the civilian population during armed conflicts, the forced relocation of the civilian population or individuals and especially the taking of foreign hostages in order, in some cases, to attempt to shield military installations. They reaffirm their total solidarity in securing the freedom of 211 foreign citizens trapped in Iraq and occupied Kuwait and they denounce the unscrupulous use which Iraq is making of them with the sole and vain purpose of trying to divide the international community.

The basic principles and rules of international law governing treatment of foreign nationals as well as the protection of diplomats and their missions have been violated by the Iraqi authorities, including the continuing attempts to force closure of embassies accredited to the State of Kuwait.

The Twelve have expressed their serious concerns about the human rights situation in Iraq on several occasions. The people of Iraq are themselves prey to their own leaders, who deny them their fundamental freedoms and continue to pursue policies which destroy and discriminate against the country's ethnic minorities. Reports submitted to the Commission on Human Rights on disappearances and on summary and arbitrary executions have contained specific allegations of violations of human rights in Iraq. The Twelve have not forgotten the inhuman suffering inflicted on the Kurds in Iraq. The forced relocation of thousands of Kurds remains unacceptable on human rights grounds. They are also concerned about the situation of Kurdish minorities in other countries of the region.

Mr Chairman, the European Community and its Member States are increasingly concerned by the situation in the territories occupied by Israel. On numerous occasions the Twelve have called on Israel to respect human rights, whether publicly in their statements or through contacts at diplomatic level. They will continue to do so. The Twelve have not hesitated to denounce Israel's failure to comply with its obligations under the Fourth Geneva Convention. Their concern is not solely because of the rising number of victims, often young people, and because of the loss of Palestinian lives such as in the tragic incidents on Temple Mount on 8 October — which could and should have been avoided by a more responsible attitude on the part of the Israeli security forces. The Twelve also remain deeply concerned by the practice of administrative detentions — including the recent case of three moderate Palestinian representatives — deportations, collective punishments and discriminatory economic measures. As they deplored the incidents of 8 October, the Twelve also deplore acts of violence against Israeli citizens. Recalling that violence breeds violence, the Twelve stress again that all parties have a responsibility to refrain from actions or statements which might impede steps toward dialogue and negotiations. In the Dublin Declaration of 26 June last, the European Council expressed its concern at the inadequate protection of the human rights of the population in the Occupied Territories and voiced the opinion that further measures needed to be taken, in accordance with the Convention, to ensure such protection. They remain concerned to ensure that the occupying power fulfils its obligations to the people of the territories and complies with its international responsibilities, notably in the area of health and education. In the present situation, and particularly with regard to the protection of the population, the UN, too, can and should play a useful role. The Twelve support such a role of the UN, which would complement its current activities. Subsequently, in its Declaration of 28 October last, the European Council, after expressing its satisfaction with Security Council Resolutions 672 and 673, again referred to Israel's obligations and called on it to comply with the Fourth Geneva Convention and to cooperate with the United Nations.

As for the situation in Lebanon, a country that has seen violence for more than 15 years, the European Community and its Member States express their profound consternation at the serious violations of human rights which occurred in the recent past in that country. In present circumstances there may be concrete moves towards a process of national reconciliation in Lebanon. They reiterate their full support for the implementation of the Ta'if Agreements.

With regard to the human rights situation in Syria, the Twelve express their concern at reports of continuing human rights violations, including disappearances, arbitrary arrests and cases of torture. The Twelve expect the Syrian authorities to take steps to remedy this situation.

Mr Chairman, the General Assembly is again dealing with a report by the Special Representative on Iran. The European Community and its Member States are concerned at the alleged violations referred to in the report by Professor Galindo Pohl. He notes that 'the enormous quantity and variety of allegations and complaints received from very diverse sources, even allowing for the fact that they may contain errors or exaggerations, provide a credible factual basis for the belief that human rights violations occur frequently in the country and that government action to prevent and remedy such violations has not been sufficient to put an end to them'. According to the report of the Special Representative, current practices continue to threaten the right to life, especially through frequent executions, and the right to freedom from torture and that the administration of justice in the country provides numerous instances of irregularity, with *inter alia* indefinite pre-trial detention and summary proceedings by revolutionary courts.

The fate of minorities in Iran remains uncertain. With regard to the Baha'i community, though the treatment of certain individual cases has improved, the community is kept in a perpetual state of uncertainty.

The Twelve note the acknowledgement of the Special Representative that the cooperation of the Iranian Government with him has improved but it has not yet reached a desirable level.

They welcome the Iranian Government's pledge to invite the International Committee of the Red Cross to visit prisons in the country and hope that its visits will take place as soon as possible. They also welcome the readiness of the Iranian authorities to allow a visit by representatives of Amnesty International.

The Twelve share the Special Representative's conclusion that it is both useful and appropriate that international UN monitoring with a view to ensuring compliance with international human rights instruments in Iran should continue.

Mr Chairman, the report of the special rapporteur on Afghanistan indicates that human rights and the principles of humanitarian law are still under threat in that country. The right to life, as well as personal liberty and security of civilians, is constantly at risk. The situation of unconvicted prisoners remains uncertain. Attacks have been perpetrated against United Nations personnel. The situation of Afghan refugees continues to cause important human rights problems. The Twelve call on all parties involved in the conflict to respect human rights and the principles of humanitarian law. They are convinced that the work of the special rapporteur on Afghanistan is of continuing value and usefulness for assessing and providing information about the situation in the country. Only on the basis of an intra-Afghan dialogue leading to a fully representative government can conditions be created conducive to the full enjoyment of human rights in Afghanistan. In this context, the Twelve reaffirm their support for the efforts of the Secretary-General to facilitate such a settlement.

Mr Chairman, as for the situation in Kampuchea, the European Community welcomes the framework agreed on by the five Permanent Members of the Security Council on 27 August, which all the Kampuchean parties have accepted in its entirety, and which the United Nations General Assembly unanimously endorsed on 15 October, as the basis for settling the Kampuchean conflict. The guarantees on human rights are an important element of this framework. The European Community and its Member States support a comprehensive political settlement which ensures the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and neutrality of Kampuchea, as well as the fundamental right of Kampucheans to choose their own government in free and fair elections, which should be organized under the auspices of the United Nations. They stress the need to see human rights fully protected and the safe return of refugees to their homes assured and to avoid a return to the genocidal policies and practices of the past. Neither the Khmer Rouge nor any other Kampuchean group should be allowed to seize or retain power through the use of arms.

Regarding Vietnam, the European Community and its Member States remain concerned at the continuing detention of a number of political prisoners. They express the hope that the authorities in that country will speedily take the necessary measures for their release.

The European Community and its Member States are concerned about the precarious situation in Sri Lanka, particularly the continuing violations of human rights. They deplore the resurgence of hostilities initiated by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam in June and the misery this has caused the civilian population in the affected parts of the country. They recognize the serious difficulty faced by the Sri Lankan Government but urge that human rights be respected and that only minimum necessary force be used in restoring peace and maintaining order in the country. They have particularly urged the Government to act against the so-called death squads and to make every effort to bring the perpetrators of disappearances and illegal killings to justice. They also hope that the Working Group on Disappearances of the Commission of Human Rights will visit Sri Lanka soon. Meanwhile, the Community and its Member States deplore the obstruction of citizens intending to testify to the said Working Group which is contrary to Resolution 1990/76 of the Commission on Human Rights, which calls on all governments to allow unhindered contact between private individuals and UN human rights bodies and condemns all acts of intimidation and reprisal.

The European Community and its Member States have followed events in Myanmar closely. They are deeply concerned by reports of continued violations of human rights, including recent actions taken by the Myanmar military regime to emasculate legitimate political activity. They strongly urge the present rulers of Myanmar to respect the views of the people so clearly expressed in the elections held in May and to hand over power without delay to a government chosen by the newly elected parliament. In this context, they call on the present regime to put an end to the harassment, detention and house arrest of opposition leaders and to release political prisoners immediately so that they can play a full part in the democratic process.

The European Community and its Member States are still concerned at the human rights situation in China and express the sincere hope that this country will resume the path of reform. They have called upon the Chinese authorities, in keeping with their international obligations, to guarantee full respect for human rights throughout China. The Twelve will pursue their dialogue with the Chinese authorities, using all the available channels, to urge them to promote and respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, including in Tibet.

As regards the human rights situation in East Timor, the Twelve express their concern over the recent disquieting allegations of human rights violations, including killings, torture and ill-treatment. At the same time, they take note of limited progress in the process of opening up the territory and call for full access to be given to non-governmental organizations. They express the hope that a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable settlement may be soon achieved, in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter, thus fully respecting the legitimate interests of the East Timorese. The Twelve will continue to follow closely those developments, including the human rights situation in all its aspects.

The European Community and its Member States are still seriously concerned at the situation in Kashmir and at the reports on human rights abuses in this context. While they deplore the use of violence by Kashmir's militant groups, they are also concerned at the reports of human rights abuses by the Indian security forces. They encourage the Indian Government in its efforts to prevent these abuses.

Mr Chairman, concerning Latin America, 1990 has seen a number of countries taking significant steps along the path of reconciliation and the full exercise of democracy. The European Community and its Member States noted with satisfaction the political and economic reforms launched by some Latin American Governments with the aim of finding a solution to the deep-rooted problems which negatively affect them. However, the Twelve are still worried about the human rights situation in some countries of the region.

The European Community and its Member States continue to be particularly concerned at the serious human rights violations in El Salvador. They attach great importance to the current work

of the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights in El Salvador. His latest report indicates that while there has been a decrease in the number of serious human rights violations, it is an undeniable fact that violations continue and the situation is far from satisfactory. He notes that members of the State apparatus have carried out summary executions and that the FMLN is also responsible for arbitrary killings, but that nevertheless there has been a perceptible reduction of these violations since the signing of the San José Agreement on 26 July. He also reports that many sources continue to attribute summary executions and other human rights violations to the so-called 'death squads' and notes that proceedings instituted against members of the armed forces are moving very slowly. The Twelve urge speedy action regarding all outstanding cases of unlawful killings, including those concerning trade union leaders. One year after the assassination of six Jesuit priests and two of their assistants at the University of Central America, the Twelve express their grave concern at the absence of real progress in the area of judicial procedures and the lack of cooperation from certain sectors of the armed forces. They reiterate their conviction that a clearing up of this case, which constitutes a key factor for the consolidation of democracy and the independence of judicial power, should lead to a just and exemplary sentence for those responsible. The Twelve appeal to the Government and all the country's political authorities, institutions and forces, including the guerrilla organization, to stop attacks on the life, physical integrity and dignity of individuals. They welcome the abovementioned San José agreement on human rights between the Government and the FMLN that commits them to take immediate steps to prevent killings and disappearances. The Twelve endorse the Secretary-General's appeal, following renewed operations against military targets in the country, for restraint at this critical juncture. They call on the Government and FMLN to continue the current negotiating process so that a just and lasting peace, followed by national reconciliation and reconstruction, can be achieved as soon as possible.

The situation in Guatemala has continued throughout the year to present elements of profound and, in some respects, deepening concern. The Government seems to be making some efforts to guarantee the protection of fundamental rights and freedoms, but public order and respect for human rights have deteriorated with hundreds of victims and kidnappings. The so-called 'death squads' allegedly linked to or tolerated by the armed forces or the security forces are deemed responsible for some of these actions. Furthermore, there is evidence of human rights violations against street children in recent months by police in Guatemala City. Failure of the Government effectively to investigate human rights violations and to bring those responsible to justice has led to widespread abuse. The Twelve appeal to the Government of Guatemala to intensify its efforts to ensure that all its authorities and security forces fully respect the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the Guatemalan people. They deem it necessary for the United Nations to continue to monitor closely the human rights situation in the country. They expect that the Commission on Human Rights will provide at its next session an opportunity to consider what further measures can be taken in this regard. The start of a dialogue between the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union, the political parties and social sectors of Guatemalan society, under the auspices of the National Reconciliation Committee, and with the participation of a representative of the UN Secretary-General, gives grounds for hope that hostilities may cease and that the human rights situation will consequently improve. The European Community and its Member States believe that the participation of the Guatemalan Government in that dialogue would further enhance prospects for a peaceful settlement of the conflict in Guatemala.

The European Community and its Member States remain concerned about the human rights situation in Cuba. As a result of the resolution adopted by the Commission on Human Rights in March this year, they hope that the Cuban authorities will cooperate with the Secretary-General so that he can make a full report to the 47th Session of the Commission.

The European Community and its Member States were glad to see the return of Chile to democracy and the rule of law. They welcomed the initiatives of the democratic government

aimed at re-establishing full respect for human rights and at giving justice to the victims of the excesses of the previous regime, a policy illustrated by the creation of the Commission of Truth and Reconciliation.

Mr Chairman, there is no area of international life where words reflect such exalted values as in the field of human rights. But this field is also marked by many tragic events which demand our attention as a matter of priority. It is therefore a definite duty and right for the international community which is represented here to assume responsibility for the legitimate aspirations of the individuals and peoples whose dignity is abused and to point out the most appropriate paths so that such abuses can never reoccur. It is the will of the European Community and its Member States to continue to contribute, for the universality of human rights, to the realization of all the conditions which are necessary to ensure freedom and well-being for all citizens in the world.

90/439. Statement in the First Committee of the UN General Assembly concerning international security (Agenda items 68, 69 and 70)

Date of Issue: 27 November 1990

Place of Issue: New York

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Italian Delegation to the United Nations

Status of Document: Statement in International Forum

Mr Traxler: Mr Chairman, I have the honour to take the floor on behalf of the 12 Member States of the European Community on Items 68, 69 and 70 of the agenda, concerning international security.

The maintenance of international security is an essential purpose of our Organization, the very reason for its existence.

At the time when the UN Charter came into life, the international community had just witnessed the horrors of the most terrible and destructive war ever waged by mankind. It was in the wake of such tragic experience and through the labour of so many sufferings that the ideals concerning a just and peaceful world society found a new structured expression in the United Nations Organization.

The 45 years which have elapsed since then prove that a gradual improvement in international security is by no means a remote ideal, but rather an achievable goal. The progress achieved in this respect, especially in most recent years, has resulted in a widely improved international climate, and in the ever-growing effectiveness of this Organization.

As Italian Foreign Minister De Michelis stated in his intervention on behalf of the Twelve in the general debate, 'this is the first General Assembly of the new world, emerging from the lengthy post-war period'. It is a new world, first of all for the radically different relations of the once opposed superpowers and in those between East and West. Allow me to refer to Resolution 2734 of 1970, which is at the root of our debate on international security, and to Resolution 44/21 adopted by the General Assembly on this topic in 1989, which reflected the dramatic changes that have taken place in the last years.

Historians may one day refer to the following landmarks on the road towards international security and cooperation: the Helsinki Final Act of 1975, which started the process on a continental scale; the Stockholm Document of 1986, establishing security- and confidence-building measures for disarmament in Europe; the INF Treaty of 1987, widely regarded as the watershed between the Cold War and the emergence of a new pattern of relations among States, a goal that has not yet been fully reached, but an achievement we cannot but strive for.

New milestones have recently been added. German unity is the paramount symbol of this emerging resolve of life in peace and friendship. The Agreement on Conventional Forces in Europe provides for drastic reductions in a framework of strengthened confidence at a

continental level. The Charter of Paris for a New Europe, signed 21 November at the summit meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and which will be distributed as [an] official document of the UN, consecrated the following principles cherished by the European peoples: 'steadfast commitment to democracy based on human rights and fundamental freedoms; prosperity through economic liberty and social justice; and equal security for all countries'.

Mr Chairman, the Twelve believe that such developments would not have been forthcoming without the blossoming of democracy and the confirmation of the rule of law in many countries, with all its implications for individual fulfilment and collective prosperity as well as for social progress. The rule of law and democracy are the paramount guarantees of respect for the human person. Without the advancement of human rights and fundamental freedoms achieved throughout much of the world during the last few years, it might not have been possible to see such a dramatic enhancement of international security as we have today. Stressing our conviction that the protection and the promotion of human rights is the first responsibility of governments, we have always maintained that their effective exercise is inseparable from the pursuit of international peace and security.

Thus, the beneficial relationship between the development of individual freedoms and the expansion of security has been demonstrated by the most recent experience in Europe. It is our aspiration that such a process may continue unabated, leading to a new dimension in multilateral relations, featuring increased understanding and solidarity among States and entailing even greater progress in the strengthening of respect for human rights, international security, arms control and economic development.

Mr Chairman, the Twelve believe that peace and security can only be achieved through a full observance of the principles set out in the UN Charter and of the other relevant obligations of international law. They wish to recall the primary responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security, as well as the obligations of all Member States to implement its relevant resolutions.

Sadly, though, the international community observed with dismay and condemned Iraq's recent and brutal aggression, invasion and occupation of Kuwait, an independent member State of the United Nations. It is essential to overcome this obstacle in the path to a more peaceful and secure world. In fact the tide of history is flowing against the brutal resort to force in order to resolve differences and disputes.

The firm international reaction to the invasion of Kuwait has, in turn, served to enhance the moral and political authority of our Organization, at a moment when there is a clear need for a universal point of reference.

In the new, improved international climate, the United Nations organs and mechanisms are showing an ever-increasing effectiveness in facing crises, which gives rise to new expectations. The latest exception to the conciliatory mood prevailing in most of the world does not detract from the evident progress of international security elsewhere.

Mr Chairman, for decades the Twelve have campaigned in support of the fundamental rules of international behaviour. They have now the satisfaction of perceiving that such values are indeed more widely shared.

In this context, the role of the United Nations has been of paramount importance to all nations. The United Nations approach has consolidated the conviction that there is no alternative to dialogue in dealing with international problems. Furthermore, the coherent action of the UN has demonstrated that it constitutes an essential instrument to assert and restore peace, justice and freedom.

Particularly, through the Security Council and the Secretary-General, it is increasingly responding to the need for a world-wide crisis-management system, suitable for preventing the expansion of formerly unavoidable and destabilizing emergencies. The Twelve wish to pay homage to the patient and effective initiatives undertaken by the Secretary-General, with the untiring support of his staff, for the peaceful solution of controversies as well as for the

prevention of conflicts. In this respect, the recent remarkable successes of the UN peace-keeping operations and their encouraging future prospects have spread new confidence throughout the community of nations.

We will continue to assess the effective functioning of the UN in the context of the new political reality of a world where interdependence among States is becoming more and more of a permanent feature. The Twelve believe that there are areas of activity where the United Nations, given the political will of member States, has untapped potential for achievement.

We should also bear in mind that nowadays some threats to security tend to take a subtler and somewhat more devious form than in the past. A particularly insidious form of threat derives from the spread of advanced technology, when it leads to the proliferation of mass destruction weapons and of their means of delivery. Furthermore, there should be greater transparency in the trade of conventional weapons, not least to prevent illegal activities frequently connected with it, such as drug-trafficking and terrorism.

In all these areas the Twelve intend to contribute to a wider awareness of the problem and to the achievement of an increased transparency.

Our experience in Europe has shown that increased transparency represents an essential step towards what the Charter of Paris indicates as a 'new perception of security in Europe and a new dimension in (European) relations', based on a common effort to strengthen confidence and security and to promote arms control and disarmament. The Twelve consequently welcome the unprecedented Agreement on Conventional Forces in Europe, as well as new approaches to substantial security- and confidence-building measures which will contribute to strengthen stability and security in Europe.

Mr Chairman, the practice of long years of debate on the issues relevant to international security, and the experience of ever more intensive arms control negotiations have thrown a clearer light on the relevance of their regional dimension. Taking into account the specificity of regional conditions, neighbouring countries may now find it more effective to launch a local process of dialogue and negotiations, with improved chances of early success, in a step-by-step approach to security issues.

Such has in fact been the experience of the CSCE process that has just celebrated its 15th anniversary in a context of particular satisfaction for all participating States and their peoples: a new era of democracy, peace and unity is developing throughout Europe, thanks to the political will of the countries involved to keep that regional forum operational even when their relations were at their lowest ebb.

As a matter of fact, the CSCE experience has helped generate a radical change in the European continent. The Paris Summit of the 34 Heads of State or Government marked the end of the Cold War. A substantial set of commitments has put a lasting seal on the new state of affairs among the participating States. Among the essential criteria for the future, multi-party democracy, respect for human rights and encouragement of private initiative have been set out.

The Paris Summit has laid the foundation of the new Europe, of an unprecedented advancement in the long history of our continent, fully within the scope of the fundamental principles of the UN Charter.

Mr Chairman, the European Community has established its own economic and political identity, and has emerged as an influential factor of change, of civil, social and economic progress. At the same time, the Community always refused to consider itself closed in the protection of its own interests. It has instead always strongly felt that the security of each and all of its Member States is first of all linked to that of the rest of Europe, as much as to the other regions of the world.

The Twelve therefore have wholeheartedly adhered to the commitment of the Paris Summit to 'solidarity with all other countries, (standing) ready to join with any and all States in common efforts to protect and advance the community of fundamental human values'.

Mr Chairman, dialogue and integration are the best answers to security problems at both global and regional levels. The Twelve trust that serious efforts to that end will be undertaken at every regional level, making use of whatever valid precedent can be drawn on the experience of others.

The Twelve welcome proposals made by Mediterranean nations to increase cooperation in the region. It is worthwhile to endeavour to spread, in the Mediterranean, principles and measures capable of enhancing stability and security, and encouraging economic and social progress.

Mr Chairman, the idea that each State needs to achieve self-sufficiency in an essentially hostile environment should be definitively banned. Assertion of national interests at the cost of others runs counter to the norms of contemporary security, based on cooperation along shared values rather than mere historical and geographical factors.

I should like to end my statement on behalf of the 12 members of the European Community by expressing the hope that a similar concept may soon prevail throughout the whole world. International peace and security would then cease to be a reason of deep concern to governments and people alike, and finally represent a guaranteed and irreversible acquisition for mankind.

Thank you, Mr Chairman.

90/440. Statement before the Plenary Session of the UN General Assembly concerning the question of Palestine (Agenda Item 23)

Date of Issue: 30 November 1990

Place of Issue: New York

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Italian Delegation to the United Nations

Status of Document: Statement in International Forum

Mr Traxler: Mr President, I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Community and its Member States.

The end of the East-West confrontation, which has characterized the post-war period, has brought this year positive changes in many regions of the world.

It is therefore distressing that this positive climate has not yet affected the Middle East; on the contrary the situation in that region, to which the Member States of the European Community are linked by profound historical ties, has deteriorated.

Mr President, the Twelve follow with utmost concern the problems of the area, rising from old and recent political tensions, and spare no effort to contribute, in conformity with the principles set out by the Community in its declarations, to the peaceful solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict, including the question of Palestine, which threatens international stability.

The Gulf crisis should not prevent the international community from focusing on the Arab-Israeli conflict in order to start a truly effective political process aimed at achieving a just, comprehensive and lasting peace, in conformity with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations Security Council.

Mr President, events in recent years had prompted hopes regarding the possibility of breaking free of the impasse which had prevailed for several years. We refer to the acceptance by the Palestine National Council in 1988 of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and to the PLO renunciation of terrorism, which remains an essential principle. We refer to the Israeli proposal to hold elections in the Occupied Territories, which could be an important step in the peace process, provided elections are a part of a comprehensive settlement process and are held in the Occupied Territories, including East Jerusalem, under appropriate guarantees of freedom. Finally, we refer to the direct dialogue which started between the United States and the PLO, as well as to the 10-point proposal by President Mubarak and the five-point peace plan of Secretary of State Baker. All these initiatives were regarded by the Twelve as capable of creating a climate of trust between the two parties which could facilitate an Israeli-Palestinian dialogue.

The Twelve would have wished to salute, on this occasion, the realization of further concrete steps forward in the political process directed at finding a negotiated settlement of the Palestinian question.

Mr President, reality has dashed our hopes. The peace process is again at a standstill. The Israeli Government has deferred the prospects of the Arab-Israeli dialogue by introducing restrictive conditions. Talks between the United States and the PLO have been suspended. The persistence of the Palestinian uprising clearly reflects frustration and resentment at the Israeli occupation and at the refusal of the Israeli authorities to offer any credible prospects of dialogue with the Palestinians. Clearly, this situation requires the effective attention of the international community.

Mr President, the Twelve are determined to encourage all efforts to promote a dialogue between the parties directly concerned, leading to the negotiation of a lasting, just and comprehensive settlement of the question of Palestine.

In this regard, the Twelve strongly appeal to Israel to open a political dialogue with the Palestinian people by adopting an innovative and constructive attitude towards the Palestinian question.

The Twelve wish to stress their intention to work for a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian problem in conformity with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations Security Council and the principles set out by the Community in its previous declarations, namely:

- (i) the right of all the States of the region, including Israel, to exist within safe, recognized and guaranteed borders, on the basis of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338;
- (ii) the right to justice for all the peoples in the region, which includes the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination with all that this implies.

The Twelve believe that a peaceful settlement based on these principles should be achieved through the convening, at an appropriate time, of an international peace conference under the auspices of the United Nations. In their view, this conference is an appropriate forum for the negotiations between the parties concerned. The Twelve reiterate that the PLO should be a part of this process.

Mr President, the Twelve support all the efforts, and primarily the efforts of the Security Council and of the Secretary-General, aiming at breaking the vicious cycle of hatred and confrontation prevailing in the Occupied Territories by establishing a constructive climate of mutual respect and trust. In this regard, the Twelve deeply appreciated the initiative of the Secretary-General to send in the month of June a mission to Israel and the Occupied Territories in order to assess the current situation and study the options for improving the conditions of the Palestinians.

All parties have a responsibility to refrain from actions or statements which might impede steps towards dialogue and negotiations. Those who would choose violent over peaceful means for achieving political objectives cannot be allowed to prevail. Neither the taking of human life, whatever the circumstances, nor violence against civilians can play any part in achieving peace and reconciliation. The Twelve express their deep dismay at the bloody incidents on 8 October 1990 in Jerusalem which resulted in the killing and wounding of a large number of civilians. On that occasion the Twelve considered unacceptable and once again strongly deplored the use of excessive force by Israeli occupying forces in repressing Palestinian demonstrations, against a background of repeated violations of international law. In this regard, the Twelve support Security Council Resolutions 672 and 673.

They welcome the report submitted by the Secretary-General to the Security Council. In this context, they express their concern for the refusal of the Israeli Government to receive the Secretary-General's mission in accordance with the provisions of Resolution 672, and they share his opinion that practical steps should be taken to ensure the safety and protection of the Palestinian civilians living under Israeli occupation.

Mr President, in accordance with their firm commitment to uphold international law, the Twelve reaffirm the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force. This principle, embodied in the Charter of the UN and recalled in Security Council Resolution 242, is binding for all States. This implies that Israel must put an end to the territorial occupation it has maintained since the conflict of 1967.

This year we have witnessed a deterioration of the situation in the Occupied Territories caused by the increased number of illegal settlements. The Twelve stress that any change in the demographic structure of the Occupied Territories is illegal under international law and constitutes an obstacle to the peace process. The settlement policy in the territories, including East Jerusalem, occupied by Israel since 1967 is making territorial compromises ever more difficult and presents a growing obstacle to peace in the region. Indeed, establishing new settlements or enlarging existing ones is the reverse of the kind of confidence-building measures which would contribute to a peaceful solution. The Twelve recognize and support the right of Jews, who wish to do so, to emigrate. They are, however, firmly of the view that this right must not be implemented at the expense of the right of the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories.

Furthermore, the Twelve consider as null and void the unilateral decision taken by Israel to modify the status of Jerusalem. They reaffirm the particular importance of Jerusalem, holy city of three religions, and state that the freedom for everyone to have access to places of worship must be safeguarded.

Finally, the Twelve reiterate that the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949 [on] the Protection of Civilian Persons in Times of War must be implemented in the Occupied Territories. The persistent refusal of Israel to acknowledge that this Convention is fully applicable can in no way be justified and is a matter of great concern to the Twelve. The Security Council has confirmed in many resolutions that the Fourth Geneva Convention does indeed apply to the Israeli-occupied territories, most recently in its Resolutions 636, 641, 672 and 673 which the Twelve unreservedly support.

Mr President, the 12 Member States of the European Community are aware of the extreme gravity and complexity of the Palestinian problem. It is a further injustice to the Arab people that Iraq's invasion of Kuwait — from which, as from any aggression, all should unequivocally dissociate themselves — has delayed the search for progress towards a solution to the problem of Palestine. The Twelve are ready to contribute, by means of an intense dialogue with all the parties concerned, to the achievement of a comprehensive, just and lasting solution.

Thank you, Mr President.

90/441. Message to President Menem of Argentina

Date of Issue: 4 December 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Message

The Community and its Member States who had followed with grave concern the recent attempted rebellion by certain elements of the army, express their satisfaction at the re-affirmation of the legitimate authority of the State in Argentina and congratulate President Menem for the way he has successfully resolved the situation.

On this occasion, the Community and its Member States also express their solidarity and support for the objective of the consolidation and deepening of democratic life and institutions in Argentina, as well as more generally in the Latin American continent.

90/442. Statement before the Plenary Session of the UN General Assembly concerning the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa (Agenda Item 34)

Date of Issue: 6 December 1990

Place of Issue: New York

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Italian Delegation to the United Nations

Status of Document: Statement in International Forum

Mr Traxler: I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 12 Member States of the European Community.

Our debate is taking place at a crucial time in the history of South Africa. A dynamic process of political change has already been set in motion in that country. In such times of rapid movement, given the magnitude and complexity of the issues involved, it is important not only to measure the distance already covered but also to get a clear perspective of the road ahead. This gives a special relevance to our present debate.

Year after year, our Assembly has raised its voice to condemn apartheid, a system of institutionalized racism that violates the fundamental purposes of the Charter of this Organization. I hardly need to stress that segregation and discrimination are the very opposite of the democratic ideals to which all Member States of the European Community are committed.

Apartheid has denied the majority of the people of South Africa their most elementary civil, political, economic and social rights, such as the right to vote, the right to choose freely where to live with their families, the right to seek employment in the place of their choice and, ultimately, the right to participate in the political processes affecting their lives. It is a system that has been maintained by repression and that has spawned in turn hatred and violence.

The European Community and its Member States have repeatedly expressed their total rejection of apartheid and its associated repressive measures, including the state of emergency, the steps taken against organizations peacefully opposing the system, the Bantustan policy and all other measures designed to weaken the black majority by dividing it and allocating it to artificial entities.

The Twelve have firmly and consistently demanded the immediate and total eradication of apartheid through peaceful means, maintaining that the vicious circle of repression and violence can only be broken through constructive dialogue and negotiations.

In pursuit of these goals, the European Community and its Member States have adopted an active policy, based on a two-track approach comprising both restrictive and positive measures. They have long worked for profound and irreversible changes and are employing a combination of pressure and encouragement to promote the dismantling of apartheid. They have undertaken actions to help the victims of apartheid, including political prisoners, and they have implemented substantial collective and national programmes in the humanitarian and social sectors, in training and education and in legal assistance. All these programmes have been carried out with the help of organizations committed to peaceful democratic change in South Africa.

At the same time, the Twelve have expressed their conviction that to isolate South Africa completely from the rest of the world would have been counterproductive and that, in order to exert effective pressure and persuasion, channels of communication must be kept open.

Mr President, the Twelve are greatly encouraged by the increasing signs that South Africa has reached the threshold of a new era.

Three main factors have played a decisive role: the determination and perseverance of the anti-apartheid movements, both within and outside South Africa; the unity of purpose of the international community, illustrated by the Declaration against apartheid adopted by consensus last December by the special session of the General Assembly; finally, a growing realization inside South Africa, and not least on the part of the South African Government, that a country and a society ravaged by apartheid are doomed and that radical change is the only way out of a situation of chronic conflict and marginalization.

The combined effects of the factors that I have just mentioned are producing results that would have seemed far-fetched only one year ago. The European Community and its 12 Member States had the opportunity to express, in the course of the debate of last September, their assessment of the important developments that had taken place, namely:

- (i) the release of Nelson Mandela and other leaders of the anti-apartheid movement;
- (ii) the substantial lifting of the state of emergency;
- (iii) the beginning of a political dialogue between the African National Congress and the South African Government;
- (iv) the conclusion of the Pretoria agreements providing, among other things, for the release of the political prisoners, for the amnesty and the return of the exiles, in a phased manner, for the identification and repeal of the security laws obstructing free political activity.

The Twelve concluded at that time that 'hopes are running high that the dismantling of apartheid and its replacement by a democratic, united, non-racial society might at last be in prospect'.

Subsequent events, which the Twelve have welcomed, have reinforced this positive perception: the state of emergency has been lifted throughout the country; the party in power has decided to open its ranks to all South Africans; President de Klerk has made clear his acceptance of the concept of universal suffrage and has reiterated the commitment of his Government to repeal the Land Acts and the Group Areas Act in the next parliamentary session; a number of discriminatory laws have already been repealed, among them the Separate Amenities Act, one of the so-called 'pillars' of apartheid.

For its part, the African National Congress has proclaimed the suspension of the armed struggle, an important step in the process of the negotiations towards constitutional reform. The African National Congress has also clearly stated its readiness to spare no effort to achieve a society based on democracy, justice and peace.

These are neither symbolic nor cosmetic moves. These are real and important developments, made possible by the courage and vision of leaders on both sides that deserve our praise and respect. As a consequence, the political climate in South Africa has changed significantly. As the South African Government and the African National Congress have stated in the Pretoria agreements of last August, the way has thus been opened to proceed towards negotiations on a new constitution. The Twelve reiterate their call on all parties in South Africa to join in the political process and make a full contribution to the establishment of a new, united, democratic, non-racial society in their country.

Mr President, if we look at what is happening with a sense of perspective, there is little doubt that the structure of apartheid is seriously eroding. Of the major pillars of the system, one — the Separate Amenities Act — is already gone; two more — the Land Acts and the Group Areas Act — are expected to go within the next session of the South African Parliament; the Twelve hope that this will now happen at the earliest possible moment; and the other key pillar — the Population Registration Act — will also be repealed in the near future.

Of equal importance is the fact that the frame of mind of the South African people is gearing for the future. Whether expressed publicly or privately, the prevailing conviction is that a process of genuine transition has started and that there are no valid alternatives. People are looking and focusing at what will come after the abolition of apartheid. This especially includes the problems of how to correct the vast inequalities of South African society; how to redress the legacy of land dispossession; how to disentangle the distortions that apartheid will leave behind; what type of democratic constitution will best suit the needs of a new, non-racial South Africa. These are complex issues and certainly it is not for us to dictate solutions but rather to support, through assistance and cooperation, those solutions that the South Africans themselves will adopt. Our role is to press for the total dismantling of apartheid, in order that the South African people can freely determine their own future.

Let there be no mistake: the Twelve are not inclined to easy optimism and do not underestimate the scale of the difficulties that lie ahead. They are fully aware that much remains

to be done. The agreements that have been reached have yet to be fully implemented. The Twelve stress the need for a sustained pace of the efforts to secure the release of political prisoners, indemnity for political exiles and the review of the security legislation, in accordance with the timetable agreed upon between the Government and the African National Congress in the Pretoria Minute.

The completion of the process remains a formidable task. Not only does the institutional machinery of apartheid have to be entirely removed, but the legacy of the past, both material and psychological, has to be overcome. Resistance to change, social imbalances, divisions and tensions stemming from the system, the unhappy heritage of fear and frustration are all adverse factors. The European Community and its 12 Member States recognize that a new post-apartheid South Africa should be able to avail itself of all the economic resources, including access to external finance, necessary to ensure its future prosperity and the full development of all its people. South Africa faces acute socio-economic problems, especially in the areas of employment, education and housing, against a background of a high rate of population growth. These problems have been greatly exacerbated by apartheid and positive action will be needed to rectify imbalances.

The risk of recurring violence has to be constantly kept in check, for it has the potential of seriously jeopardizing the process. It is incumbent on all parties to address this crucial problem. The Government, in this respect, has the major responsibility to maintain order and to protect the safety of all citizens. It is its duty to ensure that the security forces operate in an impartial manner and that their conduct be fully consistent with the commitments undertaken by the Government and [be] responsive to the needs of restoring the sense of security and confidence of the public. The Twelve call on all parties to actively work to prevent violence and strengthen the process of national reconciliation at all levels.

The Twelve feel that this Assembly should, at this important juncture of the history of South Africa, take into account positive developments which have occurred in the country and send a signal of encouragement and hope, one that might strengthen confidence among South Africans in their common future and determination to move forward towards the building of a new society, based on freedom and dignity for all. They will spare no efforts to contribute to this goal. The European Community and its 12 Member States look forward to the time when a new, free and democratic South Africa without racial discrimination will be in a position to realize its considerable potential for economic and social progress within the country, in the region of southern Africa and in the wider community of nations.

Thank you, Mr President.

90/443. Statement before the Plenary Session of the UN General Assembly concerning the situation in the Middle East (Agenda Item 35)

Date of Issue: 7 December 1990

Place of Issue: New York

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Italian Delegation to the United Nations

Status of Document: Statement in International Forum

Mr Scialoja: Mr President, I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Community and its Member States.

The Twelve follow with utmost concern the problems of the Middle East. It is unfortunate that the end of the East-West confrontation has not yet brought about a solution to the problems of the region.

The Twelve believe that all opportunities should be taken for the peaceful solution of the conflicts in the Middle East. They are convinced that relations of trust and cooperation must be

fostered among the countries of the region so as to establish a situation of stability, security, economic and social welfare and respect for civil and political rights, to prevent the recurrence of crisis, to curb the arms race and to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. The Community and its Member States are ready to cooperate with the countries concerned in the search for principles, rules and structures to that end and to examine measures to enhance security and stability in the region.

Mr President, the Twelve express their deep concern at the continuing deadlock in the Gulf crisis, with the persistent violation of international legality by Iraq, and in particular the prolonged and destructive occupation of Kuwait, the oppression and deportation of its population, the holding of foreign hostages and the repeated violations of conventions governing diplomatic relations.

The Twelve support all the relevant Security Council resolutions adopted since the Iraqi invasion and denounce the repeated Iraqi violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention. Far from observing its responsibilities under international humanitarian law concerning the treatment of protected persons under its control, Iraq is engaged in a determined, systematic campaign to eradicate the very identity of the State of Kuwait. Furthermore, Iraq, pushing the indigenous population to leave, is attempting to change the demographic structure of the country it occupies. Such acts cannot be tolerated. The European Community and its Member States attach the highest priority to the solution of this crisis, on the basis of the Security Council resolutions, and reaffirm that no solution is possible without the prior implementation of these resolutions.

The Twelve demand the immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait, the restoration of its legitimate government and that all foreign citizens who so desire, be allowed to leave Iraq and Kuwait.

The Twelve, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, have repeatedly condemned the Iraqi practice of holding foreign nationals as hostages and keeping some of them in strategic sites; they remind Iraq of its international obligations in this respect and continue to hold the Iraqi Government fully responsible for their safety. The Twelve reaffirm their total solidarity in achieving the immediate release of all foreign citizens trapped in Iraq and Kuwait. The Twelve have denounced the unscrupulous use that Iraq has made of them with the sole and vain purpose of trying to divide the international community. They have unreservedly condemned this manoeuvre, carried out in contempt of the most basic humanitarian rules. Those committing these grave breaches will be held personally responsible. The Twelve have taken note of the intention of the Iraqi authorities to release all foreign hostages and they expect that Iraq will fully abide by the Security Council Resolution 664 and permit the immediate departure of all hostages.

The Twelve also demand that, in accordance with the Vienna Convention, Iraq permit the free and unhindered departure of diplomats accredited to Kuwait who are at present prevented from leaving Iraq.

The Twelve express their satisfaction at the high degree of consensus in the international community on the above principles. They believe that such a consensus should be preserved in order for a peaceful solution of the crisis to be achieved. The Community and its Member States are determined scrupulously to adhere to the embargo and to the other measures decided by the Security Council and call upon all other States to act in the same way. They also strongly support Resolution 678 and urge Iraq to take advantage of the 'pause of good will' by complying with all relevant Security Council Resolutions.

Mr President, the position of the Twelve on the question of Palestine has been expressed more fully at the debate on agenda Item 23. The Twelve wish to stress their intention to work for a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian problem in conformity with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations Security Council and the principles set out by the Community in its previous declarations, namely:

- (i) the right of all States of the region, including Israel, to exist within secure, recognized and guaranteed borders, on the basis of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338;
- (ii) the right to justice of all peoples in the region, which includes recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination with all that this implies.

The Twelve believe that a peaceful settlement based on these principles should be achieved through the convening, at an appropriate time, of an international peace conference under the auspices of the United Nations. In their view, this conference is an appropriate forum for direct negotiations between the parties concerned. The Twelve reiterate that the PLO should be a part of this process.

Mr President, in accordance with their firm commitment to uphold international law, the Twelve reaffirm the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force. This principle, embodied in the Charter of the UN and recalled in Security Council Resolution 242, is binding for all States. This implies that Israel must put an end to the territorial occupation it has maintained since the conflict of 1967.

We have witnessed a deterioration of the situation in the Occupied Territories caused by the increasing number of illegal Israeli settlements. The Twelve stress that any change in the demographic structure of the Occupied Territories is illegal under international law and constitutes an obstacle to the peace process. The settlement policy in the territories, including East Jerusalem, occupied by Israel since 1967, is making territorial compromises ever more difficult. Indeed, establishing new settlements or enlarging existing ones is the reverse of the kind of confidence-building measures which would contribute to a peaceful solution. The Twelve reaffirm the right of the freedom of movement in accordance with the provisions of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. In this regard, they support the right of Jews, who wish to do so, to emigrate.

Furthermore, the Twelve consider as null and void the unilateral decision taken by Israel to modify the status of Jerusalem. They reaffirm the significance of Jerusalem, holy city of three religions, and state that the freedom for everyone to have access to places of worship must be safeguarded.

Finally, the Twelve reiterate that the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949 [on] the Protection of Civilian Persons in Times of War must be implemented in the Occupied Territories. The persistent refusal of Israel to acknowledge that this Convention is fully applicable can in no way be justified and is a matter of great concern to the Twelve. The Security Council has confirmed in many resolutions that the Fourth Geneva Convention does indeed apply to the Israeli-occupied territories, most recently in its Resolutions 636, 641, 672, and 673 which the Twelve unreservedly support.

Mr President, the 12 Member States of the European Community are aware of the extreme gravity and complexity of the Palestinian problem. It is a further injustice to the Arab people that Iraq's invasion of Kuwait — from which, as from any aggression, all should unequivocally dissociate themselves — has delayed the search for progress towards a solution to the problem of Palestine. The Twelve are ready to contribute, by means of an intense dialogue with all the parties concerned, to the achievement of a comprehensive, just and lasting solution.

On this occasion, the Twelve wish also to underline that all measures taken by Israel to impose its law, jurisdiction and administration in the occupied Syrian Golan are null and void.

Mr President, in Lebanon, after 15 years of foreign intervention and intercommunal strife, it is vital to end the sufferings of the population and further loss of innocent lives. The Twelve express their deep dismay at the continuing violence in Lebanon. They hope that a process of national reconciliation will effectively develop in that country.

They reaffirm their strong support for the implementation of the Ta'if Agreements, whose ratification by the Lebanese Parliament on 21 August 1990 was a historical step. The Twelve, while taking note of recent positive developments in their implementation, such as the creation of the Greater Beirut Security Plan, stress that the Agreements should be carried out by all

concerned as soon as possible, thus bringing about the full restoration of the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of a Lebanon free of all foreign troops. The Twelve call upon all parties in Lebanon to take part in this process and to cooperate with a view to the immediate restoration of conditions preventing the recurrence of such violence. The European Community and its Member States will continue to support that process fully and are ready to participate in the reconstruction of the country.

Mr President, the Twelve reiterate that the persistence of the Israeli occupation of areas of southern Lebanon, contrary to the relevant Security Council resolutions, constitutes an obstacle to the establishment of conditions of stability and security in the region.

The Twelve firmly support UNIFIL and wish to secure the best possible conditions of safety for its contingents, three of which belong to Member States of the European Community. They reaffirm once more the responsibility of all Member States of the United Nations to meet their financial obligations in full in order to solve the budgetary crisis of UNIFIL.

Finally, while welcoming the release of some hostages detained in Lebanon, the Twelve underline their deep concern for the fate of those who are still held captive, some of whom are citizens of Member States of the Community. The Twelve strongly appeal for the immediate release of all hostages.

Mr President, the Member States of the European Community have noted the Iraqi decision to withdraw from Iranian territory, to exchange prisoners of war and to acknowledge the validity of the Algiers Agreement of 1975. In this regard, the Twelve reiterate that they attach great importance to the implementation of Security Council Resolution 598, in all its parts. The Twelve share the view of the Secretary-General that the full implementation of Resolution 598 could well contribute to a marked improvement of the situation in the region as a whole.

Mr President, just and lasting solutions to the different problems of the Middle East can only contribute to giving full meaning to the role that the Arab world should play in the international community and to strengthening the historical links between Europe and all the countries of the region.

Thank you, Mr President.

90/444. Statement in the Fifth Committee of the UN General Assembly on the financing of activities of the Centre for Human Rights (Agenda Item 118)

Date of Issue: 7 December 1990

Place of Issue: New York

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Italian Delegation to the United Nations

Status of Document: Statement in International Forum

Mr Chairman, I have the honour to take the floor on behalf of the 12 Members of the European Community on the financing activities of the Centre for Human Rights (A/C.5/45/66) under Item 118 of the agenda.

Last Tuesday, 4 December, the Third Committee adopted a resolution on this matter by consensus. The Twelve have made a number of statements on this question in the Third Committee under the agenda items dealing with the report of the ECOSOC as well as the medium-term plan and the international instruments on human rights. The Twelve would like to reiterate their position that they regard human rights programmes as one of the main priorities of the organization as a whole. If the UN is to fulfil its important responsibilities in this vital area, the Centre for Human Rights, which carries out the human rights programmes, should be strengthened and given the funds to perform its functions properly.

It is the responsibility of the Secretary-General and member States to ensure that the necessary resources are provided to the United Nations programmes on human rights.

Interim financial proposals have therefore been made for 1991 by the Secretary-General who has set forth very clearly all the considerations supporting same proposals and their urgency.

Mr Chairman, turning to the longer-term problem the Twelve would like to state that the Centre for Human Rights' difficult budgetary situation reflects both the increase in the activities which the Centre has been mandated to undertake, as well as the wider financial crisis in the United Nations. The capacity of the Centre to undertake [these] programmes should not be impaired. The Twelve consider it necessary that the programme budget for the biennium 1992-93 should reflect the high priority of the issue of human rights and provide for the strengthening of the Centre for Human Rights, starting within the first year of its implementation. In order to strengthen the Centre the Twelve will continue to press for it in the context of the overall UN budget allocated to human rights. We believe that this is essential if the United Nations is to fulfil its responsibilities. The European Community and its Member States do believe that there is now a momentum for renewed emphasis to be placed on the question of protection and promotion of human rights and will act accordingly.

Thank you, Mr Chairman.

90/445. Statement in the Fifth Committee of the UN General Assembly concerning administrative and budgetary aspects of peace-keeping operations (Agenda Item 134)

Date of Issue: 7 December 1990

Place of Issue: New York

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Italian Delegation to the United Nations

Status of Document: Statement in International Forum

Mr Traxler: Mr Chairman, the Italian Delegation has the honour to take the floor on behalf of the 12 Member States of the European Community on Item 134 'Administrative and budgetary aspects of the United Nations peace-keeping operations'. The Twelve are grateful to the Secretary-General for the reports submitted under this item and to the ACABQ for its Report A/45/801.

Mr Chairman, it is perhaps worth recalling at the outset the circumstances in which the General Assembly decided at its 43rd Session that the time had come to re-examine the various issues involved. The first new peace-keeping operation for 10 years had just been established. Others were expected to follow and that expectation has proved to be correct.

The Twelve are heartened by these developments. They have always been consistent in their strong support for the role of the United Nations in maintaining international peace and security in accordance with the principles and purposes of the Charter. In this regard the new-found unity of purposes of the members of the Security Council is particularly encouraging. The statement by the President of the Council on 30 May 1990 confirms that they remain ready to consider launching new peace-keeping operations as and when necessary. This prospect provides ample justification for continued interest on the part of the Fifth Committee in the adequacy of existing administrative and budgetary arrangements and possibilities for improvement.

Resolution 44/192 which we all adopted without a vote on 21 December 1989, and particularly its Part A, does deserve to be read again with the most careful attention, bearing in mind that, as stated in the preamble of 44/192 [A], 'each peace-keeping operation has special characteristics, which thus calls for flexibility in addressing the administrative requirements of each operation'.

Mr Chairman, the Twelve have demonstrated their support for United Nations peace-keeping not only politically but financially as well. Collectively they are liable for some 30% of the total costs involved. Over the past two years there has accordingly been a substantial increase in the level of their assessed contributions to the Organization. In no sense do the Twelve begrudge

making payments in the cause of peace. But for peace-keeping just as much as for other activities it is essential that the budget estimates should command the confidence of Member States. Recent experience of appropriations proving to be significantly in excess of requirements has given grounds for concern. It is gratifying therefore that in Document A/45/493 the Secretary-General undertakes to provide in consultation with ACABQ such information as will permit transparency. While the Twelve acknowledge that some progress has been made already in this area it is clear that further efforts are required.

The last comment could apply equally to the financing of the appropriations for peace-keeping. The Twelve consider this to be the collective responsibility of member States which implies, *inter alia*, that all must pay their assessed contributions promptly and in full. Because a number of member States have failed to do so troop contributors have in effect been obliged to bear a substantial proportion of the costs of the operations and have faced unacceptable delays in the full payment of the standard rates of reimbursement as approved by the General Assembly. Member States which have paid their assessed contributions promptly and in full have done so on the basis of appropriations which assume prompt and full reimbursement to troop contributors. It is the Twelve's conviction that costs related to peace-keeping operations are to be regarded as mandatory expenses, unless decided otherwise by the Security Council, to be borne by all members of the United Nations. This applies whether the costs are included in the regular budget or financed through special accounts designated for that purpose. With regard to the scale of assessments conventionally applied to such special accounts the Twelve wish to recall action taken by the General Assembly at the request of Spain at the 44th Session. They reiterate their view that classification in Groups B, C or D should not be considered to be definitive, but rather dependent on long-term trends in the development of individual States' capacity to pay.

Mr Chairman, let us now comment briefly on some main points of the reports of the Secretary-General on Item 134.

First the review of the rates of reimbursement to troop-contributing States. The Twelve have studied carefully Report A/45/582 and its annexes, last year's background Report A/44/605 and Add.1 on the problems of methodology, as well as the report of the ACABQ A/45/801. While appreciating the need for confidentiality, the Twelve urge all troop-contributing States to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General. Bearing in mind that the rates have not been revised since 1980, the Twelve believe it is appropriate that consideration should be given to some increase at this stage.

As the number of peace-keeping operations has increased, so has the number of member States contributing personnel in various capacities. The Twelve welcome this trend as an indication of support and commitment on the part of the membership as a whole. They trust it will continue, taking account of the requirements of each mission, the views of the parties directly involved and the interest expressed by all the members of the UN.

Mr Chairman, the United Nations clearly needs to be in a position to respond flexibly, effectively and within a realistic time-scale when called upon to plan and implement new peace-keeping operations. The Twelve appreciate that the proposals for a support account and for a reserve stock of equipment are intended to contribute to this goal. They will wish to consider further the specific arrangements proposed in the light of the reports of the Secretary-General, the comments of the ACABQ and complementary information presented to the Fifth Committee.

Coming now to the use of civilian personnel in peace-keeping operations of the United Nations, the Twelve believe that for the employment of such personnel, whether single individuals, small or large groups, the utmost clarity is necessary. The Advisory Committee itself seems to have had difficulty in fully understanding paragraph 3 of the Secretary-General's report. The procedure suggested for the employment of such personnel, provided by governments at the request or with approval of the Secretary-General — if not offered without charge as a voluntary contribution — namely to reimburse contributing governments at standard rates

for troop costs, or to pay travel costs and daily subsistence allowances in the case of individuals or small non-organized groups, seems reasonable. The Twelve, however, agree with the ACABQ that such arrangements should be kept under review, taking into account the various operational requirements.

Mr Chairman, to conclude their statement on this item that has the highest importance and is acquiring even more importance in the present international circumstances, the Twelve, who contribute a third of the total cost of peace operations, realize the need of containing financial implications to the strictest limits. But, as they said in their statement last year, peace has its price. And that price is infinitely lower than that of war with its terrible cost in human lives, destruction of property and disruption of essential productivity.

Thank you, Mr Chairman.

90/446. Statement in the Fifth Committee of the UN General Assembly concerning administrative and budgetary coordination of the United Nations with the specialized agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency (Agenda Item 122)

Date of Issue: 10 December 1990

Place of Issue: New York

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Italian Delegation to the United Nations

Status of Document: Statement in International Forum

Mr Traxler: Mr Chairman, the Italian Delegation has the honour to take the floor on behalf of the 12 Member States of the European Community on Item 122 'Administrative and budgetary coordination of the United Nations with the specialized agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency' for making some general comments on that item, whose importance grows along with the growth of the United Nations common system.

First of all, the Twelve would like to thank the Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions for introducing the report of his Committee (Doc. A/45/798). As on previous occasions, the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions' report deserves to be commended. It provides concise and comparative data on the budgeting and financial workings of the organizations in the common system. The result is an informative document of significant value to the General Assembly in exercising its functions under Article 17 of the Charter, and particularly to this Committee in respect of the administrative and financial aspects of coordination. The Twelve also wish to reiterate their thanks to the Joint Inspection Unit and the Administrative Committee on Coordination for their analyses and comments.

Mr Chairman, the matter of coordination both on a general comprehensive plan and in the specific field of administration and budget within the UN system as a whole, has been discussed thoroughly and deeply in the Fifth Committee and in other relevant bodies of the organization for many years.

The organizational arrangements agreed on and reflected in the Charter represented a compromise between the idea of having a strong central leadership, therefore a Secretariat overall powerful in matters of coordination, and the tendency of creating a functionally decentralized system with a looser structure.

The founders of the Charter, in the interest of ensuring an effective system of international cooperation, entrusted the United Nations with the responsibility of making recommendations for the coordination of the policies and activities, and the examination of the budgets, of the specialized agencies.

The system so created has enhanced cooperation among all countries, meeting the wishes of the founders of the Charter.

During the years, however, and especially more recently, demands placed on the UN system increased so extensively in every field and any possible dimension that the necessity for better coordination was widely felt. Opinions, though, on the concept of coordination and, moreover, on means of how to attempt its realization, differ a great deal, as we all have seen during the work of the Administrative Committee on Coordination — Committee for Programme and Coordination Joint Meetings.

Mr Chairman, as regards the specific competence of the Fifth Committee, the Twelve wish to stress that coordination must not be allowed to downgrade into a mere exchange of information. Member States establish the budgets and expenditures of all organizations, are assessed for these expenses, approve staffing tables and determine the conditions of service of staff members. Within the administrative and budgetary field, the only intergovernmental forum for the discussion and evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses of the system is the Fifth Committee. There continues to be a need for careful intergovernmental supervision of the common system.

In this regard, the Twelve consider that 'progressive harmonization', 'transparency' and 'comparability' of administrative and budgetary practices of the specialized agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency within the UN system as a whole should be further pursued with good and honest will to reach goals agreed upon in the common interest by all parties. To this effect, the Twelve recall and support the recommendations contained in General Assembly's Resolutions 40/177, 40/244 and 40/250. These stressed first 'the need for effective and improved coordination in the United Nations system as laid down in the Charter and the agreements between the UN and the specialized agencies'; secondly, requested the Secretary-General as Chairman of the Administrative Committee on Coordination and the other executive heads of organizations participating in the UN system 'to promote endeavours to maintain and strengthen the common system for the regulation and coordination of the conditions of service'; and thirdly, called for 'further efforts to be made to achieve the maximum possible standardization and comparability in the budgetary and administrative practices of all organizations concerned'.

In this regard the Twelve, as already said, took note with appreciation of the report of the Joint Inspection Unit on the administrative and budgetary coordination of the UN with the specialized agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency, Doc. A/45/130. They have noted also the opinion expressed by the Administrative Committee on Coordination that 'what matters most in the search for greater harmonization of budgeting methods and techniques is that new ideas should be shared and constructively discussed and that each organization should benefit from the experience of others'.

Convinced of the need for coordination in administrative and budgetary matters, in pursuance of Article 17 of the Charter, the Twelve attach particular importance to two objectives: first, to promote complementarity of efforts and the most effective use of resources; second, the maintenance of the common system as an effective instrument for avoidance of wasteful competition and for the control of costs.

Mr Chairman, in its Report A/45/798, the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions draws special attention to action against illicit trafficking in narcotic drugs; to budgeting practices; to the relationship between the Food and Agriculture Organization and the World Food Programme; and to the question of support costs. These are all important matters, and the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions is to be commended for singling them out. The Twelve trust that the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions will continue in its reports to draw attention to specific points of common interest. They are particularly looking forward to the United Nations Development Programme Administrator's progress report on the implementation of Decision 90/26 of the United Nations Development Programme's Governing Council on support costs, and to the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions' views thereon. This is an issue of system-wide concern on which the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions' views will be of special relevance.

The goal of avoiding duplication and overlapping, and at the same time saving resources which could be better and more effectively used for other initiatives, eventually in the same field of activity, should be pursued with determination and a clear mutual understanding by all parties concerned.

Ultimately the success of coordination will depend on the extent to which each member State is itself willing and able to develop consistent system-wide policies, and to articulate them with equal consistency in each of the governing bodies of the system. In this regard the Twelve would again recall the Secretary-General's comment that 'both member States and the Secretariat must accept the practical consequences of the drive for rationalization and streamlining, namely an unprecedented degree of restraint and a willingness to set aside national, sectoral or purely bureaucratic interests'. This would seem just as applicable to the other organizations of the UN system as it is to the United Nations itself.

The Twelve are fully aware of different ideas existing on this matter. They believe none the less that such ideas may coexist, if every party is willing to approach the matter with a constructive, honest and frank spirit.

Mr Chairman, there are established traditions and different points of view and maybe even vested interests which may make it difficult to arrive soon at a perfectly integrated common system, with uniform regulations, mobility of interchangeable staff and optional use of financial resources. But perseverance and good will of member States may slowly overcome all those obstacles and further strengthen world-wide effectiveness of UN organizations in meeting the increasing present and future needs of mankind.

Thank you, Mr Chairman.

90/447. Statement concerning the situation in the Gulf

Date of Issue: 11 December 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Report to European Parliament

Mr De Michelis, President-in-Office of the Council: Mr President, Mr President of the Commission, ladies and gentlemen, I will make a very brief speech of introduction, but one that will at the same time make a political debate possible on the question, bearing in mind also the fact that the days in front of us, from today until 15 January, are extremely important days. I consider that the maximum attention and the maximum possible contribution from everyone is necessary in order to use these days well, for the purpose of finding a solution to this crisis, a solution that corresponds to our two wishes — to see the rule of international law restored, and to avoid any further aggravation of conflict and tension or, worse still, downright acts of war.

To do this I will limit my retrospective analysis to the most recent events — to be precise, to the events that have occurred in the Gulf region in these last days from 29 November to today; that is to say, from the day on which the United Nations Security Council adopted a further resolution, the 12th, No 678, on the Gulf question.

This resolution, however, represented a real turning point in the affair, in the sense that it not only obviously confirmed the line taken by the United Nations during these four months from 2 August onwards, and not only confirmed the very wide cohesion and unity of the international community which, over these four months, has shown itself able to stand firm at extremely difficult, complex and in some ways unique times in the history of the United Nations; it also confirmed the determination of this international community — working under the aegis of the United Nations Charter, which is the most powerful expression of international legality — to act to the full, with all the means available, to ensure the application of the resolutions adopted by the United Nations and, therefore, the restoration of the international rule of law.

In fact, as we know, this resolution has on the one hand authorized the use of all means, including force therefore, in order to achieve the desired result, and has in fact authorized the transition from Article 41 to Article 42 of Chapter 7 of the United Nations Charter; but, on the other hand, it has also deprived Saddam Hussein and the Iraqi Government of any alibi whatsoever, stating extremely clearly that there cannot be — and no one can delude themselves, least of all the Iraqis — any solution whatsoever to this crisis other than the full and total acceptance of the international rule of law as expressed in the United Nations resolutions.

It is, therefore, an important turning point, accompanied by the fixing of a date — 15 January — after which the use is authorized of all means for achieving the desired result, and after which, amongst other things, all member States — that is, the entire international community, is under an obligation to give its solidarity and assistance in full to those States which, on the basis of Resolution 678, intend taking action, even by the use of force, to achieve the application of the United Nations resolutions. It is, I repeat, a change, an extremely important step forward which, at the time this resolution was adopted at the Security Council meeting in the presence of the Foreign Ministers, and with the full political responsibility, therefore, of Member States, was accompanied by the explicit declaration that the period of time up to 15 January was not to be interpreted as a period amounting to an ultimatum, and was not to be interpreted as a period for the operation of some kind of count-down to zero hour for the military option; instead, on the contrary, it was to be understood as a goodwill pause to be used right up to the last to promote and encourage political dialogue with a view to reaching the desired result by pacific means, negotiation and political discussion.

To strengthen this idea of the goodwill stage the Security Council also decided that, during this six-weeks period no other resolution would be adopted against Iraq, except in the case of exceptional circumstances or if the situation came to a head. 29 November, moreover, not only represented — I repeat — a turning point, and not only was there on that day the maximum degree of international cohesion, which Saddam Hussein himself probably did not expect — and on this decision there was full convergence not only of the Western world, and not only of the Arab countries, which from the outset were opposed to Iraq, but also of the majority of non-aligned countries and important countries such as the Soviet Union and China — but also that day saw the opening of a stage, a period, of six weeks, to be used in full to achieve the desired result, avoiding the risk of having to use the extreme option, the military one. Let us look now at the subsequent facts of importance, of which there are at least three. Today is 11 December — that is to say, only 10 days have passed since the Security Council's decision. The first important fact is the announcement by the American Government of their wish to set up a dialogue — not negotiations, no bargaining — with the Iraqi Government in order to explain the positions better and hence promote that decision that is only in the hands of the Iraqis; in the hands, that is, of those who can make the first move towards the peaceful solution of the crisis, which is the unconditional application of the United Nations Security Council's resolutions. We all know the terms of that proposal: Tarik Aziz to visit Washington, and Baker to visit Baghdad. Negotiations are in progress to fix the respective dates, but I have reason to believe that in the end agreement will be reached and that, in the near future, therefore, between now and the first few days of January, these important stages in the dialogue will take place. In the same way, but subsequently — and it is only subsequently because the Community's machinery works a little more slowly than that of a sovereign nation — on 4 December there was a meeting of the Council of Ministers of the Community. At this meeting it was decided to help this dialogue by means of an independent, parallel albeit coordinated initiative, and the Presidency was asked to organize a meeting with Mr Tarik Aziz, on his return from Washington; this meeting has already been agreed on and will take place, I believe, in Rome on 19 or 20 December, if Mr Tarik Aziz's journey to Washington in the early part of next week is confirmed. Naturally, our position also, like the American position, was expressed in very clear terms: a meeting for the purpose of dialogue and clarification, not for negotiations or seeking compromises. No solution is possible that does not fully implement the Security Council's resolutions.

Two other extremely important facts emerged subsequently, which should be borne in mind: Saddam Hussein's announcement, confirmed by a vote of the Iraqi Parliament and by the fact that it is being translated into reality, that he will accept one of the conditions, one of the decisions of the Security Council — namely, the full release of the so-called hostages, those foreign citizens who have been illegally detained in Iraq against their wish since 2 August. It is an extremely important fact, which has come about in the desired manner — freedom for all, without distinction, regardless of nationality, without bargaining and without negotiation. It is an extremely important fact which, however, obviously does not resolve all the problems and does not satisfy all the conditions for a peaceful solution of the question. One very important condition it nevertheless does satisfy: I think that above all the governments, the parliaments and public opinion in the Community have very greatly welcomed this decision, this move, which has amongst other things closed a delicate stage in the Community's political action. We have had, I must admit, to make a certain effort in order to maintain a common position as the basis for coordinated action, without partial negotiations and discouraging individual missions and initiatives that would in reality have proved totally inadequate for their purpose and would only have amounted to playing, or giving the impression of playing, Saddam Hussein's game.

This stage is closed, and all the hostages have returned or are returning home. Another extremely important fact — and the connection between the vote on 29 November and the opening statements in the dialogue can be seen — is that this decision of the Iraqis alters an earlier decision that implied the release of the hostages over a period from 25 December to 25 March — in a manner, therefore, that was incompatible with the United Nations' decisions.

The fourth fact, which is the most recent one and is to some extent still in progress, consists of a new debate that has opened in the United Nations Security Council, not on the Gulf crisis and the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait this time but on the problems of the area as a whole and in particular the most acute source of tension in the area, which is the Palestinian question. In this connection a resolution is being examined that was tabled by four non-aligned countries led by Malaysia and Colombia. This resolution not only tackles the questions connected with the living conditions of the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories, and proposes a more effective United Nations presence for defending their rights in regard to the Israeli occupation, but for the first time a determination is evident on the part of the United Nations to call a Middle East peace conference in due course, with particular regard to the Palestinian question. This is something which — I repeat — if confirmed by a vote will be totally new because, as we know, this stance that has been adopted over the years by various parties, including the Community, which adopted it at the Venice Summit in 1980, has never been able to achieve any success because of vetoes or blocking by some of the powers that have a permanent seat in the Security Council. Today, instead, the situation is different: the debate is under way.

Obviously there are still difficulties, but the pressure to reach a positive conclusion is very strong and, amongst other things, so far as we are concerned, I can say here and now to the European Parliament that, for the first time, we have an explicit, common position among the Member States that is expressed in the Security Council also through a coordinated position of the two Permanent Members that belong to the Community — France and Great Britain. And it is the first time that Great Britain has explicitly declared its readiness to vote in favour, even if the Americans take a different line. This is an important new fact that greatly increases the Community's weight and power of initiative. It is our wish and hope that within the next few hours, and possibly with a divergent American view that does not go so far however as a veto, this motion can be adopted, which would cause a profound change in the entire situation, albeit without any direct link with the Gulf crisis, and would in our view help increase the possibility of a peaceful solution of the Gulf crisis.

Important positive new facts have emerged, therefore, and this enables us to say, without wishing to set up as either prophets or clairvoyants, that we consider today that the probability of a peaceful solution, for which we have been urgently working all these months, is greater than it was yesterday — that today it is more probable that a peaceful solution can be found, compared with the threat of the military option.

Having said this, however, it must also be said that, since in these cases it is not probability that counts but the result and what really happens afterwards, the fact that we can be rationally more optimistic today than yesterday must not induce us to weaken our initiative and reduce our pressure, because there is still a long way to go, and there is still a strong probability, albeit to a minor degree, that the military option will in the end prevail, and there are considerable difficulties especially in relation to the key question, which is Iraq's unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait. We have to be extremely clear about this need; and about this need, also, we must once and for all disillusion the mediators who — perhaps all in good faith — are agitating on all sides. There is no solution except one with unconditional withdrawal, and all the activities that for weeks and months now Arab, non-Arab and European mediators and men of goodwill, or simply those engaged in self-advertisement, are developing with partial solutions in mind are destined not only to lead nowhere but in the end, by destroying all possibility of exploring the political road, to lead rather to the military option. On this we have to be very clear, so as not to give Saddam Hussein an inaccurate message that might induce him not to take the decision that he must take in order to lead to a peaceful solution. The only move, and the first move, is up to Saddam Hussein: the choice between war and peace is in Saddam Hussein's hands. Just as he unconditionally released the hostages, he must unconditionally release Kuwait and allow the rule of law to be restored there.

Naturally, if this point is clear and permits no margin for discussion or negotiation, either explicit or implicit, there are on the other hand other questions, other points, on which discussion is possible and explanations can be given. The question can and must be made clear whether, if Iraq withdrew from Kuwait and thus complied with the United Nations resolutions, it would or would not be attacked or punished further. This can and must be stated absolutely clearly. There are other problems on the table, related above all to the level of Iraq's armaments. But this is not the purpose of the international community's action. The objective of the international community's action is fixed by the Security Council's resolutions and those alone, and something clear needs to be said therefore on this subject. I have read statements to the effect that the American Secretary of State has spoken on this; the Community will have its say in the meetings with Mr Tarik Aziz in the near future.

The second question concerns possible solutions to the problems that existed between Iraq and Kuwait before the crisis. On this we have to be extremely clear. If, on the one hand, partial solutions are impossible and unacceptable, and that must be said extremely clearly, at the same time there is nothing — once the rule of law has been restored — to prevent negotiations at inter-Arab level being started to deal with any unsettled questions: this is a problem that is the responsibility of Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Iraq and other countries. But, once the rule of law has been restored, negotiations can allow any problem to be tackled. The third question that must be clarified is precisely this question of what is to happen after the crisis; the general security of the region; the solution of the existing problems; *détente*; the laying down of rules and principles to ensure that tension is reduced and does not immediately grow again, causing further crises as bad as or worse than the present Gulf crisis. There can be no question of linking issues: no bonus and no reward must be given to the aggressor on this point, but the problem does exist and should be placed on the table, as is happening in the Security Council on the Palestinian question, and as must happen in regard to the other questions that are not of an ethnic nature but are also economic, social and human in character, and that reflect the contradictions, imbalance and tension that have led to this crisis and would lead to further crises if they were not tackled and resolved. Once this crisis is over, the ways and means must be found for negotiations on a major international scale. There are different proposals in regard to this, but that makes it necessary to get to work with commitment right away. On this third point Europe in particular, and particularly the Community, can and must commit itself, because there is a direct interest here for the countries of Europe, a direct interest for the Community: our security depends on the ability to find solutions to these problems and ways round them. Otherwise the 1990s, which are from some standpoints years of great hope for Europe, could become years of great difficulty

and great insecurity, if we were not able to help solve these questions. Initiatives to this end are in progress: the initiatives of the Community as such is in progress; the initiative of many Member States that are in progress; and there is another initiative in progress, not of a strictly political and diplomatic nature but in the economic field, in regard to which the Commission proposed, and the Community accepted, an action that is being developed in part through the new Mediterranean policy that we are currently debating. In the case in question we have a major, direct responsibility that we must not abdicate. I believe that the work that we have done in recent weeks will be valuable at the proper time, when these questions emerge some time at the beginning of 1991. It will then be seen that the work done by the Community, the Commission and Member States in this direction has been of some value in putting the complex situation of the region on the right lines, once the Kuwait crisis is resolved.

This, then, is the line that has been followed. As a final comment may I be permitted to emphasize once more my own personal conviction that in this affair the Community, the Twelve, have shown what could be done tomorrow with a common foreign policy and a common security policy. We have achieved miracles: the Twelve, faced with an exceptional and unforeseen situation for which we were not prepared, have succeeded in acting truly as one man, without even having any regulations to enable them to do so, but purely because there was a clear will and an overall common interest. The Council, the Commission and Parliament found wide convergence, which has been expressed not only in pieces of paper, in documents, but also in joint actions and initiatives. Of course, we have also discovered how much more we still need in order to do this job better; we have discovered how many reforms we must introduce in order to have available the institutional and legal instruments to enable us to act in this way in the future, but the experiment has been a positive one, and I think that when the discussions take place in the Conference on Political Union, the experience of these weeks will be more use than a thousand treaties, a thousand reports, a thousand expert opinions, in enabling us to take the right decisions. And this will undoubtedly be a contribution and a kind of positive inheritance that this crisis will have given to the Community.

90/448. Question No H-1221/90 by Mr Musso concerning the Gulf crisis

Date of Issue: 11 December 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Can European political cooperation confirm that it condemns any attempt by one of its members to negotiate with Iraq and, in particular, that the Federal Republic of Germany does not support the approach made by Willy Brandt to Saddam Hussein on 5 and 6 November 1990?

Mr Vitalone, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: The Presidency-in-Office of the Council wishes first of all to express its own satisfaction, which is that of the entire Community and also of the rest of the world, at the decision of the Iraqi authorities to allow the foreigners who were illegally detained in Iraq and in Kuwait to depart. The Council hopes that this decision may constitute a first step towards the peaceful settlement of the Gulf crisis that respects all the pertinent resolutions of the UN Security Council.

In the last four months the Community and its Member States have not ceased to condemn the Iraqi practice of holding foreign citizens hostage, and using some of them as a human shield. At the European Council meeting in Rome, the Member States of the Community reaffirmed their complete solidarity for securing the release of all foreign citizens detained in Iraq and Kuwait, and affirmed their determination not to send government representatives of any kind to negotiate their release with Iraq. The Governments of all Member States have respected this

commitment. The Italian Presidency considers that this solidarity and this firmness have constituted an important factor that helped determine the recent decision of the Iraqi authorities.

I will reserve all further comment for any supplementary answers I may be called on to give, and I would just mention that the Foreign Minister, Mr Gianni De Michelis, will be making a speech on this subject this evening.

Mr Musso (RDE): I wish to thank the President-in-Office for his answer and to tell him that I share his delight at the new situation created by the release of the hostages, who were still in captivity when I put down my question.

Mr Smith, (S): I suspect that some of the people who are arguing against contacts between people like Brandt and the Iraqis are not the people who will actually be fighting the war, if a war should happen. I was interested in a report in the British press some weeks ago from American intelligence, which argued that the oilfields in Kuwait had been mined by the Iraqis. If that is the case, could the Minister give an estimate as to the environmental damage as a result from such a war from the pollutants from oil, the wastage of fuel involved and the economic consequences, not just for the Kuwaitis but for the whole world economy?

Mr Vitalone: Making an estimate in reply to such a technical assessment is a somewhat difficult exercise. We hope that the circumstances in which such an estimate would need to be made will not arise.

It is perhaps too early to declare oneself optimistic, but undoubtedly the gesture made by the Baghdad Government is such as to suggest an element of *détente*. Probably the same realism that was shown in the past by the Baghdad Government in regard to the Iran-Iraq conflict, could make a non-military solution to this conflict possible. As the honourable Member who asked the question is clearly and rightly aware, a military solution would have devastating effects, and not for the immediate region alone: it would probably have devastating effects for the entire Middle East. I hope I shall not have to obtain the necessary information to answer his question, and I hope that the circumstances that would make the military option an ever-growing probability in coming weeks may be averted.

I think, nevertheless, that a fuller reply on this subject may very shortly — I repeat — be forthcoming from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr De Michelis, who will be making a speech specifically on this subject.

Mr Desyllas (CG): Granted that the conflict between the USA and Saddam Hussein is not beyond the bounds of conciliation, and in my opinion, need not necessarily lead to war, since a compromise is certainly possible, so that the United States and Saddam Hussein may reach an understanding in which Saddam Hussein becomes yet another subcontractor of the USA in the Persian Gulf region, besides Israel, I ask the President-in-Office: have you grasped the fact that the USA's military incursion in the Gulf is an aggressive enterprise by the USA against the EEC and Japan aiming to secure long-term military, political and economic dominance by the USA all over the world? If you are aware of this, then why do you go along with the USA's bellicose and adventurous enterprises in the Persian Gulf?

Mr Vitalone: I regret that statement, which is not true. What the European Council did is as stated in the document dated 28 October. I would like to recall that the Council, not least in European political cooperation, has responded to events in the Gulf very promptly, already making on 2 August those very initiatives that were then finally adopted by the United Nations Security Council.

On 28 October the Twelve affirmed their scrupulous compliance with all the directives that were adopted by the Security Council, and the Foreign Ministers, meeting on 4 December in Brussels, expressed their firm acceptance of Resolution 678 of the Security Council, reaffirming their position in regard to the full application of all the relevant resolutions. They also decided at that meeting that the Presidency would invite the Iraqi Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Aziz, to a meeting on his return from Washington — which, according to the latest information, he

should be visiting round about 17 or 18 December. This meeting will take place in close coordination with the United States and other members of the international community, on a basis of equality.

Whatever may be the solution to the crisis, it is certain that the first problem to be subsequently tackled must be to ensure the establishment of a regional balance to obviate circumstances arising that could be the source of further conflict and further crisis, such as that which faces us today.

90/449. Question No H-1264/90 by Mr Elles concerning the immigration from Central and Eastern Europe

Date of Issue: 11 December 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Will EPC provide a summary of the discussions of the meeting of 7 December 1990 where the Ministers responsible for immigration discussed the question of immigration from Central and Eastern Europe? Will European political cooperation propose EC action on this subject?

Mr Vitalone, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: May I say at the outset, Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, that this debate, the debate on the matter that is the subject of Mr Elles' question, did not take place in European political cooperation and, moreover, no initiatives at European political cooperation level are envisaged on questions concerning immigration policy. Having said this, I nevertheless think it right to add, and I should like to do this as the direct, exclusive responsibility of the Presidency-in-Office, that the Community and its Member States are certainly not unaware of this question, which is becoming one of the most sensitive, humanly touching subjects in Europe. I think it is right to set out briefly what may be the lines of approach and solution to the complex problem. We are convinced — the Italian Presidency is convinced — that it is now essential to control the immigration pressures to which the Community is exposed. This control, however, remains for the time being at least, under the present legislative system, the national responsibility of individual Member States. In the short and medium-term, until the time is ripe for the drawing up of common national policies, collaboration between Member States must be directed at coordinating the following aspects: the economic and demographic development of the employment and residence of citizens from outside the Community; the preparation of the agreement on the crossing of external frontiers and, if this agreement can be reached, measures to combat illegal immigration and clandestine residence; what priority is to be given to Community citizens in regard to employment and, as a secondary consideration, to citizens from outside the Community who are already legitimately resident in one of the Member States; the need to guarantee respect for the expectations of those who seek asylum under the principles of the Geneva Convention of 28 July 1951; and also, steps must be taken to improve cooperation at Community and international level with a view to helping those countries from which the immigrants come, so as to try in some way to limit the flow of emigrants to Europe to a level commensurate with the financial resources available. In this way we can hope to offer the immigrants and their children the best possible standard of living in their host country. Controlling the flow of immigrants — and this is just one final point — should not mean that we can or must block this phenomenon, which is one that I think is largely unstoppable; the Member States of the Community are founded on open societies, civilized, mature societies, and they cannot allow themselves — either from the ethical, economic or political standpoints, or perhaps not even from the demographic standpoint — to turn back the clock. None of these solutions in regard to immigration control and integration can emerge only from employment policy; they require a number of convergent initiatives in other sectors, such as professional

promotion, housing and education. I think that, by and large, I have drawn a general view of the various possible assessments and considerations — they are very numerous indeed, and would crowd out the remainder of this evening's debate if we were to dwell on them — so as not to leave without some sort of answer a question on a subject that the Presidency-in-Office of the Council considers very important and, I would say, very acute and requiring urgent solution.

Mr Elles (ED): I would like to thank the President-in-Office for his general answer to this question which is an important one in terms of immigration, but specifically would he please confirm the press reports that the group meeting in the framework of TREVI on 7 December discussed the question of possible emigration of millions of Soviet citizens to Central and Eastern Europe and the European Community. Would he state whether the rumours which are running that 3 to 5 million people could be confirmed in terms of emigrants over the next 12 months from the Soviet Union and thirdly, if he says that in principle that immigration should be controlled, does he believe that the Community, whether acting together collectively or independently by Member States, should control emigration from the Soviet Union if it was to come in such a volume and in so quick a time as predicted?

Mr Vitalone: I do not think I can confirm whatever figures the press has available. Indeed, I think it is extremely difficult to hazard any guess as to numbers. The problem certainly exists, and is of an unusual magnitude; it is an exceptionally serious problem. The Community and its Member States must commit themselves, as they have, to taking action to root out the structural causes that generate this phenomenon, in order to stabilize these countries and allow the flow of immigration to recede; otherwise, it would be difficult to halt it at our frontiers.

Mr Lane (RDE): Mr President-in-Office, thank you for your reply. In view of the huge problem that exists of the possibility of 3 to 5 million emigrants from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, have you also at Council level discussed the alternative, namely a much more dramatic aid programme to Eastern Europe and to Russia? That may be a deterrent to people coming into our Community. In other words, we should build up, or help to build up, their economies.

Mr Vitalone: Mr President, at its meeting of 4 December the Council already began examining this subject, and called on the group of freedom of movement coordinators to formulate proposals, when they had finished their deliberations. Clearly, there are many aspects here in regard to which action must be taken. Undoubtedly, we have to improve our information on immigration in Europe; if we had more reliable data available, we should probably be in a position to provide more adequate answers. We must promote contacts and consultations between Member States on the social aspects of immigration, and the possibility of integrating immigration in each country; we have to clarify the significance of these migrations and assess their effects, both in order to avoid simplistic pronouncements that only evoke purely emotional reactions in reply, and to calm public opinion which has been subjected to considerable concern by the appearance of these figures, taken from the press, that the honourable Member quoted just now. I think we have to be very wary in taking into account the complexity of the factors that go to make up the problem. There is an advanced study on the subject. I hope that the Council will be in a position as soon as possible to work out some answers, which will then be the answers of the Community.

Mr Balfe (S): Does the President-in-Office recall that over many years this House has asked for freedom of movement for Soviet citizens? Now that this is about to happen, is it not a bit hypocritical that the Presidency is going to change its position? Surely this cannot be true.

90/450. Question No H-922/90 by Mr Dessylas concerning the colonization of Famagusta and EEC funding for Turkey

Date of Issue: 12 December 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

The recent settlement of foreign communities in Famagusta coincides with the 16th anniversary of the Turkish invasion and unlawful occupation of 40% of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus. At the same time, on 23 July 1990, the Community decided to grant special aid of ECU 6 million to Turkey.

Do the 12 Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation intend to act on the resolutions passed by the UN and the European Parliament on Cyprus and to implement the decision taken at the Dublin Summit stating that the Cyprus problem affected EC-Turkey relations?

Answer:

According to the information available to the Presidency, there have been no transfers of people to Famagusta but only threats to install settlers.

As the honourable Member knows, the Twelve are deeply concerned by the Cyprus question and have for a long time maintained a common position on the matter. This position is based on earlier declarations by the Twelve, on the relevant UN resolutions (especially Resolution 550/84) and on those adopted by the European Parliament. The Twelve also support the efforts towards achieving a just and reasonable settlement, in particular on the basis of the good offices mission of the UN Secretary-General. The Italian Foreign Minister, during a visit to Ankara on 27 July 1990, called on his Turkish counterparts to refrain from any action which might make the Secretary-General's mission more difficult.

Lastly, the honourable Member should remember that the question of special Community aid to Turkey is not within the competence of European political cooperation.

90/451. Question No H-1084/90 by Mr Melandri concerning the situation in the Dominican Republic

Date of Issue: 12 December 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

What is the European political cooperation position in relation to the serious political crisis the Dominican Republic is currently undergoing? What representations have been made by European political cooperation to the Government authorities about the situation of inhabitants of Haitian origin in the Dominican Republic? Finally, what is the European political cooperation position with regard to the validity of the most recent presidential elections in Santo Domingo, which brought Balaguer to power?

Answer:

The Community and its Member States continue to pay close attention to the situation in the Dominican Republic. They hope that the continued strengthening of democracy and the rule of law, together with the rejection of violence, will help the country to overcome its problems and make economic and social progress.

The authorities in Santo Domingo are aware of the position of the Community and its Member States on human rights, of which the protection of minorities is a fundamental part.

Lastly, it must be pointed out that the competent authorities in the country have confirmed the results of the most recent presidential election. Consequently, it is not for the Twelve to make any comment in this connection.

90/452. Question No H-1147/90 by Mr Kostopoulos concerning the brutal violation of human rights in Turkey

Date of Issue: 12 December 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

The execution and torture of political prisoners are commonplace in Turkey. Prisoners are inhumanly tortured in the jails and their cases against the torturers never reach court. On the pretext of cracking down on violence, a minister in the Turkish Government has said that there is likely to be a new round of executions. In the light of this situation and given that Amnesty International estimates that 10 people have died as a result of torture in Turkish prisons this year, why does the Community maintain contacts with a country that flagrantly violates human rights and encourage the regime to carry out further and more violent oppression under the skilfully engineered protection of the EEC?

Answer:

The honourable Member may rest assured that the Community and its Member States pay close attention to the human rights situation in Turkey. The Turkish authorities are well aware of the Twelve's position on this matter. As the Presidency has told Parliament on numerous occasions, the protection and the promotion of human rights are legitimate duties of the international community as a whole and of each individual State. The Community and its Member States continue to watch the situation in Turkey very closely.

90/453. Question No H-1172/90/rev. by Mr Alavanos concerning Israel's rejection of the Security Council resolution

Date of Issue: 12 December 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

The Government of Israel has rejected the Security Council resolution which calls *inter alia* for the setting up of a United Nations delegation to investigate the deaths of 21 Arabs. How have the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation reacted to this? Does the lack of substantive, rather than just verbal, reactions against Israel not morally weaken the Community countries' policy against Iraq too, a country which persistently disregards Security Council resolutions entirely?

Answer:

As the honourable Member is well aware, the European Council meeting in Rome expressed satisfaction at Security Council Resolutions 672 and 673 and reiterated its support for the role which the United Nations can and must play in protecting the rights of the Palestinian people. It again called on Israel to comply with the obligations under the Fourth Geneva Convention on the Protection of Civilian Persons in Times of War and to cooperate with the United Nations.

This position is entirely in line with the position of the Community and its Member States in support of the complete and unconditional application of the Security Council resolutions concerning Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

90/454. Question No H-1194/90 by Ms Jackson concerning the imprisonment of Basil Hourani in Syria

Date of Issue: 12 December 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Italy
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Will the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation exert pressure on the Syrian authorities to improve their human rights record and could they, in particular, press the case of Basil Hurani, a 33-year-old Syrian, who has been held in prison without trial since February 1982, apparently for membership of a political group which seeks democratic reforms?

Answer:

The Syrian Government is aware of the position of the Community and its Member States with regard to human rights and the importance which they attach to this matter in their relations with third countries.

The specific case to which the honourable Member refers has not been discussed in the framework of European political cooperation. However, the Community and its Member States will not hesitate to raise the matter or to make representations to the relevant authorities if at any time they feel that their involvement would have the desired effect or would be in the interest of those concerned.

90/455. Question No H-1195 by Ms Dury concerning the political repression in Zaïre

Date of Issue: 12 December 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Italy
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

On 4 November 1990 at a Zaïrean opposition demonstration in Kinshasa a number of arrests were made by the forces of law and order. Do the Ministers consider this compatible with democratization and respect for human rights, as specifically provided for in the Fourth Lomé Convention of which Zaïre is a signatory?

Answer:

The Community and its Member States have on numerous occasions, through the channel of the representative of the Presidency in Kinshasa, emphasized to the Zaïrean authorities the importance which they attach to the protection of human rights, and they have referred in doing so to the provisions on human rights contained in the new Lomé Convention, of which Zaïre is a signatory. They continue to work for greater respect for human rights in Zaïre and for any violation of such rights to be fully investigated.

90/456. Question No H-1202/90 by Mr Nianias concerning economic and military aid to Turkey

Date of Issue: 12 December 1990
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Italy
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

According to the Turkish President, Mr Özal, when the Gulf crisis ends Turkey will acquire the largest and most modern army in the region. It is poised to receive enormous economic aid from the EC and the international community and military aid from NATO.

What criteria are used to determine the level of economic aid given to Turkey by the European Community? Do the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation not consider that whatever aid is given should be reduced by a sum equivalent to the cost of the illegal occupation of Cyprus by Turkish troops? Do they not also consider that present moves to supply excessive quantities of arms to Turkey, a fragile democracy with expansionist tendencies in Cyprus, the Balkans, the Middle East and its north-eastern borders, constitutes a serious threat to stability and peace in the region?

Answer:

As the honourable Member knows, the Community and its Member States took the political decision to provide short-term aid to the countries — of which Turkey is one — whose economies are most directly affected by the Gulf crisis and the strict application of the embargo against Iraq.

Any other form of aid to Turkey, to which the honourable Member refers, does not lie within the competence of European political cooperation.

90/457. Questions No H-1228/90 by Mr Falconer, No H-1229/90 by Mr Simpson, No H-1240/90 by Mr Newens and No H-1257/90 by Ms Oddy concerning Iran and human rights

Date of Issue: 12 December 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Question No H-1228/90:

During October 1990, the UN Special Representative visited Iran to investigate the human rights situation. Have the Foreign Ministers had an opportunity to study the programme of that visit?

Question No H-1229/90:

During the last five weeks, the Iranian Rafsanjani regime has announced 167 executions. Have the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation made any protest to the Iranian regime in this respect?

Question No H-1240/90:

It appears that a number of Community Member States have made moves to reaccommodate the Iranian Rafsanjani regime since the beginning of the Gulf crisis. Do the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation intend to ignore continuing large-scale human rights abuses in Iran in the context of this realignment?

Question No H-1257/90:

During the last two months there have been widespread reports of execution, public stoning to death and severe repressions of women by the Iranian Rafsanjani regime. Have the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation made any protest in relation to these human rights abuses?

Answer:

Following a process which began with the meeting of the Troika of heads of political departments with an Iranian representative in May 1990, and was followed up by the meeting of the Troika of ministers with Mr Velayati in New York in September, the Community and its Member States decided on 22 October 1990 to restore normal relations with Iran.

The position of the Community and its Member States on the human rights situation in Iran is still as outlined to Parliament in October 1990 in response to Oral Questions Nos 884, 885 and 886.¹ The Twelve will be sure to raise this question and make representations to the authorities concerned in all cases where they consider their intervention would have the desired effect or where it would be in the interests of the people involved.

At multilateral level, the Member States recently coordinated their positions within the United Nations in preparation for the discussion on human rights in Iran within the General Assembly Third Committee. A resolution on this subject, proposed jointly by all the Member States, was approved by consensus on 4 December 1990. In particular, this resolution notes with concern the allegations made by the United Nations Special Representative, Mr Galindo Pohl (who went to Iran in October 1990 to monitor the human rights situation at first hand) and urges the Iranian Government to investigate the human rights violations reported by the UN Special Representative and to remedy the situation.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 90/371.

90/458. Question No H-1230/90 by Mr Blaney concerning security

Date of Issue: 12 December 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

The remit of the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation having been extended to include security issues, do they agree that the state of war in the six northern counties of Ireland is an on-going threat to security, and will they intervene to obtain the withdrawal of the British occupying force?

Answer:

As the honourable Member knows, the question he raises is outside the field of competence of European political cooperation.

90/459. Question No H-1232/90 by Ms Ewing concerning the Indian brutality against Kashmiri people

Date of Issue: 12 December 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Will the Foreign Ministers take immediate action to voice their outrage at the campaign of terror which is being waged against the Kashmiri people by Indian army and paramilitary troops? Will they also call on the Indian Government to put an immediate stop to this brutal suppression of the Kashmir separatist movement?

Answer:

The honourable Member may rest assured that the Community and its Member States are closely monitoring the situation in Kashmir and will continue to do so. The Community and its Member States have repeatedly made their position on human rights clear to the Indian Government, which is therefore well aware of their attitude on this question.

90/460. Question No H-1235/90 by Mr Arbeloa Muru concerning relations with the countries of the Mediterranean

Date of Issue: 12 December 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

In what specific way do the Twelve intend to support the practical reforms currently being attempted in the countries of the Mediterranean, as stated in the final communiqué of the meeting of 17 September 1990? To what extent will such support be conditional on these countries' compliance with the UN resolutions on the Gulf conflict, given that conditions are not and have not been laid down with respect to the UN and the European Parliament in other cases?

Answer:

The declaration of 17 September demonstrates the determination of the Community and its Member States to help the countries which have been particularly affected by the strict application of the embargo against Iraq. On that occasion, in accordance with the commitment given at the ministerial meeting of 7 September and in line with Article 50 of the United Nations Charter, the Community and its Member States took the political decision to provide significant short-term economic aid to Egypt, Jordan and Turkey. They also promised that in coordination with other States and international organizations they would look at the possibility of extending economic assistance to other countries which were also affected by the Gulf crisis.

90/461. Question No H-1241/90 by Mr Bandrés Molet concerning a representation by EPC to El Salvador to throw light on the murder of six Jesuits

Date of Issue: 12 December 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

On the first anniversary of the murder of the rector of the University of Central America, the Jesuit Ellacuria, and five other Jesuits and lay people working at the university, what representations has European political cooperation made to the Salvadorean authorities to identify the persons who committed these murders?

Answer:

The Community shares the honourable Member's concern both at the lack of real progress in the judicial inquiry into the murder of six Jesuits and their co-workers in El Salvador a year ago and at the lack of cooperation among certain elements of the armed forces. In a statement on

16 November 1990, on the first anniversary of the murders, the Community and its Member States reiterated their belief that a clearing up of this case, which constitutes a key factor for the consolidation of democracy and the independence of judicial power, should lead to a just and exemplary sentence for those responsible. They also called on those involved to spare no effort in improving the human rights situation in El Salvador.

The Presidency brought the contents of this declaration to the direct attention of the authorities in El Salvador, who are thus fully aware of the position of the Community on this matter.

90/462. Question No H-1244/90 by Ms Ruiz-Giménez Aguilar concerning support for the Central American Parliament

Date of Issue: 12 December 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Do the Ministers meeting in European political cooperation intend to support the creation of the Central American Parliament, in spite of the fact that it is to open with the participation of only four, rather than five, Central American countries?

Answer:

The position of the Community and its Member States with regard to the Central American Parliament was fully outlined in the joint political declaration of the San José IV meeting in Dublin on 9 and 10 April 1990. The declaration stated:

The Ministers welcomed the progress achieved in the process of establishing the Central American Parliament; they expressed their satisfaction concerning the elections that have already been held by Honduras with a view to the establishment of the Parliament, the approval by Nicaragua and the deposit of the instrument of ratification by El Salvador and Guatemala.

They also reaffirmed the importance of the Central American Parliament as a permanent forum in which the peoples of the area could formulate recommendations on the political, economic, social and cultural problems of Central America and confirmed their conviction that the establishment of that Parliament would represent valuable progress for the integration of the region.

The Ministers of the European Community recalled that, in close collaboration with the European Parliament, they maintained their decision to lend their technical and financial support to the process of establishing the Central American Parliament, both in its material and technical organization and in the holding of the electoral processes. They also expressed the hope that the ratifications process of the Central American Parliament would be concluded in the light of the new political atmosphere in the region. They also welcomed the proposal made by Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela which reaffirmed their intention to give their full support to the process of establishment and functioning of the Central American Parliament.

As the honourable Member knows, the treaty establishing the Central American Parliament came into force on 1 May 1990. The Community and its Member States will maintain their support for this project.

At the next San José meeting they plan to call on all States in the Central American region to help make it possible for the Central American Parliament to make a speedy start to its work, the objective of which will be the consolidation of peace and the promotion of regional integration.

90/463. Question No H-1248/90 by Mr Landa Mendibe concerning the violation of workers' rights in the Dominican Republic

Date of Issue: 12 December 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

According to various organizations in the Dominican Republic, the Dominican and Haitian Governments are openly violating international agreements and conventions in their treatment of workers employed in the sugar plantations and the free zones. This situation has also been denounced by organizations in the US, Canada and Europe and by the ILO.

Day labourers and illegal immigrants, many of them stateless, are being subjected to appalling conditions of work, forced labour and the denial of trade union rights, together with other irregularities.

Are the Ministers meeting in European political cooperation aware of this situation? What is their view on it, and what measures do they intend to take to ensure that these practices cease?

Answer:

The Community and its Member States attach the greatest importance, in the context of their external relations, to respect for both political and civil as well as economic and social rights. It is a fact that the promotion of human rights is an integral part of the Lomé Convention, in which both the Dominican Republic and Haiti are participating States.

While the Ministers meeting in European political cooperation have not indicated a position on certain specific matters raised by the honourable Member, the authorities in the two countries must be aware of the direction in which the Community believes their respective societies should develop.

90/464. Question No H-1256/90 by Mr Cushnahan concerning the situation in Ethiopia

Date of Issue: 12 December 1990
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Do the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation have any proposals aimed at helping to end the continuing problems caused by civil war in Northern Ethiopia which are compounding the problems of the famine-stricken people of Tigre and Eritrea?

Answer:

The Community and its Member States are monitoring developments in Ethiopia with considerable disquiet and are concerned at the continuing civil war and the unacceptable loss of life and resources there, ordaining for the country a tragic fate of never-ending devastation and misery. They deeply regret that a military solution is being sought for what are essentially political problems and therefore call for negotiated solutions. On a number of occasions, they have called on all parties to the conflict to direct their efforts, as a matter of urgency, towards a resumption of negotiations with a view to a peaceful settlement between the Ethiopian Government and the PFLE and PFLT. In addition, they have noted with interest the proposal for an international conference on the Horn of Africa, which, in their view, could be valuable in the search for an overall settlement of the region's problems.

The Community and its Member States have made many approaches to the Ethiopian Government to obtain guarantees that food aid enjoys safe passage to regions affected by famine and the civil war and is distributed without hindrance on the spot. They have also appealed to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Eritrea to allow the port of Massawa to be used for facilitating aid distribution.

The PFLE very recently stated that it was prepared to accept a compromise proposal from the World Food Programme on opening up the port of Massawa. The Community and its Member States hope that the Ethiopian authorities, which have demonstrated a positive approach during the negotiations, will soon announce their agreement. Such an agreement between the two parties would represent a major development.

90/465. Question No H-1258/90 by Mr Pierros concerning the dissemination of ballistic missiles in the eastern Mediterranean

Date of Issue: 12 December 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Can the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation state their position on the dissemination of ballistic missiles in the eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East and the probable dangers this poses to the southernmost Community Member States?

Can they also state whether they intend to take steps to prevent Community Member States from selling missile technology to countries in the Middle East and the eastern Mediterranean and whether they intend to propose that Community legislation be adopted on this matter or that the Missile Technology Control Regime, to which four Community Member States are party (Germany, the United Kingdom, France and Italy), be extended and consolidated?

Answer:

The Community and its Member States are of the opinion that the acquisition by any State in the Middle East of ballistic missile systems capable of carrying nuclear, chemical and biological weapons can only aggravate tensions and further threaten peace and stability. They have made known their concern on this matter on numerous occasions, especially with their declaration of 20 April 1990. In this context, the Twelve have made every effort to limit the spread of ballistic missiles in the region.

The measures suggested by the honourable Member in the second paragraph of his question do not lie within the competence of European political cooperation.

Nine Member States of the Community have so far joined the Missile Technology Control Regime.

90/466. Questions No H-1269/90 by Mr Roumeliotis and No H-1270/90 by Mr Pagoropoulos concerning the Turkish violation of human rights of the Greek Orthodox minorities and the violation of the Treaty of Lausanne

Date of Issue: 12 December 1990

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Question No H-1269/90:

Recent reports in the press concerning various methods used by Turkey to force the Greek Orthodox minorities on the islands of Imbros and Tenedos into emigrating, and the murder by a Muslim youth of the 75-year-old Greek Orthodox farmer Zafiris Delikonstantis, reveal that Turkey is violating the international treaty rights of the Greek Orthodox minorities on the self-governing islands mentioned above (Article 14 of the Treaty of Lausanne). The outcome of this grim situation has been that the Greek Orthodox population has fallen from 10 000 to 350 on Imbros and 140 on Tenedos. What action do the Ministers meeting in European political cooperation intend to take to stop this blatant defiance of international law and order by Turkey?

Question No H-1270/90:

The Treaty of Lausanne of 1923 affords the Christian minority of the Aegean islands of Imbros and Tenedos specific rights and privileges that Turkey is obliged to respect.

Both in the past and in recent times the Turkish authorities have used various pretexts and manoeuvres to suppress human rights and freeze the assets of Christians and resorted to violent measures such as the recent murder of a 65-year-old Christian.

Can the EPC state what measures it intends to take to ensure that the Turkish authorities respect the Treaty of Lausanne and protect the lives and properties of the Christian minority?

Answer:

As indicated in the answer given to Question H-1147/90 by Mr Kostopoulos, the Community and its Member States keep a particular watch on the human rights situation in Turkey, including the rights and the protection of minorities. The authorities in Ankara are aware of the importance which the Community and its Member States attach to strict compliance with the rule of law and with all the commitments which Turkey freely gave when it signed the Treaty of Lausanne (Articles 14 and 37 to 45) and the international conventions, especially in the area of human rights.

90/467. Statement before the Plenary Session of the UN General Assembly concerning the review of the efficiency of the administrative and financial functioning of the United Nations (Agenda Item 117)

Date of Issue: 13 December 1990

Place of Issue: New York

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: Italian Delegation to the United Nations

Status of Document: Statement in International Forum

Mr President, on behalf of the Member States of the European Community, I would like to express appreciation for the report presented by the Secretary-General on this item. We must regret, however, that the report might not get in the General Assembly the thorough examination that it certainly deserves, due to the remarkable delay with which it has been circulated and made available. A delay that is not easy to understand, given the fact that the Secretariat has been aware for a year now that a fully-fledged report was required, as ECOSOC reiterated once again in July.

As I said at the outset, we appreciate the contents of the report and we note its realism as well as the prudence of its conclusions and recommendations. This prudent approach will allow Member States to go farther than has been the case in the past in attempting to implement elements of reform in the economic and social sectors of the United Nations.

Mr President, this year we have an important proposal on the table (A/45/L.34), presented by the Group of 77. We welcome it and are willing to support the decision to have a resumed session of the General Assembly in April next year, to negotiate specific proposals for restructuring.

The Twelve believe it essential that the process of reform continues. We concur with the assessment of the Secretary-General that the role of the UN in the economic and social fields is and is going to be as important as ever in helping the international community, and especially developing countries, achieve conditions of stability and well-being that are essential for peaceful relations among nations.

We will need a more effective United Nations if we are to use it as an important instrument for the follow-up of the commitments the international community has undertaken in international decisions as important as those contained in the Declaration of the 18th Special Session, the international development strategy for the Fourth Development Decade, the Second UN Conference on the Least Developed Countries.

By setting in motion the preparatory process of the 1992 Conference on Environment and Development, the United Nations has assumed the central role for negotiations on the environment. The UN was the only international forum where these sort of negotiations could take place on a universal basis. The UN will have to prove, however, that it can not only bring about a successful conference but also implement the decisions that the international community will subscribe [to] in Rio.

The Twelve believe that there is a more and more explicit consensus on essential aspects of development policies, but this consensus has not as yet been translated into the necessary momentum to modernize and adapt the UN instrument to the new needs of development cooperation as we understand it. More and more, we deal with socio-economic aspects of development in an integrated manner, while the UN machinery continues to operate roughly along the lines and with the structure that has evolved in the 1960s and 1970s.

The Secretary-General rightly points out in his report that, while the call to streamline the economic and social machinery is not new, the UN membership has not been capable of drawing a clear distinction between the continuing validity of issues and the effectiveness of the inter-governmental and Secretariat machinery which exists supposedly to address those issues. Whenever a proposal for suppressing a committee or consolidating the Secretariat was advanced, the Pavlov reflex of some governments and some Secretariat officers has been to impede any change, on the ground that the issue at stake was important.

Mr President, we need to change this. No international organization can maintain its usefulness and influence on real issues, if it does not adapt to the changing needs and ways of conducting business. Take energy, for instance. We recognize its importance, but we also recognize that the work of the United Nations in this area needs to be improved. More specifically, we believe that the sectoral approach so far prominent in the UN activities needs to be reviewed. This kind of approach has often provoked fragmentation and has created a perception of competition for areas of competence between the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

It is this sectoral approach that in the 1960s and 1970s led to the setting up of new inter-governmental and secretarial structures in an incremental manner without the necessary attention for effectiveness and concentration of efforts.

In the last few years of the past decade, the efforts to enhance the functioning of the UN have sometimes been dictated by financial constraints. We agree with the Secretary-General's view that financial uncertainties and delays in payments greatly weaken the capacity of the United Nations to plan its activities.

The 1990s will be a period of maturity for the UN, in which the Organization will have to prove its capacity to become a leading instrument for the implementation in the economic field of the positive trends that now exist not only on many development goals but also on how to address them.

Mr President, the UN economic and social activities are a precious instrument to pursue goals we all share and to help developing countries in their development efforts.

We are not trying to save financial resources; we are trying to get more and better results from the available financial means, in the interest of developing countries.

Mr President, we will need to re-examine how the work of the Second Committee of the General Assembly, of ECOSOC and of UNCTAD can be better coordinated. We will need to look into the agendas of these three bodies to make them mutually complementary rather than duplicative. We shall need to look into the machinery we have to deal with the environment, to make sure that the integrated approach we are following in preparing for the 1992 Conference will be fully reflected in the implementation of the decisions we shall take in Rio. We suggest that the synergy between UNCTAD, the General Assembly and ECOSOC should be seriously looked into. We will need to look again at how we can make ECOSOC more effective in fulfilling its Charter role for the coordination of the UN social and economic activities.

In this last respect, I wish to reiterate our commitment further to operate to strengthen ECOSOC. I wish in this respect to recall the position that the Community has taken in the *ad hoc* Committee of the General Assembly on restructuring. This position, much of which remains valid, is reported in the Appendix to the Report of the Special Commission in Document E/1988/75 of June 1988.

We have contributed to the work that has already been done for the revitalization of ECOSOC but we recognize that there is a clear limit to how far ECOSOC can be revitalized without a more poignant re-examination of its subsidiary machinery.

I wish to specifically express our positive interest for the proposals contained in the report of the Secretary-General to enhance the ECOSOC role in programmes that are system-wide and cross-sectoral, *inter alia*, in the economic sector: human resources development, poverty, science and technology, rural development, natural resources, energy.

We also agree with the Secretary-General's assessment that the necessary rationalization of ECOSOC subsidiary machinery must include consolidation, greater specialization and expertization of the subsidiary bodies, to enable the Council to begin consideration of substantive questions in the light of their cross-sectoral links. Only in this manner can we enhance the coordinating role of ECOSOC and facilitate a better division of work between ECOSOC and its subsidiary bodies.

Mr President, we hope the President of the General Assembly and the President of ECOSOC will be able to offer a substantial contribution to the efforts of member countries in this area.

As in the past, the Twelve will contribute constructively to the work that will be undertaken on this subject. We shall formulate proposals for the April resumed session.

Thank you, Mr President.

90/468. Conclusions of the European Council meeting in Rome, held on 14 and 15 December 1990 (Extracts only)

Date of Issue: 14/15 December 1990

Place of Issue: Rome

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: European Council

Status of Document: Conclusions of the European Council

The European Council heard a statement by the President of the European Parliament on the situation in the Community and Parliament's views on the questions to be discussed at the two inter-governmental conferences.

On the eve of the opening of the two conferences on EMU and political union and following the recent CSCE meeting in Paris, the European Council held an in-depth discussion on the Community's internal development and on the contribution it plans to make to shaping the new face of Europe. [...]

For the European Council, the Community's internal development is closely linked with the adoption of an open approach to the world in general and, in particular, with its resolve to cooperate ever more closely with the other European countries. This cooperation must today be expressed in particular by showing active solidarity with the USSR and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe in their efforts to overcome the difficulties they are experiencing.

The European Council adopted the following conclusions:

Political union

The European Council notes with satisfaction all the preparatory work which is to serve as a basis for the Intergovernmental Conference on Political Union.

The union will be based on the solidarity of its Member States, the fullest realization of its citizens' aspirations, economic and social cohesion, proper balance between the responsibilities of the individual States and the Community and between the roles of the institutions, coherence of the overall external action of the Community in the framework of its foreign, security, economic and development policies and of its efforts to eliminate racial discrimination and xenophobia in order to ensure respect for human dignity.

Without prejudice to other subjects raised by governments or by the Commission in the preparatory work, the European Council asks the conference to give particular attention to the following: [...]

Common foreign and security policy

The European Council welcomes the broad agreement on basic principles concerning the vocation of the union to deal with aspects of foreign and security policy, in accordance with a sustained evolutive process and in a unitary manner, on the basis of general objectives laid down in the Treaty.

The common foreign and security policy should aim at maintaining peace and international stability, developing friendly relations with all countries, promoting democracy, the rule of law and respects for human rights, and encouraging the economic development of all nations, and should also bear in mind the special relations of individual Member States.

To this end, the Conference will in particular address the union's objectives, the scope of its policies and the means of fostering and ensuring their effective implementation within an institutional framework.

Such an institutional framework would be based on the following elements:

- (i) one decision-making centre, namely the Council;
- (ii) harmonization and, where appropriate, unification of the preparatory work; a unified Secretariat;
- (iii) a reinforced role for the Commission, through a non-exclusive right of initiative;
- (iv) adequate procedures for consulting and informing the European Parliament;
- (v) detailed procedures ensuring that the union can speak effectively with one voice on the international stage, in particular in international organizations and *vis-à-vis* third countries.

The following elements should be considered as a basis for the decision-making process:

- (i) the rule of consensus in defining general guidelines; in this context, non-participation or abstention in the voting as a means of not preventing unanimity;
- (ii) the possibility of recourse to qualified majority voting for the implementation of agreed policies.

As regards common security, the gradual extension of the union's role in this area should be considered, in particular with reference, initially, to issues debated in international organizations: arms control, disarmament and related issues; CSCE matters; certain questions debated in the United Nations, including peacekeeping operations; economic and technological cooperation in the armaments field; coordination of armaments export policy; and non-proliferation.

Furthermore, the European Council emphasizes that, with a view to the future, the prospect of a role for the union in defence matters should be considered, without prejudice to Member States' existing obligations in this area, bearing in mind the importance of maintaining and strengthening the ties within the Atlantic alliance and without prejudice to the traditional positions of other Member States. The idea of a commitment by Member States to provide mutual assistance, as well as proposals put forward by some Member States on the future of Western European Union, should also be addressed. [...]

Combating drugs and organized crime

The European Council notes the considerable importance attaching to the systematic and sustained strengthening of the action taken by the Community and its Member States to combat drugs and organized crime.

It asks the bodies responsible to ensure rapid implementation of the programme drawn up by Celad, with particular regard to the objective of reducing demand for drugs. It asks the Council to reach an agreement at its meeting on 17 December on money laundering and expresses the wish that a swift decision should be taken on the principle of a European Drug Monitoring Centre.

The European Council considers that policies towards third countries must take account of the objective of combating drugs.

The role of Celad should be to encourage and coordinate Member States' action at international level.

External relations

Relations with European countries

The European Council held an in-depth discussion on the Community's relations with other European countries, including the USSR, which are especially important at a time when the groundwork for the new structure of Europe is being established, in particular in the context of the CSCE.

The European Council adopted conclusions on relations with the USSR and relations with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe [...].

Relations with the EFTA countries

Given the political importance of the negotiations with these countries, the European Council hopes that the meeting at ministerial level on 19 December 1990 will enable decisive progress to be made towards the conclusion of negotiations next spring.

Other third countries

Mediterranean policy

The European Council notes with satisfaction the progress made in redirecting Mediterranean policy, which involves *inter alia* Community support for structural adjustments. It asks the Council to complete its discussions as quickly as possible so that negotiations on the Financial Protocols can be opened.

Relations with the countries of Latin America

The European Council stresses the importance of relations between the Community and the member States of the Rio Group, as well as the other countries of Latin America. It hopes that the Ministerial Conference to be held in Rome on 20 December 1990 will add a new dimension to its political and economic ties.

Relations with the ACP countries

The European Council notes with satisfaction both the entry into force of the new Lomé Convention at the beginning of next year and the planned signing on 19 December 1990 concerning the accession of Namibia to the Lomé Convention. The European Council takes note of the recent Commission communication concerning relief of the ACP countries' debt to the Community and requests a swift examination of that communication by the appropriate bodies in accordance with international strategy for debt management. [...]

GATT

The European Council regrets the developments which have occurred in the Uruguay Round negotiations. It stresses that only a global approach based on balanced concessions made by all participants will enable the negotiations to be brought to a successful conclusion. The European Council points out that the aim of the negotiations is to strengthen the open multilateral trading system, so as to make possible the further development of world trade, the extension of the system to new sectors and the introduction of a mechanism for the settlement of disputes which prohibits recourse to unilateral action and on the contrary ensures the application of common rules.

The European Council asks all parties concerned to show the political will needed to resolve these problems and to endeavour to seek constructive solutions to the problems outstanding. The European Council calls upon the Commission as negotiator to step up to its contacts with all the participants in order to conclude a balanced agreement covering all sectors in the shortest possible time.

Gulf crisis and the Middle East

The European Council discussed the Gulf crisis and the situation in the Middle East and adopted the declarations in the Annexes.¹

South Africa

The European Council examined the way the situation in South Africa is developing and adopted the declaration in the Annex.²

¹ Annexes omitted. See *EPC Bulletin*, Docs 90/469 and 90/470.

² Annex omitted. See *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 90/472.

90/469. Statement concerning the Gulf crisis

Date of Issue: 14/15 December 1990

Place of Issue: Rome

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: European Council

Status of Document: Conclusions of the European Council

The European Community and its Member States remain firmly committed to full implementation of the United Nations Security Council resolutions. Complete Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait and the restoration of Kuwaiti sovereignty and of its legitimate government remain the absolute conditions for a peaceful solution of the crisis.

Security Council Resolution 678 sends the clearest possible signal to Iraq that the international community is determined to ensure full restoration of international legality. The responsibility lies on the Iraqi Government to ensure peace for its people by complying fully with the demands of the United Nations Security Council, in particular by a complete withdrawal from Kuwait by 15 January.

The European Community and its Member States earnestly hope that implementation of the United Nations' Security Council resolutions can be peacefully secured. To this end, they support a dialogue of the sort President Bush has offered. They also favour action by the United Nations Secretary-General and hope that the United Nations Security Council's Permanent Members will remain actively involved as well. They wish Arab countries to continue to play an important role in the efforts for a peaceful solution. The European Community and its Member States underline the value of a contact between the Presidency and the Foreign Minister of Iraq, aimed at securing, in coordination with other members of the international community, full compliance with United Nations Security Council resolutions.

The European Council expresses relief at Iraq's decision to release all foreign hostages, but underlines its deep concern at Iraq's failure to withdraw, at its oppressive and inhuman occupation of Kuwait and its attempt to destroy the fabric of the country.

90/470. Declaration concerning the Middle East

Date of Issue: 14/15 December 1990

Place of Issue: Rome

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: European Council

Status of Document: Conclusions of the European Council

1. The European Council expresses its dismay at the continuing lack of clear prospects for a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict and to the Palestinian problem, and at the renewed acts of terrorism and violence. It expresses its deep concern at the rising incomprehension and tension in the Occupied Territories. It renews its call to the parties concerned to refrain from violence that can only engender new violence. It expresses its concern about the Israeli practices of collective reprisals, such as the destruction of houses or restrictions on freedom of movement, and deplores the recent decision to place moderate Palestinians under administrative arrest.

The European Council calls once again on Israel to comply with Resolutions 672 and 673 of the United Nations Security Council, to act in conformity with its obligations under the Fourth Geneva Convention on the Protection of the Civilian Population, and to cooperate with the United Nations. It welcomes the recommendations by the United Nations Secretary-General in this regard and fully supports every effort of the United Nations Security Council to achieve a better protection of the Palestinian population and to promote peace in the area. It reaffirms the determination of the European Community and its Member States to further assist the Palestinian population in its serious plight.

2. The European Council reiterates its long-standing commitment to a just and lasting solution to these problems, in conformity with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations Security Council and with the principles expressed by the European Community in its previous declarations. To this end, the European Council reaffirms its support for the principle of convening, at an appropriate time, an international peace conference under the auspices of the United Nations.

3. The serious deterioration in the economic situation in the Occupied Territories is a source of great concern to the Community. In this connection the European Council reaffirms its commitment to the economic and social development of the Palestinian people and considers that, in the new circumstances, the doubling of Community aid to the Occupied Territories decided by the Strasbourg European Council appears particularly appropriate and timely.

The European Council also considers it vital for all efforts to be made to create the conditions for facilitating and increasing trade between the Occupied Territories and the Community.

4. As expressed in its Declaration of 28 October 1990, the European Council remains convinced that relations of mutual confidence and cooperation must be encouraged among the countries of the region, with a view to establishing a situation of stability, security, economic and social well-being, and respect for civil and political rights, to forestalling the recurrence of crises, and

to preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction. The European Community and its Member States remain ready actively to cooperate with the concerned countries to achieve these goals and to contribute to the success of the task entrusted by relevant resolutions to the United Nations Secretary-General to examine measures to enhance security and stability in the region. In this connection, the European Council reaffirms the importance of a meaningful and constructive Euro-Arab Dialogue.

90/471. Statement concerning Lebanon

Date of Issue: 14/15 December 1990

Place of Issue: Rome

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: European Council

Status of Document: Conclusions of the European Council

The European Council expresses its satisfaction at the implementation of the security plan in Greater Beirut following the withdrawal of all militias from the Lebanese capital. It expresses the hope that the recent developments can foster the process of national reconciliation and lead to the full implementation of the Ta'if agreements, thus bringing about the restoration of the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of a Lebanon free of all foreign troops and enabling the Lebanese people to express their will through free elections.

It appeals to the parties concerned to release all remaining hostages.

The European Community and its Member States reaffirm their commitment to help provide Lebanon with the assistance needed to build its future and view favourably the participation of the Community in the pledging conference for the creation of a Lebanon Assistance Fund.

90/472. Statement concerning South Africa

Date of Issue: 14/15 December 1990

Place of Issue: Rome

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: European Council

Status of Document: Conclusions of the European Council

The Community and its Member States have consistently followed developments in South Africa with the greatest attention and have given a favourable reception to the initiatives which have been taken to bring about the abolition of apartheid and the establishment of a united, non-racial, and democratic South Africa. They have already expressed approval of the results of the talks between the Government and the ANC, in particular those of the Pretoria meeting in August which opened the way to the negotiation of a new Constitution.

They deplore the phase of serious violence through which South Africa is passing which may endanger these developments. They welcome, however, further indications serving to confirm that the process of change already begun is going ahead in the direction advocated by the Strasbourg European Council. They have decided to continue to encourage this process.

Against this background, the European Council has decided that as soon as legislative action is taken by the South African Government to repeal the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts, the Community and its Member States will proceed to an easing of the set of measures adopted in 1986.

As of now, so as to contribute to combating unemployment and improving the economic and social situation in South Africa, and to encourage the movement underway aimed at the complete abolition of apartheid, the European Council has decided to lift the ban on new investments.

At the same time, the Community and its Member States, with the objective of sending a clear signal of political support to the victims of apartheid, and intending to contribute to a new

economic and social balance in South Africa, have agreed to strengthen the programme of positive measures and to adapt it to the requirements of the new situation, including requirements related to the return and resettlement of the exiles.

The Community and its Member States hope in this way to be able to contribute to the speeding up of the process underway through sending to all the parties involved in negotiation a concrete sign of support for the establishment of a new South Africa, united, non-racial, and democratic, and capable of resuming the place which it deserves in the international community.

90/473. Statement on the activity of the Community and its Member States in the field of human rights in 1990

Date of Issue: 15 December 1990

Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: The Twelve

Status of Document: Press Statement, Press Release

In line with the Ministerial Declaration of 21 July 1986, which defined the basic principles of the Community and its Member States' policies on human rights and making full use of the special EPC Working Group, set up in 1987, cooperation in the protection and vindication of human rights and fundamental freedoms continued to be substantially reinforced in the course of 1990, both in specific interventions and in the framework of the appropriate international bodies, notably the 46th Commission on Human Rights and the United Nations Third Committee of the General Assembly.

The past year has brought the international community its share of contrasting tendencies and varied outcomes of human rights issues. The period was indeed marked notably by progress in Eastern Europe, in Chile [and] in Namibia. In South Africa, there have also been a number of very important developments though more still requires to be done before apartheid can be said to have been abolished. The period was also marked by the continuation or exacerbation of disturbing situations in many other parts of the world, notably by the systematic and brutal violation of human rights perpetrated by Iraq against the Kuwaiti population as well as against foreign hostages. The overall picture also provides further examples of violations of human rights, including incidents in the territories occupied by Israel. In the face of such events, the Community and its Member States have voiced their strongest disapproval. The interventions they have made in international forums, such as the United Nations and the CSCE, as well as the position they have adopted in the form of declarations bear witness to their determination to react to given situations regardless of where they occur.

Human rights issues are a major factor in international relations and one of the cornerstones of the Community and its Member States' interaction with the rest of the world. States will increasingly be put under scrutiny by international public opinion as regards their respect for human rights and their willingness to accept international surveillance of their domestic human rights record.

In this connection, the Community and its Member States, convinced that the defence of human rights in individual cases must be matched and paralleled by the promotion of the values and principles on which actions in the field of human rights are based, reiterate their firm stance that the raising of specific human rights cases and violations cannot be considered interference in the internal affairs of States, but rather a legitimate concern under international law, essential for the creation of a sound international political climate fostering peace, security and cooperation.

The question of human rights has become a crucial element in the dialogue and cooperation with other countries. The interrelationship between democracy, human rights and sustainable development has become more and more evident. The idea that respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, the rule of law and political pluralism are essential to secure social

stability, dynamic economic growth and equitable income distribution is a central concept in the Community's aid programmes and was spelled out in the Fourth Lomé Convention. Furthermore, the Community and its Member States stress the positive support for improved human rights practices provided by their development cooperation programmes.

One of the predominant and most important activities of the Community and its Member States in their endeavour to defend human rights is the *démarches* undertaken — either by the Ambassador of the Presidency, the Troika of Heads of Mission or, occasionally, by the Twelve collectively — to governments of countries where specific violations occur.

Over the last 12 months, the Community and its Member States have carried out approximately one hundred and twenty (120) *démarches* all over the world. The confidential nature of those *démarches* is generally considered to be in the interest of those whom the Community and its Member States are seeking to help. The underlying purpose has either been to protect or save persons who are suffering from arbitrary treatment or racial discrimination or to mark the preoccupation of the Community and its Member States with regard to particularly offensive threats to human rights, i.e. torture, summary executions, disappearances and arbitrary arrest and detention.

The Community and its Member States have issued some ninety (90) declarations referring to precise human rights problems notably in Iraq, the territories occupied by Israel, Lebanon, Kampuchea, Burma, Sri Lanka, China, South Africa, Somalia, Sudan, Ethiopia, Liberia, El Salvador and Guatemala, which were widely publicized and, on various occasions, brought directly to the attention of the governments concerned.

It is noteworthy that a fair number of contacts and interventions have been successful in so far that they have either contributed in convincing governments to release prisoners, to commute death sentences, to start enquiries into disappearances and other human rights violations, or, more generally, towards revising their attitude towards human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The Community and its Member States have welcomed the further commitments to human rights adopted during 1990 by the CSCE participating States at the Copenhagen Conference on the Human Dimension and in the Charter of Paris for a New Europe. As a welcome sign of the improving human rights performances of most Central and Eastern European countries, the special procedure adopted within the CSCE framework in January 1989 — the CSCE/CDH mechanism — has been made use of to a much lesser extent in 1990 than in the previous year.

Cooperation between Member States of the Community is being increasingly enhanced through on-the-spot coordination of their missions in countries where fundamental freedoms are violated or ignored.

Particular attention has been paid to the European Parliament's important contribution in the field of human rights, either by way of resolutions or parliamentary questions on the subject in general or in individual cases.

To conclude, the actions undertaken by the Community and its Member States in 1990 in the field of human rights reflect their full commitment to the respect, defence, and promotion of human rights.

90/474. Declaration concerning relations between the European Community and the Rio Group, adopted at the Rome Conference, held on 20 December 1990, between the EC and its Member States and the member countries of the Rio Group

Date of Issue: 20 December 1990

Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome

Country of Presidency: Italy

Source of Document: The Twelve with other Actors

Status of Document: Joint Declaration

Those taking part in the Conference were

for the European Community:

H. E. Gianni De Michelis
Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy
President of the Council

H. E. Jacques F. Poos
Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Luxembourg

H. E. Piet Dankert
State Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands

H. E. João Deus Pinheiro
Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal

H. E. Tristan Garel-Jones
Minister of State, Foreign and Commonwealth Office of the United Kingdom

H. E. Mark Eyskens
Minister for Foreign Affairs of Belgium

H. E. Benny Kimberg
State Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Denmark

H. E. Reinhard Schlagintweit
Director-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Germany

H. E. Andonis C. Samaras
Minister for Foreign Affairs of Greece

H. E. Francisco Fernández Ordóñez
Minister for Foreign Affairs of Spain

H. E. Roland Dumas
Minister for Foreign Affairs of France

H. E. Gerard Collins
Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ireland

H. E. Abel Matutes
Member of the Commission

for the Rio Group:

H. E. Domingo F. Cavallo
Minister for Foreign Affairs of Argentina

H. E. Francisco Rezek
Minister for Foreign Affairs of Brazil

H. E. Carlos Iturralde Ballivian
Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bolivia

H. E. Enrique Silva Cimma
Minister for Foreign Affairs of Chile

H. E. Luis Fernando Jaramillo Correa
Minister for Foreign Affairs of Colombia

H. E. Diego Cordovez
Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ecuador

H. E. Fernando Solana
Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mexico

H. E. Alexis Frutos Vaesken
Minister for Foreign Affairs of Paraguay

H. E. Luis Marchand Stens
Minister for Foreign Affairs of Peru

H. E. Hector Gros Espiell
Minister for Foreign Affairs of Uruguay

H. E. Reinaldo Figueredo Planchart
Minister for Foreign Affairs of Venezuela

Preamble

1. The European Community and its Member States, and the members of the Rio Group signatories of this Declaration, adopted at the Rome Conference of 20 December, 1990:
2. noting with satisfaction that the political dialogue begun four years ago between the European Community and the Rio Group has contributed significantly to a better understanding among the parties;
3. recalling the 'Conclusions of the Ministers and the Representatives of the Governments of Member States on the relations between the European Community and Latin America', of June 22, 1987, and in particular the conviction explicitly recognized in that document that 'the European Community and Latin America were called to jointly play an active role in the reconstruction of the international society of the future';
4. mindful of historical, political and economic links between the countries of both regions, of their common cultural heritage, and of the deep ties of friendship which unite their peoples;
5. bearing in mind the 500th anniversary, in 1992, of the relations which have developed between the two regions;
6. reaffirming the universal values and ideals which are shared by their peoples and governments and which have their expression in the respect for human dignity;
7. expressing their conviction that the protection and promotion of human rights is a cornerstone of democratic societies and that the effective exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms is the legitimate concern of the international community and inseparable from the pursuit of international peace and security;
8. reaffirming the necessity of respect for international law and, in particular, of support for the United Nations;
9. recalling their commitment to build, consolidate, and strengthen democratic institutions founded on the rule of law;
10. recognizing that peace and security cannot be isolated from equitable and generalized opportunities for economic and social development;
11. noting with satisfaction the reduction of tensions on the international level and the commitment to arms reduction;

12. convinced that the attainment of satisfactory living and working conditions and the promotion of social justice are of paramount importance if States are to discharge their responsibilities towards all their citizens and recognizing the importance of international cooperation towards the achievement of such goals;
13. recalling international interdependence and the co-responsibility of the whole international community to shape their mutual relations on the basis of cooperation and solidarity;
14. wishing to encourage current multilateral efforts towards the liberalization of trade and investment, and hoping that such efforts will contribute to the fight against protectionist and discriminatory economic and trade policies, in accordance with GATT rules;
15. welcoming efforts developed in Latin America towards a more open insertion of their economies in the world economy;
16. recognizing that the European Community is playing a growing role in international political and economic affairs;
17. noting that by the dimensions of their economies, the size of their populations, the variety of their natural resources and nature of their dynamic relations with the other parts of the world, the members of the Rio Group have the potential to increase their role as partners in international relations;
18. recognizing that forms of regional integration are being developed among groups of countries in Latin America, with the consequent prospect of having an increasingly clear and influential voice in world affairs;
19. noting with satisfaction that various forms of economic cooperation have been put in place between the European Community and its Member States and Latin American countries;
20. ready to further strengthen the links and cooperation that have developed between the European Community and Latin America, in particular the contractual arrangements that have been put in place between the Community and different Latin American countries or organizations;
21. recognizing that the illicit production, trafficking and consumption of narcotic drugs are international problems which can only be resolved through international cooperation in a spirit of common responsibility;
22. have agreed by the present Declaration to extend and deepen their relations in all fields.

Overall objectives

23. The European Community and its Member States and the member countries of the Rio Group parties to this Declaration solemnly reaffirm their determination to reinforce their relationship, with a view to:
24. supporting democracy and the rule of law, respect for human rights and promotion of social justice, respect for sovereignty, self-determination and non-intervention, and working together to create adequate conditions to eliminate poverty and all forms of racial, political, religious and cultural discrimination;
25. working together to uphold within the different forums the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter;
26. encouraging the reduction of armaments and, in particular, associating themselves with efforts to exercise restraint in exporting armaments to areas where they would be likely to exacerbate a conflict;
27. underlining the need to prevent the dissemination of instruments of mass destruction, including the need to conclude rapidly a global agreement on a total ban on chemical weapons;
28. promoting an open and increasingly productive and equitable international economy, in which specific attention will be given to the interests of the less developed countries;
29. encouraging policies aimed at achieving better living standards for all, in particular through greater integration in the multilateral trade system and strengthened development cooperation;

30. providing for adequate measures to increase international cooperation, in a spirit of shared responsibility, in all the appropriate forums, in order to alleviate the burden of external debt, so as to promote the resumption of growth in countries affected and to encourage adequate financial flows between developed and developing countries;
31. promoting economic development through environmentally sound and sustainable management as it refers both to human and natural resources;
32. protecting the environment through appropriate domestic measures and adequate regional and international cooperation;
33. promoting inter-regional artistic and cultural exchanges, and cooperation for the protection of cultural assets;

Fields of cooperation

34. The parties will give particular attention to defining appropriate responses to the following challenges which require international cooperation:

35. Trade

The parties will endeavour to make the fullest contribution possible towards a successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round. They particularly reject all forms of protectionism and will make efforts to reduce present barriers in mutual trade. They both consider that an improved use of the GSP may make a useful contribution to expand trade. While recognizing the interests each party has to expand intra-regional trade, they expect intra-regional trade agreements not to reduce access for third countries. They build on the confidence that the European single market will provide wider and better opportunities for international trade and welcome similar results in respect to intra-regional integration efforts in Latin America.

36. General economic cooperation

The European Community and its Member States welcome the efforts which are being made by Latin American countries to bring about more modern economic structures and administrative practices. The European parties shall endeavour to cooperate with the Rio Group counterparts in such efforts which are recognized to be in their common interest.

37. Science and technology

The European Community and its Member States will consider making available more extended opportunities of scientific and technological cooperation with the Rio Group countries and of educational and training programmes for them. The parties agree on the importance of promoting programmes of cooperation in science and technology among the Rio Group countries in which joint efforts would be made in selected fields with the support of the European Community and its Member States.

38. Investments

The European Community and its Member States have undertaken to consider ways and means of improving the flow of European financial resources, official and private, Community and national, to the Rio Group countries. To this effect the possibility of using all appropriate financial mechanisms of the Community and its Member States will be further studied. It is recognized that appropriate consideration should be given to ways of improving the investment climate in Latin American countries. This could be achieved through appropriate means such as bilateral investment promotion and protection agreements and agreements avoiding double taxation between Member States of the European Community and Rio Group countries. On the other hand, appropriate initiatives on the European side could be considered in order to pave the way for a resumption and expansion of private financing and investments.

39. Debt

The parties affirm that the quality they are seeking in their relations should have a positive impact in all sectors of direct cooperation between them, and that, in this context, it is necessary to give adequate attention, in all the appropriate forums, to the heavy burden of foreign debt

service for the political, economic and social development of Latin American countries and for the defence of stability and consolidation of democracy. An approach consistent with this important link must take into account, among other considerations, the interrelation which exists between debt, commerce, development and investment, and commit mutual efforts for effective and concrete measures towards a reduction of the external debt burden.

40. Development aid

The parties acknowledge the importance of development aid from all sources as an indispensable complement to the efforts of Latin American countries towards the improvement of living conditions of broad sectors of their population, particularly in the rural areas, and they agree to keep and increase cooperation programmes, including food and emergency aid.

41. Regional cooperation and integration

The parties note with satisfaction the broad network of cooperation agreements that has already been established between the Community and Latin American countries and express their determination to continue to build further upon it. They attach importance to adding a global dimension to their relations, such as to underline their solidarity. They reaffirm, in this context, the usefulness of the experience that has been gained from the relations between the European Community and different Latin American groupings and countries.

In order to maximize the effectiveness of the existing agreements and programmes between the Community and its Member States on one side and the Latin American countries and relevant regional organizations on the other side, the European Community and its Member States will undertake a strengthened coordination of their action, especially with reference to regional programmes of cooperation. In this context they will also study ways and means to improve their coordination, in particular within international organizations.

Priority will be given, in the light of previous experience, to the development of projects of regional interest. In order to provide a more suitable framework to assist in the better implementation of such projects, efforts will be made to study the feasibility of specific agreements between the European Community and the appropriate regional multilateral counterpart.

42. Environment

The parties recognize the foremost importance of the protection of the environment on a global scale; they agree to improve national policies towards environmental protection and strengthen regional and international cooperation; priority attention is to be given to those environmental problems which urgently require adequate measures, such as the deterioration of the ozone layer, global warming, the international transfer of toxic wastes, acid rain, and the protection of tropical forests and marine resources.

43. Drugs

The parties undertake to cooperate in the struggle against the illicit production, illegal trafficking in, sale, distribution and consumption of narcotics, including the trafficking in precursors and the laundering of money, in line with the provisions of the 1988 Vienna Convention.

The parties recognize:

- that an effective approach to the problem of drugs requires cooperation in the relevant fields, such as in alternative development, with the countries affected;
- that appropriate legislation and close practical cooperation between law enforcement agencies is essential to combat drug trafficking and consumption, and that prevention and education as well as treatment and rehabilitation programmes are vital in reducing the demand for drugs.

44. Terrorism

The European Community and its Member States and the countries of the Rio Group reaffirm their firmest condemnation of terrorism in all its manifestations and agree to give priority to define appropriate responses.

45. Consultations on global matters

Direct cooperation between the European Community and its Member States and the members of the Rio Group will be complemented as necessary by consultation on international economic, financial and development issues. Among the principal objectives of such consultations will be the strengthening of an open, multilateral trade system and the promotion of financial flows. European/Latin American cooperation can also play a significant part in improving the efficiency and effectiveness of UN organizations devoted to international development questions. It is understood that the range of questions which may be the object of consultations and concertation between the two parties is not limited by present identified priorities and shall be, in itself, the object of periodic consultations between the parties. The areas mentioned can be completed and revised according to future political and economic developments in Europe and Latin America, as well as the relation between both regions.

46. Projects of cooperation

Priority will be given to the development of projects and joint initiatives in areas such as:

- cooperation in the financial and investment field;
- possibilities of access by Latin American countries to certain Community scientific and technological programmes in accordance with Community internal procedures, and promotion and support of joint projects among Latin American countries in the field of science and technology;
- education and training of administrators and entrepreneurs in Latin America;
- the training of personnel with background and experience in questions related to regional integration, in those countries engaged in the process of regional or sub-regional integration in Latin America.

Future institutional mechanisms

47. The parties to this Declaration express their determination that their commitment to greater *rapprochement* on political and economic matters and to a heightened degree of cooperation should be served by adequate institutional arrangements.

48. To this end, they have agreed on the following dispositions:

- (i) an annual ministerial-level conference, which in principle will be hosted alternately by either side;
- (ii) experts meetings, to ensure adequate preparation of the conference;
- (iii) a meeting during the UN General Assembly, at ministerial level;
- (iv) consultations, if necessary, through the appropriate channels, on matters of common interest;
- (v) a commitment to develop and deepen these procedures for consultation so as to reflect the evolution of the European Community and the Rio Group, with a view to identifying further arrangements. The parties will work together on specific proposals to be carried on at future ministerial meetings.

49. The parties to this Declaration agree to give further consideration to involving Parliaments in the process of EC-Latin American dialogue and cooperation.

Next meeting of the conference

50. The parties agree that the first ministerial-level conference, according to the provisions of the present Declaration, will be held in Luxembourg on 26 and 27 April 1991.

51. The undersigned High Representatives of the European Community and its Member States and of the member countries of the Rio Group, conscious of the great political significance which they attach to the results of the Rome Conference, have appended their signatures to this document.

90/475. Statement concerning the resignation of Mr Shevardnadze

Date of Issue: 20 December 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: Foreign Ministers
Status of Document: Declaration

The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Member States of the European Community, meeting in Rome, have learned with regret the news of the resignation of the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr Shevardnadze, with whom they had built up in the course of recent years both official and personal relations marked by friendly and confident cooperation. They have noted with particular concern the reasons that have promoted their Soviet colleague to take a decision of such moment.

The European Community and its Member States express their firmest hope that the resignation of Minister Shevardnadze will not entail changes in Soviet policy which might call into question the significant results thus far achieved in international relations, notably in the CSCE framework, particularly in relations between the West—especially the European Community—and the USSR, in the direction of disarmament and peace.

90/476. Statement concerning the agreement on Massawa

Date of Issue: 24 December 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The Community and its Member States have consistently expressed their deep concern regarding the food situation in Ethiopia, in particular in the northern province, where famine is most prevalent. They have at the same time expressed the belief that the reopening of the port of Massawa was crucial for an effective relief operation. Consequently, they warmly welcome the recent agreement reached between the Government of Ethiopia, the EPLF and the WFP.

The Community and its Member States reaffirm their commitment to continue their efforts to provide relief aid to the population affected by famine and hope that the relief operation will start without further delay.

The Community and its Member States look to both parties concerned to solve any further practical issues in a spirit of good will and with a constructive attitude. The Community and its Member States once more appeal forcefully to the parties to refrain from resorting to the military option and to continue to seek with courage and determination a political solution to the problems of the country. They trust that the agreement reached with the WFP may serve as a confidence-building measure in the process of achieving the necessary negotiated settlement providing lasting reconciliation and peace.

90/477. Statement concerning the elections in Haiti

Date of Issue: 28 December 1990
Place of Issue: Brussels, Rome, Port-au-Prince
Country of Presidency: Italy
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The European Community and its Member States welcome the fair and orderly manner in which the recent elections in Haiti have been conducted as well as the election of Father Jean-Bertrand Aristide to the Presidency.

This expression of the people's will through the democratic process has the potential to be a major breakthrough in Haiti's long struggle towards the establishment of a society built on the rule of law, respect for human rights, and the promotion of social justice and economic progress.

The Community and its Member States, which under the Lomé Convention have significant links with Haiti, are ready to support the efforts of the government which will be set up in the wake of the elections, to promote political, economic, and social progress in that country.

UN voting

This section contains:

- (i) a voting chart of resolutions adopted by the UN General Assembly;
- (ii) a list of resolutions adopted by the General Assembly without having resort to voting;
- (iii) a voting chart of resolutions adopted by the UN Security Council.¹

For resolutions adopted by resort to voting, the charts report first of all the votes of the Member States of the Community. In the case of the Security Council it reports the votes of those Member States which are represented in that organ in the period under consideration. The charts report also the attitudes of the United States and the Soviet Union and, for resolutions adopted by vote, the 'total vote' indicating the distribution of the votes cast by all members of the organ on the resolution in question.

The symbols Y, N, A indicate respectively a positive vote, a negative vote and an abstention. The asterisk (*) means that no vote has been recorded for a particular country.

¹ The charts are based on:

- (i) Resolutions and Decisions adopted by the General Assembly during the first part of its 45th Session from 18 September to 21 December 1990, press release, 21 January 1991.
- (ii) Resolutions and Decisions adopted by the General Assembly at its resumed 45th Session from 29 April to 17 May 1991, press release, 4 June 1991.
- (iii) Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council 1990, Security Council official records: 45th year, United Nations, New York 1991 (S/INF/46).

Voting chart of resolutions adopted during the 45th session of the UN General Assembly

A/RES/45	Subject	Date	Total vote			B	D K	F	D	G R	I R L	I	L	N L	P	S P	U K	U S A	U S S R
			1990	Yes	No														
11	Island of Majotte	1.11	121	1	29	A	A	N	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	Y
16	Non-self-governing territories	20.11	147	0	3	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
17	Foreign economic and other interests	20.11	114	11	24	N	A	N	N	A	A	N	N	N	N	A	N	N	Y
18	Granting of Independence – Implementation	20.11	116	12	20	N	N	N	N	A	A	N	N	N	N	A	N	N	Y
32	Guam-Question	20.11	112	2	31	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	N	Y
33	Granting of Independence – Anniversary	20.11	125	2	21	A	A	A	A	Y	Y	A	A	A	A	Y	N	N	Y
34	Granting of Independence – Implementation	20.11	132	2	15	A	Y	A	A	Y	Y	A	A	A	Y	Y	N	N	Y
35	Decolonization – Information	20.11	134	2	14	A	Y	A	A	Y	Y	A	A	A	Y	Y	N	N	Y
36	South Atlantic – Zone of peace	27.11	151	1	1	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
37	Liberation movements – Observer status	28.11	116	9	26	N	A	N	N	A	A	N	N	N	A	A	N	N	Y
39	Diplomatic missions – Safety measures	28.11	148	1	0	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
44	UN – Role	28.11	148	0	1	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
45	UN – Rationalization	28.11	149	0	1	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

UN voting

A/RES/45	Subject	Date	Total vote			B	D K	F	D	G R	I R L	I	L	N L	P	S P	U K	U S A	U S S R
			1990	Yes	No														
48	Treaty of Tlatelolco	4.12	145	0	3	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
49	Nuclear tests	4.12	130	3	17	A	Y	N	A	A	Y	A	A	A	A	A	N	N	Y
50	Nuclear tests – Outer space	4.12	118	2	28	A	A	*	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	N	N	Y
51	Nuclear tests	4.12	142	2	6	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	N	Y
53	South Asia – Nuclear-weapon-free zone	4.12	116	3	28	Y	A	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A
54	Non-nuclear-weapon States	4.12	147	0	3	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	A	Y
55[A]	Outer space – Arms race	4.12	150	0	1	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
55[B]	Outer space – Arms race	4.12	150	0	1	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
56[A]	Africa – Denuclearization	4.12	146	0	4	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	A	Y
56[B]	Africa – Denuclearization	4.12	119	4	27	A	A	N	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	N	N	Y
58[B]	Disarmament – complete	4.12	132	0	21	A	A	A	A	A	Y	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	Y
58[H]	Disarmament – complete	4.12	98	0	51	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
58[J]	Disarmament – complete	4.12	141	1	11	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	N	Y
58[K]	Disarmament – complete	4.12	144	0	9	A	Y	A	A	Y	Y	A	A	A	Y	Y	A	A	Y
58[L]	Disarmament – complete	4.12	146	1	6	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	A	Y
58[N]	Disarmament – complete	4.12	138	3	12	A	Y	N	A	A	Y	A	A	A	A	A	N	N	Y
58[O]	Disarmament – complete	4.12	148	0	5	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	A	Y
58[P]	Disarmament – complete	4.12	142	0	10	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
59[B]	UNGA – 12th Special Session	4.12	125	17	10	N	N	N	N	A	A	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
59[D]	UNGA – 12th Special Session	4.12	126	14	12	N	A	N	N	A	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
60	Security – Scientific and technological developments	4.12	133	3	16	A	A	N	A	A	Y	A	A	A	A	A	N	N	Y
62[C]	UNGA – 10th Special Session	4.12	132	12	9	N	A	N	N	A	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
62[D]	UNGA – 10th Special Session	4.12	128	8	16	N	A	N	N	A	Y	N	N	N	A	A	N	N	Y
62[E]	UNGA – 10th Special Session	4.12	124	6	22	N	A	N	A	A	Y	A	N	N	A	A	N	N	Y
63	Israel – Nuclear armament	4.12	98	2	50	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	N	Y
67[A]	Palestine question	6.12	124	2	23	A	A	A	A	Y	A	A	A	A	A	Y	A	N	Y
67[B]	Palestine question	6.12	125	2	22	A	A	A	A	Y	A	A	A	A	A	Y	A	N	Y
67[C]	Palestine question	6.12	127	2	20	A	A	A	A	Y	A	A	A	A	A	Y	A	N	Y
68	Middle East Conference	6.12	147	2	0	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
69	Intifadah	6.12	144	2	3	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
73[A]	UNRWA	11.12	148	0	1	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
73[D]	UNRWA	11.12	147	0	1	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
73[E]	UNRWA	11.12	146	2	0	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
73[F]	UNRWA	11.12	119	20	9	N	N	N	N	A	N	N	N	N	N	A	N	N	Y
73[G]	UNRWA	11.12	122	2	24	A	A	A	A	Y	A	A	A	A	A	Y	A	N	Y
73[H]	UNRWA	11.12	121	2	25	A	A	A	A	Y	A	A	A	A	A	Y	A	N	Y
73[I]	UNRWA	11.12	146	2	0	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
73[J]	UNRWA	11.12	146	2	0	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
73[K]	UNRWA	11.12	146	2	0	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
74[A]	Israel – Occupied Territories – Human rights	11.12	102	2	43	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	N	Y
74[B]	Israel – Occupied Territories – Human rights	11.12	146	1	1	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
74[C]	Israel – Occupied Territories – Human rights	11.12	146	1	1	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
74[D]	Israel – Occupied Territories – Human rights	11.12	145	2	0	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
74[E]	Israel – Occupied Territories – Human rights	11.12	146	1	1	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
74[F]	Israel – Occupied Territories – Human rights	11.12	145	1	2	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
74[G]	Israel – Occupied Territories – Human rights	11.12	146	2	0	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y

A/RES/45	Subject	Date	Total vote			B	D K	F	D	G R	I R L	I	L	N L	P	S P	U K	U S A	U S S R
			1990	Yes	No														
77	Indian Ocean – Zone of peace	12.12	129	4	17	A	A	N	A	A	Y	A	A	A	A	N	N	Y	
78[A]	Antarctica	12.12	98	0	7	*	*	*	*	*	A	*	*	*	A	*	*	*	
78[B]	Antarctica	12.12	107	0	7	*	*	*	*	*	A	*	*	*	A	*	*	*	
80	International Security	12.12	124	1	29	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	Y	
82	UN-Arab League – Cooperation	13.12	147	2	1	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
83[A]	Middle East	13.12	99	19	32	N	N	N	N	A	N	N	N	N	N	A	N	Y	
83[B]	Middle East	13.12	84	23	41	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	A	N	Y	
83[C]	Middle East	13.12	145	1	4	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
84	South Africa – Assistance – Human rights	14.12	121	9	22	N	A	N	N	A	A	N	N	N	N	A	N	Y	
87	World social situation	14.12	147	1	4	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	
90	Apartheid Convention	14.12	121	1	30	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	Y	
96	Human rights – UN	14.12	122	1	29	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	Y	
130	Human rights – Self-determination	14.12	114	15	23	N	N	N	N	A	A	N	N	N	A	A	N	A	
132	Mercenaries	14.12	122	10	21	N	A	N	N	A	A	N	N	N	N	A	N	Y	
145	Law of the Sea	14.12	142	2	6	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	N	Y	
150	Elections	18.12	128	8	9	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
151	Sovereignty	18.12	111	30	10	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	A	
164	Indigenous People – International Year	18.12	151	0	4	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
170	Kuwait – Human rights	18.12	144	1	0	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
176[B]	South Africa – Apartheid	19.12	117	11	19	N	A	N	N	A	A	N	N	N	N	A	N	Y	
176[C]	South Africa – Apartheid	19.12	118	2	29	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	N	Y	
176[D]	South Africa – Apartheid	19.12	101	28	19	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	
176[E]	South Africa – Apartheid	19.12	136	0	14	A	Y	A	A	Y	Y	A	A	A	A	Y	A	Y	
176[F]	South Africa – Apartheid	19.12	127	2	19	A	Y	A	A	Y	Y	A	A	A	A	Y	N	Y	
176[G]	South Africa – Apartheid	19.12	115	1	26	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	Y	
183	Palestinians	21.12	144	2	0	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
188	Entrepreneurships	21.12	146	1	0	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	

Resolutions adopted without resort to voting

A/RES/45	Date	Subject
1	18.9.90	UN membership – Liechtenstein
2	10.10.90	Haiti – Electoral assistance
3	15.10.90	Kampuchea – Situation
4	16.10.90	UN – AALC cooperation
5	16.10.90	UN – Latin American Economic System – Cooperation
6	16.10.90	UN – ICRC – Observer status
7	23.10.90	IAEA report
8	24.10.90	University for Peace – Anniversary
9	25.10.90	UN – Organization of the Islamic Conference – Cooperation
10	25.10.90	UN – OAS – Cooperation
12	7.11.90	Afghanistan – Situation
13	7.11.90	UN – OAU – Cooperation
14	7.11.90	Right to peace – Implementation
15	20.11.90	Central America – Situation
19	20.11.90	Southern Africa – Education and training programme
20	20.11.90	Non-self-governing territories
21	20.11.90	Western Sahara – Question
22	20.11.90	New Caledonia – Question
23	20.11.90	Anguilla – Question
24	20.11.90	Bermuda – Question
25	20.11.90	British Virgin Islands – Question
26	20.11.90	Cayman Islands – Question
27	20.11.90	Montserrat – Question
28	20.11.90	Turks and Caicos Islands
29	20.11.90	Tohelan
30	20.11.90	American Samoa
31	20.11.90	United States Virgin Islands
38	28.11.90	Geneva Conventions of 1949
40	28.11.90	International Law – UN Decade
41	28.11.90	ILC Report
42	28.11.90	UNCITRAL Report
43	28.11.90	Diplomatic courier – Draft articles
46	28.11.90	Committee on Relations with the Host Country – Report
47	28.11.90	Consular relations – Additional Protocol
52	4.12.90	Middle East – Nuclear-weapon-free zone
58[A]	4.12.90	General and complete disarmament
58[C]	4.12.90	General and complete disarmament
58[D]	4.12.90	General and complete disarmament
58[E]	4.12.90	General and complete disarmament
58[F]	4.12.90	General and complete disarmament
58[G]	4.12.90	General and complete disarmament
58[I]	4.12.90	General and complete disarmament
58[M]	4.12.90	General and complete disarmament
59[A]	4.12.90	UNGA – 12th Special Session
59[C]	4.12.90	UNGA – 12th Special Session
59[E]	4.12.90	UNGA – 12th Special Session
61	4.12.90	Science and technology for disarmament
62[A]	4.12.90	UNGA – 10th Special Session
62[B]	4.12.90	UNGA – 10th Special Session
62[F]	4.12.90	UNGA – 10th Special Session
62[G]	4.12.90	UNGA – 10th Special Session
64	4.12.90	Certain Conventional Weapons – Convention

A/RES/45	Date	Subject
65	4.12.90	Verification – UN role
66	4.12.90	Weapons of mass destruction – Prohibition
70	11.12.90	Science and peace
71	11.12.90	Atomic radiation
72	11.12.90	Outer space – Peaceful use
73[B]	11.12.90	UNRWA
73[C]	11.12.90	UNRWA
75	11.12.90	Peace-keeping operations
76[A]	11.12.90	Information
76[B]	11.12.90	Information
79	12.12.90	Mediterranean
81	12.12.90	Peace – Preparation
85	14.12.90	Human rights instruments
86	14.12.90	Social justice
88	14.12.90	CERD – Report
89	14.12.90	Racial discrimination – Status Convention
91	14.12.90	Disabled persons
92	14.12.90	Human rights – Scientific and technological developments
93	14.12.90	Human rights – Scientific and technological developments
94	14.12.90	Living conditions
95	14.12.90	Computerized personal data files
97	14.12.90	Right to development
98	14.12.90	Right to own property
99	14.12.90	Human rights – Public information
100	14.12.90	Assistance – Natural disasters
101	14.12.90	New international humanitarian order
102	14.12.90	Cooperation in the humanitarian field
103	14.12.90	Youth policies
104	14.12.90	Rights of the Child – Convention
105	14.12.90	Racial Discrimination – Decade
106	14.12.90	Ageing
107	14.12.90	Development – Crime prevention and criminal justice
108	14.12.90	UN – Crime prevention and criminal justice
109	14.12.90	Criminal justice – Computerization
110	14.12.90	Non-custodial measures
111	14.12.90	Treatment of prisoners
112	14.12.90	Juvenile delinquency
113	14.12.90	Juveniles – Treatment
114	14.12.90	Domestic violence
115	14.12.90	Children – Criminal activities
116	14.12.90	Extradition – Model Treaty
117	14.12.90	Mutual assistance in criminal matters
118	14.12.90	Transfer of proceedings
119	14.12.90	Transfer of supervision
120	14.12.90	Crime prevention – UN Congress
121	14.12.90	Crime prevention – UN Congress
122	14.12.90	Criminal justice education
123	14.12.90	Organized crime
124	14.12.90	Discrimination against women
125	14.12.90	UN Secretariat – Status of women
126	14.12.90	Women and literacy
127	14.12.90	Women in public life
128	14.12.90	Women – UN Development Fund
129	14.12.90	Women – Forward looking strategies

A/RES/45	Date	Subject
131	14.12.90	Self-determination
133	14.12.90	Family — International Year
134	14.12.90	Social welfare — Alcohol use
135	14.12.90	International covenants on human rights
136	14.12.90	Religious intolerance
137	14.12.90	Refugees — Southern Africa — Conference
138	14.12.90	UNHCR — Executive Committee
139	14.12.90	Liberian refugees
140	14.12.90	UNHCR
141	14.12.90	Central American refugees — Conference
142	14.12.90	Torture — Report
143	14.12.90	Torture — UN Voluntary Fund
144	14.12.90	Torture — Children — South Africa
146	18.12.90	Narcotic drugs — UN Convention
147	18.12.90	Drug abuse
148	18.12.90	Drugs — Global programme
149	18.12.90	Drugs — International action
152	18.12.90	Genocide — Status Convention
153	18.12.90	Mass exoduses
154	18.12.90	Somalia — Refugees — Assistance
155	18.12.90	Human rights — World Conference
156	18.12.90	Chad — Returnees — Assistance
157	18.12.90	Djibouti — Refugees — Assistance
158	18.12.90	Migrant workers — Convention
159	18.12.90	Malawi — Refugees — Assistance
160	18.12.90	Sudan — Refugees
161	18.12.90	Ethiopia — Refugees — Assistance
162	18.12.90	Summary or arbitrary executions
163	18.12.90	Human rights — UN action
165	18.12.90	Disappearances
166	18.12.90	Human rights — Administration of justice
167	18.12.90	Human rights — Regional arrangements
168	18.12.90	Human rights — Asian and Pacific region
169	18.12.90	Human rights — Cooperation
171	18.12.90	Southern Africa — Student refugees
172	18.12.90	El Salvador — Human rights
173	18.12.90	Iran — Human rights
174	18.12.90	Afghanistan — Human rights
175	18.12.90	UN Third Committee — Rationalization of work
176[A]	19.12.90	South Africa — Apartheid
176[H]	19.12.90	South Africa — Apartheid
177	19.12.90	UN — Economic and social field
178[A]	19.12.90	Africa — Economic situation
178[B]	19.12.90	Africa — Economic situation
178[C]	19.12.90	Africa — Economic situation
179	21.12.90	Drug abuse control — UN
180	21.12.90	Centre for Human Rights
181	21.12.90	Drinking Water — Decade
182	21.12.90	ECOSOC — Special meeting
184	21.12.90	Africa — Fisheries — Cooperation
185	21.12.90	Natural disaster reduction
186	21.12.90	Transnational corporations — Code of Conduct
187	21.12.90	AIDS
189	21.12.90	Cultural Development — World Decade

A/RES/45	Date	Subject
190	21.12.90	Chernobyl
191	21.12.90	Development – Human resources
192	21.12.90	Development – Transfer of resources
193	21.12.90	Yemen – Unification – Support
194	21.12.90	Development – Programmes
195	21.12.90	South Commission – Report
196	21.12.90	Industrial development cooperation
197	21.12.90	Driftnet fishing
198	21.12.90	Namibia LDC
199	21.12.90	UN Development Decade – Strategy
200	21.12.90	Commodities
201	21.12.90	Multilateral trade – International organizations
202	21.12.90	Island developing countries
203	21.12.90	Trade and Development Board
204	21.12.90	Transfer of technology – Code of Conduct
205	21.12.90	UNCTAD – Eighth Session
206	21.12.90	LDCs – Programme of action
207	21.12.90	Food and agriculture
208	21.12.90	Energy – Report
209	21.12.90	Energy – Developing countries
210	21.12.90	Environment and international trade
211	21.12.90	Environment and development – UN Conference
212	21.12.90	Climate
213	21.12.90	Poverty
214	21.12.90	International debt crisis
215	21.12.90	Development – UN Pledging Conference
216	21.12.90	Population and development
217	21.12.90	Children – World Summit
218	21.12.90	World food programme
219	21.12.90	UNITAR
220	21.12.90	UN University
221	21.12.90	UN Disaster Relief Coordinator
222	21.12.90	Yemen – Assistance
223	21.12.90	Chad – Special economic assistance
224	21.12.90	Front-line States – Special assistance
225	21.12.90	Lebanon – Assistance
226	21.12.90	Sudan – Operation Lifeline
227	21.12.90	Mozambique – Assistance
228	21.12.90	Djibouti – Assistance
229	21.12.90	Somalia – Emergency assistance
230	21.12.90	Benin a.o. – Assistance
231	21.12.90	Central America – Special plan
232	21.12.90	Liberia – Emergency assistance
233	21.12.90	Angola – Assistance
234	21.12.90	International economic cooperation – Declaration
235	21.12.90	UN – Financial reports
236[A]	21.12.90	UN – Financial crisis
236[B]	21.12.90	UN – Financial crisis
237	21.12.90	UN Joint Inspection Unit
238[A]	21.12.90	UN – Pattern of conferences
238[B]	21.12.90	UN – Pattern of conferences
239[A]	21.12.90	Personnel questions
239[B]	21.12.90	Personnel questions
239[C]	21.12.90	Personnel questions

UN voting

A/RES/45	Date	Subject
240	21.12.90	UN officials – Privileges and immunities
241	21.12.90	UN common system – ICSC Report
242	21.12.90	UN pension system
243	21.12.90	UNDOF – Financing
244	21.12.90	UNIFIL – Financing
245	21.12.90	UNIIMOG – Financing
246	21.12.90	UN Angola Verification Mission – Financing
247	21.12.90	UN Observer Group in Central America – Financing
248	21.12.90	UN programme budget – Biennium 1990-91
249	21.12.90	UN officials – Conditions of service
250[A]	21.12.90	UN officials – Conditions of service
250[B]	21.12.90	UN officials – Conditions of service
250[C]	21.12.90	UN officials – Conditions of service
251	21.12.90	UN Secretary-General – Salary
252[A]	21.12.90	UN programme budget – Biennium 1990-91
252[B]	21.12.90	UN programme budget – Biennium 1990-91
252[C]	21.12.90	UN programme budget – Biennium 1990-91
253	21.12.90	Programme planning
254[A]	21.12.90	UN – Administrative and financial functioning
254[B]	21.12.90	UN – Administrative and financial functioning
254[C]	21.12.90	UN – Administrative and financial functioning
255	21.12.90	UN – Proposed programme budget – Biennium 1992-93
256[A]	21.12.90	UN – Expenses – Scale of assessments
256[B]	21.12.90	UN – Expenses – Scale of assessments
256[C]	21.12.90	UN – Expenses – Scale of assessments
257[A]	21.12.90	Haiti – Special emergency assistance
257[B]	17.5.91	Haiti – Special emergency assistance
258	3.5.91	UN peace-keeping operations
259	3.5.91	UN Staff Regulations
260	3.5.91	UN Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission
261	3.5.91	UNCTAD Eighth Session
262	3.5.91	Costa Rica and Panama – Emergency assistance
263	13.5.91	Bangladesh – Assistance
264	13.5.91	UN – Economic and social fields
265	17.5.91	UNTAG – Financing
266	17.5.91	Western Sahara – UN Mission – Financing

**Voting chart of resolutions adopted
during the 45th year of the UN Security Council**

S/RES/	Subject	Date	Total vote			F	U K	U S A	U S S R
			Yes	No	Ab.				
647	Afghanistan – Situation	11.1.90	unanimous			Y	Y	Y	Y
648	Middle East – Situation	31.1.90	unanimous			Y	Y	Y	Y
649	Cyprus – Situation	12.3.90	unanimous			Y	Y	Y	Y
650	Central America – Efforts towards peace	27.3.90	unanimous			Y	Y	Y	Y
651	Iran-Iraq – Situation	29.3.90	unanimous			Y	Y	Y	Y
652	UN – Admission of new members	17.4.90	unanimous			Y	Y	Y	Y
653	Central America – Efforts towards peace	20.4.90	unanimous			Y	Y	Y	Y
654	Central America – Efforts towards peace	4.5.90	unanimous			Y	Y	Y	Y
655	Middle East – Situation	31.5.90	unanimous			Y	Y	Y	Y
656	Central America – Efforts towards peace	8.6.90	unanimous			Y	Y	Y	Y
657	Cyprus – Situation	15.6.90	unanimous			Y	Y	Y	Y
658	Western Sahara – Situation	27.6.90	unanimous			Y	Y	Y	Y
659	Middle East – Situation	31.7.90	unanimous			Y	Y	Y	Y
660	Iran-Iraq – Situation	2.8.90	14	0	1	Y	Y	Y	Y
661	Iran-Iraq – Situation	6.8.90	13	0	2	Y	Y	Y	Y
662	Iran-Iraq – Situation	9.8.90	unanimous			Y	Y	Y	Y
663	UN – Admission of new members	14.8.90	unanimous			Y	Y	Y	Y
664	Iran-Iraq – Situation	18.8.90	unanimous			Y	Y	Y	Y
665	Iran-Iraq – Situation	25.8.90	13	0	2	Y	Y	Y	Y
666	Iran-Iraq – Situation	13.9.90	13	2	0	Y	Y	Y	Y
667	Iran-Iraq – Situation	16.9.90	unanimous			Y	Y	Y	Y
668	Kampuchea – Situation	20.9.90	unanimous			Y	Y	Y	Y
669	Iran-Iraq – Situation	24.9.90	unanimous			Y	Y	Y	Y
670	Iran-Iraq – Situation	25.9.90	14	1	0	Y	Y	Y	Y
671	Iran-Iraq – Situation	27.9.90	unanimous			Y	Y	Y	Y
672	Occupied Arab territories	12.10.90	unanimous			Y	Y	Y	Y
673	Occupied Arab territories	24.10.90	unanimous			Y	Y	Y	Y
674	Iran-Iraq – Situation	29.10.90	13	0	2	Y	Y	Y	Y
675	Central America – Efforts towards peace	5.11.90	unanimous			Y	Y	Y	Y
676	Iran-Iraq – Situation	28.11.90	unanimous			Y	Y	Y	Y
677	Iran-Iraq – Situation	28.11.90	unanimous			Y	Y	Y	Y
678	Iran-Iraq – Situation	29.11.90	12	2	1	Y	Y	Y	Y
679	Middle East – Situation	30.11.90	unanimous			Y	Y	Y	Y
680	Cyprus – Situation	14.12.90	14	0	1	Y	Y	Y	Y
681	Occupied Arab territories	20.12.90	unanimous			Y	Y	Y	Y
682	Cyprus – Situation	21.12.90	unanimous			Y	Y	Y	Y
683	Trusteeship Council – Letter	22.12.90	14	1	0	Y	Y	Y	Y

Index

EPC Structure and procedure

Basic documents on EP

Copenhagen Report, 85/041, 86/090

Draft Treaty on European Political Cooperation, 85/317, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1)

London Report, 86/090

Luxembourg Report, 86/090

Single European Act, 86/090, 86/133, 86/140, 86/168, 86/198, 86/283, 86/308, 86/343, 86/387, 86/402, 86/407, 87/025, 87/038, 87/137, 87/175, 87/208, 87/239, 87/357, 87/374, 87/422, 87/425, 87/472, 87/498, 87/533, 88/041, 88/086, 88/100, 88/107, 88/161, 88/168, 88/187, 88/204, 88/420, 88/464, 88/467, 88/499, 88/523, 89/012, 89/027, 89/029, 89/056, 89/077, 89/080, 89/081, 89/091, 89/137, 89/190, 89/326, 90/001, 90/087, 90/147, 90/249, 90/410

Solemn Declaration on European Union, 85/080, 85/147, 85/317, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/090

Basic principles of EPC

Common position, 85/002, 85/003, 85/005, 85/037, 85/053, 85/145, 85/151, 85/152, 85/154, 85/164, 85/169, 85/186, 85/209, 85/219, 85/246, 85/252, 85/310, 85/317, 85/327, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/058, 86/059, 86/106, 86/121, 86/169, 86/187, 86/311, 86/400, 87/038, 87/076, 87/085, 87/240, 87/357, 88/465, 88/512, 89/204, 89/278, 90/001, 90/144, 90/212

Common foreign and security policy, 90/287, 90/396, 90/468

Common security policy, 90/396, 90/468

Common vote, 85/053, 85/104, 85/322, 86/058, 86/190, 86/407, 87/076, 87/357, 87/533

European identity in foreign policy, 85/014, 85/051, 85/096, 85/317, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/140, 87/438, 87/472, 88/025, 88/026, 88/027, 88/107, 88/187, 88/204, 88/499, 88/523, 89/029, 89/126, 89/188, 89/245, 89/326, 90/185, 90/249, 90/274, 90/287, 90/315, 90/337, 90/357, 90/412, 90/413, 90/431, 90/432

General principles, 85/002, 85/003, 85/004, 85/051, 85/080, 85/104, 85/317, 86/311, 87/137, 88/015, 88/156, 90/001, 90/085, 90/235, 90/359

Harmonization of foreign policies, 85/051, 85/145, 86/198, 87/051, 87/085, 87/498, 88/024, 88/298, 88/490, 89/029, 89/126, 89/245, 89/326, 90/001, 90/395, 90/413, 90/416

Institutionalization of EPC, 85/055, 86/187, 87/108

Joint action, 85/152, 85/163, 85/172, 85/178, 85/186, 85/225, 85/288, 85/293, 85/317, 85/320, 86/061, 86/140, 86/311, 87/533, 90/144, 90/338, 90/409

Working languages, 85/242

Relations of EPC with the European Communities, 85/002, 85/041, 85/080, 85/281, 85/317, 86/090, 86/128, 86/260, 86/309, 86/387, 86/402, 90/092, 90/413, 90/428

Jurisdiction of the EC institutions, 85/005, 85/054, 85/151, 85/177, 85/254, 85/258, 86/065, 86/076, 86/176, 86/201, 86/251, 86/309, 86/312, 86/314, 86/317, 86/343, 87/073, 87/147, 87/157, 87/173, 87/208, 87/209, 87/220, 87/318, 87/331, 87/399, 87/400, 87/422, 88/056, 88/075, 88/085, 88/093, 88/100, 88/119, 88/327, 88/332, 88/509, 89/027, 89/057, 89/289, 89/326, 90/092, 90/235, 90/410, 90/411, 90/413

Relations with the Commission, 85/005, 85/033, 85/165, 85/166, 85/172, 85/317, 85/318, 86/076, 86/090, 86/195, 86/200, 87/025, 88/175, 88/462, 88/499, 88/510, 89/076, 89/141, 89/160, 89/289, 90/092, 90/169, 90/185, 90/235, 90/274, 90/287, 90/360, 90/396, 90/410, 90/431, 90/432, 90/468

- Relations with COREPER, 86/076, 89/188
- Relations with the Council of Ministers, 85/003, 85/005, 85/044, 85/062, 85/077, 86/076, 86/090, 87/025, 88/462, 90/431, 90/432
- Relations with the Economic and Social Committee, 85/291, 86/025, 88/499, 90/100
- Relations with the European Parliament, 85/002, 85/005, 85/007, 85/008, 85/045, 85/052, 85/054, 85/080, 85/146, 85/148, 85/207, 85/242, 85/262, 85/267, 85/291, 85/293, 85/317, 85/318, 86/033, 86/071, 86/090, 86/093, 86/137, 86/140, 86/160, 86/164, 86/187, 86/195, 86/198, 86/210, 87/009, 87/026, 87/128, 87/239, 87/258, 87/307, 87/374, 87/425, 87/498, 87/518, 87/529, 87/533, 88/024, 88/026, 88/144, 88/156, 88/168, 88/179, 88/462, 88/499, 88/510, 89/016, 89/054, 89/141, 89/153, 89/188, 89/190, 89/204, 90/001, 90/028, 90/079, 90/100, 90/169, 90/190, 90/218, 90/225, 90/247, 90/249, 90/274, 90/287, 90/315, 90/359, 90/395, 90/396, 90/410, 90/431, 90/432, 90/468, 90/474
- Relations with the Political Affairs Committee, 86/090, 86/198, 87/187, 87/533, 88/100, 88/168, 88/499, 90/130
- Resolutions of the European Parliament, 85/076, 85/098, 85/146, 85/147, 85/201, 85/210, 85/262, 85/268, 85/293, 86/002, 86/025, 86/071, 86/140, 86/307, 86/308, 86/385, 86/386, 87/100, 87/148, 87/180, 87/208, 87/239, 87/280, 87/321, 87/425, 88/025, 88/061, 88/069, 88/070, 88/144, 88/163, 88/204, 88/253, 88/264, 88/318, 88/326, 88/328, 88/334, 88/420, 88/499, 88/510, 88/516, 89/016, 89/057, 89/059, 89/064, 89/065, 89/080, 89/089, 89/092, 89/112, 89/114, 89/141, 89/151, 89/158, 89/159, 89/188, 89/230, 89/233, 89/282, 89/322, 90/002, 90/079, 90/138, 90/190, 90/205, 90/241, 90/284, 90/358, 90/359, 90/383, 90/415, 90/428, 90/436
- Sphere of action of EPC, 85/003, 85/004, 85/005, 85/007, 85/009, 85/010, 85/027, 85/034, 85/035, 85/036, 85/040, 85/045, 85/047, 85/066, 85/067, 85/082, 85/093, 85/097, 85/101, 85/106, 85/109, 85/118, 85/119, 85/124, 85/125, 85/126, 85/127, 85/128, 85/132, 85/136, 85/142, 85/143, 85/147, 85/150, 85/151, 85/155, 85/156, 85/176, 85/180, 85/202, 85/203, 85/204, 85/205, 85/247, 85/248, 85/259, 85/260, 85/266, 85/283, 85/284, 85/319, 86/016, 86/017, 86/018, 86/019, 86/035, 86/064, 86/077, 86/082, 86/095, 86/101, 86/106, 86/109, 86/114, 86/120, 86/122, 86/129, 86/131, 86/133, 86/146, 86/158, 86/160, 86/197, 86/205, 86/207, 86/215, 86/225, 86/252, 86/253, 86/259, 86/260, 86/266, 86/278, 86/279, 86/280, 86/282, 86/283, 86/289, 86/309, 86/311, 86/317, 86/417 (Vol. 1988-1), 87/001, 87/004, 87/013, 87/021, 87/022, 87/025, 87/026, 87/034, 87/037, 87/060, 87/065, 87/067, 87/098, 87/111, 87/117, 87/122, 87/123, 87/126, 87/127, 87/132, 87/140, 87/149, 87/152, 87/156, 87/175, 87/183, 87/193, 87/194, 87/197, 87/198, 87/208, 87/209, 87/211, 87/220, 87/253, 87/257, 87/268, 87/269, 87/273, 87/275, 87/278, 87/279, 87/297, 87/302, 87/317, 87/358, 87/374, 87/440, 87/472, 87/473, 87/474, 87/496, 87/518, 87/520, 88/005, 88/012, 88/013, 88/019, 88/041, 88/042, 88/043, 88/044, 88/046, 88/062, 88/075, 88/086, 88/087, 88/109, 88/122, 88/155, 88/176, 88/187, 88/189, 88/191, 88/243, 88/276, 88/420, 88/429, 88/433, 88/463, 88/464, 88/510, 89/010, 89/029, 89/038, 89/039, 89/040, 89/056, 89/077, 89/084, 89/085, 89/088, 89/091, 89/128, 89/142, 89/151, 89/203, 89/217, 89/231, 89/236, 89/280, 89/289, 89/326, 89/328, 89/330, 89/332, 90/009, 90/016, 90/064, 90/079, 90/083, 90/126, 90/140, 90/156, 90/164, 90/166, 90/196, 90/204, 90/207, 90/215, 90/217, 90/244, 90/254, 90/261, 90/262, 90/282, 90/303, 90/325, 90/327, 90/335, 90/363, 90/413, 90/415, 90/425, 90/449, 90/450, 90/456, 90/458, 90/465
- Structure of EPC
- COREU, 86/090, 86/137, 86/387, 88/499
- Diplomatic missions, 85/020, 85/063, 85/065, 85/291, 86/090, 86/137, 86/195, 87/051, 87/533, 88/175, 88/499, 89/076, 89/156, 89/290, 89/322, 90/395, 90/473
- EPC Secretariat, 85/041, 85/055, 85/145, 85/267, 85/317, 86/090, 86/140, 86/387, 86/402, 86/407, 87/013, 87/025, 87/108, 87/219, 87/498, 88/467, 88/499
- European Correspondents' Group, 86/090, 86/387, 88/499
- European Council, 86/198, 89/188, 90/033, 90/169, 90/185, 90/222, 90/274, 90/287, 90/431, 90/432, 90/468

- Foreign Ministers, 85/003, 85/004, 85/005, 86/090, 86/137, 86/387, 87/108, 90/169, 90/185, 90/287, 90/379, 90/396, 90/431, 90/432, 90/474
- Member States, 85/005, 85/025, 85/030, 85/031, 85/037, 85/041, 85/044, 85/051, 85/053, 85/060, 85/068, 85/069, 85/078, 85/080, 85/082, 85/104, 85/154, 86/042, 86/090, 86/092, 86/195, 86/218, 86/311, 87/118, 87/124, 87/132, 87/138, 87/192, 87/315, 87/338, 87/339, 87/358, 87/424, 87/469, 87/531, 88/060, 88/157, 88/177, 88/179, 88/180, 88/435, 89/047, 89/153, 89/156, 89/231, 89/236, 89/245, 89/280, 90/010, 90/238, 90/473
- Ministers of Justice, 85/021, 86/039, 86/093, 86/134, 86/142, 86/144
- Ministers for the Interior, 85/021, 86/039, 86/093, 86/134, 86/142, 86/144
- Political Committee, 86/090, 86/137, 86/387, 87/208, 88/499, 89/188, 90/144, 90/379
- Presidency, 85/002, 85/003, 85/004, 85/005, 85/007, 85/041, 85/052, 85/055, 85/096, 85/098, 85/104, 85/147, 85/242, 85/274, 85/281, 85/291, 85/317, 86/090, 86/164, 86/195, 86/387, 87/021, 87/025, 87/108, 87/114, 87/208, 87/239, 87/273, 88/121, 88/161, 88/466, 89/221, 90/134, 90/144, 90/287, 90/379, 90/396
- Translation service, 85/242, 86/090, 86/387
- TREVI Group, 85/208, 85/272, 85/274, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/039, 86/093, 86/134, 86/142, 86/194, 86/200, 86/226, 86/318, 87/138, 87/172, 87/404, 88/462, 89/328, 90/026
- Troika, 85/041, 85/133, 85/139, 85/165, 85/166, 85/169, 85/170, 85/171, 85/172, 85/186, 85/221, 86/038, 86/090, 86/133, 86/134, 86/187, 87/061, 87/209, 87/351, 88/205, 88/499, 89/163, 89/166, 89/188, 89/221, 89/315, 89/318, 90/128, 90/144, 90/287, 90/379, 90/432
- Working groups, 86/090, 86/387, 87/208, 87/498, 87/533, 88/039, 88/144, 88/499, 89/326, 90/182, 90/401
- Human rights, 86/137, 88/025, 88/039, 88/061, 88/144, 89/016, 89/141, 90/144, 90/190, 90/382
- Regional, 86/071, 86/137, 87/054, 88/510
- Terrorism, 86/061, 86/093, 86/133, 86/142, 86/144, 87/025, 87/301
- United Nations, 86/137

Contacts of EPC

- Contacts with third countries, 86/183, 86/185, 86/198, 86/264, 86/286, 86/347, 86/407, 88/328
- Albania, 85/074, 85/149
- Algeria, 88/168, 89/015, 89/245
- Angola, 89/225, 89/318
- Argentina, 88/332
- Australia, 88/168, 88/499, 90/185
- Austria, 88/168, 88/204, 88/499
- Bolivia, 85/064
- Bulgaria, 89/081, 90/144
- Burundi, 85/261
- Canada, 85/041, 88/204, 88/499, 90/144, 90/185, 90/287, 90/338, 90/396, 90/431
- Chile, 85/028, 85/081, 85/091, 85/183, 85/286, 86/094, 87/091
- China, People's Republic of —, 85/041, 85/096, 85/147, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/047, 87/498, 87/533, 88/204, 88/499, 90/287, 90/417
- Colombia, 85/253, 90/177, 90/283
- Costa Rica, 85/253, 87/209, 90/177
- Cyprus, 85/176, 88/499, 90/163, 90/359

- Czechoslovakia, *90/144*
- Egypt, *86/071, 86/286, 86/407, 87/316, 88/014, 89/055, 89/163, 89/188, 90/144, 90/338*
- El Salvador, *85/253, 86/196, 90/177*
- Ethiopia, *85/148, 85/197*
- Finland, *88/466, 88/499*
- Front-line States, *86/025, 86/068, 86/069, 86/072, 86/127, 86/263, 86/273, 86/275, 86/347, 86/407, 86/415 (Vol. 1988-1), 87/025, 87/239, 89/012, 89/155, 89/188*
- Germany, Democratic Republic of, *90/287*
- Guatemala, *85/253, 90/177*
- Honduras, *85/253, 90/177*
- Hungary, *89/081, 89/188, 89/301, 90/144*
- India, *85/041, 86/047, 86/141, 86/144, 90/001*
- Indonesia, *85/141, 85/210, 88/499*
- Iran, *85/022, 85/090, 85/206, 85/223, 86/177, 89/017, 90/231, 90/279, 90/371, 90/457*
- Iraq, *85/090, 90/448, 90/469*
- Israel, *85/054, 85/138, 85/211, 86/021, 86/026, 87/222, 87/316, 88/009, 88/014, 88/168, 88/499, 89/014, 89/026, 89/055, 89/126, 89/163, 89/188, 90/287, 90/358*
- Japan, *85/041, 85/147, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/047, 86/407, 87/209, 87/498, 87/533, 88/204, 88/499, 90/185, 90/287*
- Jordan, *85/002, 85/120, 86/286, 88/014, 88/168, 88/523, 89/055, 89/163, 89/188, 90/315, 90/338*
- Kuwait, *90/315*
- Lebanon, *85/039, 85/096, 89/190, 89/194*
- Malta, *86/407, 88/168, 88/204, 88/499*
- Mexico, *85/253, 90/177*
- Morocco, *89/015, 89/245*
- Mozambique, *89/225*
- Nicaragua, *85/077, 85/253, 90/177*
- Norway, *85/041, 85/281, 88/168, 88/204, 88/499, 90/208*
- Pakistan, *85/099, 85/201*
- Panama, *85/253, 85/297, 86/150, 86/164, 89/219, 90/177*
- Philippines, *85/262, 86/075, 86/089, 86/132, 88/499*
- Poland, *86/092, 88/427, 89/081, 89/188, 89/301, 90/144*
- Portugal, *85/041, 85/164, 85/165, 85/166, 85/168, 85/170, 85/187, 85/189, 85/191, 85/253, 85/292, 85/293, 85/294, 85/330, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1)*
- Romania, *90/144*
- Saudi Arabia, *90/315, 90/338*
- South Africa, *85/165, 85/166, 85/169, 85/170, 85/171, 85/172, 85/186, 85/189, 85/194, 85/214, 85/221, 85/228, 85/238, 85/282, 85/318, 85/321, 86/038, 86/067, 86/069, 86/072, 86/074, 86/086, 86/118, 86/127, 86/164, 86/187, 86/198, 86/386, 86/407, 87/221, 87/484, 88/205, 89/135, 90/128, 90/161, 90/225, 90/232, 90/247*
- Soviet Union, *85/088, 85/089, 85/096, 85/198, 85/220, 85/258, 86/047, 86/056, 86/107, 86/110, 86/182, 86/407, 88/487, 88/523, 89/056, 89/081, 89/144, 89/188, 89/281, 89/334, 90/052, 90/144, 90/274, 90/287, 90/396, 90/468*

- Spain, 85/041, 85/164, 85/165, 85/166, 85/168, 85/170, 85/187, 85/189, 85/191, 85/253, 85/292, 85/293, 85/294, 85/330, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1)
- Sri Lanka, 90/144
- Syria, 85/096, 85/120, 87/533, 88/014, 88/523, 89/055, 89/163, 89/188
- Tunisia, 89/067, 89/245, 90/358
- Turkey, 85/019, 85/041, 85/052, 85/059, 85/062, 85/105, 85/115, 85/134, 85/176, 85/268, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/113, 86/128, 86/281, 86/313, 86/317, 86/407, 88/499, 88/521, 89/282, 90/415, 90/450
- Uganda, 85/020, 85/063, 85/065
- United States, 85/002, 85/041, 85/147, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/044, 86/095, 86/110, 86/407, 87/533, 88/168, 88/499, 89/118, 89/154, 89/188, 90/001, 90/134, 90/144, 90/185, 90/188, 90/195, 90/225, 90/274, 90/287, 90/315, 90/338, 90/343, 90/358, 90/379, 90/396, 90/432
- Venezuela, 85/253, 90/177
- Vietnam, 86/156, 88/509, 90/218
- Yugoslavia, 86/181, 86/338, 86/407, 88/466, 89/012
- Zambia, 86/067, 86/198
- Zimbabwe, 86/066, 86/198
- Contacts with international organizations and political groupings
- ACP States, 88/083, 88/123, 88/135, 88/151, 88/152, 88/168, 89/308, 90/185, 90/195, 90/468
- African National Congress, 85/172, 85/194, 85/228, 86/072, 86/415 (Vol. 1988-1), 89/225
- Arab League (League of Arab States), 86/133, 86/140, 86/286, 87/025, 87/119, 87/129, 87/209, 87/351, 88/168, 90/144, 90/358
- ASEAN, 85/012, 85/041, 85/123, 85/147, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/047, 86/089, 87/100, 87/209, 87/239, 87/498, 88/025, 88/499, 90/001, 90/093, 90/218, 90/225, 90/360
- Central American States, 85/001, 85/002, 85/017, 85/041, 85/051, 85/058, 85/068, 85/077, 85/096, 85/133, 85/139, 85/146, 85/182, 85/189, 85/297, 85/318, 85/340 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/062, 86/362, 86/363, 86/368, 86/381, 86/407, 87/016, 87/025, 87/031, 87/054, 87/057, 87/096, 87/128, 87/131, 87/132, 87/134, 87/135, 87/141, 87/142, 87/171, 87/200, 87/209, 87/324, 87/333, 87/335, 87/397, 87/398, 87/400, 87/475, 87/498, 87/533, 88/024, 88/025, 88/052, 88/056, 88/119, 88/168, 88/198, 88/204, 88/240, 89/012, 89/022, 89/073, 89/090, 89/120, 89/232, 89/243, 90/001, 90/007, 90/177
- Comecon, 85/258, 87/426
- Contadora Group, 85/001, 85/002, 85/017, 85/032, 85/041, 85/056, 85/096, 85/133, 85/139, 85/146, 85/189, 85/253, 85/297, 85/318, 85/340 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/235, 87/016, 87/025, 87/031, 87/054, 87/057, 87/096, 87/128, 87/134, 87/135, 87/141, 87/142, 87/171, 87/200, 87/209, 87/324, 87/335, 87/375, 87/498, 87/533, 88/024, 88/025, 88/052, 88/056, 88/119, 88/168, 88/198, 88/240, 89/012, 89/022, 89/073, 89/243
- Council of Europe, 85/041, 86/093, 88/168, 90/001, 90/357
- EFTA, 85/281, 90/169, 90/185, 90/274, 90/287, 90/468
- Euro-Arab Dialogue, 87/351, 88/025, 88/167, 88/172, 88/183, 88/204, 88/499, 89/012, 89/126, 89/245, 89/317, 89/329, 89/334, 90/001, 90/089, 90/225, 90/311, 90/315, 90/337, 90/338, 90/470
- Group of Eight, 88/332, 88/499, 89/012, 89/090, 89/188, 90/001, 90/144, 90/225, 90/239, 90/283, 90/338, 90/474
- Gulf Cooperation Council, 86/407, 87/498, 88/167, 88/168, 88/204, 90/225, 90/315
- Nordic Council, 87/239
- Organization of African Unity, 90/144
- PLO, 88/523, 89/055, 89/126, 89/188, 90/287, 90/358
- Rio Group, 90/468

South Asia Regional Cooperation, 86/116
SWAPO, 86/072
United Nations, 85/148, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1)
Secretary-General, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/104

Geographical references

Countries

Afghanistan, 85/002, 85/056, 85/068, 85/096, 85/117, 85/146, 85/162, 85/189, 85/238, 85/251, 85/300, 85/331, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/025, 86/137, 86/140, 86/152, 86/232, 86/240, 86/275, 86/306, 86/340, 86/363, 86/383, 86/384, 86/394, 86/407, 87/001, 87/002, 87/075, 87/143, 87/186, 87/187, 87/204, 87/209, 87/230, 87/239, 87/263, 87/295, 87/333, 87/349, 87/410, 87/419, 87/436, 87/452, 87/466, 87/498, 87/511, 87/517, 87/533, 88/024, 88/049, 88/075, 88/094, 88/114, 88/146, 88/168, 88/169, 88/182, 88/195, 88/204, 88/214, 88/216, 88/235, 88/298, 88/313, 88/322, 88/449, 88/452, 88/499, 88/529, 89/012, 89/053, 89/069, 89/092, 89/178, 89/190, 89/221, 89/225, 89/279, 90/001, 90/067, 90/093, 90/102, 90/144, 90/325, 90/338, 90/355, 90/438

Albania, 85/074, 85/149, 86/098, 86/112, 88/180, 88/195, 88/202, 88/423, 89/007, 89/150, 90/082, 90/102, 90/144, 90/193, 90/271, 90/275, 90/338, 90/364, 90/438

Algeria, 86/157, 87/026, 87/359, 88/142, 88/158, 88/168, 88/236, 88/421, 88/447, 88/499, 89/015, 89/165, 89/245

Angola, 85/002, 85/094, 85/096, 85/135, 85/187, 85/189, 85/279, 85/337 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/004, 86/005, 86/067, 86/068, 86/086, 86/199, 86/247, 86/273, 86/307, 87/018, 87/045, 87/052, 87/304, 87/448, 87/491, 87/523, 87/533, 88/025, 88/168, 88/170, 88/185, 88/204, 88/233, 88/248, 88/255, 88/298, 88/299, 88/313, 88/367, 88/384, 88/415, 88/452, 88/517, 88/526, 89/012, 89/136, 89/178, 89/198, 89/318, 90/094, 90/170, 90/269, 90/288, 90/317, 90/338, 90/341

Argentina, 85/051, 85/173, 85/232, 85/297, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/152, 87/042, 87/102, 88/133, 88/218, 88/276, 88/332, 88/399, 88/500, 90/338, 90/441

Australia, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 87/413, 88/499, 90/021, 90/098, 90/185, 90/218

Austria, 85/296, 85/333, 86/023, 86/026, 86/343, 87/011, 87/334, 88/157, 88/168, 88/192, 88/204, 88/420, 88/430, 88/436, 88/499, 88/523, 89/245, 90/147

Bahrain, 87/361, 89/033

Bangladesh, 87/185, 87/322, 89/178

Belgium, 85/005, 85/252, 85/292, 86/041, 86/052, 86/055, 86/084, 86/109, 86/115, 86/158, 86/162, 86/189, 86/227, 86/305, 87/003, 87/067, 87/078, 87/081, 87/087, 87/104, 87/108, 87/109, 87/115, 87/128, 87/177, 87/427, 87/535, 88/066, 88/264, 90/338

Benin, 85/110, 90/104, 90/372

Bolivia, 85/064, 85/068, 87/331, 88/470, 90/172

Botswana, 85/112, 85/135, 85/279, 86/067, 86/153, 86/173, 86/407, 87/015, 87/043, 88/074

Brazil, 85/002, 85/051, 85/173, 85/297, 87/094, 88/284, 88/294, 88/303, 88/347, 88/365, 89/117, 90/060, 90/338, 90/436

Bulgaria, 85/084, 85/103, 85/159, 86/151, 86/401, 87/284, 88/099, 88/337, 88/371, 89/056, 89/081, 89/113, 89/279, 90/033, 90/038, 90/045, 90/102, 90/144, 90/185, 90/190, 90/195, 90/222, 90/225, 90/257, 90/338

Burkina Faso, 90/043, 90/326

Burma (Myanmar), 88/227, 88/245, 88/292, 88/298, 88/499, 89/087, 89/150, 89/189, 89/201, 89/221, 89/279, 90/102, 90/144, 90/190, 90/219, 90/223, 90/296, 90/324, 90/338, 90/355, 90/438

Burundi, 85/261, 86/395, 87/215, 87/277, 88/298, 88/518

- Cameroon*, 86/333
- Canada*, 85/041, 85/221, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/302, 87/421, 88/204, 88/499, 89/314, 90/001, 90/098, 90/144, 90/169, 90/185, 90/225, 90/263, 90/287, 90/338, 90/357, 90/379, 90/413, 90/431
- Chad*, 87/333, 87/358, 88/302
- Chile*, 85/002, 85/028, 85/051, 85/064, 85/068, 85/081, 85/091, 85/174, 85/183, 85/189, 85/286, 85/300, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/025, 86/046, 86/048, 86/059, 86/094, 86/103, 86/137, 86/152, 86/245, 86/249, 86/272, 86/275, 86/294, 86/363, 86/407, 87/005, 87/029, 87/063, 87/088, 87/091, 87/186, 87/187, 87/323, 87/327, 87/332, 87/366, 87/383, 87/384, 87/404, 87/442, 87/466, 87/476, 87/498, 87/525, 87/530, 88/006, 88/060, 88/079, 88/081, 88/234, 88/238, 88/256, 88/259, 88/312, 88/325, 88/344, 88/388, 88/452, 88/499, 89/012, 89/023, 89/024, 89/025, 89/036, 89/047, 89/062, 89/069, 89/210, 89/221, 89/279, 89/320, 89/340, 90/001, 90/033, 90/102, 90/144, 90/190, 90/229, 90/338, 90/438, 90/473
- China, People's Republic of —*, 85/041, 85/051, 85/096, 85/160, 85/204, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/047, 86/052, 86/285, 86/341, 87/353, 87/418, 87/498, 87/529, 87/533, 88/024, 88/025, 88/204, 88/219, 88/270, 88/295, 88/343, 88/472, 88/499, 89/011, 89/018, 89/086, 89/099, 89/114, 89/171, 89/178, 89/180, 89/185, 89/203, 89/204, 89/221, 89/246, 89/279, 89/280, 89/322, 89/339, 90/001, 90/018, 90/023, 90/033, 90/102, 90/144, 90/190, 90/218, 90/258, 90/287, 90/315, 90/328, 90/329, 90/330, 90/332, 90/338, 90/417, 90/438, 90/447
- Colombia*, 85/253, 86/042, 87/027, 87/110, 87/133, 87/211, 89/096, 89/196, 89/221, 89/252, 90/020, 90/026, 90/059, 90/102, 90/143, 90/144, 90/176, 90/177, 90/184, 90/298, 90/338, 90/462
- Comoros*, 85/257
- Congo, People's Republic of the —*, 86/059, 89/188, 89/190, 90/048
- Costa Rica*, 85/253, 85/340 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/050, 86/085, 86/176, 86/319, 87/073, 87/096, 87/209, 87/282, 87/416, 90/177
- Côte d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast)*, 86/307, 90/372
- Cuba*, 85/199, 87/018, 87/045, 87/170, 87/186, 87/207, 87/304, 88/045, 88/156, 88/195, 88/196, 88/230, 88/248, 88/298, 88/320, 88/367, 88/415, 88/452, 88/526, 89/012, 89/069, 89/136, 89/150, 89/279, 90/102, 90/103, 90/144, 90/203, 90/438
- Cyprus*, 85/013, 85/038, 85/068, 85/095, 85/126, 85/176, 85/184, 85/185, 85/189, 85/195, 85/212, 85/222, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/100, 86/145, 86/152, 86/201, 86/243, 86/275, 86/280, 86/300, 86/309, 86/313, 86/316, 86/385, 86/403, 86/407, 87/012, 87/106, 87/173, 87/174, 87/186, 87/224, 87/244, 87/246, 87/299, 87/333, 87/352, 87/378, 87/388, 87/406, 87/479, 87/480, 87/481, 87/498, 88/025, 88/087, 88/093, 88/160, 88/188, 88/195, 88/204, 88/210, 88/253, 88/263, 88/298, 88/429, 88/478, 88/489, 88/499, 88/522, 89/012, 89/063, 89/069, 89/116, 89/178, 89/221, 89/235, 89/279, 89/313, 89/327, 89/330, 90/008, 90/012, 90/049, 90/084, 90/102, 90/120, 90/149, 90/157, 90/185, 90/187, 90/230, 90/265, 90/274, 90/301, 90/337, 90/338, 90/359, 90/373, 90/377, 90/415, 90/438, 90/450
- Czechoslovakia*, 85/151, 86/363, 86/402, 87/144, 87/252, 88/254, 88/471, 88/523, 89/056, 89/058, 89/279, 89/284, 89/298, 90/033, 90/102, 90/144, 90/185, 90/190, 90/195, 90/222, 90/225, 90/338
- Denmark*, 85/007, 85/053, 85/055, 85/061, 85/087, 85/292, 85/325, 86/052, 86/055, 86/115, 86/227, 86/252, 86/311, 86/412 (Vol. 1988-1), 87/081, 87/115, 87/239, 87/243, 87/320, 87/533, 87/535, 88/127, 88/172, 90/222
- Djibouti*, 86/231, 86/275
- Dominican Republic*, 90/451, 90/463
- Ecuador*, 87/241, 88/293, 89/129, 90/174
- Egypt*, 85/051, 85/054, 85/069, 85/093, 85/146, 85/229, 86/071, 86/275, 86/286, 86/407, 86/411 (Vol. 1988-1), 87/316, 87/533, 88/014, 88/085, 88/141, 88/251, 89/055, 89/163, 89/167, 89/188, 89/221, 89/225, 89/307, 89/309, 89/311, 90/062, 90/144, 90/175, 90/178, 90/313, 90/315, 90/321, 90/337, 90/338, 90/460

- El Salvador, 85/188, 85/253, 85/300, 86/001, 86/152, 86/193, 86/196, 86/312, 86/363, 87/096, 87/186, 87/187, 87/324, 87/423, 87/466, 88/195, 88/452, 88/474, 88/480, 89/057, 89/067, 89/069, 89/072, 89/073, 89/193, 89/243, 89/272, 89/275, 89/279, 89/297, 89/306, 89/321, 90/007, 90/019, 90/022, 90/032, 90/102, 90/112, 90/144, 90/177, 90/190, 90/211, 90/214, 90/227, 90/338, 90/367, 90/406, 90/408, 90/433, 90/438, 90/461, 90/462
- Ethiopia, 85/024, 85/148, 85/197, 86/033, 86/083, 86/231, 86/275, 87/026, 87/333, 87/460, 87/536, 88/104, 88/105, 88/106, 88/125, 88/168, 88/268, 88/298, 88/366, 88/499, 88/517, 89/177, 89/221, 89/319, 90/001, 90/030, 90/097, 90/102, 90/135, 90/250, 90/292, 90/320, 90/338, 90/350, 90/438, 90/464, 90/476
- Fiji, 88/220, 88/226
- Finland, 85/041, 85/055, 88/466, 88/499, 88/523
- France, 85/079, 85/082, 85/145, 85/151, 85/292, 85/325, 86/016, 86/017, 86/019, 86/052, 86/055, 86/092, 86/115, 86/120, 86/121, 86/126, 86/160, 86/162, 86/164, 86/165, 86/174, 86/227, 86/252, 86/402, 87/002, 87/004, 87/104, 87/115, 87/218, 87/279, 88/026, 88/041, 88/044, 88/046, 88/054, 88/086, 88/109, 88/111, 89/183, 89/190, 89/221, 89/245, 89/252, 90/098, 90/144, 90/169, 90/338
- Gabon, 87/347, 88/054
- Germany, Democratic Republic of —, 85/003, 86/405, 89/245, 89/262, 89/279, 89/301, 89/314, 89/334, 90/033, 90/074, 90/102, 90/122, 90/137, 90/169, 90/185, 90/190, 90/195, 90/222, 90/260, 90/274, 90/287, 90/337, 90/338, 90/390, 90/395, 90/407
- Germany, Federal Republic of —, 85/003, 85/035, 85/046, 85/122, 85/143, 85/145, 85/156, 85/222, 85/247, 85/285, 85/292, 86/052, 86/055, 86/115, 86/122, 86/149, 86/161, 86/162, 86/164, 86/165, 86/227, 86/252, 86/363, 86/377, 86/386, 86/402, 86/405, 86/407, 87/002, 87/078, 87/081, 87/115, 87/118, 87/240, 87/535, 88/013, 88/014, 88/017, 88/024, 88/025, 88/026, 88/035, 88/041, 88/043, 88/052, 88/058, 88/074, 88/086, 88/109, 88/121, 88/145, 88/153, 88/172, 88/349, 89/057, 89/073, 89/151, 90/122, 90/169, 90/185, 90/195, 90/222, 90/260, 90/261, 90/263, 90/274, 90/287, 90/327, 90/338, 90/353, 90/357, 90/395
- Greece, 85/007, 85/074, 85/104, 85/119, 85/125, 85/126, 85/127, 85/292, 86/052, 86/055, 86/112, 86/115, 86/162, 86/187, 86/227, 86/244, 86/256, 86/260, 86/313, 86/385, 86/401, 87/039, 87/076, 87/081, 87/115, 87/124, 87/301, 87/352, 88/055, 88/087, 88/103, 88/161, 88/172, 88/177, 88/204, 88/422, 89/153, 90/248
- Grenada, 86/079
- Guatemala, 85/253, 85/277, 85/300, 85/340 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/084, 86/152, 86/363, 86/407, 87/096, 87/177, 87/186, 87/187, 87/211, 87/386, 87/398, 87/423, 87/466, 88/130, 88/195, 88/277, 88/452, 89/279, 90/022, 90/039, 90/102, 90/144, 90/177, 90/190, 90/236, 90/300, 90/347, 90/408, 90/435, 90/438, 90/462
- Guinea-Bissau, Republic of —, 86/229
- Haiti, 87/492, 87/512, 88/034, 88/068, 88/120, 88/171, 88/223, 88/291, 90/025, 90/102, 90/144, 90/270, 90/434, 90/437, 90/463, 90/477
- Honduras, 85/253, 85/307, 86/050, 86/319, 87/096, 87/210, 87/248, 87/397, 88/275, 89/118, 90/177
- Hungary, 86/151, 86/363, 86/402, 87/376, 88/452, 89/056, 89/081, 89/184, 89/188, 89/221, 89/245, 89/279, 89/301, 89/334, 90/033, 90/065, 90/102, 90/137, 90/144, 90/195, 90/225, 90/275, 90/338, 90/396
- India, 85/041, 85/051, 85/323, 86/047, 86/088, 86/109, 86/141, 86/144, 86/228, 86/275, 87/203, 87/270, 87/291, 87/333, 87/407, 87/498, 88/004, 88/168, 88/476, 88/499, 89/093, 89/221, 90/001, 90/085, 90/144, 90/180, 90/200, 90/263, 90/338, 90/351, 90/387, 90/438, 90/459
- Indonesia, 85/141, 85/146, 85/210, 86/015, 86/413 (Vol. 1988-1), 87/100, 87/111, 87/113, 87/161, 87/266, 88/162, 88/206, 88/298, 88/362, 88/373, 89/221, 89/241, 89/269, 90/091, 90/098, 90/102, 90/113, 90/148, 90/205, 90/233, 90/284, 90/338, 90/369, 90/394, 90/414, 90/422

- Iran, 85/002, 85/004, 85/022, 85/043, 85/051, 85/068, 85/069, 85/090, 85/097, 85/146, 85/189, 85/206, 85/217, 85/223, 85/241, 85/294, 85/300, 85/312, 85/318, 85/322, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/025, 86/087, 86/096, 86/105, 86/137, 86/140, 86/143, 86/152, 86/177, 86/191, 86/209, 86/246, 86/268, 86/275, 86/285, 86/306, 86/363, 86/376, 86/407, 87/025, 87/033, 87/046, 87/075, 87/077, 87/081, 87/116, 87/119, 87/127, 87/186, 87/187, 87/189, 87/206, 87/209, 87/212, 87/217, 87/239, 87/250, 87/261, 87/306, 87/318, 87/333, 87/336, 87/371, 87/431, 87/466, 87/498, 87/505, 87/509, 87/517, 87/533, 88/013, 88/025, 88/043, 88/054, 88/080, 88/114, 88/122, 88/133, 88/167, 88/168, 88/170, 88/172, 88/183, 88/195, 88/200, 88/204, 88/229, 88/241, 88/244, 88/298, 88/406, 88/452, 88/494, 88/499, 89/003, 89/017, 89/061, 89/065, 89/068, 89/069, 89/138, 89/178, 89/188, 89/221, 89/279, 89/307, 89/322, 89/337, 90/028, 90/044, 90/093, 90/102, 90/117, 90/144, 90/167, 90/190, 90/231, 90/266, 90/279, 90/338, 90/348, 90/370, 90/371, 90/398, 90/412, 90/429, 90/438, 90/443, 90/457
- Iraq, 85/002, 85/004, 85/043, 85/051, 85/068, 85/069, 85/090, 85/097, 85/146, 85/189, 85/217, 85/233, 85/241, 85/294, 85/312, 85/318, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/025, 86/087, 86/096, 86/105, 86/140, 86/143, 86/177, 86/191, 86/209, 86/246, 86/275, 86/306, 86/376, 86/407, 87/025, 87/033, 87/077, 87/119, 87/127, 87/150, 87/187, 87/189, 87/206, 87/209, 87/212, 87/217, 87/239, 87/261, 87/306, 87/333, 87/371, 87/431, 87/498, 87/505, 87/509, 87/517, 87/533, 88/025, 88/043, 88/114, 88/122, 88/167, 88/168, 88/170, 88/172, 88/183, 88/200, 88/204, 88/241, 88/244, 88/298, 88/330, 88/359, 88/360, 88/406, 88/452, 88/494, 88/499, 89/017, 89/059, 89/150, 89/221, 89/279, 89/294, 89/307, 89/337, 90/093, 90/102, 90/136, 90/144, 90/181, 90/190, 90/213, 90/240, 90/293, 90/297, 90/307, 90/309, 90/311, 90/312, 90/313, 90/315, 90/319, 90/321, 90/337, 90/338, 90/339, 90/340, 90/348, 90/355, 90/359, 90/390, 90/399, 90/409, 90/411, 90/413, 90/438, 90/439, 90/440, 90/443, 90/447, 90/448, 90/453, 90/456, 90/460, 90/469, 90/473
- Ireland, 85/007, 85/009, 85/202, 85/203, 85/252, 85/292, 86/052, 86/055, 86/162, 86/227, 87/081, 87/123, 87/134, 87/175, 87/183, 87/209, 88/122, 88/230, 90/001, 90/144, 90/222, 90/249, 90/274, 90/287
- Israel, 85/002, 85/016, 85/039, 85/051, 85/054, 85/068, 85/069, 85/138, 85/146, 85/179, 85/189, 85/191, 85/211, 85/231, 85/233, 85/250, 85/256, 85/270, 85/300, 85/305, 85/309, 85/312, 85/318, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/021, 86/023, 86/026, 86/036, 86/099, 86/137, 86/171, 86/178, 86/267, 86/275, 86/300, 86/315, 86/359, 86/363, 86/373, 86/376, 86/389, 86/408, 86/411 (Vol. 1988-1), 87/028, 87/067, 87/081, 87/083, 87/095, 87/119, 87/155, 87/187, 87/209, 87/222, 87/312, 87/316, 87/333, 87/348, 87/393, 87/449, 87/456, 87/465, 87/466, 87/488, 87/498, 87/504, 87/505, 87/533, 87/535, 88/009, 88/014, 88/020, 88/025, 88/036, 88/057, 88/058, 88/077, 88/082, 88/084, 88/096, 88/101, 88/115, 88/121, 88/124, 88/161, 88/167, 88/168, 88/174, 88/204, 88/247, 88/262, 88/298, 88/313, 88/333, 88/335, 88/352, 88/370, 88/384, 88/392, 88/408, 88/420, 88/425, 88/432, 88/443, 88/447, 88/452, 88/494, 88/499, 88/507, 88/511, 88/525, 89/012, 89/014, 89/026, 89/055, 89/069, 89/105, 89/110, 89/126, 89/133, 89/154, 89/163, 89/168, 89/181, 89/188, 89/190, 89/221, 89/224, 89/245, 89/247, 89/279, 89/285, 89/299, 89/307, 89/309, 89/311, 89/312, 89/329, 90/001, 90/005, 90/027, 90/062, 90/088, 90/093, 90/096, 90/102, 90/125, 90/155, 90/160, 90/190, 90/194, 90/220, 90/221, 90/225, 90/243, 90/267, 90/274, 90/276, 90/281, 90/287, 90/315, 90/337, 90/338, 90/355, 90/356, 90/358, 90/359, 90/383, 90/398, 90/400, 90/409, 90/438, 90/440, 90/443, 90/453, 90/470
- Italy, 85/002, 85/010, 85/035, 85/082, 85/099, 85/165, 85/166, 85/186, 85/292, 85/333, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/052, 86/055, 86/098, 86/115, 86/133, 86/162, 86/227, 87/002, 87/060, 87/081, 87/104, 87/115, 87/155, 87/218, 88/027, 88/095, 88/157, 88/180, 88/254, 88/396, 88/399, 90/111, 90/144, 90/262, 90/274, 90/287
- Ivory Coast (Côte d'Ivoire), 86/307, 90/372
- Japan, 85/041, 85/109, 85/147, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/047, 86/374, 86/402, 86/407, 87/209, 87/498, 87/533, 88/024, 88/025, 88/111, 88/168, 88/204, 88/266, 88/490, 88/499, 89/008, 90/001, 90/098, 90/185, 90/287, 90/315

- Jordan, 85/002, 85/051, 85/069, 85/120, 85/146, 85/175, 85/189, 85/211, 85/294, 85/305, 85/309, 85/318, 86/023, 86/026, 86/071, 86/286, 86/411 (Vol. 1988-1), 88/007, 88/014, 88/025, 88/039, 88/085, 88/124, 88/141, 88/168, 88/260, 88/523, 89/028, 89/055, 89/163, 89/188, 90/047, 90/313, 90/315, 90/321, 90/337, 90/338, 90/460
- Kampuchea, 85/002, 85/012, 85/068, 85/096, 85/146, 85/189, 85/237, 85/238, 85/300, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/139, 86/152, 86/275, 86/304, 86/306, 86/363, 86/407, 87/186, 87/303, 87/333, 87/349, 87/370, 87/419, 87/466, 87/498, 88/025, 88/063, 88/114, 88/168, 88/170, 88/195, 88/204, 88/242, 88/298, 88/308, 88/313, 88/331, 88/389, 88/452, 88/499, 89/011, 89/012, 89/178, 89/183, 89/190, 89/221, 89/225, 89/269, 89/279, 89/333, 90/001, 90/002, 90/021, 90/093, 90/098, 90/102, 90/106, 90/144, 90/165, 90/212, 90/218, 90/256, 90/322, 90/337, 90/338, 90/342, 90/355, 90/360, 90/385, 90/390, 90/417, 90/438
- Kenya, 85/229, 86/010, 87/308, 88/137, 88/305, 88/338, 89/035, 90/035
- Kiribati, 88/226
- Kuwait, 87/026, 87/077, 88/217, 90/293, 90/297, 90/307, 90/309, 90/311, 90/312, 90/313, 90/315, 90/319, 90/321, 90/337, 90/338, 90/339, 90/340, 90/355, 90/358, 90/359, 90/390, 90/399, 90/409, 90/413, 90/438, 90/439, 90/440, 90/443, 90/447, 90/448, 90/453, 90/469
- Laos, 86/275, 90/055
- Lebanon, 85/016, 85/039, 85/051, 85/068, 85/069, 85/092, 85/096, 85/107, 85/146, 85/175, 85/189, 85/192, 85/250, 85/270, 85/312, 85/314, 85/318, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/178, 86/186, 86/243, 86/252, 86/275, 86/300, 86/306, 86/321, 86/324, 86/376, 86/407, 87/025, 87/095, 87/097, 87/119, 87/186, 87/187, 87/239, 87/256, 87/262, 87/315, 87/333, 87/344, 87/377, 87/414, 87/462, 87/498, 87/505, 87/509, 88/085, 88/114, 88/115, 88/147, 88/168, 88/172, 88/183, 88/195, 88/204, 88/213, 88/269, 88/298, 88/408, 88/448, 88/488, 88/494, 88/499, 89/012, 89/097, 89/103, 89/131, 89/133, 89/134, 89/156, 89/161, 89/166, 89/175, 89/178, 89/188, 89/190, 89/191, 89/192, 89/194, 89/216, 89/218, 89/220, 89/221, 89/223, 89/229, 89/244, 89/245, 89/247, 89/253, 89/304, 89/305, 89/307, 89/316, 90/001, 90/050, 90/093, 90/144, 90/167, 90/216, 90/279, 90/310, 90/311, 90/315, 90/337, 90/338, 90/339, 90/375, 90/381, 90/398, 90/411, 90/413, 90/443, 90/471
- Lesotho, 86/067, 86/159, 86/211
- Liberia, 90/107, 90/183, 90/290, 90/294, 90/331, 90/338, 90/438
- Libya, 85/005, 85/031, 85/078, 85/259, 86/078, 86/081, 86/099, 86/119, 86/133, 86/149, 86/164, 86/168, 86/172, 86/221, 86/224, 86/244, 86/252, 86/275, 86/276, 86/324, 86/399, 86/402, 86/407, 87/007, 87/081, 87/301, 87/333, 87/358, 87/405, 89/059, 90/054
- Liechtenstein, 90/337
- Luxembourg, 85/146, 85/165, 85/166, 85/186, 85/189, 85/292, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/052, 86/055, 86/141, 86/161, 86/227, 87/081
- Madagascar, 88/139
- Malawi, 88/138, 90/037, 90/105, 90/323
- Malaysia, 87/526, 88/211, 88/224, 88/287, 88/304, 90/253, 90/282, 90/405
- Malta, 85/049, 86/407, 87/017, 88/025, 88/168, 88/204, 88/378, 88/499, 88/523, 89/012
- Mauritania, 87/285, 88/288, 89/032, 89/221, 90/178, 90/338
- Mauritius, 88/168
- Mexico, 85/189, 85/253, 86/115, 87/133, 87/403, 88/199, 90/173, 90/177, 90/336, 90/462
- Morocco, 85/284, 86/157, 86/166, 86/208, 86/255, 86/314, 86/320, 86/391, 87/001, 87/026, 87/055, 87/076, 87/083, 87/092, 87/104, 87/220, 87/294, 88/070, 88/076, 88/097, 88/142, 88/158, 88/201, 88/334, 88/421, 88/499, 89/004, 89/015, 89/164, 89/230, 89/245, 89/288, 89/331, 90/138, 90/146, 90/201, 90/241
- Mozambique, 85/002, 85/015, 85/068, 85/096, 86/065, 86/067, 86/068, 86/072, 86/303, 86/307, 86/392, 87/001, 87/190, 87/249, 87/289, 87/412, 87/430, 88/025, 88/134, 88/168, 88/300, 88/307, 89/199, 89/318, 90/269, 90/288, 90/305, 90/317, 90/338
- Myanmar (see Burma)

- Namibia, 85/002, 85/070, 85/112, 85/146, 85/161, 85/167, 85/187, 85/189, 85/195, 85/219, 85/238, 85/279, 85/300, 85/327, 85/337 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/343 (Vol. 1987-1), 86/004, 86/005, 86/006, 86/007, 86/008, 86/067, 86/068, 86/072, 86/106, 86/152, 86/162, 86/180, 86/197, 86/199, 86/202, 86/212, 86/216, 86/217, 86/218, 86/234, 86/247, 86/273, 86/274, 86/275, 86/306, 86/307, 86/327, 86/354, 86/363, 86/365, 86/407, 87/015, 87/045, 87/047, 87/048, 87/049, 87/050, 87/056, 87/069, 87/186, 87/333, 87/349, 87/363, 87/419, 87/448, 87/451, 87/466, 87/498, 87/533, 88/025, 88/114, 88/123, 88/168, 88/170, 88/185, 88/195, 88/204, 88/233, 88/248, 88/255, 88/271, 88/298, 88/299, 88/313, 88/314, 88/340, 88/352, 88/367, 88/384, 88/414, 88/415, 88/440, 88/452, 88/469, 88/499, 88/510, 88/517, 88/526, 89/012, 89/107, 89/136, 89/178, 89/190, 89/195, 89/221, 89/225, 89/241, 89/250, 89/273, 89/279, 89/308, 89/318, 89/335, 90/033, 90/078, 90/093, 90/094, 90/099, 90/102, 90/141, 90/190, 90/269, 90/314, 90/338, 90/355, 90/365, 90/394, 90/404, 90/438, 90/468, 90/473
- Nepal, 87/393, 88/289, 90/036, 90/179, 90/200
- Netherlands, The —, 85/126, 85/165, 85/166, 85/186, 85/292, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/025, 86/052, 86/055, 86/076, 86/096, 86/115, 86/140, 86/141, 86/162, 86/164, 86/165, 86/189, 86/198, 86/227, 86/272, 87/004, 87/081, 87/115, 87/161, 87/427, 90/338
- New Caledonia, 87/302, 87/357
- New Zealand, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/016, 86/160, 87/062, 87/216
- Nicaragua, 85/029, 85/032, 85/058, 85/077, 85/108, 85/111, 85/199, 85/253, 85/275, 86/050, 86/053, 86/062, 86/080, 86/085, 86/111, 86/130, 86/133, 86/176, 86/233, 86/251, 86/319, 86/368, 86/381, 86/384, 86/409 (Vol. 1988-1), 87/016, 87/024, 87/031, 87/057, 87/066, 87/079, 87/094, 87/096, 87/142, 87/157, 87/159, 87/210, 87/328, 87/335, 87/343, 87/375, 87/399, 87/401, 87/423, 88/056, 88/073, 88/119, 88/520, 89/057, 89/066, 89/067, 89/072, 89/073, 89/193, 89/243, 90/031, 90/108, 90/114, 90/133, 90/177, 90/225, 90/338, 90/390, 90/408, 90/462
- Nigeria, 85/110, 85/216, 86/014, 86/031, 86/190, 86/285, 86/346, 87/350, 90/295
- North Korea, 85/101, 85/189, 85/199, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/275, 87/333, 87/498, 88/029, 88/298, 88/403, 88/499, 89/121, 89/221, 90/337, 90/338
- Norway, 85/041, 85/055, 85/281, 88/168, 88/204, 88/499, 88/523, 90/208
- Pakistan, 85/057, 85/068, 85/099, 85/162, 85/189, 85/201, 85/251, 85/331, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/091, 86/096, 86/285, 86/290, 86/340, 87/143, 87/230, 87/263, 87/295, 87/313, 87/333, 87/452, 87/511, 88/004, 88/049, 88/094, 88/297, 89/044, 89/053, 89/101, 90/144, 90/180, 90/263, 90/338, 90/351
- Panama, 85/253, 85/297, 86/150, 86/164, 87/096, 87/133, 88/053, 88/092, 89/139, 89/147, 89/197, 89/219, 89/221, 89/279, 89/322, 89/345, 90/076, 90/086, 90/114, 90/144, 90/177, 90/190, 90/202, 90/245
- Papua New Guinea, 88/226
- Paraguay, 85/189, 87/094, 87/103, 87/225, 87/310, 88/473, 89/047, 89/048, 89/130
- Peru, 85/173, 85/297, 86/152, 86/284, 86/341, 87/044, 87/081, 87/186, 87/346, 87/402, 87/418, 87/428, 87/441, 88/296, 90/041, 90/144, 90/291, 90/299, 90/338
- Philippines, 85/262, 85/332, 86/070, 86/075, 86/089, 86/132, 86/138, 86/213, 86/363, 86/407, 87/035, 87/093, 87/209, 87/293, 87/498, 88/372, 88/499, 89/173, 89/310, 90/093, 90/354, 90/362
- Poland, 85/002, 85/046, 85/146, 85/158, 85/189, 85/287, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/092, 86/121, 86/137, 86/151, 86/270, 86/363, 86/372, 86/407, 87/008, 87/081, 87/181, 87/187, 87/195, 87/209, 87/239, 88/116, 89/006, 89/052, 89/056, 89/081, 89/106, 89/172, 89/184, 89/188, 89/202, 89/221, 89/245, 89/279, 89/301, 89/334, 90/033, 90/057, 90/065, 90/102, 90/144, 90/169, 90/195, 90/225, 90/338
- Portugal, 85/041, 85/044, 85/141, 85/164, 85/165, 85/166, 85/168, 85/169, 85/170, 85/171, 85/172, 85/173, 85/174, 85/186, 85/187, 85/188, 85/189, 85/191, 85/194, 85/195, 85/196,

- 85/209, 85/214, 85/216, 85/217, 85/221, 85/224, 85/225, 85/228, 85/229, 85/232, 85/234, 85/239, 85/240, 85/241, 85/249, 85/250, 85/251, 85/253, 85/254, 85/255, 85/263, 85/272, 85/275, 85/279, 85/289, 85/292, 85/293, 85/294, 85/295, 85/296, 85/297, 85/300, 85/302, 85/303, 85/304, 85/306, 85/307, 85/310, 85/312, 85/313, 85/315, 85/318, 85/321, 85/324, 85/325, 85/326, 85/327, 85/328, 85/330, 85/331, 85/332, 85/337 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/018, 86/052, 86/055, 86/198, 86/227, 86/309, 86/407, 87/081, 87/087, 87/096, 87/100, 87/111, 87/161, 87/193, 87/254, 87/266, 88/162, 88/206, 88/298, 88/300, 88/422, 89/221, 89/241, 90/014, 90/091, 90/288, 90/338, 90/394, 90/414
- Qatar, 90/337*
- Romania, 86/151, 86/372, 86/402, 86/407, 87/081, 87/223, 87/376, 87/462, 87/466, 87/508, 88/047, 88/069, 88/118, 88/165, 88/361, 88/374, 88/427, 88/452, 88/499, 88/516, 89/021, 89/078, 89/102, 89/112, 89/143, 89/150, 89/157, 89/188, 89/190, 89/207, 89/277, 89/279, 89/289, 89/322, 89/343, 89/344, 90/033, 90/064, 90/066, 90/102, 90/123, 90/137, 90/144, 90/171, 90/185, 90/190, 90/195, 90/225, 90/251, 90/275, 90/338, 90/421, 90/423*
- Rwanda, 87/202, 88/280, 88/298, 90/392, 90/438*
- Samoa, 88/226*
- Saudi Arabia, 85/243, 86/285, 87/471, 87/532, 88/067, 90/315, 90/338, 90/447*
- Senegal, 85/221, 89/221, 90/144, 90/178, 90/338*
- Sierra Leone, 90/043, 90/139*
- Singapore, 88/126, 88/224, 88/279, 88/468, 89/290, 90/115, 90/405*
- Solomon Islands, 88/226, 89/053*
- Somalia, 85/231, 86/275, 88/106, 88/172, 88/298, 88/366, 88/499, 88/517, 89/034, 89/221, 89/279, 90/001, 90/097, 90/102, 90/259, 90/289, 90/318, 90/338, 90/346, 90/372, 90/438*
- South Africa, 85/002, 85/015, 85/030, 85/040, 85/048, 85/050, 85/051, 85/061, 85/068, 85/070, 85/086, 85/087, 85/094, 85/112, 85/121, 85/135, 85/144, 85/146, 85/152, 85/157, 85/161, 85/164, 85/165, 85/166, 85/167, 85/169, 85/170, 85/171, 85/172, 85/186, 85/187, 85/189, 85/194, 85/209, 85/214, 85/221, 85/228, 85/238, 85/279, 85/282, 85/288, 85/291, 85/292, 85/293, 85/300, 85/315, 85/318, 85/320, 85/321, 85/324, 85/325, 85/327, 85/337 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/343 (Vol. 1987-1), 86/003, 86/014, 86/020, 86/025, 86/030, 86/037, 86/038, 86/040, 86/058, 86/063, 86/065, 86/067, 86/068, 86/069, 86/072, 86/074, 86/076, 86/086, 86/097, 86/102, 86/118, 86/126, 86/127, 86/136, 86/137, 86/140, 86/152, 86/153, 86/158, 86/159, 86/161, 86/164, 86/165, 86/173, 86/175, 86/179, 86/180, 86/183, 86/185, 86/187, 86/189, 86/190, 86/195, 86/198, 86/199, 86/204, 86/206, 86/211, 86/217, 86/218, 86/219, 86/234, 86/237, 86/238, 86/247, 86/257, 86/262, 86/263, 86/264, 86/271, 86/273, 86/274, 86/275, 86/277, 86/285, 86/291, 86/296, 86/303, 86/307, 86/308, 86/322, 86/323, 86/326, 86/327, 86/347, 86/349, 86/354, 86/361, 86/363, 86/365, 86/384, 86/386, 86/392, 86/397, 86/402, 86/406, 86/407, 86/410 (Vol. 1988-1), 86/412 (Vol. 1988-1), 87/001, 87/003, 87/006, 87/008, 87/015, 87/020, 87/025, 87/043, 87/051, 87/061, 87/064, 87/065, 87/067, 87/070, 87/078, 87/086, 87/101, 87/136, 87/139, 87/145, 87/164, 87/165, 87/186, 87/187, 87/188, 87/196, 87/209, 87/213, 87/214, 87/218, 87/221, 87/234, 87/239, 87/240, 87/243, 87/245, 87/247, 87/251, 87/264, 87/269, 87/276, 87/319, 87/320, 87/333, 87/349, 87/360, 87/373, 87/382, 87/412, 87/419, 87/427, 87/429, 87/448, 87/451, 87/464, 87/466, 87/478, 87/482, 87/484, 87/491, 87/498, 87/523, 87/533, 88/016, 88/022, 88/025, 88/037, 88/050, 88/066, 88/074, 88/083, 88/110, 88/113, 88/114, 88/123, 88/127, 88/128, 88/129, 88/134, 88/135, 88/149, 88/151, 88/152, 88/153, 88/159, 88/163, 88/168, 88/170, 88/179, 88/184, 88/195, 88/204, 88/205, 88/207, 88/208, 88/214, 88/232, 88/233, 88/239, 88/246, 88/248, 88/255, 88/257, 88/258, 88/264, 88/265, 88/267, 88/271, 88/273, 88/274, 88/282, 88/298, 88/299, 88/300, 88/307, 88/313, 88/319, 88/339, 88/340, 88/341, 88/349, 88/367, 88/377, 88/384, 88/391, 88/414, 88/415, 88/416, 88/422, 88/426, 88/435, 88/450, 88/452, 88/459, 88/469, 88/486, 88/491, 88/499, 88/526, 89/009, 89/012, 89/036, 89/037, 89/038, 89/039, 89/040, 89/041, 89/042, 89/043, 89/046, 89/049, 89/050, 89/069,*

- 89/071, 89/082, 89/100, 89/109, 89/119, 89/135, 89/136, 89/140, 89/149, 89/153, 89/155, 89/174, 89/178, 89/190, 89/200, 89/209, 89/211, 89/214, 89/221, 89/225, 89/251, 89/261, 89/266, 89/293, 89/300, 89/302, 89/308, 89/318, 89/335, 90/001, 90/033, 90/042, 90/051, 90/063, 90/073, 90/093, 90/101, 90/102, 90/111, 90/128, 90/161, 90/189, 90/190, 90/224, 90/225, 90/232, 90/235, 90/247, 90/269, 90/272, 90/274, 90/287, 90/306, 90/308, 90/316, 90/337, 90/338, 90/344, 90/355, 90/365, 90/374, 90/388, 90/390, 90/438, 90/442, 90/468, 90/472, 90/473
- South Korea, 85/101, 85/189, 85/278, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 87/238, 87/309, 87/325, 87/333, 87/355, 87/356, 87/498, 87/538, 88/029, 88/215, 88/298, 88/403, 88/499, 89/221, 90/158, 90/242, 90/255, 90/337, 90/338
- Soviet Union, 85/002, 85/008, 85/014, 85/023, 85/035, 85/051, 85/056, 85/068, 85/083, 85/088, 85/089, 85/096, 85/114, 85/117, 85/146, 85/150, 85/153, 85/162, 85/179, 85/189, 85/198, 85/217, 85/220, 85/251, 85/258, 85/259, 85/269, 85/276, 85/300, 85/306, 85/318, 85/330, 85/331, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/009, 86/022, 86/027, 86/029, 86/034, 86/047, 86/052, 86/056, 86/059, 86/100, 86/107, 86/110, 86/137, 86/140, 86/148, 86/151, 86/170, 86/182, 86/198, 86/220, 86/222, 86/232, 86/240, 86/254, 86/265, 86/275, 86/278, 86/287, 86/288, 86/300, 86/306, 86/308, 86/340, 86/343, 86/344, 86/363, 86/374, 86/383, 86/384, 86/394, 86/402, 86/404, 86/405, 86/407, 86/414 (Vol. 1988-1), 86/416 (Vol. 1988-1), 87/001, 87/002, 87/018, 87/030, 87/081, 87/085, 87/089, 87/099, 87/121, 87/148, 87/151, 87/152, 87/158, 87/162, 87/175, 87/176, 87/187, 87/204, 87/209, 87/230, 87/239, 87/244, 87/259, 87/263, 87/275, 87/278, 87/304, 87/333, 87/374, 87/385, 87/426, 87/452, 87/466, 87/498, 87/511, 87/533, 88/015, 88/024, 88/025, 88/027, 88/049, 88/094, 88/145, 88/150, 88/168, 88/169, 88/176, 88/193, 88/197, 88/204, 88/216, 88/298, 88/313, 88/353, 88/363, 88/375, 88/420, 88/436, 88/449, 88/452, 88/457, 88/479, 88/487, 88/523, 88/529, 89/005, 89/012, 89/055, 89/056, 89/081, 89/144, 89/154, 89/170, 89/178, 89/184, 89/188, 89/204, 89/205, 89/221, 89/225, 89/245, 89/279, 89/281, 89/283, 89/291, 89/301, 89/314, 89/334, 90/003, 90/011, 90/027, 90/033, 90/069, 90/096, 90/102, 90/109, 90/110, 90/116, 90/142, 90/144, 90/145, 90/150, 90/152, 90/169, 90/182, 90/190, 90/192, 90/195, 90/274, 90/287, 90/304, 90/315, 90/334, 90/338, 90/339, 90/355, 90/357, 90/380, 90/384, 90/386, 90/395, 90/396, 90/419, 90/438, 90/447, 90/468, 90/475
- Spain, 85/036, 85/041, 85/044, 85/136, 85/164, 85/165, 85/166, 85/168, 85/169, 85/170, 85/171, 85/172, 85/173, 85/174, 85/186, 85/187, 85/188, 85/189, 85/191, 85/194, 85/195, 85/196, 85/209, 85/214, 85/216, 85/217, 85/221, 85/224, 85/225, 85/228, 85/229, 85/232, 85/234, 85/239, 85/240, 85/241, 85/249, 85/250, 85/251, 85/253, 85/254, 85/255, 85/263, 85/269, 85/272, 85/275, 85/279, 85/289, 85/292, 85/293, 85/294, 85/295, 85/296, 85/297, 85/300, 85/302, 85/303, 85/304, 85/306, 85/307, 85/310, 85/312, 85/313, 85/315, 85/318, 85/321, 85/324, 85/325, 85/326, 85/327, 85/328, 85/330, 85/331, 85/332, 85/337 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/009, 86/022, 86/027, 86/029, 86/034, 86/052, 86/055, 86/077, 86/133, 86/198, 86/227, 86/252, 86/309, 86/314, 87/026, 87/055, 87/076, 87/081, 87/096, 87/104, 87/117, 87/193, 87/194, 88/027, 88/035, 88/046, 88/133, 88/153, 88/243, 88/258, 89/012, 89/057, 89/073, 89/085, 89/339, 90/089, 90/144, 90/245
- Sri Lanka, 85/026, 86/088, 86/140, 86/141, 86/228, 86/275, 87/163, 87/186, 87/203, 87/209, 87/291, 87/333, 87/354, 87/407, 87/498, 88/476, 89/221, 90/102, 90/144, 90/252, 90/338, 90/393, 90/427, 90/438
- Sudan, 85/071, 85/096, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/060, 86/163, 86/231, 86/275, 86/363, 86/407, 87/281, 88/172, 88/272, 88/315, 88/366, 88/484, 88/499, 88/517, 89/045, 89/098, 89/159, 89/208, 89/221, 89/264, 90/001, 90/015, 90/071, 90/097, 90/102, 90/190, 90/338, 90/438
- Surinam, 85/189, 87/329, 88/195
- Swaziland, 85/307, 90/070
- Sweden, 85/041, 85/055, 88/054
- Switzerland, 87/334

- Syria, 85/016, 85/039, 85/068, 85/096, 85/116, 85/120, 86/011, 86/099, 86/143, 86/171, 86/178, 86/351, 86/377, 86/400, 86/402, 86/407, 87/032, 87/036, 87/038, 87/068, 87/180, 87/258, 87/305, 87/362, 87/379, 87/497, 87/533, 88/014, 88/085, 88/172, 88/434, 88/443, 88/523, 89/002, 89/055, 89/131, 89/158, 89/163, 89/166, 89/188, 89/279, 89/285, 90/102, 90/144, 90/278, 90/348, 90/411, 90/438, 90/454
- Taiwan, 88/040, 89/018
- Tanzania, 86/072
- Thailand, 85/012, 85/068, 85/123, 85/189, 85/237, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/304, 86/306, 87/370, 88/389, 90/093, 90/360
- Tonga, 88/226
- Trinidad and Tobago, 88/306
- Tunisia, 85/191, 87/081, 87/106, 88/121, 89/012, 89/245, 90/358
- Turkey, 85/018, 85/019, 85/038, 85/041, 85/047, 85/052, 85/059, 85/062, 85/105, 85/115, 85/130, 85/131, 85/134, 85/146, 85/176, 85/177, 85/181, 85/268, 85/285, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/035, 86/049, 86/057, 86/113, 86/122, 86/125, 86/128, 86/137, 86/143, 86/145, 86/169, 86/187, 86/192, 86/201, 86/214, 86/236, 86/252, 86/256, 86/260, 86/280, 86/281, 86/309, 86/313, 86/316, 86/317, 86/385, 86/402, 86/403, 86/407, 87/023, 87/041, 87/074, 87/107, 87/120, 87/124, 87/125, 87/150, 87/160, 87/173, 87/174, 87/179, 87/191, 87/209, 87/224, 87/226, 87/242, 87/287, 87/290, 87/300, 87/307, 87/321, 87/380, 87/388, 87/422, 87/469, 87/480, 87/524, 87/528, 88/025, 88/055, 88/059, 88/087, 88/090, 88/093, 88/099, 88/102, 88/103, 88/160, 88/166, 88/178, 88/188, 88/204, 88/209, 88/210, 88/225, 88/228, 88/229, 88/253, 88/261, 88/263, 88/278, 88/321, 88/329, 88/345, 88/346, 88/364, 88/371, 88/428, 88/431, 88/477, 88/499, 89/013, 89/060, 89/088, 89/089, 89/095, 89/111, 89/113, 89/122, 89/123, 89/124, 89/152, 89/215, 89/228, 89/245, 89/279, 89/295, 89/328, 89/330, 89/337, 90/013, 90/029, 90/034, 90/040, 90/046, 90/056, 90/058, 90/068, 90/090, 90/127, 90/131, 90/157, 90/168, 90/199, 90/209, 90/225, 90/226, 90/265, 90/277, 90/285, 90/313, 90/315, 90/321, 90/337, 90/338, 90/348, 90/366, 90/373, 90/415, 90/430, 90/450, 90/452, 90/456, 90/460, 90/466
- Uganda, 85/020, 85/063, 85/065, 86/010, 86/152, 86/363, 87/186, 87/281, 88/140
- United Kingdom, 85/027, 85/035, 85/036, 85/037, 85/052, 85/067, 85/082, 85/142, 85/145, 85/160, 85/186, 85/202, 85/203, 85/222, 85/248, 85/260, 85/292, 86/031, 86/042, 86/052, 86/055, 86/094, 86/115, 86/121, 86/133, 86/134, 86/141, 86/149, 86/159, 86/164, 86/165, 86/185, 86/198, 86/200, 86/225, 86/227, 86/252, 86/278, 86/279, 86/280, 86/298, 86/308, 86/402, 87/002, 87/010, 87/070, 87/081, 87/087, 87/090, 87/098, 87/115, 87/123, 87/154, 87/155, 87/208, 87/216, 87/240, 87/250, 88/035, 88/054, 88/111, 88/528, 89/203, 89/280, 90/075, 90/144, 90/169, 90/328, 90/396
- United States, 85/002, 85/003, 85/011, 85/014, 85/029, 85/032, 85/035, 85/037, 85/040, 85/041, 85/058, 85/068, 85/076, 85/077, 85/082, 85/083, 85/101, 85/108, 85/109, 85/111, 85/122, 85/144, 85/146, 85/147, 85/151, 85/156, 85/189, 85/199, 85/217, 85/221, 85/271, 85/275, 85/306, 85/318, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/044, 86/048, 86/052, 86/053, 86/055, 86/062, 86/068, 86/080, 86/081, 86/095, 86/110, 86/111, 86/130, 86/133, 86/140, 86/148, 86/149, 86/168, 86/176, 86/198, 86/221, 86/222, 86/223, 86/224, 86/237, 86/251, 86/252, 86/253, 86/254, 86/285, 86/287, 86/300, 86/308, 86/310, 86/319, 86/324, 86/343, 86/368, 86/381, 86/384, 86/386, 86/396, 86/399, 86/402, 86/407, 86/416 (Vol. 1988-1), 87/001, 87/010, 87/031, 87/052, 87/053, 87/060, 87/066, 87/070, 87/081, 87/082, 87/098, 87/122, 87/128, 87/134, 87/135, 87/143, 87/151, 87/159, 87/204, 87/228, 87/239, 87/254, 87/275, 87/279, 87/280, 87/304, 87/335, 87/375, 87/401, 87/423, 87/533, 88/024, 88/025, 88/026, 88/041, 88/056, 88/089, 88/092, 88/111, 88/145, 88/168, 88/169, 88/199, 88/204, 88/266, 88/317, 88/324, 88/353, 88/367, 88/481, 88/485, 88/490, 88/492, 88/499, 88/525, 88/526, 88/528, 89/012, 89/043, 89/055, 89/118, 89/126, 89/136, 89/154, 89/179, 89/184, 89/188, 89/221, 89/307, 89/309, 89/311, 89/314, 90/001, 90/031, 90/076, 90/086, 90/114, 90/134,

90/144, 90/169, 90/185, 90/188, 90/195, 90/225, 90/245, 90/246, 90/263, 90/274, 90/287, 90/315, 90/338, 90/341, 90/343, 90/357, 90/358, 90/368, 90/379, 90/396, 90/412, 90/413, 90/432, 90/440, 90/447, 90/448

Uruguay, 85/002, 85/006, 85/051, 85/102, 85/173, 85/297, 86/152

Vanuatu, 88/226

Venezuela, 85/253, 87/096, 87/133, 90/177, 90/462

Vietnam, 85/002, 85/011, 85/012, 85/068, 85/123, 85/146, 85/189, 85/237, 85/260, 85/300, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/137, 86/139, 86/156, 86/275, 86/304, 86/306, 86/363, 86/407, 87/058, 87/303, 87/333, 87/370, 87/381, 87/466, 87/498, 88/063, 88/064, 88/114, 88/168, 88/170, 88/222, 88/242, 88/285, 88/298, 88/308, 88/331, 88/389, 88/452, 88/499, 88/509, 89/011, 89/012, 89/221, 89/269, 89/279, 89/292, 89/333, 90/001, 90/075, 90/102, 90/106, 90/218, 90/225, 90/338, 90/342, 90/345, 90/438

Yemen, Arab Republic of —, 90/061

Yemen, People's Republic of —, 88/002, 88/221

Yugoslavia, 85/149, 85/244, 85/260, 86/181, 86/338, 86/407, 87/286, 87/288, 88/011, 88/190, 88/286, 88/290, 88/466, 88/523, 89/012, 89/314; 90/053, 90/185, 90/195, 90/248, 90/275, 90/338, 90/378, 90/396, 90/438

Zaire, 85/207, 87/001, 87/067, 87/281, 87/341, 88/281, 88/283, 88/301, 88/328, 89/083, 90/072, 90/273, 90/372, 90/455

Zambia, 85/135, 86/004, 86/006, 86/007, 86/067, 86/068, 86/153, 86/173, 86/198, 86/386, 86/407, 87/015, 87/164, 87/201, 87/209, 87/498, 88/265, 88/282, 89/083

Zimbabwe, 86/012, 86/066, 86/073, 86/153, 86/173, 86/198, 86/386, 86/407, 87/015, 87/274, 88/265

Regions and subregions

Africa 85/096, 85/146, 85/189, 85/219, 85/227, 85/252, 85/295, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/013, 86/108, 86/155, 86/198, 86/275, 86/298, 87/236, 87/237, 87/241, 87/415, 87/434, 87/541 (Vol. 1988-2), 88/131, 88/168, 88/356, 88/376, 88/442, 89/108, 89/250, 90/001, 90/102, 90/263, 90/287, 90/404

Front-line States, 85/040, 85/135, 85/146, 85/172, 85/186, 85/187, 85/189, 85/194, 85/228, 85/279, 85/337 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/025, 86/067, 86/068, 86/069, 86/072, 86/074, 86/086, 86/118, 86/127, 86/136, 86/164, 86/187, 86/204, 86/211, 86/263, 86/273, 86/275, 86/277, 86/307, 86/347, 86/354, 86/407, 86/415 (Vol. 1988-1), 87/025, 87/043, 87/101, 87/164, 87/188, 87/239, 87/249, 87/333, 87/391, 87/448, 87/464, 87/533, 88/025, 88/074, 88/083, 88/114, 88/134, 88/168, 88/265, 88/459, 89/009, 89/012, 89/136, 89/155, 89/188, 89/221, 90/337, 90/390

Horn of Africa, 85/002, 85/147, 85/189, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/047, 86/231, 86/275, 86/407, 87/187, 87/333, 87/536, 88/105, 88/106, 88/125, 88/298, 88/499, 88/517, 89/221, 90/001, 90/024, 90/097, 90/320, 90/338, 90/372, 90/438, 90/464

Maghreb, 86/166, 86/314, 88/142, 88/298, 88/499, 89/012, 89/015, 89/070, 89/164, 89/178, 89/188, 90/146, 90/280

Southern Africa, 85/002, 85/015, 85/068, 85/094, 85/096, 85/112, 85/146, 85/147, 85/152, 85/161, 85/186, 85/187, 85/189, 85/194, 85/221, 85/295, 85/300, 85/337 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/025, 86/047, 86/067, 86/068, 86/072, 86/086, 86/137, 86/140, 86/153, 86/164, 86/173, 86/185, 86/198, 86/199, 86/238, 86/247, 86/263, 86/264, 86/273, 86/275, 86/303, 86/306, 86/307, 86/347, 86/386, 86/392, 86/407, 87/018, 87/061, 87/101, 87/188, 87/190, 87/209, 87/239, 87/363, 87/391, 87/412, 87/464, 87/430, 87/491, 87/498, 87/523, 88/024, 88/025, 88/083, 88/114, 88/123, 88/135, 88/151, 88/168, 88/204, 88/214, 88/248, 88/255, 88/298, 88/300, 88/313, 88/314, 88/319, 88/385, 88/459, 88/499, 88/510, 88/517, 88/526, 89/009, 89/012, 89/136, 89/188, 89/221, 89/225, 89/270, 89/308, 89/318, 89/335, 90/093, 90/094, 90/269, 90/326, 90/338

Western Sahara, 85/284, 86/152, 86/314, 86/390, 87/026, 87/076, 87/104, 87/186, 87/220, 87/265, 87/294, 87/333, 87/415, 88/018, 88/070, 88/097, 88/158, 88/164, 88/195, 88/250, 88/298, 88/313, 88/421, 88/499, 89/012, 89/015, 89/070, 89/164, 89/178, 89/221, 89/225, 89/230, 89/233, 89/241, 89/250, 89/288, 89/331, 90/146, 90/201, 90/241, 90/263, 90/280, 90/338, 90/355, 90/372, 90/394

America

Caribbean, 88/045

Central America, 85/001, 85/002, 85/017, 85/032, 85/051, 85/058, 85/068, 85/085, 85/077, 85/096, 85/108, 85/111, 85/133, 85/139, 85/146, 85/173, 85/182, 85/189, 85/200, 85/245, 85/253, 85/275, 85/277, 85/297, 85/300, 85/318, 85/340 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/001, 86/024, 86/025, 86/043, 86/046, 86/050, 86/080, 86/084, 86/085, 86/111, 86/117, 86/130, 86/137, 86/150, 86/154, 86/164, 86/176, 86/188, 86/193, 86/196, 86/221, 86/233, 86/251, 86/261, 86/275, 86/312, 86/319, 86/362, 86/363, 86/368, 86/381, 86/384, 86/398, 86/407, 86/409 (Vol. 1988-1), 87/016, 87/025, 87/031, 87/042, 87/054, 87/057, 87/073, 87/079, 87/080, 87/096, 87/128, 87/131, 87/142, 87/157, 87/159, 87/171, 87/187, 87/209, 87/210, 87/229, 87/239, 87/282, 87/283, 87/324, 87/328, 87/333, 87/335, 87/343, 87/375, 87/389, 87/397, 87/398, 87/399, 87/466, 87/475, 87/493, 87/498, 87/501, 87/503, 87/533, 88/010, 88/024, 88/025, 88/030, 88/056, 88/062, 88/092, 88/119, 88/130, 88/148, 88/168, 88/186, 88/198, 88/204, 88/212, 88/240, 88/276, 88/277, 88/298, 88/348, 88/358, 88/417, 88/452, 88/456, 88/474, 88/482, 88/499, 88/520, 89/012, 89/022, 89/057, 89/067, 89/072, 89/073, 89/077, 89/118, 89/120, 89/126, 89/128, 89/162, 89/178, 89/188, 89/193, 89/221, 89/232, 89/243, 89/263, 89/270, 89/306, 89/321, 89/338, 90/001, 90/006, 90/007, 90/019, 90/022, 90/108, 90/133, 90/177, 90/225, 90/236, 90/237, 90/300, 90/302, 90/338, 90/367, 90/368, 90/408, 90/438, 90/462, 90/468

Falklands/Malvinas, 86/221, 87/042, 88/276

Latin America, 85/002, 85/017, 85/044, 85/051, 85/058, 85/096, 85/102, 85/146, 85/189, 85/253, 85/297, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/025, 86/176, 86/183, 86/275, 86/298, 86/336, 86/407, 87/096, 87/132, 87/133, 87/135, 87/142, 87/171, 87/209, 87/227, 87/236, 87/239, 87/330, 87/333, 87/343, 87/498, 87/503, 87/533, 88/025, 88/045, 88/148, 88/168, 88/186, 88/214, 88/234, 88/276, 88/298, 88/357, 88/399, 88/499, 89/012, 89/057, 89/072, 89/090, 89/160, 89/162, 89/178, 89/188, 89/206, 89/221, 89/245, 89/252, 89/287, 89/334, 89/338, 90/001, 90/102, 90/144, 90/156, 90/185, 90/195, 90/225, 90/237, 90/239, 90/287, 90/298, 90/299, 90/302, 90/336, 90/338, 90/438, 90/441, 90/468, 90/474

South America, 85/017, 85/085, 85/189, 86/275, 86/363, 89/221, 89/338, 90/468

Antarctica, 90/159, 90/426

Asia, 85/096, 86/298, 86/336, 87/187, 88/169, 90/102, 90/185, 90/195, 90/302

Hong Kong, 85/160, 85/204, 85/260, 89/180, 89/185, 89/203, 89/221, 89/280, 90/075, 90/093, 90/338

Persian Gulf, 85/002, 85/004, 85/043, 85/051, 85/146, 85/189, 86/096, 86/147, 86/209, 86/275, 87/033, 87/189, 87/206, 87/208, 87/217, 87/261, 87/306, 87/333, 87/424, 87/440, 87/498, 87/505, 87/533, 88/024, 88/042, 88/043, 88/122, 88/145, 88/167, 88/170, 88/183, 88/204, 88/298, 88/499, 90/307, 90/313, 90/315, 90/337, 90/338, 90/339, 90/340, 90/395, 90/396, 90/412, 90/413, 90/447, 90/448, 90/468

South Asia, 85/342 (Vol. 1986-1)

South-east Asia, 85/002, 85/012, 85/189, 85/237, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/306, 87/303, 87/516, 88/114, 88/298, 88/389, 88/509, 90/093, 90/360

East Timor, 85/141, 86/413 (Vol. 1988-1), 87/100, 87/111, 87/161, 87/266, 88/162, 88/206, 88/298, 88/452, 89/069, 89/221, 89/241, 89/279, 90/014, 90/091, 90/102, 90/205, 90/338, 90/369, 90/394, 90/414, 90/438

Tibet, 90/033, 90/102

Europe, 85/003, 85/035, 85/078, 85/150, 85/189, 85/217, 85/240, 85/274, 85/330, 85/336 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/344 (Vol. 1988-1), 86/025, 86/047, 86/119, 86/123, 86/137, 86/198, 86/298,

- 86/341, 86/416 (Vol. 1988-1), 87/007, 87/297, 87/334, 87/374, 87/438, 87/498, 87/520, 88/025, 88/027, 88/075, 88/095, 88/098, 88/116, 88/144, 88/145, 88/168, 88/169, 88/231, 88/298, 88/466, 88/490, 88/499, 89/001, 89/027, 89/030, 89/184, 89/202, 89/314, 89/326, 90/001, 90/016, 90/137, 90/153, 90/169, 90/185, 90/198, 90/204, 90/207, 90/222, 90/225, 90/228, 90/249, 90/263, 90/274, 90/287, 90/333, 90/338, 90/395, 90/438, 90/439
- Balkans, 85/149, 90/116
- Baltic countries, 85/008, 85/076, 88/150, 89/283, 90/150, 90/222, 90/338, 90/384, 90/438
- Berlin, 86/363, 86/377, 86/402, 90/169, 90/195, 90/287
- Central Europe, 85/023, 85/217, 86/298, 89/012, 89/314, 89/334, 90/001, 90/033, 90/074, 90/080, 90/093, 90/129, 90/137, 90/169, 90/185, 90/190, 90/195, 90/222, 90/225, 90/238, 90/239, 90/263, 90/274, 90/287, 90/313, 90/333, 90/338, 90/390, 90/395, 90/396, 90/407, 90/432, 90/438, 90/449, 90/468
- Eastern Europe, 85/023, 85/051, 85/076, 85/114, 85/137, 85/146, 85/150, 85/189, 85/318, 85/330, 86/293, 87/025, 87/187, 87/204, 87/239, 87/245, 87/438, 87/466, 87/519, 87/533, 88/021, 88/098, 88/144, 88/146, 88/168, 88/169, 88/193, 88/254, 88/298, 88/318, 88/363, 88/452, 88/487, 88/523, 89/012, 89/027, 89/069, 89/080, 89/081, 89/178, 89/182, 89/184, 89/190, 89/245, 89/279, 89/281, 89/301, 89/314, 89/322, 89/334, 89/336, 90/001, 90/033, 90/065, 90/074, 90/080, 90/093, 90/102, 90/129, 90/137, 90/144, 90/156, 90/169, 90/185, 90/190, 90/195, 90/222, 90/225, 90/238, 90/239, 90/263, 90/274, 90/287, 90/313, 90/333, 90/337, 90/338, 90/357, 90/380, 90/390, 90/395, 90/396, 90/407, 90/432, 90/438, 90/449, 90/468, 90/473
- Gibraltar, 85/036, 86/279
- Mediterranean, 85/010, 85/040, 85/051, 85/259, 85/336 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/061, 86/119, 86/133, 86/140, 86/172, 86/275, 87/166, 87/534, 88/298, 89/012, 89/027, 89/188, 89/334, 90/095, 90/185, 90/186, 90/191, 90/195, 90/225, 90/263, 90/286, 90/287, 90/313, 90/315, 90/337, 90/338, 90/357, 90/407, 90/409, 90/418, 90/439, 90/447, 90/468
- Northern Ireland, 85/009, 86/225
- Scandinavia, 85/221, 87/374
- Western Europe, 85/023, 85/033, 85/076, 85/080, 85/109, 85/114, 85/122, 85/137, 86/140, 86/293, 87/438, 88/168, 90/144, 90/169, 90/333, 90/395
- Middle East, 85/002, 85/016, 85/042, 85/051, 85/054, 85/068, 85/069, 85/096, 85/116, 85/120, 85/146, 85/175, 85/189, 85/191, 85/195, 85/231, 85/233, 85/238, 85/250, 85/294, 85/300, 85/305, 85/309, 85/312, 85/318, 85/326, 85/328, 85/330, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/025, 86/026, 86/052, 86/093, 86/133, 86/140, 86/144, 86/152, 86/164, 86/171, 86/200, 86/267, 86/275, 86/286, 86/306, 86/324, 86/327, 86/330, 86/351, 86/359, 86/363, 86/373, 86/376, 86/378, 86/379, 86/380, 86/384, 86/393, 86/407, 86/411 (Vol. 1988-1), 87/025, 87/028, 87/083, 87/084, 87/095, 87/114, 87/119, 87/121, 87/126, 87/155, 87/187, 87/209, 87/222, 87/239, 87/260, 87/298, 87/316, 87/333, 87/362, 87/379, 87/419, 87/439, 87/465, 87/488, 87/498, 87/505, 87/509, 87/515, 87/517, 87/521, 87/522, 87/533, 88/001, 88/014, 88/020, 88/024, 88/025, 88/036, 88/057, 88/058, 88/065, 88/084, 88/091, 88/108, 88/114, 88/121, 88/124, 88/141, 88/147, 88/167, 88/168, 88/170, 88/183, 88/204, 88/214, 88/260, 88/298, 88/313, 88/333, 88/384, 88/392, 88/408, 88/443, 88/447, 88/481, 88/488, 88/494, 88/496, 88/499, 88/507, 88/515, 88/522, 88/523, 88/525, 89/012, 89/055, 89/064, 89/079, 89/105, 89/126, 89/133, 89/154, 89/163, 89/178, 89/179, 89/181, 89/188, 89/190, 89/221, 89/225, 89/307, 89/309, 89/315, 90/001, 90/033, 90/062, 90/088, 90/093, 90/096, 90/102, 90/125, 90/144, 90/155, 90/160, 90/181, 90/213, 90/225, 90/240, 90/267, 90/274, 90/281, 90/287, 90/293, 90/307, 90/311, 90/313, 90/315, 90/337, 90/338, 90/339, 90/356, 90/357, 90/358, 90/359, 90/375, 90/381, 90/396, 90/398, 90/409, 90/412, 90/413, 90/443, 90/447, 90/465, 90/468, 90/470
- Jerusalem, 85/231, 85/309, 85/312, 86/321, 86/359, 86/373, 86/378, 87/465, 87/488, 87/505, 88/443, 88/494, 88/507, 89/221, 89/225, 89/285, 89/307, 89/309, 89/311, 90/027, 90/096, 90/162, 90/194, 90/221, 90/243, 90/267, 90/276, 90/338, 90/355, 90/356, 90/358, 90/398, 90/409, 90/440, 90/443

Territories occupied by Israel, 85/002, 85/138, 85/211, 85/231, 85/250, 85/256, 85/270, 85/300, 85/309, 85/312, 86/021, 86/023, 86/026, 86/036, 86/137, 86/321, 86/324, 86/359, 86/363, 86/373, 86/376, 86/378, 86/402, 86/407, 87/114, 87/119, 86/126, 87/186, 87/222, 87/260, 87/298, 87/312, 87/333, 87/414, 87/456, 87/465, 87/466, 87/488, 87/498, 87/505, 87/535, 88/009, 88/020, 88/025, 88/036, 88/057, 88/058, 88/077, 88/084, 88/085, 88/101, 88/121, 88/124, 88/167, 88/170, 88/172, 88/183, 88/195, 88/204, 88/247, 88/260, 88/298, 88/308, 88/313, 88/379, 88/384, 88/392, 88/408, 88/420, 88/425, 88/443, 88/447, 88/452, 88/494, 88/499, 88/507, 88/511, 89/026, 89/069, 89/110, 89/133, 89/168, 89/179, 89/188, 89/221, 89/224, 89/225, 89/247, 89/279, 89/285, 89/299, 89/303, 89/307, 89/309, 89/311, 89/315, 89/323, 89/329, 90/001, 90/005, 90/027, 90/033, 90/088, 90/093, 90/096, 90/102, 90/125, 90/144, 90/155, 90/160, 90/162, 90/190, 90/194, 90/197, 90/220, 90/221, 90/225, 90/243, 90/267, 90/274, 90/276, 90/281, 90/287, 90/315, 90/337, 90/338, 90/355, 90/358, 90/398, 90/400, 90/409, 90/438, 90/440, 90/443, 90/470, 90/473

International organizations and political groupings

ACP States, 85/044, 85/051, 86/234, 87/215, 88/083, 88/123, 88/135, 88/151, 88/152, 88/168, 88/499, 88/510, 89/308, 90/102, 90/185, 90/195, 90/338, 90/468

African National Congress, 85/172, 85/186, 85/194, 85/221, 85/228, 85/318, 86/068, 86/072, 86/086, 86/127, 86/136, 86/153, 86/159, 86/173, 86/183, 86/185, 86/187, 86/277, 86/296, 86/307, 86/347, 86/386, 86/402, 86/407, 86/415 (Vol. 1988-1), 87/001, 87/043, 87/136, 87/145, 87/188, 87/333, 87/349, 87/464, 87/533, 88/016, 88/025, 88/128, 88/257, 88/298, 88/313, 88/319, 88/435, 88/459, 89/100, 89/155, 89/261, 89/279, 89/335, 90/093, 90/189, 90/225, 90/247, 90/269, 90/274, 90/306, 90/338, 90/355, 90/374, 90/388, 90/438, 90/442, 90/472

Amnesty International, 85/074, 85/136, 85/146, 86/073, 86/166, 86/192, 86/201, 86/359, 86/363, 87/156, 87/170, 87/322, 87/436, 87/466, 88/040, 89/060, 90/102, 90/382, 90/438

Arab Cooperation Council, 89/079, 90/287

Arab League, 85/226, 86/096, 86/133, 86/140, 86/200, 86/286, 86/301, 86/407, 87/025, 87/119, 87/129, 87/209, 87/351, 87/389, 87/414, 87/509, 87/515, 87/533, 88/025, 88/167, 88/168, 88/460, 88/499, 89/097, 89/134, 89/156, 89/161, 89/167, 89/178, 89/188, 89/190, 89/221, 89/229, 89/239, 89/245, 89/307, 89/309, 89/311, 89/312, 90/144, 90/293, 90/297, 90/338, 90/358

ASEAN, 85/012, 85/041, 85/051, 85/123, 85/147, 85/237, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/047, 86/089, 86/139, 86/275, 86/304, 86/306, 86/402, 86/407, 87/025, 87/100, 87/113, 87/209, 87/239, 87/370, 87/498, 87/516, 88/024, 88/025, 88/114, 88/168, 88/204, 88/242, 88/298, 88/308, 88/317, 88/331, 88/389, 88/499, 89/012, 89/178, 89/183, 89/245, 89/269, 89/333, 90/001, 90/098, 90/218, 90/225, 90/338, 90/360

Central American States, 85/001, 85/002, 85/017, 85/041, 85/051, 85/058, 85/068, 85/077, 85/095, 85/133, 85/139, 85/146, 85/182, 85/189, 285/253, 85/297, 85/318, 85/340 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/062, 86/251, 86/362, 86/363, 86/368, 86/381, 86/398, 86/407, 87/016, 87/025, 87/031, 87/054, 87/057, 87/096, 87/128, 87/131, 87/132, 87/133, 87/134, 87/135, 87/141, 87/142, 87/157, 87/159, 87/171, 87/200, 87/209, 87/324, 87/333, 87/335, 87/397, 87/398, 87/400, 87/475, 87/498, 87/533, 88/024, 88/025, 88/052, 88/056, 88/119, 88/131, 88/168, 88/198, 88/204, 88/240, 88/348, 89/022, 89/073, 89/090, 89/232, 89/243, 89/287, 90/001, 90/007, 90/462

Comecon, 85/114, 85/258, 86/343, 87/121, 87/182, 87/272, 87/426, 87/518, 87/519, 88/012, 88/025, 88/075, 88/146, 88/168, 88/203, 88/204, 88/214, 88/298, 88/430, 88/490, 89/027, 89/056, 89/132, 89/283

Commonwealth, 86/068, 86/136, 86/164, 86/165, 86/183, 86/386, 86/402, 86/407, 87/020

Contadora Group, 85/001, 85/002, 85/017, 85/029, 85/032, 85/041, 85/051, 85/056, 85/058, 85/068, 85/077, 85/096, 85/108, 85/111, 85/133, 85/139, 85/146, 85/147, 85/173, 85/189, 85/200, 85/245, 85/253, 85/275, 85/277, 85/297, 85/300, 85/318, 85/340 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/341

- (Vol. 1986-1), 86/001, 86/024, 86/025, 86/043, 86/046, 86/050, 86/062, 86/085, 86/111, 86/117, 86/154, 86/164, 86/235, 86/239, 86/261, 86/275, 86/319, 86/362, 86/363, 86/398, 86/407, 87/016, 87/025, 87/031, 87/054, 87/057, 87/096, 87/128, 87/134, 87/135, 87/141, 87/142, 87/157, 87/159, 87/171, 87/200, 87/209, 87/229, 87/282, 87/324, 87/333, 87/335, 87/343, 87/375, 87/389, 87/493, 87/498, 87/501, 87/503, 87/533, 88/024, 88/025, 88/052, 88/056, 88/119, 88/168, 88/198, 88/240, 88/499, 89/012, 89/022, 89/073, 89/221, 89/243, 90/177
- Council of Europe, 85/041, 85/060, 85/068, 85/115, 85/132, 85/272, 86/093, 86/137, 86/169, 86/182, 86/183, 86/201, 86/241, 86/281, 86/337, 86/407, 86/411 (Vol. 1988-1), 87/014, 87/087, 87/173, 87/174, 87/178, 87/239, 87/246, 87/255, 87/317, 87/446, 87/498, 88/025, 88/059, 88/168, 88/204, 88/345, 88/346, 88/364, 88/369, 88/452, 88/466, 88/499, 89/137, 89/169, 89/301, 89/314, 90/001, 90/080, 90/102, 90/186, 90/263, 90/287, 90/357, 90/438
- CSCE, 85/002, 85/003, 85/014, 85/023, 85/068, 85/072, 85/113, 85/146, 85/147, 85/153, 85/154, 85/189, 85/300, 85/306, 85/318, 85/330, 85/336 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/009, 86/025, 86/029, 86/032, 86/047, 86/056, 86/071, 86/110, 86/123, 86/124, 86/137, 86/140, 86/164, 86/182, 86/222, 86/230, 86/293, 86/298, 86/341, 86/343, 86/367, 86/416 (Vol. 1988-1), 87/030, 87/121, 87/158, 87/162, 87/166, 87/182, 87/187, 87/208, 87/223, 87/252, 87/278, 87/333, 87/374, 87/426, 87/438, 87/483, 87/498, 87/510, 87/518, 87/533, 87/534, 88/024, 88/027, 88/069, 88/075, 88/098, 88/116, 88/118, 88/144, 88/145, 88/168, 88/169, 88/193, 88/204, 88/214, 88/298, 88/318, 88/353, 88/400, 88/420, 88/452, 88/456, 88/471, 88/490, 88/499, 88/523, 89/027, 89/058, 89/075, 89/081, 89/112, 89/115, 89/132, 89/144, 89/169, 89/176, 89/178, 89/182, 89/188, 89/221, 89/277, 89/279, 89/298, 89/314, 89/322, 89/326, 89/334, 89/343, 89/344, 90/001, 90/003, 90/074, 90/080, 90/092, 90/095, 90/122, 90/137, 90/144, 90/153, 90/169, 90/185, 90/186, 90/190, 90/191, 90/193, 90/195, 90/198, 90/222, 90/225, 90/228, 90/249, 90/263, 90/271, 90/274, 90/275, 90/286, 90/287, 90/313, 90/338, 90/353, 90/357, 90/390, 90/395, 90/396, 90/397, 90/407, 90/413, 90/431, 90/432, 90/438, 90/439, 90/468, 90/473, 90/475
- Bonn Conference on Economic Cooperation, 90/001, 90/074, 90/137, 90/186, 90/195, 90/222, 90/225, 90/333, 90/338
- Berne Expert Meeting on Human Contacts, 85/189, 85/330, 85/336 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/032, 86/095, 86/107, 86/123, 86/124, 86/137, 86/140, 86/164, 86/258, 86/278, 86/343, 86/388, 86/407, 87/030, 87/176, 87/187, 87/223, 87/296
- Budapest Cultural Forum, 85/014, 85/189, 85/318, 85/336 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/339 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/110, 86/123, 86/137, 87/223, 87/296, 88/027
- Copenhagen Conference on the Human Dimension, 90/001, 90/033, 90/074, 90/137, 90/186, 90/190, 90/195, 90/222, 90/225, 90/264, 90/334, 90/338, 90/438
- London Information Forum, 89/027, 89/132
- Madrid Conference, 85/076, 85/088, 85/089, 86/137, 87/166, 88/027
- Ottawa Expert Meeting on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, 85/002, 85/014, 85/072, 85/076, 85/088, 85/089, 85/103, 85/113, 85/146, 85/153, 85/154, 85/159, 85/179, 85/189, 85/276, 85/336 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/056, 86/107, 86/110, 86/123, 86/137, 86/258, 86/343, 86/388, 87/030, 87/223, 87/296
- Paris Summit Meeting of Heads of State or Government, 90/137, 90/186, 90/222, 90/263, 90/287, 90/338, 90/380, 90/407, 90/438, 90/439
- Stockholm Conference on Security and Confidence-Building Measures in Europe, 85/002, 85/003, 85/004, 85/146, 85/147, 85/189, 85/240, 85/249, 85/318, 85/330, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/344 (Vol. 1988-1), 86/032, 86/047, 86/110, 86/123, 86/140, 86/275, 86/298, 86/308, 86/336, 86/343, 86/367, 86/407, 87/085, 87/166, 87/208, 87/235, 87/498, 87/510, 87/520, 88/025, 88/353, 88/407, 88/456, 89/115
- Vienna Follow-up Meeting, 85/336 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/032, 86/123, 86/137, 86/140, 86/210, 86/275, 86/278, 86/288, 86/308, 86/343, 86/363, 86/384, 86/402, 86/407, 87/030, 87/089, 87/099, 87/121, 87/158, 87/162, 87/176, 87/182, 87/187, 87/208, 87/209, 87/223, 87/239,

- 87/252, 87/259, 87/284, 87/286, 87/288, 87/333, 87/334, 87/371, 87/385, 87/426, 87/466, 87/496, 87/498, 87/533, 87/534, 88/011, 88/024, 88/025, 88/027, 88/039, 88/069, 88/072, 88/099, 88/144, 88/145, 88/146, 88/150, 88/165, 88/168, 88/181, 88/193, 88/197, 88/204, 88/231, 88/353, 88/375, 88/400, 88/456, 88/490, 88/499, 88/523, 89/012, 89/027, 89/030, 89/054, 89/056, 89/069, 89/081, 89/102, 89/169, 89/238, 89/255, 90/001, 90/074, 90/137, 90/222, 90/397
- EFTA, 85/281, 88/025, 88/490, 89/283, 89/314, 90/080, 90/169, 90/185, 90/195, 90/225, 90/263, 90/274, 90/287, 90/338, 90/357, 90/395, 90/468
- European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 90/185, 90/225, 90/287, 90/313, 90/338, 90/431
- European Commission on Human Rights, 85/300, 86/201, 86/241, 86/281, 90/102, 90/438
- European Communities, 85/002, 85/007, 85/018, 85/040, 85/047, 85/051, 85/052, 85/056, 85/057, 85/077, 85/079, 85/096, 85/114, 85/173, 85/185, 85/186, 85/189, 85/201, 85/205, 85/219, 85/221, 85/250, 85/251, 85/252, 85/253, 85/254, 85/297, 86/025, 86/026, 86/096, 86/138, 86/192, 86/198, 86/241, 86/279, 86/343, 86/347, 86/359, 86/385, 86/403, 86/407, 87/018, 87/028, 87/173, 87/174, 87/272, 87/414, 87/422, 87/426, 87/446, 87/452, 87/488, 87/498, 87/509, 87/518, 88/012, 88/022, 88/056, 88/057, 88/065, 88/075, 88/084, 88/114, 88/119, 88/146, 88/167, 88/168, 88/172, 88/181, 88/204, 88/210, 88/214, 88/253, 88/263, 88/399, 88/420, 88/443, 88/487, 88/490, 88/510, 88/511, 89/027, 89/056, 89/057, 89/072, 89/106, 89/111, 89/126, 89/132, 89/157, 89/159, 89/161, 89/184, 89/221, 89/224, 89/243, 89/283, 89/289, 89/301, 89/308, 89/315, 89/320, 89/334, 90/005, 90/007, 90/092, 90/102, 90/133, 90/134, 90/137, 90/169, 90/177, 90/185, 90/222, 90/274, 90/287, 90/313, 90/336, 90/337, 90/360, 90/379, 90/396, 90/468
- European Court of Human Rights, 85/300, 86/241, 87/156, 90/102, 90/438
- European Space Agency, 85/132, 86/140, 86/374, 89/265
- Geneva Disarmament Conference, 85/122, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/047, 86/051, 86/140, 86/269, 86/308, 86/330, 86/332, 86/334, 88/114, 88/145, 88/168, 88/298, 89/001, 89/012, 89/031, 89/221, 89/238, 90/181, 90/210, 90/213, 90/338
- Group of Eight, 88/204, 88/276, 88/298, 88/332, 88/357, 88/499, 89/012, 89/073, 89/090, 89/188, 89/219, 89/287, 89/338, 90/001, 90/144, 90/225, 90/239, 90/283, 90/336, 90/338, 90/474
- Group of 77, 85/229, 85/313, 85/335 (Vol. 1986-1), 87/394, 90/144, 90/467
- Gulf Cooperation Council, 85/294, 85/312, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/096, 86/407, 87/498, 87/509, 88/024, 88/025, 88/043, 88/167, 88/168, 88/183, 88/204, 88/499, 89/012, 90/225, 90/297, 90/313, 90/315, 90/338, 90/340, 90/409
- International Atomic Energy Agency, 85/193, 85/233, 86/058, 86/190, 86/275, 86/330, 86/343, 87/372, 87/396, 88/004, 88/080, 88/082, 88/133, 88/153, 88/266, 88/323, 88/335, 88/382, 89/240, 89/246, 90/268, 90/274, 90/376, 90/446
- International Civil Aviation Organization, 85/163, 85/178, 85/225, 86/064, 86/093, 87/146, 87/205, 87/239, 87/421, 88/169, 88/204, 89/104, 89/187, 89/237
- International Court of Justice, 85/275, 85/319, 86/111, 86/319, 86/398, 87/017, 87/210, 87/328, 87/333, 87/401, 88/063, 88/089, 89/150, 89/279, 90/256
- International Development Association, 85/129, 86/155, 87/236, 89/206, 90/338
- International Labour Organization, 85/273, 85/311, 86/052, 86/137, 86/179, 86/183, 86/213, 87/107, 87/125
- International Law Commission, 85/303
- International Maritime Organization, 85/225, 87/146, 87/205, 87/421, 88/204, 88/461
- International Monetary Fund, 85/189, 87/236, 88/463, 89/184, 89/206, 89/245, 89/301, 90/313, 90/338, 90/431

- International Red Cross, 85/090, 85/141, 86/186, 86/193, 86/323, 86/359, 86/363, 86/376, 87/466, 88/036, 88/087, 88/182, 88/188, 88/315, 88/478, 89/098, 89/319, 90/102, 90/312, 90/338, 90/438
- International Seabed Authority, 85/079
- Interpol, 85/098
- Islamic Conference, 85/251, 87/077
- Maghreb Arab Union, 89/070, 89/164, 89/188, 89/221, 89/225, 89/230, 89/233, 89/241, 89/245, 89/288, 89/331, 90/146, 90/280, 90/287, 90/338
- NATO, 85/036, 85/106, 85/128, 85/150, 86/133, 86/140, 86/207, 86/266, 86/308, 86/311, 86/384, 86/401, 87/122, 87/152, 87/175, 87/208, 87/374, 87/518, 88/019, 88/043, 88/122, 89/080, 89/091, 89/142, 90/001, 90/169, 90/287, 90/357, 90/413, 90/431, 90/432, 90/468
- Non-aligned Movement, 90/144
- Nordic Council, 86/311, 87/239
- Organization of African Unity, 85/002, 85/189, 85/252, 85/279, 85/284, 85/295, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/013, 86/273, 86/354, 87/333, 87/415, 88/376, 88/460, 89/241, 89/250, 89/308, 90/144, 90/178, 90/338, 90/404
- Organization of American States, 85/253, 87/096, 88/052, 88/499, 89/073, 89/197, 89/219, 89/221, 89/243, 89/279, 89/306, 90/007, 90/177
- Pacifist movements, 85/053
- PLO, 85/002, 85/051, 85/069, 85/189, 85/191, 85/231, 85/309, 85/312, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/267, 86/373, 86/376, 86/378, 86/384, 87/119, 87/488, 87/495, 87/504, 87/505, 88/051, 88/058, 88/071, 88/089, 88/481, 88/483, 88/485, 88/492, 88/494, 88/507, 88/523, 88/525, 89/012, 89/014, 89/055, 89/094, 89/126, 89/188, 89/190, 89/285, 89/307, 89/309, 89/311, 89/312, 90/221, 90/225, 90/267, 90/287, 90/338, 90/358, 90/440, 90/443
- Polisario Front, 85/284, 87/026
- Red Cross, see International Red Cross
- South Asia Regional Cooperation, 85/342 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/116
- Southern African Development Coordination Conference, 85/172, 85/186, 85/194, 85/228, 85/279, 86/067, 86/072, 86/118, 86/136, 86/159, 86/173, 86/238, 86/263, 86/277, 86/347, 87/145, 87/239, 87/391, 87/464, 88/459, 88/510, 89/100, 89/136, 89/225, 89/335
- SWAPO, 85/279, 85/327, 86/005, 86/006, 86/072, 86/199, 86/247, 86/273, 86/274, 86/354, 86/365, 87/050, 87/056, 87/199
- United Nations, 85/002, 85/016, 85/025, 85/053, 85/056, 85/061, 85/068, 85/070, 85/076, 85/079, 85/087, 85/095, 85/129, 85/140, 85/146, 85/147, 85/148, 85/167, 85/168, 85/184, 85/189, 85/190, 85/194, 85/195, 85/196, 85/213, 85/218, 85/219, 85/224, 85/226, 85/227, 85/229, 85/233, 85/235, 85/236, 85/238, 85/243, 85/249, 85/250, 85/251, 85/255, 85/271, 85/279, 85/295, 85/299, 85/300, 85/301, 85/311, 85/314, 85/315, 85/316, 85/318, 85/327, 85/335 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/344 (Vol. 1988-1), 85/345 (Vol. 1988-1), 86/047, 86/048, 86/055, 86/058, 86/067, 86/068, 86/135, 86/137, 86/140, 86/183, 86/199, 86/247, 86/273, 86/274, 86/280, 86/297, 86/301, 86/305, 86/308, 86/310, 86/337, 86/345, 86/349, 86/354, 86/355, 86/365, 86/371, 86/407, 87/012, 87/114, 87/119, 87/145, 87/167, 87/186, 87/208, 87/234, 87/236, 87/237, 87/239, 87/244, 87/251, 87/292, 87/317, 87/333, 87/349, 87/368, 87/389, 87/415, 87/421, 87/432, 87/439, 87/455, 87/457, 87/458, 87/460, 87/462, 87/466, 87/479, 87/484, 87/494, 87/498, 87/500, 87/521, 87/533, 87/541 (Vol. 1988-2), 88/020, 88/023, 88/031, 88/033, 88/039, 88/052, 88/071, 88/084, 88/089, 88/091, 88/108, 88/113, 88/117, 88/123, 88/132, 88/144, 88/145, 88/162, 88/168, 88/183, 88/188, 88/194, 88/204, 88/206, 88/210, 88/214, 88/216, 88/235, 88/248, 88/250, 88/298, 88/311, 88/313, 88/322, 88/333, 88/350, 88/376, 88/390, 88/392, 88/396, 88/397, 88/398, 88/401, 88/402, 88/409, 88/413, 88/418, 88/420, 88/439, 88/447, 88/452, 88/456, 88/457, 88/460, 88/478, 88/483, 88/485, 88/493, 88/499, 88/511, 88/525, 89/055, 89/073, 89/074, 89/077, 89/112, 89/116, 89/140,

89/146, 89/163, 89/164, 89/188, 89/190, 89/195, 89/221, 89/225, 89/238, 89/239, 89/243, 89/249, 89/250, 89/259, 89/267, 89/269, 89/302, 89/306, 89/307, 89/311, 89/312, 89/319, 89/325, 90/001, 90/007, 90/008, 90/021, 90/026, 90/033, 90/093, 90/098, 90/102, 90/130, 90/144, 90/154, 90/165, 90/177, 90/189, 90/212, 90/218, 90/221, 90/243, 90/250, 90/256, 90/267, 90/281, 90/307, 90/315, 90/322, 90/337, 90/342, 90/355, 90/356, 90/358, 90/360, 90/367, 90/385, 90/390, 90/391, 90/395, 90/401, 90/402, 90/404, 90/409, 90/424, 90/429, 90/431, 90/432, 90/438, 90/439, 90/440, 90/453, 90/467, 90/468, 90/474

Budgetary questions and financial problems, 85/037, 85/073, 85/147, 85/190, 85/195, 85/196, 85/215, 85/218, 85/219, 85/227, 85/235, 85/236, 85/250, 85/252, 85/271, 85/299, 85/301, 85/316, 85/326, 85/329, 85/345 (Vol. 1988-1), 86/052, 86/104, 86/108, 86/135, 86/152, 86/275, 86/277, 86/295, 86/297, 86/298, 86/300, 86/301, 86/306, 86/310, 86/324, 86/331, 86/333, 86/345, 86/346, 86/348, 86/349, 86/363, 86/365, 86/366, 86/371, 86/374, 86/379, 87/167, 87/186, 87/237, 87/333, 87/349, 87/364, 87/367, 87/369, 87/371, 87/389, 87/393, 87/408, 87/414, 87/432, 87/433, 87/434, 87/462, 87/463, 87/467, 87/500, 87/507, 87/513, 87/514, 87/537, 87/541 (Vol. 1988-2), 88/132, 88/194, 88/252, 88/311, 88/313, 88/351, 88/352, 88/354, 88/368, 88/387, 88/390, 88/394, 88/397, 88/411, 88/414, 88/440, 88/444, 88/452, 88/486, 88/491, 88/494, 88/499, 88/508, 88/524, 89/074, 89/150, 89/222, 89/225, 89/242, 89/247, 89/271, 89/274, 89/279, 89/341, 89/342, 90/355, 90/401, 90/438, 90/443, 90/444, 90/445, 90/446, 90/467

UNESCO, 85/037, 85/073, 85/246, 85/255, 85/263, 85/313, 85/338 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/042, 86/048, 86/052, 86/055, 86/137, 86/240, 86/345, 87/408, 87/463, 88/383, 88/393, 88/397, 90/008, 90/149

UNIFIL, 85/069, 85/189, 85/195, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/275, 86/300, 86/407, 87/095, 87/119, 87/262, 87/333, 87/393, 87/498, 87/505, 87/509, 88/115, 88/147, 88/183, 88/298, 88/418, 88/494, 88/499, 89/097, 89/218, 89/307, 89/316, 89/342, 90/001, 90/443

United Nations Commission on Human Rights, 85/022, 85/056, 85/117, 85/140, 85/189, 85/206, 85/213, 85/223, 85/251, 85/300, 85/331, 86/049, 86/137, 86/152, 86/177, 86/188, 86/232, 86/310, 86/312, 86/339, 86/340, 86/346, 86/356, 86/363, 86/407, 87/165, 87/174, 87/186, 87/187, 87/350, 87/367, 87/436, 87/466, 88/003, 88/039, 88/132, 88/144, 88/156, 88/195, 88/230, 88/387, 88/452, 88/480, 89/012, 89/069, 89/141, 89/150, 89/221, 89/279, 89/341, 90/028, 90/033, 90/044, 90/102, 90/117, 90/144, 90/146, 90/189, 90/190, 90/203, 90/211, 90/225, 90/231, 90/236, 90/279, 90/338, 90/355, 90/371, 90/393, 90/408, 90/438, 90/473

United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, 85/290, 86/277, 87/165, 87/349, 89/225, 89/279, 90/189, 90/438

United Nations Conference on Disarmament, 85/217, 85/241, 85/289, 85/344 (Vol. 1988-1), 85/345 (Vol. 1988-1), 86/298, 86/333, 86/374, 87/235, 87/371, 87/431, 87/432, 87/450, 88/031, 88/353, 88/406, 89/259, 90/390

United Nations Council for Namibia, 85/327, 86/162, 86/197, 86/202, 86/247, 87/451, 90/314

United Nations Development Programme, 85/190, 86/240, 87/237, 87/367, 87/391, 87/408, 87/541 (Vol. 1988-2), 88/206, 88/354, 89/222

United Nations Disarmament Commission, 85/240, 85/263, 85/344 (Vol. 1988-1), 85/345 (Vol. 1988-1), 86/298, 86/333, 86/335, 86/336, 86/355, 86/357, 87/234, 87/371, 87/417, 87/418, 87/432, 87/445, 87/453, 88/031, 88/032, 88/113, 88/145, 88/353, 88/400, 88/401, 88/404, 88/407, 89/140, 89/148, 89/170, 89/238, 89/255, 89/259, 90/390, 90/403

United Nations Disaster Relief Office, 86/115

United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, 85/218, 85/236

United Nations ECOSOC, 85/218, 85/227, 85/235, 85/236, 85/300, 86/114, 86/137, 86/152, 86/155, 86/337, 86/363, 87/165, 87/187, 87/236, 87/237, 87/350, 87/369, 87/408, 87/458, 87/466, 87/490, 87/539 (Vol. 1988-2), 87/540 (Vol. 1988-2), 87/541 (Vol. 1988-2), 87/542

- (Vol. 1988- 2), 87/543 (Vol. 1988-2), 88/117, 88/132, 88/194, 88/195, 88/336, 88/368, 88/452, 88/493, 89/069, 89/150, 89/226, 89/271, 89/276, 89/325, 89/341, 90/144, 90/190, 90/248, 90/338, 90/444, 90/467
- United Nations Environment Programme, 85/193, 87/372, 88/323
- United Nations General Assembly, 85/025, 85/027, 85/053, 85/056, 85/104, 85/133, 85/189, 85/190, 85/194, 85/196, 85/215, 85/218, 85/226, 85/227, 85/230, 85/231, 85/233, 85/234, 85/235, 85/236, 85/237, 85/238, 85/239, 85/249, 85/250, 85/251, 85/255, 85/271, 85/279, 85/287, 85/290, 85/295, 85/298, 85/299, 85/300, 85/301, 85/303, 85/306, 85/309, 85/311, 85/314, 85/315, 85/316, 85/318, 85/322, 85/327, 85/331, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/345 (Vol. 1988-1), 86/061, 86/115, 86/135, 86/137, 86/140, 86/165, 86/174, 86/273, 86/277, 86/295, 86/298, 86/302, 86/308, 86/329, 86/331, 86/332, 86/333, 86/340, 86/349, 86/363, 86/369, 86/407, 86/413 (Vol. 1988-1), 87/005, 87/040, 87/082, 87/167, 87/208, 87/234, 87/235, 87/237, 87/239, 87/263, 87/314, 87/363, 87/371, 87/394, 87/416, 87/417, 87/421, 87/436, 87/443, 87/444, 87/445, 87/446, 87/447, 87/452, 87/459, 87/466, 87/484, 87/488, 87/500, 87/539 (Vol. 1988-2), 87/540 (Vol. 1988-2), 87/541 (Vol. 1988-2), 87/543 (Vol. 1988-2), 88/031, 88/043, 88/117, 88/194, 88/313, 88/314, 88/316, 88/353, 88/390, 88/411, 88/421, 88/452, 88/481, 88/483, 88/486, 88/491, 88/492, 88/499, 89/074, 89/150, 89/221, 89/226, 89/325, 90/007, 90/030, 90/093, 90/102, 90/144, 90/190, 90/340, 90/360, 90/389, 90/391, 90/401, 90/467
- First (Political and Security) Committee, 85/053, 85/217, 85/234, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/345 (Vol. 1988-1), 86/298, 86/332, 86/333, 86/334, 86/335, 86/336, 87/167, 87/234, 87/371, 87/418, 87/450, 88/031, 88/298, 88/353, 88/401, 89/259, 90/390
- Special Political Committee, 85/255, 85/270, 86/137, 86/345
- Second (Economic and Financial) Committee, 85/316, 87/455, 87/539 (Vol. 1988-2), 87/542 (Vol. 1988-2), 87/543 (Vol. 1988-2), 88/194, 90/467
- Third (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) Committee, 85/238, 85/251, 85/290, 85/300, 85/322, 86/137, 86/152, 86/329, 86/340, 86/364, 86/375, 87/187, 87/350, 87/490, 87/539 (Vol. 1988-2), 87/543 (Vol. 1988-2), 88/387, 88/398, 89/252, 90/033, 90/190, 90/438, 90/444, 90/473
- Fourth (Trusteeship) Committee, 85/230, 88/314, 90/389, 90/394
- Fifth (Administrative and Budgetary) Committee, 85/190, 85/196, 85/215, 85/227, 85/236, 85/271, 85/299, 85/301, 85/314, 86/052, 86/297, 86/348, 86/366, 87/237, 87/367, 87/369, 87/392, 87/434, 87/487, 87/513, 87/514, 87/537, 88/316, 88/354, 88/368, 88/390, 88/394, 88/398, 89/222, 89/274, 89/342, 90/314, 90/444, 90/446
- Sixth (Legal) Committee, 85/307, 86/305, 86/329, 86/346, 86/372, 87/350, 87/433, 87/468, 87/490, 88/051, 88/350, 88/387, 88/453, 89/276
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 85/190, 85/213, 85/252, 86/004, 86/141, 87/072, 87/295, 87/333, 87/461, 88/054, 88/114, 88/424, 89/221, 89/222, 89/269, 89/270, 90/392
- United Nations Industrial Development Organization, 85/189, 85/227, 85/301, 86/371
- United Nations Secretariat, 85/218, 85/227, 85/235, 85/311, 85/314, 86/052, 86/295, 86/356, 86/363, 86/366, 86/371, 87/186, 87/434, 87/462, 88/316, 88/368, 88/383, 88/390, 88/402, 89/226, 89/274, 89/278, 89/325, 90/098, 90/218, 90/342, 90/438, 90/467
- United Nations Secretary-General, 85/002, 85/013, 85/016, 85/030, 85/038, 85/056, 85/068, 85/069, 85/095, 85/146, 85/162, 85/167, 85/176, 85/185, 85/189, 85/194, 85/195, 85/217, 85/218, 85/219, 85/226, 85/227, 85/231, 85/233, 85/234, 85/235, 85/237, 85/241, 85/249, 85/251, 85/252, 85/255, 85/263, 85/271, 85/279, 85/295, 85/297, 85/300, 85/301, 85/306, 85/312, 85/314, 85/327, 85/331, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/345 (Vol. 1988-1), 86/025, 86/051, 86/087, 86/096, 86/100, 86/105, 86/106, 86/115, 86/135, 86/145, 86/152, 86/186, 86/199, 86/209, 86/246, 86/247, 86/273, 86/275, 86/280, 86/300, 86/301, 86/304, 86/305, 86/306, 86/313, 86/314, 86/316, 86/324, 86/330, 86/337, 86/340, 86/341, 86/348, 86/354,

Index

- 86/367, 86/376, 86/383, 86/385, 86/390, 86/391, 86/403, 86/407, 86/413 (Vol. 1988-1), 87/002, 87/076, 87/077, 87/096, 87/104, 87/106, 87/119, 87/127, 87/143, 87/146, 87/165, 87/173, 87/174, 87/189, 87/206, 87/220, 87/234, 87/237, 87/244, 87/261, 87/265, 87/292, 87/299, 87/306, 87/333, 87/342, 87/352, 87/378, 87/392, 87/393, 87/406, 87/415, 87/416, 87/417, 87/434, 87/444, 87/448, 87/449, 87/452, 87/455, 87/456, 87/462, 87/481, 87/487, 87/498, 87/505, 87/507, 87/509, 87/511, 87/513, 87/533, 87/537, 88/025, 88/051, 88/052, 88/063, 88/070, 88/071, 88/087, 88/094, 88/097, 88/114, 88/158, 88/162, 88/167, 88/170, 88/183, 88/188, 88/204, 88/206, 88/210, 88/241, 88/244, 88/248, 88/250, 88/253, 88/298, 88/314, 88/322, 88/330, 88/350, 88/351, 88/352, 88/368, 88/397, 88/402, 88/406, 88/407, 88/421, 88/440, 88/449, 88/452, 88/456, 88/486, 88/491, 88/494, 88/499, 88/517, 88/526, 89/001, 89/012, 89/017, 89/074, 89/092, 89/107, 89/151, 89/156, 89/164, 89/179, 89/230, 89/233, 89/235, 89/250, 89/255, 89/263, 89/273, 89/288, 89/307, 89/308, 89/313, 89/318, 89/325, 89/327, 90/001, 90/007, 90/012, 90/084, 90/091, 90/093, 90/102, 90/144, 90/187, 90/211, 90/218, 90/265, 90/280, 90/309, 90/312, 90/316, 90/322, 90/337, 90/338, 90/360, 90/377, 90/385, 90/390, 90/394, 90/398, 90/399, 90/401, 90/408, 90/409, 90/414, 90/415, 90/438, 90/440, 90/444, 90/446, 90/450, 90/469, 90/470
- United Nations Security Council, 85/004, 85/068, 85/069, 85/146, 85/164, 85/166, 85/168, 85/195, 85/219, 85/225, 85/279, 85/300, 85/305, 85/306, 85/309, 85/312, 85/315, 85/327, 85/328, 86/061, 86/087, 86/105, 86/165, 86/186, 86/274, 86/300, 86/324, 86/349, 86/365, 86/367, 86/380, 87/007, 87/095, 87/097, 87/165, 87/173, 87/189, 87/206, 87/261, 87/363, 87/371, 87/414, 87/448, 87/483, 87/484, 88/025, 88/033, 88/043, 88/122, 88/167, 88/204, 88/298, 88/313, 88/352, 88/353, 88/414, 88/444, 88/456, 88/491, 88/494, 88/507, 88/513, 89/074, 89/175, 89/307, 89/309, 89/311, 89/327, 90/021, 90/093, 90/098, 90/187, 90/218, 90/267, 90/281, 90/293, 90/307, 90/309, 90/315, 90/322, 90/337, 90/338, 90/342, 90/358, 90/360, 90/375, 90/385, 90/389, 90/390, 90/394, 90/395, 90/399, 90/409, 90/412, 90/413, 90/439, 90/440, 90/443, 90/445, 90/469, 90/470
- UNRWA, 85/250, 85/270, 86/186, 86/324, 86/359, 86/373, 86/376, 86/407, 87/414, 87/449, 87/488, 87/504, 88/036, 88/084, 88/408, 88/443, 89/222, 89/224, 89/247, 89/309, 89/315, 89/324, 90/400
- Warsaw Pact, 85/002, 86/140, 86/167, 87/518, 88/024, 88/072, 88/169, 88/231, 88/298, 90/169, 90/249, 90/413
- WEU, 85/007, 85/034, 85/066, 85/106, 85/128, 85/132, 85/150, 86/140, 86/283, 86/308, 86/417 (Vol. 1988-1), 87/014, 87/025, 87/122, 87/175, 87/193, 87/208, 87/253, 88/019, 88/107, 88/143, 88/464, 89/012, 89/142, 90/315, 90/357, 90/395, 90/416, 90/468
- World Bank, 85/189, 86/155, 87/236, 88/298, 89/173, 89/180, 89/206, 90/313, 90/338, 90/431
- World Health Organization, 85/193, 85/311, 86/114, 86/131, 87/003, 87/372, 87/395, 88/323, 88/393, 90/026, 90/423

Issues

- Armed conflict, 85/002, 85/004, 85/011, 85/043, 85/051, 85/068, 85/069, 85/090, 85/097, 85/120, 85/146, 85/162, 85/187, 85/217, 85/241, 85/294, 85/327, 85/331, 86/025, 86/067, 86/096, 86/105, 86/177, 86/191, 86/209, 86/246, 86/275, 87/025, 87/209, 87/217, 87/239, 87/261, 87/306, 87/431, 87/498, 88/025, 88/106, 88/114, 88/145, 88/170, 88/200, 88/204, 88/244, 88/406, 89/269, 90/222, 90/337, 90/338, 90/358
- Civil objectives, civil victims, 85/002, 85/069, 85/090, 85/189, 85/250, 85/251, 85/312, 86/001, 86/188, 86/199, 86/246, 86/359, 86/407, 87/119, 87/143, 87/187, 87/189, 87/261, 87/498, 87/505, 87/533, 88/057, 88/096, 88/101, 88/249, 88/406, 88/452, 88/474, 89/053, 89/097, 89/247, 89/272, 89/275, 89/279, 89/297, 89/299, 89/306, 89/329, 90/093, 90/102, 90/294, 90/309, 90/337, 90/360, 90/393, 90/400, 90/440
- Civil war, 85/295, 85/315, 88/104, 88/105, 88/268, 89/221, 90/093, 90/102, 90/338, 90/464

- Incursions, 85/012, 85/016, 85/068, 85/090, 85/112, 85/117, 85/135, 85/146, 85/167, 85/187, 85/231, 85/237, 85/251, 85/270, 85/279, 85/300, 85/305, 85/309, 85/312, 85/327, 85/331, 86/067, 86/068, 86/199, 86/204, 86/247, 86/273, 86/275, 86/304, 86/306, 86/307, 86/354, 86/365, 86/373, 86/376, 86/383, 86/394, 87/015, 87/349, 87/448, 87/449, 87/451, 87/452, 87/491, 87/498, 88/331, 88/389, 88/494, 89/011
- Neutrality, 85/002, 85/007, 85/237, 85/284, 88/298, 88/308, 89/221, 89/269, 90/021, 90/147, 90/153
- Prisoners of war, 85/090, 85/189, 85/269, 85/300, 85/312, 87/026, 88/106, 89/264, 89/279, 90/015, 90/102, 90/338, 90/443
- Refugees, 85/012, 85/056, 85/162, 85/176, 85/186, 85/189, 85/190, 85/213, 85/237, 85/250, 85/251, 85/252, 85/260, 85/270, 85/295, 85/300, 85/331, 86/004, 86/005, 86/013, 86/076, 86/137, 86/141, 86/186, 86/231, 86/275, 86/292, 86/304, 86/324, 86/340, 86/360, 86/363, 86/376, 86/407, 87/005, 87/047, 87/049, 87/050, 87/072, 87/075, 87/097, 87/112, 87/143, 87/174, 87/186, 87/187, 87/255, 87/263, 87/295, 87/332, 87/333, 87/336, 87/370, 87/377, 87/410, 87/414, 87/437, 87/449, 87/452, 87/498, 87/511, 88/049, 88/052, 88/054, 88/056, 88/060, 88/065, 88/085, 88/094, 88/114, 88/119, 88/168, 88/169, 88/182, 88/198, 88/204, 88/229, 88/235, 88/249, 88/298, 88/313, 88/322, 88/346, 88/366, 88/367, 88/389, 88/408, 88/415, 88/417, 88/424, 88/499, 88/509, 89/012, 89/053, 89/092, 89/190, 89/221, 89/225, 89/228, 89/243, 89/247, 89/269, 89/270, 89/279, 90/075, 90/093, 90/102, 90/177, 90/183, 90/218, 90/315, 90/338, 90/360, 90/392, 90/438
- War criminals, 85/098, 85/247, 87/098
- Arms control and confidence-building**
- Arms control, disarmament, 85/002, 85/003, 85/014, 85/027, 85/035, 85/051, 85/053, 85/068, 85/082, 85/083, 85/097, 85/122, 85/132, 85/146, 85/147, 85/167, 85/189, 85/217, 85/219, 85/231, 85/234, 85/237, 85/240, 85/241, 85/249, 85/253, 85/263, 85/289, 85/297, 85/305, 85/306, 85/318, 85/330, 85/340 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/344 (Vol. 1988-1), 85/345 (Vol. 1988-1), 86/025, 86/032, 86/046, 86/047, 86/051, 86/095, 86/110, 86/123, 86/140, 86/174, 86/198, 86/222, 86/250, 86/269, 86/275, 86/298, 86/308, 86/331, 86/333, 86/334, 86/335, 86/341, 86/342, 86/343, 86/350, 86/353, 86/355, 86/357, 86/367, 86/370, 86/374, 86/384, 87/122, 87/151, 87/167, 87/168, 87/169, 87/175, 87/204, 87/208, 87/234, 87/235, 87/239, 87/259, 87/275, 87/292, 87/311, 87/333, 87/334, 87/365, 87/371, 87/374, 87/417, 87/418, 87/431, 87/432, 87/443, 87/444, 87/445, 87/447, 87/453, 87/454, 87/457, 87/483, 87/498, 87/517, 87/518, 87/520, 87/533, 88/023, 88/025, 88/026, 88/027, 88/028, 88/031, 88/041, 88/052, 88/086, 88/095, 88/098, 88/113, 88/145, 88/146, 88/168, 88/169, 88/181, 88/204, 88/231, 88/298, 88/340, 88/353, 88/396, 88/400, 88/401, 88/404, 88/405, 88/406, 88/420, 88/456, 88/465, 88/499, 89/010, 89/140, 89/148, 89/170, 89/178, 89/184, 89/245, 89/257, 89/259, 89/326, 90/016, 90/079, 90/093, 90/095, 90/119, 90/137, 90/169, 90/177, 90/185, 90/186, 90/222, 90/249, 90/263, 90/338, 90/339, 90/357, 90/390, 90/398, 90/403, 90/407, 90/413, 90/431, 90/432, 90/468, 90/470, 90/474
- Arms trade, 85/015, 85/030, 85/040, 85/097, 85/186, 85/194, 85/228, 85/241, 85/324, 86/003, 86/038, 86/061, 86/065, 86/067, 86/078, 86/093, 86/096, 86/118, 86/119, 86/136, 86/142, 86/172, 86/191, 86/308, 86/332, 86/386, 86/407, 87/001, 87/007, 87/052, 87/053, 87/104, 87/127, 87/130, 87/145, 87/208, 87/218, 87/294, 87/338, 87/431, 87/464, 87/474, 88/026, 88/122, 88/168, 88/238, 88/353, 88/396, 88/459, 89/036, 89/100, 89/148, 89/151, 89/180, 89/185, 89/204, 89/258, 89/302, 90/111, 90/119, 90/213, 90/240, 90/297, 90/328, 90/417, 90/439
- Chemical weapons, 85/011, 85/027, 85/056, 85/069, 85/090, 85/097, 85/122, 85/168, 85/189, 85/217, 85/219, 85/241, 85/251, 85/312, 85/330, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/344 (Vol. 1988-1), 85/345 (Vol. 1988-1), 86/032, 86/047, 86/051, 86/087, 86/096, 86/105, 86/140, 86/177, 86/207, 86/269, 86/275, 86/298, 86/308, 86/332, 86/334, 86/363, 86/376, 86/402, 86/407, 87/077, 87/119, 87/167, 87/189, 87/204, 87/208, 87/235, 87/259, 87/261, 87/292, 87/333, 87/371, 87/431, 87/432, 87/496, 87/498, 87/505, 87/533, 88/026, 88/114, 88/145,

- 88/146, 88/168, 88/169, 88/170, 88/183, 88/200, 88/249, 88/298, 88/330, 88/353, 88/359, 88/360, 88/401, 88/406, 88/452, 88/490, 88/499, 88/523, 89/001, 89/012, 89/031, 89/059, 89/126, 89/178, 89/184, 89/221, 89/238, 89/254, 89/259, 89/314, 90/093, 90/181, 90/213, 90/240, 90/338, 90/390, 90/413, 90/432
- Confidence-building measures, 85/003, 85/068, 85/146, 85/147, 85/189, 85/217, 85/219, 85/240, 85/306, 85/336 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/344 (Vol. 1988-1), 86/123, 86/250, 86/298, 86/336, 86/342, 86/343, 86/407, 87/085, 87/166, 87/169, 87/208, 87/234, 87/235, 87/292, 87/365, 87/371, 87/443, 87/496, 87/510, 87/520, 87/533, 88/025, 88/027, 88/095, 88/113, 88/145, 88/146, 88/168, 88/204, 8 /231, 88/298, 88/353, 88/400, 88/401, 88/407, 88/499, 89/001, 89/012, 89/075, 89/115, 89/140, 89/178, 89/238, 89/255, 89/258, 90/001, 90/074, 90/169, 90/195, 90/204, 90/249, 90/337, 90/390, 90/407, 90/413, 90/439
- Conventional weapons, 85/082, 85/168, 85/217, 85/249, 85/330, 85/344 (Vol. 1988-1), 85/345 (Vol. 1988-1), 86/032, 86/140, 86/298, 86/308, 86/341, 86/343, 86/367, 87/169, 87/234, 87/235, 87/239, 87/259, 87/292, 87/333, 87/371, 87/418, 87/496, 87/498, 87/510, 87/518, 87/533, 88/026, 88/027, 88/113, 88/145, 88/146, 88/168, 88/169, 88/181, 88/204, 88/231, 88/298, 88/353, 88/396, 88/400, 88/420, 88/490, 88/499, 88/523, 89/001, 89/012, 89/027, 89/075, 89/081, 89/115, 89/132, 89/140, 89/170, 89/178, 89/184, 89/238, 89/255, 89/314, 90/001, 90/016, 90/074, 90/093, 90/195, 90/198, 90/204, 90/225, 90/303, 90/315, 90/337, 90/338, 90/390, 90/395, 90/407, 90/413, 90/439
- East-West relations, 85/002, 85/003, 85/014, 85/035, 85/051, 85/068, 85/083, 85/132, 85/146, 85/147, 85/189, 85/217, 85/241, 85/306, 85/318, 85/330, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/344 (Vol. 1988-1), 86/025, 86/032, 86/110, 86/140, 86/164, 86/198, 86/222, 86/259, 86/269, 86/275, 86/298, 86/306, 86/308, 86/343, 86/384, 86/402, 86/407, 87/158, 87/182, 87/204, 87/208, 87/239, 87/259, 87/272, 87/275, 87/333, 87/371, 87/426, 87/498, 87/510, 87/517, 87/518, 87/533, 88/021, 88/024, 88/025, 88/026, 88/027, 88/028, 88/086, 88/095, 88/114, 88/145, 88/146, 88/168, 88/169, 88/181, 88/204, 88/214, 88/231, 88/298, 88/353, 88/363, 88/400, 88/420, 88/433, 88/456, 88/490, 88/499, 88/522, 89/178, 89/188, 89/221, 89/238, 90/169, 90/225, 90/260, 90/274, 90/287, 90/337, 90/338, 90/390, 90/413, 90/475
- Militarization of space, 85/014, 85/051, 85/068, 85/082, 85/083, 85/109, 85/146, 85/147, 85/151, 85/189, 85/205, 85/217, 85/219, 85/296, 85/330, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/344 (Vol. 1988-1), 86/032, 86/047, 86/140, 86/275, 86/298, 86/374, 87/254, 87/297, 87/371, 87/450, 87/498, 88/145, 88/298, 88/355, 88/499, 89/238, 89/265, 90/390
- Missiles, 85/003, 85/010, 85/035, 86/082, 86/140, 87/208, 88/204
- Naval arms race, 85/249, 87/234, 89/140, 89/170
- Non-alignment, 85/002, 85/068, 85/071, 85/251, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/248, 86/340, 87/263, 87/452, 87/511, 88/049, 88/094, 88/114, 88/168, 88/216, 88/242, 88/298, 88/308, 88/313, 88/331, 88/389, 88/452, 88/466, 89/053, 89/221, 89/225, 90/093, 90/338, 90/360
- Non-proliferation, 85/217, 85/219, 85/233, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/344 (Vol. 1988-1), 86/140, 86/298, 86/330, 87/028, 87/371, 87/396, 88/004, 88/111, 88/133, 88/145, 88/168, 88/170, 88/266, 88/335, 88/353, 89/104, 89/121, 89/246, 90/206, 90/210, 90/213, 90/268, 90/274, 90/338, 90/376, 90/390, 90/432, 90/468
- Nuclear free zone, 85/003, 85/010, 85/035, 85/217, 86/298, 87/208, 87/371, 87/374, 88/353, 89/238, 89/283, 90/390
- Nuclear tests, 85/083, 86/148, 86/170, 86/287, 86/298, 86/396, 87/196, 87/371, 88/353, 89/238, 90/210, 90/390
- Nuclear weapons, 85/003, 85/010, 85/014, 85/035, 85/051, 85/068, 85/082, 85/083, 85/124, 85/146, 85/147, 85/189, 85/217, 85/219, 85/233, 85/249, 85/330, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/344 (Vol. 1988-1), 85/345 (Vol. 1988-1), 86/032, 86/110, 86/140, 86/287, 86/298, 86/308, 86/334, 86/341, 86/367, 86/384, 86/402, 86/407, 87/028, 87/151, 87/169, 87/196, 87/204, 87/208, 87/234, 87/235, 87/259, 87/278, 87/311, 87/333, 87/371, 87/418, 87/450, 87/496, 87/498, 87/510, 87/517, 87/518, 87/520, 87/533, 88/026, 88/027, 88/028, 88/041,

88/080, 88/082, 88/086, 88/095, 88/098, 88/102, 88/113, 88/114, 88/145, 88/146, 88/168, 88/169, 88/204, 88/298, 88/353, 88/499, 89/140, 89/178, 89/012, 89/184, 89/221, 89/238, 90/093, 90/206, 90/338, 90/390, 0/413, 90/432, 90/465

SDI, see Militarization of space

Conflict resolution, 90/222

Good offices, mediation, 85/013, 85/038, 85/162, 85/185, 85/189, 85/251, 85/312, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/141, 86/209, 86/275, 86/280, 86/316, 86/376, 86/385, 87/002, 87/077, 87/119, 87/127, 87/173, 87/206, 87/244, 87/299, 87/333, 87/352, 87/378, 87/406, 87/481, 87/511, 88/114, 88/162, 88/204, 88/253, 88/499, 89/269, 89/278, 90/093, 90/102, 90/187, 90/230, 90/265, 90/338, 90/360, 90/377, 90/415, 90/438, 90/450

Negotiated solution, 85/054, 85/058, 85/069, 85/182, 85/185, 85/189, 85/245, 85/251, 85/253, 85/294, 85/318, 85/340 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/024, 86/025, 86/043, 86/071, 86/080, 86/105, 86/111, 86/150, 86/154, 86/209, 86/231, 86/232, 86/233, 86/235, 86/239, 86/251, 86/275, 86/306, 86/373, 86/379, 86/393, 86/407, 87/025, 87/084, 87/096, 87/119, 87/159, 87/209, 87/239, 87/260, 87/261, 87/291, 87/303, 87/316, 87/324, 87/333, 87/335, 87/343, 87/362, 87/439, 87/465, 87/488, 87/498, 87/503, 87/507, 87/509, 87/521, 87/522, 87/533, 88/014, 88/025, 88/030, 88/036, 88/052, 88/056, 88/057, 88/058, 88/063, 88/084, 88/091, 88/096, 88/101, 88/108, 88/114, 88/121, 88/124, 88/167, 88/168, 88/170, 88/183, 88/200, 88/204, 88/210, 88/244, 88/260, 88/298, 88/308, 88/333, 88/367, 88/421, 88/443, 88/447, 88/452, 88/482, 88/484, 88/494, 88/499, 88/507, 88/511, 88/515, 88/525, 89/012, 89/015, 89/055, 89/069, 89/134, 89/163, 89/177, 89/179, 89/183, 89/190, 89/221, 89/279, 89/285, 89/288, 89/307, 89/309, 89/311, 89/312, 89/318, 89/319, 90/001, 90/005, 90/007, 90/021, 90/050, 90/084, 90/093, 90/098, 90/102, 90/180, 90/212, 90/218, 90/221, 90/243, 90/267, 90/281, 90/293, 90/316, 90/322, 90/338, 90/355, 90/356, 90/358, 90/360, 90/385, 90/400, 90/409, 90/440, 90/443, 90/447, 90/464

Non-use of force, 85/003, 85/146, 85/167, 85/189, 85/219, 85/231, 85/237, 85/240, 85/305, 85/306, 85/309, 85/312, 85/340 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/345 (Vol. 1988-1), 86/123, 86/308, 86/349, 86/354, 86/359, 86/362, 86/373, 87/119, 87/157, 87/159, 87/208, 87/365, 87/483, 87/484, 87/488, 87/498, 87/505, 88/016, 88/030, 88/114, 88/116, 88/145, 88/168, 88/257, 88/435, 88/441, 88/491, 88/494, 88/507

Peace-keeping forces, 85/069, 85/147, 85/189, 85/219, 85/301, 85/306, 85/312, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/047, 86/052, 86/053, 86/135, 86/233, 86/300, 86/367, 87/081, 87/393, 87/483, 87/500, 87/505, 88/352, 88/444, 88/456, 89/074, 89/077, 89/107, 89/127, 89/221, 90/358, 90/445

Withdrawal of troops, 85/002, 85/012, 85/016, 85/039, 85/068, 85/069, 85/117, 85/123, 85/146, 85/162, 85/189, 85/237, 85/251, 85/253, 85/256, 85/297, 85/300, 85/312, 85/331, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/046, 86/068, 86/086, 86/232, 86/275, 86/300, 86/304, 86/306, 86/340, 86/363, 86/394, 86/407, 87/018, 87/095, 87/119, 87/143, 87/204, 87/263, 87/303, 87/333, 87/370, 87/452, 87/488, 87/491, 87/498, 87/505, 87/511, 87/517, 87/523, 88/049, 88/056, 88/075, 88/094, 88/106, 88/114, 88/115, 88/146, 88/168, 88/169, 88/182, 88/204, 88/210, 88/216, 88/242, 88/248, 88/260, 88/263, 88/298, 88/308, 88/313, 88/331, 88/352, 88/389, 88/449, 88/452, 88/494, 88/499, 89/012, 89/053, 89/175, 89/178, 89/191, 89/218, 89/221, 89/269, 89/279, 89/316, 90/001, 90/093, 90/102, 90/218, 90/293, 90/297, 90/307, 90/338, 90/342, 90/355, 90/375, 90/399, 90/438, 90/443, 90/447, 90/469

Culture, 85/037, 85/051, 85/172, 85/186, 85/194, 85/228, 85/336 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/338 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/339 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/067, 86/123, 86/343, 86/347, 87/003, 88/114, 88/459, 88/523, 89/144, 89/180, 90/128, 90/161, 90/185, 90/186, 90/191, 90/195, 90/222, 90/274, 90/287, 90/340, 90/396, 90/431, 90/432, 90/474

New international information order, 85/255, 85/313, 86/345, 88/397, 89/256

Economic relations, 85/005, 85/040, 85/077, 85/146, 85/160, 85/168, 85/177, 85/185, 85/189, 85/201, 85/221, 85/222, 85/253, 85/258, 85/298, 85/318, 85/336 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/337 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/091, 86/095, 86/096, 86/118, 86/138, 86/183, 86/192,

- 86/197, 86/198, 86/201, 86/202, 86/218, 86/219, 86/326, 86/359, 86/369, 86/373, 87/010, 87/096, 87/119, 87/236, 87/269, 87/423, 87/463, 87/488, 87/502, 87/504, 87/516, 87/533, 87/534, 88/025, 88/036, 88/057, 88/095, 88/153, 88/168, 88/169, 88/194, 88/258, 88/314, 88/318, 88/409, 88/419, 88/443, 88/453, 88/511, 89/012, 89/027, 89/038, 89/039, 89/040, 89/041, 89/043, 89/050, 89/052, 89/056, 89/079, 89/106, 89/109, 89/119, 89/126, 89/184, 89/221, 89/245, 89/281, 89/289, 89/309, 89/334, 89/343, 90/001, 90/006, 90/065, 90/093, 90/101, 90/116, 90/137, 90/150, 90/169, 90/185, 90/186, 90/195, 90/222, 90/225, 90/267, 90/274, 90/287, 90/333, 90/338, 90/340, 90/396, 90/408, 90/431, 90/432, 90/468, 90/470, 90/474
- Aid programmes, 85/024, 85/040, 85/056, 85/071, 85/096, 85/146, 85/148, 85/172, 85/186, 85/189, 85/197, 85/237, 85/312, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/013, 86/036, 86/043, 86/083, 86/086, 86/115, 86/130, 86/136, 86/138, 86/155, 86/159, 86/173, 86/176, 86/185, 86/199, 86/275, 86/307, 86/312, 86/324, 86/359, 86/362, 87/097, 87/114, 87/136, 87/145, 87/157, 87/331, 87/333, 87/391, 87/414, 87/415, 87/449, 87/458, 87/460, 87/488, 87/498, 87/504, 87/536, 88/025, 88/036, 88/049, 88/052, 88/056, 88/065, 88/083, 88/084, 88/119, 88/168, 88/170, 88/182, 88/248, 88/298, 88/313, 88/339, 88/379, 88/408, 88/415, 88/499, 88/507, 88/526, 89/053, 89/073, 89/092, 89/118, 89/131, 89/134, 89/136, 89/156, 89/159, 89/161, 89/173, 89/183, 89/188, 89/190, 89/200, 89/219, 89/221, 89/264, 89/308, 89/315, 89/318, 89/329, 89/333, 89/335, 89/345, 90/001, 90/005, 90/007, 90/015, 90/024, 90/050, 90/065, 90/086, 90/093, 90/097, 90/137, 90/165, 90/177, 90/185, 90/195, 90/218, 90/220, 90/221, 90/225, 90/266, 90/267, 90/269, 90/274, 90/279, 90/281, 90/287, 90/315, 90/337, 90/338, 90/360, 90/396, 90/400, 90/401, 90/404, 90/427, 90/438, 90/443, 90/456, 90/460, 90/470, 90/471, 90/474, 90/476
- Code of Conduct for EC Companies in South Africa, 85/048, 85/121, 85/144, 85/146, 85/152, 85/161, 85/172, 85/186, 85/194, 85/228, 85/291, 85/292, 85/293, 85/300, 85/318, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/343 (Vol. 1987-1), 86/025, 86/038, 86/067, 86/118, 86/126, 86/136, 86/175, 86/179, 86/183, 86/195, 86/257, 86/347, 86/407, 87/009, 87/115, 87/145, 87/214, 87/349, 87/429, 87/464, 87/498, 88/037, 88/038, 88/083, 88/205, 88/239, 88/313, 88/339, 88/459, 88/499, 89/012, 89/050, 89/051, 89/082, 89/100, 89/109, 89/155, 89/225, 89/335, 90/100, 90/101, 90/158
- Development cooperation, 85/002, 85/051, 85/068, 85/071, 85/096, 85/146, 85/147, 85/189, 85/190, 85/217, 85/219, 85/227, 85/229, 85/234, 85/252, 85/253, 85/255, 85/295, 85/297, 85/300, 85/306, 85/340 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/344 (Vol. 1988-1), 86/047, 86/065, 86/073, 86/090, 86/138, 86/155, 86/163, 86/173, 86/174, 86/176, 86/231, 86/251, 86/275, 86/277, 86/298, 86/342, 87/096, 87/186, 87/227, 87/236, 87/237, 87/260, 87/292, 87/311, 87/333, 87/345, 87/371, 87/394, 87/399, 87/400, 87/408, 87/434, 87/445, 87/446, 87/493, 87/533, 87/541 (Vol. 1988-2), 88/004, 88/010, 88/025, 88/036, 88/052, 88/056, 88/062, 88/154, 88/168, 88/292, 88/322, 88/336, 88/353, 88/355, 88/357, 88/366, 88/376, 88/378, 88/405, 88/409, 88/412, 88/452, 88/456, 88/499, 88/501, 88/503, 88/504, 88/511, 88/514, 88/526, 89/053, 89/057, 89/067, 89/120, 89/164, 89/179, 89/184, 89/198, 89/199, 89/221, 89/230, 89/244, 89/245, 89/250, 89/257, 89/269, 89/270, 89/318, 89/320, 89/329, 89/339, 89/344, 90/007, 90/093, 90/098, 90/108, 90/133, 90/137, 90/144, 90/170, 90/185, 90/225, 90/229, 90/237, 90/239, 90/274, 90/287, 90/317, 90/326, 90/337, 90/338, 90/372, 90/390, 90/393, 90/396, 90/417, 90/427, 90/431, 90/438, 90/467, 90/468, 90/474
- Energy supplies, 85/004, 85/172, 85/186, 85/194, 86/063, 86/067, 86/074, 86/136, 86/147, 86/177, 86/185, 86/187, 86/191, 86/218, 86/219, 86/275, 86/307, 86/347, 86/386, 86/407, 87/195, 87/206, 87/209, 87/240, 87/243, 87/245, 87/464, 88/013, 88/043, 88/127, 88/151, 88/273, 88/378, 88/459, 89/037, 89/043, 89/155, 89/161, 90/063, 90/093, 90/297, 90/315, 90/337, 90/338, 90/396
- Financial aid, 85/018, 85/047, 85/052, 85/077, 85/129, 85/177, 85/185, 85/186, 85/189, 85/190, 85/194, 85/228, 85/252, 86/065, 86/073, 86/086, 86/198, 86/230, 86/238, 86/251, 86/273, 86/275, 86/277, 86/280, 86/312, 86/359, 86/373, 87/018, 87/073, 87/096, 87/101, 87/169, 87/188, 87/209, 87/227, 87/241, 87/295, 87/464, 88/154, 88/214, 88/255, 88/313, 88/339,

- 88/417, 88/499, 88/509, 88/510, 88/519, 89/188, 89/221, 89/228, 89/243, 89/245, 89/250, 89/334, 89/339, 90/001, 90/007, 90/125, 90/133, 90/160, 90/225, 90/243, 90/269, 90/274, 90/302, 90/313, 90/315, 90/321, 90/338, 90/340, 90/396, 90/400, 90/470, 90/471
- Food aid, 85/148, 85/189, 85/197, 85/228, 85/237, 85/295, 86/013, 86/083, 86/231, 86/275, 86/347, 87/018, 87/458, 87/460, 87/464, 87/536, 88/056, 88/104, 88/105, 88/119, 88/125, 88/168, 88/268, 88/315, 88/366, 88/408, 88/424, 88/443, 88/499, 89/098, 89/159, 89/161, 89/184, 89/243, 89/247, 89/319, 90/001, 90/024, 90/065, 90/097, 90/135, 90/170, 90/250, 90/292, 90/320, 90/338, 90/350, 90/464, 90/474, 90/476
- Free trade, 85/051, 85/336 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/165, 88/025, 88/168, 88/408, 88/443, 88/507, 89/338, 90/001, 90/093, 90/169, 90/185, 90/274, 90/287, 90/315, 90/338
- Sanctions, 85/030, 85/040, 85/061, 85/077, 85/087, 85/111, 85/152, 85/157, 85/164, 85/172, 85/186, 85/189, 85/194, 85/209, 85/221, 85/228, 85/300, 85/320, 85/324, 85/325, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/343 (Vol. 1987-1), 86/003, 86/020, 86/025, 86/037, 86/038, 86/062, 86/063, 86/074, 86/118, 86/136, 86/165, 86/177, 86/183, 86/185, 86/191, 86/211, 86/237, 86/263, 86/271, 86/275, 86/307, 86/347, 86/363, 86/368, 86/381, 86/386, 86/407, 86/410 (Vol. 1988-1), 87/003, 87/006, 87/029, 87/036, 87/101, 87/145, 87/165, 87/209, 87/213, 87/214, 87/218, 87/243, 87/247, 87/249, 87/264, 87/276, 87/305, 87/320, 87/338, 87/339, 87/349, 87/373, 87/240, 87/429, 87/464, 87/482, 87/498, 87/533, 88/016, 88/022, 88/025, 88/057, 88/083, 88/123, 88/127, 88/151, 88/153, 88/179, 88/203, 88/204, 88/205, 88/258, 88/265, 88/267, 88/273, 88/274, 88/313, 88/339, 88/340, 88/349, 88/386, 88/422, 88/459, 88/499, 89/012, 89/036, 89/037, 89/100, 89/119, 89/155, 89/204, 89/225, 89/300, 89/335, 89/339, 90/042, 90/063, 90/106, 90/111, 90/128, 90/158, 90/189, 90/247, 90/272, 90/274, 90/297, 90/307, 90/313, 90/315, 90/321, 90/328, 90/337, 90/338, 90/339, 90/340, 90/374, 90/399, 90/412, 90/413, 90/417, 90/443, 90/456, 90/460, 90/472
- Third World, 85/096, 85/255, 85/296, 85/318, 86/055, 86/108, 88/025, 88/204, 88/378, 89/221, 90/144, 90/337, 90/473
- Third World debt, 85/189, 85/219, 86/155, 86/275, 87/236, 87/292, 88/204, 88/356, 88/409, 88/490, 89/012, 89/126, 89/184, 89/188, 89/206, 89/221, 89/245, 90/177, 90/239, 90/263, 90/337, 90/338, 90/365, 90/372, 90/468, 90/474
- Education, 85/172, 85/186, 85/194, 85/228, 85/250, 85/254, 85/336 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/338 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/339 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/344 (Vol. 1988-1), 86/076, 86/090, 86/108, 86/118, 86/136, 86/155, 86/275, 86/277, 86/324, 86/339, 86/343, 86/347, 86/359, 86/373, 86/395, 86/402, 87/349, 87/395, 87/414, 87/464, 87/488, 88/007, 88/037, 88/038, 88/083, 88/114, 88/313, 88/367, 88/381, 88/383, 88/408, 88/424, 89/136, 89/146, 89/180, 89/224, 89/225, 89/247, 89/301, 89/315, 89/318, 89/334, 89/335, 90/001, 90/005, 90/093, 90/185, 90/189, 90/195, 90/225, 90/338, 90/400, 90/431, 90/432, 90/474
- Environment, 90/093, 90/137, 90/186, 90/222, 90/274, 90/287
- European integration and cooperation, 85/317, 90/093, 90/169, 90/185, 90/186, 90/249, 90/260, 90/274, 90/287, 90/315, 90/338, 90/349, 90/353, 90/395, 90/396, 90/401, 90/416, 90/425, 90/432, 90/468
- European union, 85/109, 85/055, 85/080, 88/025, 88/298, 88/420, 88/490, 88/522, 89/314, 89/334, 90/095, 90/169, 90/249, 90/274, 90/287, 90/349, 90/353, 90/395, 90/413, 90/416
- Judicial cooperation, 85/051, 85/098, 85/178, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/002, 86/157, 87/231, 87/232, 87/233, 87/498
- Human rights, 85/002, 85/008, 85/012, 85/018, 85/019, 85/020, 85/022, 85/026, 85/028, 85/039, 85/047, 85/049, 85/052, 85/056, 85/059, 85/061, 85/062, 85/063, 85/064, 85/065, 85/067, 85/068, 85/070, 85/072, 85/074, 85/076, 85/081, 85/084, 85/088, 85/089, 85/091, 85/099, 85/100, 85/105, 85/110, 85/113, 85/115, 85/116, 85/117, 85/130, 85/131, 85/134, 85/136, 85/138, 85/141, 85/142, 85/146, 85/153, 85/158, 85/162, 85/168, 85/169, 85/170, 85/174, 85/177, 85/179, 85/181, 85/183, 85/186, 85/189, 85/194, 85/201, 85/206, 85/210, 85/211, 85/213, 85/214, 85/219, 85/221, 85/223, 85/228, 85/231, 85/232, 85/237, 85/238, 85/239,

85/240, 85/248, 85/251, 85/252, 85/253, 85/255, 85/256, 85/257, 85/260, 85/261, 85/262, 85/268, 85/270, 85/276, 85/277, 85/278, 85/280, 85/286, 85/290, 85/297, 85/300, 85/306, 85/318, 85/322, 85/330, 85/331, 85/336 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/338 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/340 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/345 (Vol. 1988-1), 86/001, 86/004, 86/005, 86/006, 86/007, 86/009, 86/010, 86/011, 86/012, 86/014, 86/021, 86/022, 86/025, 86/026, 86/029, 86/032, 86/034, 86/036, 86/047, 86/057, 86/059, 86/066, 86/068, 86/073, 86/084, 86/091, 86/094, 86/095, 86/096, 86/098, 86/112, 86/113, 86/114, 86/120, 86/122, 86/125, 86/128, 86/136, 86/137, 86/152, 86/156, 86/164, 86/166, 86/177, 86/182, 86/183, 86/187, 86/191, 86/192, 86/193, 86/198, 86/201, 86/208, 86/213, 86/214, 86/222, 86/230, 86/231, 86/232, 86/241, 86/243, 86/247, 86/251, 86/265, 86/275, 86/277, 86/278, 86/281, 86/296, 86/307, 86/309, 86/310, 86/312, 86/315, 86/320, 86/339, 86/340, 86/343, 86/346, 86/359, 86/362, 86/363, 86/364, 86/367, 86/370, 86/383, 86/385, 86/389, 86/391, 86/397, 86/402, 86/405, 86/406, 86/407, 86/413 (Vol. 1988-1), 87/005, 87/016, 87/022, 87/023, 87/025, 87/026, 87/027, 87/030, 87/041, 87/047, 87/048, 87/049, 87/050, 87/058, 87/064, 87/068, 87/074, 87/081, 87/085, 87/086, 87/092, 87/094, 87/096, 87/099, 87/100, 87/102, 87/103, 87/107, 87/116, 87/120, 87/121, 87/125, 87/137, 87/142, 87/145, 87/146, 87/150, 87/155, 87/156, 87/158, 87/159, 87/160, 87/162, 87/165, 87/166, 87/170, 87/176, 87/179, 87/181, 87/182, 87/185, 87/186, 87/187, 87/191, 87/195, 87/199, 87/201, 87/202, 87/204, 87/207, 87/208, 87/209, 87/211, 87/212, 87/215, 87/221, 87/223, 87/225, 87/226, 87/227, 87/238, 87/239, 87/242, 87/248, 87/250, 87/252, 87/255, 87/259, 87/260, 87/274, 87/277, 87/285, 87/287, 87/289, 87/300, 87/307, 87/308, 87/309, 87/313, 87/314, 87/318, 87/322, 87/323, 87/327, 87/329, 87/333, 87/334, 87/341, 87/346, 87/349, 87/354, 87/355, 87/356, 87/361, 87/365, 87/371, 87/380, 87/381, 87/384, 87/385, 87/395, 87/397, 87/398, 87/402, 87/405, 87/411, 87/423, 87/427, 87/436, 87/438, 87/441, 87/449, 87/452, 87/456, 87/461, 87/464, 87/465, 87/466, 87/469, 87/470, 87/471, 87/483, 87/486, 87/493, 87/494, 87/497, 87/498, 87/505, 87/509, 87/510, 87/518, 87/519, 87/524, 87/526, 87/529, 87/532, 87/533, 87/534, 87/535, 87/536, 87/538, 87/539 (Vol. 1988-2), 88/002, 88/003, 88/007, 88/015, 88/018, 88/020, 88/021, 88/024, 88/025, 88/027, 88/034, 88/035, 88/036, 88/039, 88/040, 88/045, 88/046, 88/048, 88/052, 88/057, 88/059, 88/061, 88/067, 88/068, 88/069, 88/070, 88/072, 88/076, 88/077, 88/079, 88/090, 88/095, 88/097, 88/101, 88/102, 88/118, 88/120, 88/123, 88/124, 88/126, 88/128, 88/132, 88/137, 88/138, 88/140, 88/144, 88/145, 88/146, 88/151, 88/156, 88/162, 88/165, 88/166, 88/167, 88/168, 88/169, 88/171, 88/174, 88/178, 88/180, 88/181, 88/186, 88/192, 88/193, 88/194, 88/195, 88/196, 88/197, 88/201, 88/202, 88/204, 88/209, 88/211, 88/214, 88/215, 88/216, 88/217, 88/219, 88/220, 88/222, 88/223, 88/224, 88/225, 88/226, 88/227, 88/230, 88/231, 88/234, 88/236, 88/245, 88/247, 88/251, 88/254, 88/260, 88/261, 88/262, 88/264, 88/270, 88/271, 88/272, 88/277, 88/278, 88/279, 88/280, 88/283, 88/286, 88/289, 88/291, 88/292, 88/294, 88/295, 88/296, 88/297, 88/298, 88/301, 88/302, 88/304, 88/305, 88/312, 88/313, 88/318, 88/319, 88/320, 88/321, 88/328, 88/334, 88/337, 88/344, 88/345, 88/347, 88/348, 88/353, 88/364, 88/365, 88/366, 88/370, 88/372, 88/373, 88/375, 88/381, 88/388, 88/389, 88/398, 88/400, 88/409, 88/417, 88/422, 88/423, 88/425, 88/427, 88/431, 88/432, 88/434, 88/435, 88/438, 88/443, 88/452, 88/459, 88/474, 88/477, 88/479, 88/480, 88/494, 88/495, 88/499, 88/502, 88/506, 88/511, 88/518, 88/520, 88/523, 89/002, 89/005, 89/007, 89/012, 89/013, 89/016, 89/017, 89/021, 89/023, 89/025, 89/026, 89/027, 89/028, 89/030, 89/032, 89/033, 89/034, 89/035, 89/044, 89/045, 89/047, 89/053, 89/054, 89/057, 89/061, 89/062, 89/065, 89/068, 89/069, 89/073, 89/075, 89/078, 89/081, 89/086, 89/088, 89/089, 89/092, 89/093, 89/095, 89/096, 89/099, 89/101, 89/112, 89/114, 89/123, 89/124, 89/128, 89/132, 89/133, 89/141, 89/143, 89/144, 89/150, 89/157, 89/168, 89/169, 89/171, 89/178, 89/180, 89/182, 89/184, 89/185, 89/186, 89/188, 89/189, 89/190, 89/204, 89/207, 89/208, 89/215, 89/219, 89/221, 89/225, 89/234, 89/247, 89/260, 89/264, 89/266, 89/277, 89/279, 89/285, 89/286, 89/291, 89/292, 89/294, 89/295, 89/297, 89/298, 89/299, 89/301, 89/303, 89/314, 89/315, 89/321, 89/322, 89/333, 89/334, 89/335, 89/336, 89/343, 90/001, 90/003, 90/005, 90/007, 90/010, 90/013, 90/015, 90/018, 90/022, 90/023, 90/029, 90/031, 90/032, 90/033, 90/034, 90/035, 90/036, 90/037, 90/038, 90/039, 90/040, 90/044, 90/045, 90/048, 90/049, 90/053,

90/054, 90/055, 90/056, 90/058, 90/059, 90/060, 90/061, 90/065, 90/066, 90/067, 90/068, 90/069, 90/070, 90/071, 90/072, 90/074, 90/078, 90/082, 90/090, 90/095, 90/096, 90/097, 90/102, 90/103, 90/104, 90/105, 90/109, 90/110, 90/115, 90/117, 90/127, 90/131, 90/137, 90/138, 90/141, 90/144, 90/152, 90/155, 90/157, 90/168, 90/171, 90/172, 90/173, 90/174, 90/175, 90/176, 90/177, 90/183, 90/185, 90/186, 90/189, 90/190, 90/195, 90/203, 90/205, 90/209, 90/211, 90/218, 90/219, 90/221, 90/222, 90/225, 90/229, 90/231, 90/233, 90/234, 90/239, 90/241, 90/242, 90/247, 90/251, 90/252, 90/255, 90/258, 90/259, 90/263, 90/267, 90/269, 90/271, 90/273, 90/274, 90/275, 90/277, 90/278, 90/279, 90/281, 90/283, 90/284, 90/287, 90/289, 90/291, 90/298, 90/299, 90/300, 90/304, 90/312, 90/318, 90/322, 90/323, 90/324, 90/326, 90/329, 90/331, 90/332, 90/334, 90/336, 90/337, 90/338, 90/345, 90/346, 90/347, 90/351, 90/355, 90/358, 90/360, 90/362, 90/364, 90/366, 90/367, 90/369, 90/371, 90/372, 90/383, 90/387, 90/392, 90/393, 90/394, 90/396, 90/398, 90/404, 90/406, 90/407, 90/408, 90/413, 90/414, 90/417, 90/420, 90/422, 90/423, 90/427, 90/429, 90/430, 90/431, 90/432, 90/433, 90/434, 90/435, 90/437, 90/438, 90/440, 90/442, 90/444, 90/451, 90/452, 90/454, 90/455, 90/457, 90/459, 90/461, 90/463, 90/466, 90/468, 90/470, 90/473, 90/474, 90/477

Anti-Semitism, 85/137, 85/243, 87/040, 87/146, 88/001, 90/102, 90/264, 90/274, 90/304, 90/361, 90/424

Apartheid, 85/002, 85/040, 85/048, 85/050, 85/051, 85/061, 85/068, 85/070, 85/086, 85/087, 85/121, 85/142, 85/144, 85/146, 85/152, 85/161, 85/164, 85/166, 85/169, 85/170, 85/171, 85/172, 85/186, 85/189, 85/194, 85/214, 85/219, 85/221, 85/228, 85/238, 85/239, 85/288, 85/291, 85/292, 85/293, 85/300, 85/315, 85/318, 85/324, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/343 (Vol. 1987-1), 86/014, 86/025, 86/030, 86/038, 86/067, 86/068, 86/072, 86/076, 86/086, 86/109, 86/118, 86/127, 86/136, 86/137, 86/153, 86/173, 86/180, 86/183, 86/185, 86/187, 86/198, 86/205, 86/271, 86/273, 86/275, 86/277, 86/296, 86/306, 86/307, 86/323, 86/326, 86/328, 86/347, 86/349, 86/363, 86/386, 86/402, 86/407, 86/410 (Vol. 1988-1), 87/003, 87/006, 87/025, 87/101, 87/136, 87/145, 87/165, 87/187, 87/188, 87/209, 87/239, 87/243, 87/245, 87/333, 87/349, 87/363, 87/420, 87/427, 87/464, 87/478, 87/484, 87/498, 88/016, 88/022, 88/037, 88/050, 88/083, 88/114, 88/123, 88/128, 88/152, 88/159, 88/168, 88/170, 88/207, 88/208, 88/239, 88/255, 88/257, 88/298, 88/313, 88/314, 88/339, 88/367, 88/377, 88/384, 88/386, 88/426, 88/452, 88/459, 88/491, 88/499, 89/012, 89/051, 89/069, 89/082, 89/100, 89/149, 89/178, 89/200, 89/221, 89/225, 89/261, 89/279, 89/302, 89/308, 89/318, 89/335, 90/001, 90/033, 90/051, 90/073, 90/093, 90/100, 90/101, 90/102, 90/128, 90/161, 90/189, 90/190, 90/269, 90/272, 90/274, 90/287, 90/316, 90/337, 90/338, 90/355, 90/388, 90/389, 90/438, 90/442, 90/472, 90/473

Death penalty, 85/130, 85/131, 85/155, 85/210, 85/221, 86/015, 86/125, 86/137, 86/156, 86/192, 86/229, 86/270, 86/285, 87/113, 87/187, 87/327, 87/498, 87/533, 88/008, 88/083, 88/110, 88/123, 88/129, 88/149, 88/151, 88/170, 88/184, 88/202, 88/217, 88/221, 88/224, 88/255, 88/298, 88/306, 88/313, 88/324, 88/362, 88/450, 88/452, 88/459, 88/499, 89/027, 89/141, 89/150, 89/188, 89/214, 89/221, 89/234, 89/260, 89/293, 90/033, 90/043, 90/102, 90/113, 90/139, 90/148, 90/253, 90/284, 90/388

Democracy, 85/002, 85/006, 85/018, 85/026, 85/028, 85/047, 85/049, 85/051, 85/057, 85/068, 85/070, 85/077, 85/081, 85/096, 85/100, 85/102, 85/143, 85/146, 85/161, 85/167, 85/171, 85/174, 85/186, 85/189, 85/214, 85/219, 85/221, 85/228, 85/231, 85/232, 85/237, 85/253, 85/277, 85/278, 85/279, 85/297, 85/300, 85/315, 85/327, 85/340 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/001, 86/043, 86/060, 86/067, 86/070, 86/089, 86/091, 86/092, 86/103, 86/109, 86/113, 86/127, 86/128, 86/136, 86/154, 86/163, 86/183, 86/185, 86/187, 86/192, 86/196, 86/198, 86/201, 86/213, 86/222, 86/230, 86/245, 86/249, 86/251, 86/261, 86/272, 86/275, 86/277, 86/281, 86/294, 86/299, 86/303, 86/304, 86/307, 86/343, 86/352, 86/362, 86/363, 86/386, 86/402, 86/403, 86/406, 86/407, 87/005, 87/016, 87/024, 87/025, 87/029, 87/054, 87/079, 87/080, 87/091, 87/096, 87/103, 87/107, 87/120, 87/125, 87/136, 87/137, 87/145, 87/159, 87/179, 87/188, 87/191, 87/204, 87/209, 87/212, 87/225, 87/227, 87/238, 87/245, 87/282, 87/283, 87/287, 87/293, 87/307, 87/310, 87/329, 87/330, 87/333, 87/349, 87/355, 87/356, 87/366, 87/370, 87/383, 87/389, 87/422, 87/423, 87/443, 87/451, 87/464, 87/466,

- 87/476, 87/484, 87/492, 87/493, 87/498, 87/501, 87/503, 87/512, 87/533, 87/538, 88/006, 88/010, 88/016, 88/022, 88/024, 88/025, 88/027, 88/030, 88/034, 88/048, 88/050, 88/052, 88/053, 88/056, 88/068, 88/073, 88/078, 88/083, 88/092, 88/114, 88/116, 88/119, 88/120, 88/123, 88/128, 88/130, 88/139, 88/144, 88/147, 88/148, 88/154, 88/159, 88/168, 88/169, 88/170, 88/171, 88/186, 88/195, 88/201, 88/204, 88/210, 88/211, 88/215, 88/223, 88/232, 88/234, 88/254, 88/256, 88/259, 88/276, 88/291, 88/292, 88/296, 88/298, 88/312, 88/313, 88/331, 88/341, 88/348, 88/357, 88/377, 88/388, 88/389, 88/399, 88/417, 88/420, 88/422, 88/428, 88/431, 88/452, 88/459, 88/482, 88/490, 88/491, 88/499, 88/520, 89/006, 89/011, 89/012, 89/023, 89/024, 89/025, 89/044, 89/047, 89/048, 89/052, 89/053, 89/057, 89/060, 89/069, 89/072, 89/073, 89/089, 89/092, 89/100, 89/101, 89/106, 89/118, 89/120, 89/122, 89/126, 89/128, 89/132, 89/139, 89/147, 89/150, 89/162, 89/171, 89/172, 89/173, 89/178, 89/180, 89/182, 89/184, 89/185, 89/186, 89/188, 89/189, 89/190, 89/193, 89/196, 89/197, 89/200, 89/201, 89/202, 89/204, 89/206, 89/210, 89/211, 89/219, 89/221, 89/225, 89/232, 89/243, 89/245, 89/261, 89/262, 89/273, 89/279, 89/281, 89/283, 89/284, 89/299, 89/301, 89/302, 89/308, 89/310, 89/314, 89/320, 89/321, 89/333, 89/334, 89/335, 89/336, 89/338, 89/340, 89/343, 89/345, 90/001, 90/007, 90/019, 90/022, 90/025, 90/033, 90/039, 90/059, 90/065, 90/073, 90/074, 90/088, 90/093, 90/099, 90/102, 90/108, 90/123, 90/129, 90/133, 90/137, 90/141, 90/143, 90/169, 90/177, 90/179, 90/184, 90/185, 90/186, 90/189, 90/191, 90/195, 90/200, 90/202, 90/218, 90/219, 90/222, 90/223, 90/224, 90/225, 90/229, 90/236, 90/239, 90/242, 90/247, 90/249, 90/251, 90/255, 90/263, 90/269, 90/270, 90/271, 90/274, 90/275, 90/283, 90/287, 90/289, 90/296, 90/298, 90/305, 90/306, 90/315, 90/324, 90/333, 90/336, 90/337, 90/338, 90/342, 90/353, 90/354, 90/355, 90/360, 90/362, 90/364, 90/374, 90/380, 90/388, 90/390, 90/396, 90/404, 90/406, 90/407, 90/408, 90/421, 90/431, 90/432, 90/437, 90/438, 90/441, 90/442, 90/451, 90/461, 90/468, 90/472, 90/473, 90/474, 90/477
- Freedom of conscience, 85/119, 85/127, 85/181, 85/189, 85/219, 85/253, 85/261, 85/294, 85/297, 85/300, 86/005, 86/009, 86/022, 86/029, 86/103, 86/143, 86/192, 86/220, 86/265, 86/288, 86/299, 86/345, 86/353, 86/363, 86/405, 86/414 (Vol. 1988-1), 87/186, 87/226, 87/277, 87/284, 87/286, 87/288, 87/349, 87/381, 87/385, 87/426, 87/466, 87/529, 88/006, 88/011, 88/015, 88/027, 88/069, 88/072, 88/095, 88/126, 88/197, 88/202, 88/234, 88/286, 88/290, 88/313, 88/325, 88/370, 88/397, 88/423, 88/452, 88/471, 89/027, 89/058, 89/060, 89/068, 89/132, 89/133, 89/150, 89/152, 89/176, 89/186, 89/266, 89/279, 89/284, 89/291, 89/292, 89/318, 90/088, 90/332, 90/345, 90/355, 90/364, 90/405, 90/421, 90/438
- Freedom of information, 85/075, 85/137, 85/253, 85/255, 85/321, 86/272, 86/343, 86/345, 86/347, 86/405, 86/406, 87/016, 87/024, 87/041, 87/057, 87/162, 87/310, 87/383, 87/463, 87/464, 88/006, 88/057, 88/095, 88/096, 88/124, 88/234, 88/325, 88/344, 88/391, 88/395, 88/397, 88/452, 88/459, 89/026, 89/049, 89/071, 89/081, 89/132, 89/133, 89/152, 89/176, 89/314, 89/335, 90/102, 90/421
- Genocide, 85/237, 85/239, 87/420, 88/385, 90/256
- Minorities, 85/019, 85/022, 85/026, 85/039, 85/084, 85/103, 85/107, 85/134, 85/159, 85/171, 85/172, 85/181, 85/186, 85/189, 85/198, 85/206, 85/220, 85/221, 85/223, 85/261, 85/300, 86/095, 86/107, 86/118, 86/136, 86/143, 86/144, 86/152, 86/307, 87/116, 87/223, 87/241, 87/256, 87/296, 87/407, 87/466, 88/069, 88/099, 88/118, 88/128, 88/150, 88/255, 88/284, 88/329, 88/361, 88/423, 88/427, 88/452, 89/069, 89/112, 89/113, 89/129, 89/190, 89/245, 90/052, 90/095, 90/186, 90/209, 90/222, 90/233, 90/263, 90/275, 90/348, 90/357, 90/407, 90/413, 90/422, 90/430, 90/436, 90/438, 90/466
- Armenians, 85/206, 86/049, 87/039, 87/226, 87/321, 87/528, 88/017, 88/253, 88/326, 89/282, 90/234
- Baha'is, 85/022, 85/206, 85/300, 86/137, 86/268, 86/363, 86/407, 87/046, 87/116, 88/452, 89/279, 90/102, 90/438
- Bulgarian Muslims, 85/084, 85/103, 85/159, 87/296, 88/371, 90/257
- Homelands, 85/189, 85/292, 86/086, 86/183, 87/069, 87/145, 88/459, 89/335, 90/344
- Iranian Christians, 85/206, 85/223

- Kurds, 85/019, 85/134, 87/150, 87/160, 87/321, 87/524, 88/090, 88/228, 88/249, 88/298, 88/330, 88/342, 88/353, 88/359, 88/360, 88/406, 88/452, 88/499, 89/089, 89/228, 89/279, 89/294, 89/337, 90/102, 90/209, 90/213, 90/285, 90/348, 90/366, 90/430, 90/438
- Lebanese Christians, 85/022, 85/039, 85/107, 86/243, 87/256, 89/166
- Palestinians, 85/002, 85/054, 85/138, 85/211, 85/231, 85/238, 85/250, 85/256, 85/270, 85/305, 85/309, 85/312, 85/333, 86/021, 86/023, 86/026, 86/036, 86/071, 86/185, 86/267, 86/275, 86/324, 86/359, 86/373, 86/376, 86/378, 86/384, 86/407, 86/411 (Vol. 1988-1), 87/025, 87/028, 87/114, 87/119, 87/126, 87/186, 87/187, 87/333, 87/377, 87/379, 87/414, 87/419, 87/498, 87/504, 88/009, 88/057, 88/085, 88/167, 88/204, 88/247, 88/260, 88/262, 88/379, 88/384, 88/408, 88/425, 88/443, 88/452, 88/494, 88/499, 89/012, 89/026, 89/138, 89/168, 89/179, 89/181, 89/221, 89/225, 89/245, 89/247, 89/279, 89/285, 89/299, 89/307, 89/309, 89/312, 89/315, 90/001, 90/005, 90/093, 90/125, 90/162, 90/267, 90/274, 90/281, 90/287, 90/311, 90/315, 90/337, 90/338, 90/355, 90/356, 90/358, 90/400, 90/409, 90/440, 90/443, 90/447, 90/453
- Russian Jews, 85/179, 85/198, 85/220, 86/027, 86/095, 86/107, 86/258, 87/030, 87/089, 87/099, 87/121, 87/148, 87/267, 87/426, 88/318, 88/375, 90/096, 90/267, 90/334, 90/338, 90/443
- Tamils, 85/026, 86/141, 90/427
- Missing persons, 85/184, 85/251, 85/300, 86/137, 86/152, 86/166, 86/320, 86/385, 86/409 (Vol. 1988-1), 87/012, 87/026, 87/035, 87/056, 87/174, 87/177, 87/186, 87/187, 87/354, 87/428, 87/466, 87/479, 88/087, 88/188, 88/195, 88/277, 88/289, 88/338, 88/358, 88/452, 88/478, 90/039, 90/041, 90/102, 90/144, 90/252, 90/393, 90/419, 90/438, 90/473
- Political prisoners, 85/018, 85/049, 85/064, 85/077, 85/081, 85/091, 85/099, 85/102, 85/115, 85/116, 85/130, 85/131, 85/134, 85/138, 85/141, 85/148, 85/158, 85/161, 85/164, 85/166, 85/171, 85/172, 85/186, 85/189, 85/194, 85/197, 85/201, 85/207, 85/210, 85/214, 85/219, 85/221, 85/228, 85/231, 85/238, 85/244, 85/257, 85/286, 85/287, 85/292, 85/318, 85/321, 85/322, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/038, 86/067, 86/068, 86/079, 86/086, 86/091, 86/094, 86/102, 86/118, 86/125, 86/127, 86/136, 86/153, 86/156, 86/173, 86/181, 86/183, 86/187, 86/189, 86/192, 86/193, 86/198, 86/206, 86/208, 86/231, 86/270, 86/271, 86/272, 86/275, 86/290, 86/296, 86/307, 86/327, 86/343, 86/347, 86/363, 86/404, 86/407, 87/008, 87/029, 87/099, 87/145, 87/170, 87/187, 87/242, 87/251, 87/313, 87/325, 87/349, 87/360, 87/381, 87/419, 87/422, 87/427, 87/464, 87/466, 87/478, 87/525, 87/533, 88/002, 88/016, 88/025, 88/027, 88/045, 88/066, 88/090, 88/114, 88/128, 88/136, 88/184, 88/195, 88/205, 88/209, 88/214, 88/216, 88/228, 88/230, 88/232, 88/245, 88/246, 88/255, 88/257, 88/264, 88/278, 88/279, 88/285, 88/287, 88/298, 88/305, 88/313, 88/321, 88/337, 88/341, 88/343, 88/366, 88/384, 88/388, 88/422, 88/452, 88/459, 88/499, 88/520, 89/034, 89/046, 89/066, 89/069, 89/150, 89/152, 89/174, 89/209, 89/225, 89/261, 89/279, 89/335, 90/034, 90/046, 90/047, 90/056, 90/073, 90/102, 90/128, 90/148, 90/168, 90/189, 90/232, 90/255, 90/269, 90/289, 90/296, 90/306, 90/338, 90/355, 90/372, 90/374, 90/388, 90/405, 90/417, 90/438, 90/442
- Racial discrimination, 85/144, 85/171, 85/186, 85/194, 85/214, 85/221, 85/228, 85/238, 85/243, 85/290, 85/291, 85/292, 85/300, 85/315, 85/318, 85/336, 85/341, 86/054, 86/102, 86/136, 86/152, 86/175, 86/179, 86/183, 86/185, 86/205, 86/265, 86/275, 86/277, 86/288, 86/307, 86/325, 86/338, 86/347, 86/363, 86/405, 87/040, 87/136, 87/145, 87/165, 87/187, 87/314, 87/349, 87/363, 87/484, 88/001, 88/022, 88/038, 88/123, 88/128, 88/155, 88/159, 88/170, 88/192, 88/232, 88/255, 88/257, 88/298, 88/313, 88/314, 88/341, 88/452, 88/491, 89/100, 89/149, 89/225, 89/261, 89/302, 90/102, 90/189, 90/190, 90/247, 90/264, 90/274, 90/338, 90/355, 90/361, 90/388, 90/424, 90/468, 90/473
- Religious discrimination, 85/243, 85/261, 86/137, 86/152, 86/236, 86/265, 86/363, 86/395, 87/150, 87/186, 87/187, 87/226, 88/195, 88/452, 89/205, 89/279, 90/102
- Self-determination, 85/002, 85/012, 85/023, 85/069, 85/117, 85/167, 85/189, 85/219, 85/231, 85/237, 85/238, 85/240, 85/251, 85/253, 85/256, 85/279, 85/300, 85/309, 85/312, 85/327, 85/331, 86/046, 86/048, 86/182, 86/199, 86/232, 86/267, 86/273, 86/275, 86/299, 86/322,

- 86/327, 86/346, 86/354, 86/359, 86/363, 86/373, 86/378, 86/409 (Vol. 1988-1), 86/411 (Vol. 1988-1), 87/028, 87/096, 87/143, 87/159, 87/186, 87/210, 87/263, 87/278, 87/333, 87/349, 87/363, 87/370, 87/419, 87/421, 87/433, 87/448, 87/451, 87/452, 87/465, 87/466, 87/488, 87/493, 87/498, 87/504, 87/506, 87/511, 88/025, 88/052, 88/075, 88/094, 88/114, 88/146, 88/168, 88/169, 88/170, 88/182, 88/204, 88/248, 88/250, 88/298, 88/313, 88/314, 88/322, 88/333, 88/342, 88/384, 88/389, 88/415, 88/421, 88/443, 88/447, 88/449, 88/452, 88/494, 88/499, 88/507, 89/012, 89/015, 89/053, 89/073, 89/092, 89/164, 89/178, 89/179, 89/221, 89/225, 89/237, 89/241, 89/269, 89/285, 89/288, 89/307, 89/311, 89/312, 89/314, 89/331, 90/001, 90/021, 90/033, 90/074, 90/093, 90/099, 90/102, 90/146, 90/201, 90/218, 90/280, 90/287, 90/315, 90/322, 90/337, 90/338, 90/355, 90/389, 90/394, 90/440, 90/443
- Torture, 85/022, 85/025, 85/044, 85/077, 85/081, 85/134, 85/136, 85/140, 85/219, 85/251, 85/300, 86/137, 86/152, 86/156, 86/192, 86/201, 86/208, 86/214, 86/312, 86/347, 86/363, 86/413 (Vol. 1988-1), 87/005, 87/056, 87/086, 87/120, 87/186, 87/187, 87/300, 87/308, 87/319, 87/326, 87/380, 87/436, 87/466, 87/471, 88/059, 88/067, 88/090, 88/189, 88/218, 88/261, 88/272, 88/298, 88/301, 88/303, 88/305, 88/313, 88/345, 88/346, 88/364, 88/409, 88/477, 89/100, 89/111, 89/149, 89/150, 89/186, 89/225, 89/260, 89/279, 89/335, 90/029, 90/102, 90/131, 90/138, 90/155, 90/438, 90/473
- Women's policies, 85/335 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/090, 86/152, 86/155, 86/371, 87/237, 87/408, 87/409, 87/434, 87/462, 87/541 (Vol. 1988-2), 88/383, 88/402, 88/409, 88/412, 89/146, 89/271, 90/060, 90/093
- International instruments, 88/452
- ABM Treaty, 85/083, 85/217, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/140, 86/298, 87/371, 89/221, 89/238
- European Convention on Human Rights, 85/067, 85/125, 85/300, 86/137, 86/222, 86/227, 86/241, 86/363, 87/107, 87/125, 87/137, 87/466, 87/531, 88/112, 88/452, 89/279, 90/102, 90/438
- Geneva Conventions, 85/069, 85/138, 85/189, 85/217, 85/231, 85/241, 85/300, 85/309, 85/312, 86/001, 86/051, 86/105, 86/188, 86/250, 86/323, 86/332, 86/359, 86/363, 86/373, 86/376, 86/378, 87/075, 87/077, 87/189, 87/350, 87/371, 87/431, 87/437, 87/465, 87/466, 87/488, 87/498, 87/504, 87/505, 88/020, 88/036, 88/057, 88/060, 88/096, 88/101, 88/124, 88/249, 88/298, 88/353, 88/359, 88/406, 88/425, 88/432, 88/443, 88/452, 88/494, 88/507, 89/001, 89/031, 89/069, 89/133, 89/179, 89/224, 89/247, 89/279, 89/285, 89/299, 89/307, 89/309, 89/311, 89/315, 89/329, 90/005, 90/102, 90/125, 90/155, 90/181, 90/213, 90/225, 90/240, 90/267, 90/274, 90/281, 90/338, 90/356, 90/358, 90/384, 90/398, 90/409, 90/440, 90/443, 90/453, 90/470
- Hague Conventions, 85/138, 85/231, 85/309, 85/312, 86/359, 86/373, 87/465, 87/488, 87/504, 87/505, 88/443, 88/494, 89/285, 89/311
- Helsinki Final Act, 85/002, 85/003, 85/008, 85/023, 85/046, 85/068, 85/072, 85/076, 85/084, 85/088, 85/089, 85/103, 85/113, 85/137, 85/146, 85/153, 85/158, 85/179, 85/189, 85/198, 85/219, 85/220, 85/259, 85/276, 85/306, 85/318, 85/331, 85/336 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/339 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/009, 86/022, 86/027, 86/028, 86/029, 86/092, 86/095, 86/107, 86/123, 86/124, 86/137, 86/182, 86/220, 86/258, 86/265, 86/275, 86/288, 86/308, 86/336, 86/343, 86/384, 86/388, 86/402, 86/404, 86/405, 86/414 (Vol. 1988-1), 87/030, 87/085, 87/089, 87/099, 87/144, 87/158, 87/162, 87/166, 87/204, 87/208, 87/209, 87/223, 87/239, 87/252, 87/284, 87/286, 87/288, 87/296, 87/333, 87/334, 87/385, 87/426, 87/534, 88/011, 88/015, 88/021, 88/026, 88/027, 88/039, 88/072, 88/095, 88/099, 88/145, 88/150, 88/165, 88/197, 88/204, 88/286, 88/290, 88/298, 88/318, 88/374, 88/375, 88/471, 88/490, 88/523, 89/012, 89/027, 89/030, 89/056, 89/075, 89/081, 89/132, 89/169, 89/279, 89/284, 89/314, 89/334, 90/033, 90/074, 90/092, 90/095, 90/137, 90/142, 90/150, 90/169, 90/185, 90/186, 90/195, 90/222, 90/225, 90/249, 90/260, 90/338, 90/353, 90/390, 90/407, 90/438
- INF Treaty, 86/409, 88/012, 88/027, 88/028, 88/169, 88/298, 88/353, 88/499, 89/001, 89/238

- International Convention against Torture, 85/025, 85/044, 85/140, 85/300, 86/152, 86/363, 87/326, 87/333, 87/466, 87/498, 88/059, 88/144, 88/195, 88/218, 88/345, 88/346, 88/364, 88/410, 88/452, 88/477, 89/260
- International Convention on the Combating of Terrorism, 85/060, 85/178, 85/225, 87/014
- International Convention on the Elimination and Repression of the Crime of Apartheid, 85/239, 86/328, 87/145, 87/420
- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 85/300, 86/009, 86/265, 86/268, 86/288, 86/327, 86/339, 86/345, 86/363, 86/370, 86/414 (Vol. 1988-1), 87/099, 87/158, 87/166, 87/187, 87/349, 87/367, 87/419, 87/466, 87/486, 88/095, 88/112, 88/195, 88/226, 88/286, 88/313, 88/318, 88/410, 88/452, 88/455, 88/506, 89/066, 89/069, 89/260, 89/279, 90/033, 90/102, 90/189, 90/190, 90/443
- Lomé Convention, 85/015, 85/051, 85/096, 85/189, 85/228, 85/252, 85/295, 86/065, 86/066, 86/155, 86/234, 86/347, 87/018, 87/215, 87/464, 88/025, 88/131, 88/367, 88/415, 88/459, 88/499, 88/501, 88/510, 88/526, 89/012, 89/038, 89/039, 89/040, 89/126, 89/136, 89/188, 89/221, 89/225, 89/241, 89/318, 89/334, 90/043, 90/078, 90/102, 90/141, 90/190, 90/195, 90/225, 90/263, 90/264, 90/269, 90/273, 90/326, 90/338, 90/368, 90/372, 90/401, 90/404, 90/437, 90/438, 90/455, 90/463, 90/468
- Madrid Concluding Document, 85/008, 85/088, 85/089, 85/103, 85/113, 85/146, 85/179, 85/189, 85/198, 85/220, 85/336 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/339 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/027, 86/028, 86/095, 86/107, 86/124, 86/220, 86/258, 86/308, 86/336, 86/343, 86/388, 86/405, 86/414 (Vol. 1988-1), 87/030, 87/085, 87/089, 87/099, 87/162, 87/223, 87/534, 88/027, 88/072, 88/095, 88/150, 88/165, 88/204, 89/027
- Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (1963), 85/083
- SALT-II Treaty (1971), 85/083
- Stockholm Document, 86/336, 87/085, 87/166, 87/208, 87/418, 89/148, 89/255
- UN Charter, 85/012, 85/023, 85/068, 85/146, 85/168, 85/179, 85/186, 85/189, 85/194, 85/195, 85/213, 85/214, 85/217, 85/219, 85/221, 85/228, 85/231, 85/233, 85/235, 85/237, 85/238, 85/240, 85/251, 85/253, 85/297, 85/300, 85/301, 85/306, 85/307, 85/311, 85/314, 85/315, 85/316, 85/328, 85/331, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/345 (Vol. 1988-1), 86/067, 86/068, 86/104, 86/107, 86/123, 86/135, 86/136, 86/183, 86/199, 86/222, 86/247, 86/268, 86/275, 86/277, 86/296, 86/297, 86/298, 86/300, 86/301, 86/304, 86/327, 86/330, 86/333, 86/336, 86/340, 86/347, 86/349, 86/354, 86/362, 86/363, 86/365, 86/367, 86/374, 86/380, 87/081, 87/096, 87/145, 87/165, 87/167, 87/186, 87/236, 87/237, 87/311, 87/333, 87/349, 87/363, 87/365, 87/370, 87/393, 87/419, 87/432, 87/434, 87/452, 87/459, 87/461, 87/462, 87/464, 87/465, 87/466, 87/483, 87/484, 87/488, 87/489, 87/494, 87/498, 87/504, 87/505, 87/539 (Vol. 1988-2), 88/031, 88/052, 88/095, 88/117, 88/145, 88/194, 88/195, 88/252, 88/298, 88/314, 88/366, 88/384, 88/389, 88/396, 88/402, 88/415, 88/441, 88/446, 88/452, 88/456, 88/459, 88/460, 88/490, 88/499, 89/068, 89/069, 89/073, 89/100, 89/302, 90/001, 90/033, 90/102, 90/181, 90/189, 90/293, 90/337, 90/338, 90/339, 90/389, 90/390, 90/431, 90/446
- UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, 85/079, 86/017, 86/133, 86/221, 89/278, 90/254
- Universal Declaration on Human Rights, 85/179, 85/186, 85/189, 85/213, 85/214, 85/219, 85/221, 85/228, 85/253, 85/255, 85/297, 85/300, 85/340 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/067, 86/068, 86/107, 86/136, 86/152, 86/183, 86/258, 86/275, 86/277, 86/296, 86/339, 86/345, 86/347, 86/363, 86/388, 87/030, 87/089, 87/096, 87/099, 87/145, 87/158, 87/165, 87/186, 87/366, 87/464, 87/466, 88/006, 88/052, 88/095, 88/195, 88/298, 88/318, 88/375, 88/397, 88/410, 88/434, 88/452, 88/459, 88/490, 88/502, 88/506, 89/069, 89/100, 89/279, 89/335, 90/033, 90/102, 90/189
- UN resolutions, 85/002, 85/004, 85/012, 85/013, 85/022, 85/038, 85/043, 85/051, 85/056, 85/061, 85/068, 85/069, 85/079, 85/095, 85/104, 85/117, 85/152, 85/157, 85/162, 85/164, 85/167, 85/189, 85/215, 85/217, 85/218, 85/225, 85/226, 85/237, 85/251, 85/300, 85/302, 85/303, 85/305, 85/313, 85/322, 85/331, 86/054, 86/058, 86/096, 86/100, 86/114, 86/139,

86/152, 86/165, 86/191, 86/232, 86/247, 86/274, 86/300, 86/301, 86/304, 86/305, 86/306, 86/316, 86/322, 86/324, 86/325, 86/326, 86/327, 86/329, 86/333, 86/338, 86/340, 86/341, 86/349, 86/350, 86/353, 86/355, 86/357, 86/358, 86/360, 86/364, 86/368, 86/369, 86/370, 86/379, 86/380, 86/381, 86/403, 86/407, 87/002, 87/040, 87/167, 87/173, 87/187, 87/218, 87/239, 87/244, 87/303, 87/333, 87/349, 87/357, 87/363, 87/369, 87/372, 87/390, 87/391, 87/394, 87/406, 87/408, 87/414, 87/416, 87/418, 87/419, 87/420, 87/421, 87/431, 87/432, 87/433, 87/436, 87/443, 87/444, 87/446, 87/447, 87/449, 87/451, 87/452, 87/453, 87/454, 87/456, 87/457, 87/458, 87/463, 87/466, 87/481, 87/484, 87/485, 87/486, 87/489, 87/490, 87/494, 87/498, 87/499, 87/500, 87/502, 87/505, 87/506, 87/507, 87/515, 87/539 (Vol. 1988-2), 87/541 (Vol. 1988-2), 87/543 (Vol. 1988-2), 88/031, 88/114, 88/160, 88/170, 88/194, 88/216, 88/308, 88/314, 88/331, 88/351, 88/355, 88/377, 88/379, 88/384, 88/385, 88/386, 88/387, 88/389, 88/394, 88/395, 88/396, 88/400, 88/405, 88/407, 88/415, 88/429, 88/438, 88/439, 88/442, 88/444, 88/446, 88/451, 88/454, 88/455, 88/457, 88/458, 88/460, 88/480, 88/481, 88/486, 88/489, 88/491, 88/492, 88/494, 88/495, 88/496, 88/498, 88/501, 89/001, 89/065, 89/146, 89/221, 89/234, 89/235, 89/239, 89/248, 89/252, 89/255, 89/257, 89/269, 89/270, 89/276, 89/302, 89/303, 89/313, 89/323, 89/324, 89/327, 89/331, 89/341, 90/012, 90/044, 90/084, 90/117, 90/125, 90/146, 90/155, 90/187, 90/201, 90/218, 90/225, 90/279, 90/280, 90/293, 90/301, 90/311, 90/313, 90/315, 90/337, 90/338, 90/339, 90/340, 90/355, 90/358, 90/359, 90/390, 90/393, 90/394, 90/398, 90/399, 90/413, 90/438, 90/443, 90/457, 90/469, 90/470

General Assembly Resolution 302 (IV), 86/324

General Assembly Resolution 2145 (XXI), 86/199, 86/247, 86/273

General Assembly Resolution 3295 (XXIX), 86/197

General Assembly Resolution 3379 (XXX), 87/040, 87/314, 88/001

General Assembly Resolution 34/219, 87/462

General Assembly Resolution 35/37, 85/251

General Assembly Resolution 35/46, 85/344 (Vol. 1988-1), 86/334

General Assembly Resolution 35/142 [B], 86/335, 87/417, 87/453, 88/404

General Assembly Resolution 35/168, 87/342, 88/309

General Assembly Resolution 37/14 [C], 87/391

General Assembly Resolution 37/30 [N], 88/206

General Assembly Resolution 37/178 [H], 85/345 (Vol. 1988-1)

General Assembly Resolution 37/234, 88/394

General Assembly Resolution 37/251, 88/378

General Assembly Resolution 37/267, 85/190

General Assembly Resolution 38/81, 85/195, 86/300, 87/393

General Assembly Resolution 39/13, 85/056

General Assembly Resolution 39/16, 85/194

General Assembly Resolution 39/27, 85/271, 87/487

General Assembly Resolution 39/63 [E], 85/240

General Assembly Resolution 39/64 [B], 85/263

General Assembly Resolution 39/75, 85/298

General Assembly Resolution 39/96, 85/296

General Assembly Resolution 39/148 [Q], 85/344 (Vol. 1988-1)

General Assembly Resolution 39/151 [C], 85/249

General Assembly Resolution 39/151 [G], 85/345 (Vol. 1988-1)

General Assembly Resolution 39/160, 85/234

General Assembly Resolution 39/246, 85/271

General Assembly Resolution 39/247 [B], 85/196, 85/329

- General Assembly Resolution 40/6, 87/370
General Assembly Resolution 40/12, 87/002
General Assembly Resolution 40/49, 86/152
General Assembly Resolution 40/61, 85/326, 87/146, 87/333, 87/421, 87/506, 89/237
General Assembly Resolution 40/64 [G], 85/326
General Assembly Resolution 40/73, 86/305
General Assembly Resolution 40/141, 86/177
General Assembly Resolution 40/145, 87/005
General Assembly Resolution 40/152 [K], 87/444
General Assembly Resolution 40/152 [O], 87/168
General Assembly Resolution 40/159, 87/349
General Assembly Resolution 40/177, 87/237, 87/541 (Vol. 1988-2), 90/446
General Assembly Resolution 40/243, 88/414, 88/440
General Assembly Resolution 40/244, 90/446
General Assembly Resolution 40/250, 90/446
General Assembly Resolution 41/9, 87/416
General Assembly Resolution 41/16, 87/076
General Assembly Resolution 41/31, 87/210
General Assembly Resolution 41/43 [D], 87/391
General Assembly Resolution 41/60 [G], 87/235, 87/371
General Assembly Resolution 41/76, 87/365
General Assembly Resolution 41/78, 87/342
General Assembly Resolution 41/86 [Q], 87/168
General Assembly Resolution 41/94, 87/145
General Assembly Resolution 41/105, 87/165, 87/349
General Assembly Resolution 41/121, 87/349
General Assembly Resolution 41/128, 89/150
General Assembly Resolution 41/159, 87/116, 87/318
General Assembly Resolution 41/165, 87/485
General Assembly Resolution 41/177 [B], 87/369
General Assembly Resolution 41/177 [D], 88/440
General Assembly Resolution 41/184, 87/502
General Assembly Resolution 41/192, 87/391
General Assembly Resolution 41/205, 87/462
General Assembly Resolution 41/206 [C], 87/462
General Assembly Resolution 41/213, 87/237, 87/333, 87/369, 87/392, 87/434, 87/462, 87/487, 87/513, 87/514, 87/537, 87/540 (Vol. 1988-2), 87/541 (Vol. 1988-2), 88/117, 88/194, 88/298, 88/368, 88/394, 88/402, 88/508, 88/524, 90/394
General Assembly Resolution 41/243, 87/369
General Assembly Resolution 42/8, 88/381
General Assembly Resolution 42/15 [A], 88/309
General Assembly Resolution 42/19 [A], 88/336
General Assembly Resolution 42/37 [C], 88/406
General Assembly Resolution 42/40, 88/028
General Assembly Resolution 42/42 [N], 88/030, 88/401, 89/259
General Assembly Resolution 42/62, 88/383
General Assembly Resolution 42/159, 89/237
General Assembly Resolution 42/186, 88/378

- General Assembly Resolution 42/187, 88/378
General Assembly Resolution 42/196, 88/194
General Assembly Resolution 42/206 [C], 88/354
General Assembly Resolution 42/207 [B], 88/494, 89/226
General Assembly Resolution 42/209 [A], 88/494
General Assembly Resolution 42/213 [B], 88/051
General Assembly Resolution 42/218, 88/316, 88/527
General Assembly Resolution 42/219, 88/445
General Assembly Resolution 42/221, 88/390
General Assembly Resolution 42/222, 88/390
General Assembly Resolution 42/229 [A], 88/071
General Assembly Resolution 43/24, 89/243
General Assembly Resolution 43/51, 89/074
General Assembly Resolution 43/59, 89/127
General Assembly Resolution 43/75, 89/140, 89/148, 89/151
General Assembly Resolution 43/78, 89/140, 89/258
General Assembly Resolution 43/128, 89/150
General Assembly Resolution 43/176, 89/133
General Assembly Resolution 43/216, 89/222
General Assembly Resolution 43/222, 89/226
General Assembly Resolution 43/230, 89/074
General Assembly Resolution 44/167, 90/144
General Assembly Resolution 44/192, 90/445
General Assembly Resolution 44/240, 90/130
Security Council Resolution 186 (1964), 85/195
Security Council Resolution 242 (1967), 85/189, 85/231, 85/256, 85/305, 85/309, 85/312, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/275, 86/359, 86/373, 86/376, 86/378, 86/410 (Vol. 1988-1), 87/028, 87/119, 87/465, 87/488, 87/504, 87/505, 88/443, 88/447, 88/494, 88/507, 88/512, 88/515, 88/525, 89/179, 89/221, 89/225, 89/285, 89/307, 89/309, 89/311, 89/312, 90/093, 90/267, 90/281, 90/337, 90/338, 90/355, 90/358, 90/440, 90/443
Security Council Resolution 338 (1973), 85/189, 85/231, 85/256, 85/305, 85/309, 85/312, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/373, 86/376, 86/378, 86/411 (Vol. 1988-1), 87/028, 87/119, 87/488, 87/504, 87/505, 88/447, 88/494, 88/507, 88/512, 88/515, 88/525, 89/179, 89/221, 89/225, 89/307, 89/309, 89/311, 89/312, 90/093, 90/267, 90/281, 90/337, 90/338, 90/355, 90/358, 90/440, 90/443
Security Council Resolution 385 (1976), 85/279, 86/199, 86/273, 86/274, 86/354, 86/365, 87/448, 87/451, 88/414
Security Council Resolution 418 (1977), 85/030, 85/040, 85/228, 86/003
Security Council Resolution 425 (1978), 88/115, 88/352, 88/526, 89/307
Security Council Resolution 435 (1978), 85/070, 85/112, 85/161, 85/167, 85/189, 85/195, 85/238, 85/279, 85/300, 85/327, 86/008, 86/067, 86/068, 86/162, 86/199, 86/202, 86/217, 86/247, 86/273, 86/274, 86/306, 86/327, 86/354, 86/363, 86/365, 86/407, 87/045, 87/069, 87/333, 87/349, 87/419, 87/448, 87/451, 87/466, 88/025, 88/114, 88/123, 88/168, 88/170,

- 88/185, 88/204, 88/233, 88/248, 88/255, 88/298, 88/299, 88/313, 88/367, 88/384, 88/414, 88/440, 88/452, 88/499, 88/517, 89/012, 89/107, 89/136, 89/178, 89/195, 89/225, 89/241, 89/318, 90/093, 90/338
- Security Council Resolution 465 (1980), 90/194
- Security Council Resolution 478 (1980), 85/233, 85/328, 86/380, 88/496
- Security Council Resolution 487 (1981), 86/330, 89/285
- Security Council Resolution 497 (1981), 89/285
- Security Council Resolution 508 (1982), 89/307
- Security Council Resolution 509 (1982), 89/307
- Security Council Resolution 523 (1982), 85/016
- Security Council Resolution 550 (1984), 90/373, 90/415, 90/450
- Security Council Resolution 558 (1984), 85/324
- Security Council Resolution 564 (1985), 85/312
- Security Council Resolution 571 (1985), 85/189
- Security Council Resolution 579 (1985), 87/146, 87/421
- Security Council Resolution 582 (1986), 86/087, 86/105, 86/246, 86/275, 87/077, 87/127, 87/189, 87/261, 89/237
- Security Council Resolution 587 (1986), 87/095
- Security Council Resolution 588 (1986), 86/407, 87/077, 87/127, 87/261
- Security Council Resolution 598 (1987), 87/306, 87/333, 87/483, 87/498, 87/505, 87/509, 87/517, 87/533, 88/114, 88/167, 88/168, 88/170, 88/183, 88/204, 88/241, 88/244, 88/298, 88/494, 88/499, 89/017, 89/221, 89/307, 90/093, 90/338, 90/443
- Security Council Resolution 601 (1987), 87/448
- Security Council Resolution 605 (1988), 88/020, 88/036, 88/101, 88/443, 89/133, 89/179, 89/285, 89/299, 89/329, 90/005
- Security Council Resolution 607 (1988), 88/009, 88/020, 88/036, 88/096, 88/101, 88/124, 88/443, 89/133, 89/179, 89/285, 89/299, 89/329, 90/005
- Security Council Resolution 608 (1988), 88/036, 88/096, 88/101, 89/179, 89/299, 89/329, 90/005
- Security Council Resolution 612 (1988), 88/168, 88/249, 88/298, 88/353, 88/359, 88/406, 88/499
- Security Council Resolution 620 (1988), 88/249, 88/298, 88/353, 88/359, 88/406, 88/499
- Security Council Resolution 621 (1988), 89/015
- Security Council Resolution 632 (1989), 89/015, 89/195
- Security Council Resolution 636 (1989), 89/285, 89/299, 89/329, 90/005, 90/440, 90/443
- Security Council Resolution 637 (1989), 89/243, 90/470
- Security Council Resolution 641 (1989), 89/285, 90/440, 90/443
- Security Council Resolution 649 (1990), 90/187, 90/230, 90/265, 90/301, 90/373
- Security Council Resolution 658 (1990), 90/394
- Security Council Resolution 660 (1990), 90/297, 90/307, 90/338
- Security Council Resolution 661 (1990), 90/307, 90/315, 90/338
- Security Council Resolution 662 (1990), 90/307, 90/338
- Security Council Resolution 664 (1990), 90/309, 90/312, 90/338, 90/443
- Security Council Resolution 665 (1990), 90/315
- Security Council Resolution 667 (1990), 90/321, 90/338
- Security Council Resolution 668 (1990), 90/355
- Security Council Resolution 672 (1990), 90/398, 90/409, 90/438, 90/440, 90/443, 90/453, 90/470

- Security Council Resolution 673 (1990), 90/398, 90/409, 90/438, 90/440, 90/443, 90/453
Security Council Resolution 678 (1990), 90/443, 90/447, 90/469
- Venice Declaration, 85/002, 85/042, 85/051, 85/195, 85/231, 85/318, 86/026, 86/071, 86/343, 86/359, 86/373, 86/376, 86/411 (Vol. 1988-1), 87/028, 87/114, 87/119, 87/208, 87/260, 87/333, 87/379, 87/488, 87/522, 88/020, 88/036, 88/057, 88/101, 88/124, 88/167, 88/168, 88/204, 88/298, 88/443, 88/447, 88/494, 88/499, 88/507, 88/525, 89/055, 89/110, 89/163, 89/179, 89/285, 89/307, 89/309, 89/311, 89/312, 90/125, 90/220, 90/267, 90/338, 90/358, 90/413
- Vienna Concluding Document, 89/027, 89/112, 89/113, 89/141, 89/169, 89/277, 89/284, 89/291, 90/003, 90/033, 90/066, 90/110, 90/222
- Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, 85/283, 86/200, 86/272, 86/358, 90/114, 90/236, 90/271, 90/315, 90/319, 90/338, 90/399, 90/443
- Yalta Agreements, 85/023, 86/254, 86/293
- Instruments of international relations, 85/192, 86/064, 88/452, 90/093, 90/169, 90/185, 90/186, 90/274, 90/287, 90/338, 90/396, 90/468
- Diplomatic recognition, 85/095, 85/167, 85/185, 85/189, 85/212, 85/222, 85/258, 85/279, 85/312, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/061, 86/067, 86/100, 86/212, 86/217, 86/247, 86/273, 86/280, 86/403, 86/407, 87/045, 87/069, 87/299, 87/370, 87/448, 88/025, 88/063, 88/064, 88/161, 88/248, 88/333, 88/512, 89/094, 90/297, 90/307, 90/309, 90/338, 90/340
- Diplomatic relations, 85/123, 85/219, 85/222, 85/300, 86/119, 86/133, 86/168, 86/173, 86/252, 86/305, 86/351, 86/358, 86/407, 86/412 (Vol. 1988-1), 87/002, 87/007, 87/301, 87/342, 87/351, 88/040, 88/051, 88/071, 88/089, 88/175, 89/018, 89/068, 89/219, 90/167, 90/218, 90/307, 90/309, 90/321, 90/399, 90/417
- Membership in international organizations, 85/037, 85/189, 85/265, 85/273, 85/327, 86/349, 87/484, 87/498, 88/194, 88/513, 90/337
- Privileges and immunities, 85/068, 85/250, 85/283, 85/314, 86/119, 86/272, 86/371, 87/342, 87/414, 87/462, 87/508, 88/195, 88/309, 88/402, 88/408, 88/445, 90/400, 90/402, 90/438
- Abuse of diplomatic immunity, 85/002, 85/192, 85/283, 86/093, 86/168, 86/200, 86/252, 86/305, 86/358, 86/377, 86/407, 87/007, 87/342, 88/309
- Science and technology, 89/186
- Eureka, 85/109, 85/151, 86/140, 87/184, 89/245, 90/185
- Scientific and technological cooperation, 85/005, 85/109, 85/132, 85/151, 85/172, 85/186, 85/194, 85/219, 85/228, 85/336 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/067, 86/123, 86/240, 86/275, 86/280, 86/347, 87/119, 87/197, 87/208, 87/338, 87/541 (Vol. 1988-2), 88/004, 88/095, 88/133, 88/300, 88/340, 88/355, 88/420, 88/459, 89/219, 89/245, 89/246, 89/301, 89/314, 89/318, 89/335, 90/006, 90/007, 90/065, 90/093, 90/128, 90/161, 90/195, 90/239, 90/287, 90/297, 90/396, 90/431, 90/432, 90/468, 90/474
- Security, 85/003, 85/009, 85/026, 85/097, 85/110, 85/147, 85/168, 85/186, 85/194, 85/213, 85/217, 85/219, 85/231, 85/234, 85/237, 85/238, 85/240, 85/249, 85/251, 85/253, 85/263, 85/270, 85/279, 85/297, 85/305, 85/306, 85/309, 85/312, 85/317, 85/318, 85/336 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/340 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 85/345 (Vol. 1988-1), 86/047, 86/119, 86/123, 86/124, 86/140, 86/194, 86/298, 86/333, 86/335, 86/367, 87/025, 87/059, 87/122, 87/166, 87/167, 87/184, 87/208, 87/209, 87/253, 87/308, 87/371, 87/445, 87/483, 87/494, 87/499, 87/533, 88/023, 88/024, 88/025, 88/026, 88/027, 88/041, 88/052, 88/072, 88/086, 88/095, 88/100, 88/107, 88/114, 88/144, 88/145, 88/168, 88/169, 88/181, 88/183, 88/187, 88/204, 88/231, 88/244, 88/298, 88/300, 88/353, 88/396, 88/400, 88/405, 88/407, 88/408, 88/420, 88/456, 88/457, 88/458, 88/464, 88/485, 88/490, 88/499, 88/506, 89/009, 89/010, 89/012, 89/029, 89/080, 89/081, 89/084, 89/115, 89/138, 89/142, 89/184, 89/314, 89/318, 89/326, 90/001, 90/074, 90/093, 90/095, 90/102, 90/137, 90/169, 90/185, 90/186, 90/195, 90/222, 90/225, 90/249, 90/274, 90/287, 90/318, 90/338, 90/357, 90/413, 90/425, 90/431, 90/432, 90/458, 90/468, 90/470, 90/474

- Defence, 85/003, 85/010, 85/027, 85/035, 85/101, 85/106, 85/118, 85/124, 85/128, 85/132, 85/144, 85/147, 85/150, 85/151, 85/172, 85/180, 85/205, 85/230, 85/240, 85/241, 85/259, 85/266, 85/289, 85/312, 86/019, 86/082, 86/101, 86/123, 86/129, 86/140, 86/198, 86/207, 86/234, 86/242, 86/282, 86/308, 86/335, 86/347, 86/417 (Vol. 1988-1), 87/025, 87/037, 87/071, 87/085, 87/090, 87/122, 87/149, 87/152, 87/175, 87/197, 87/208, 87/209, 87/218, 87/235, 87/275, 87/278, 87/279, 87/292, 87/297, 87/331, 87/334, 87/374, 87/472, 87/473, 87/496, 87/518, 87/520, 88/005, 88/012, 88/019, 88/026, 88/041, 88/086, 88/109, 88/122, 88/168, 88/187, 88/464, 89/027, 89/029, 89/077, 89/080, 89/091, 89/326, 90/079, 90/204, 90/207, 90/228, 90/287, 90/395, 90/413
- Common defence policy of the EC Member States, 85/007, 86/140, 86/242
- Drugs, 85/085, 85/272, 86/093, 86/134, 86/142, 86/146, 86/183, 86/200, 86/275, 86/306, 86/337, 86/382, 86/384, 86/407, 87/027, 87/227, 87/317, 87/331, 87/333, 87/387, 87/446, 87/498, 88/114, 88/169, 88/298, 88/317, 88/393, 88/409, 89/073, 89/087, 89/125, 89/137, 89/196, 89/221, 89/245, 89/252, 89/334, 90/020, 90/026, 90/093, 90/120, 90/154, 90/176, 90/177, 90/195, 90/239, 90/274, 90/283, 90/287, 90/337, 90/338, 90/431, 90/432, 90/439, 90/446, 90/468, 90/474
- Hostages, 85/146, 85/188, 85/219, 85/225, 85/300, 85/312, 86/152, 86/363, 86/376, 87/186, 87/262, 87/315, 87/421, 87/498, 87/505, 87/509, 88/147, 88/168, 88/169, 88/183, 88/195, 88/237, 88/494, 89/064, 89/150, 89/187, 89/192, 89/216, 89/220, 89/221, 89/279, 89/307, 90/167, 90/216, 90/279, 90/321, 90/337, 90/338, 90/355, 90/359, 90/381, 90/399, 90/413, 90/443, 90/447, 90/448, 90/469, 90/471, 90/473
- Immigrants, 85/110, 85/260, 90/264, 90/337, 90/343, 90/361, 90/386, 90/449
- Mercenaries, 85/216, 85/304, 86/329, 86/346, 87/186, 87/350, 87/433, 87/490, 88/380, 88/387
- Nuclear safety, 86/151, 86/275, 86/330, 86/343, 86/407, 87/019, 87/372, 87/396, 88/082, 88/111, 88/266, 88/323, 88/382, 88/495, 89/246, 90/268, 90/431, 90/432
- Organized crime, 85/033, 85/090, 85/178, 85/225, 85/272, 85/274, 86/039, 86/134, 86/142, 86/194, 87/172, 88/462, 90/274, 90/287, 90/431, 90/432, 90/468
- Security of civil aviation, 85/189, 85/312, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/064, 86/093, 86/119, 86/203, 86/252, 86/276, 87/007, 87/036, 87/146, 87/205, 87/421, 88/029, 88/169, 88/298, 88/499, 88/528, 89/019, 89/187, 89/237
- Hijacking, 85/146, 85/163, 85/178, 85/208, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/045, 86/061, 86/064, 86/140, 86/275, 88/169, 88/461, 89/187
- Security of navigation, 85/004, 85/043, 85/189, 85/225, (Vol. 1986-1), 85/312, 85/341, 86/087, 86/147, 86/209, 86/275, 87/033, 87/119, 87/206, 87/208, 87/217, 87/261, 87/306, 87/333, 87/424, 87/440, 87/498, 87/505, 87/533, 88/013, 88/042, 88/043, 88/122, 88/167, 88/168, 88/169, 88/170, 88/183, 88/204, 88/298, 88/461, 88/499, 89/237, 90/017, 90/352
- Terrorism, 85/002, 85/021, 85/026, 85/033, 85/052, 85/060, 85/068, 85/075, 85/078, 85/085, 85/146, 85/163, 85/178, 85/189, 85/191, 85/199, 85/208, 85/219, 85/225, 85/253, 85/272, 85/274, 85/283, 85/297, 85/305, 85/309, 85/312, 85/314, 85/318, 85/326, 85/333, 85/341 (Vol. 1986-1), 86/002, 86/008, 86/025, 86/026, 86/039, 86/045, 86/046, 86/061, 86/064, 86/078, 86/081, 86/093, 86/099, 86/119, 86/133, 86/134, 86/140, 86/141, 86/142, 86/144, 86/164, 86/167, 86/168, 86/172, 86/194, 86/200, 86/201, 86/203, 86/223, 86/251, 86/252, 86/275, 86/276, 86/284, 86/306, 86/308, 86/318, 86/351, 86/363, 86/367, 86/373, 86/376, 86/382, 86/384, 86/402, 86/407, 87/007, 87/025, 87/034, 87/036, 87/039, 87/052, 87/053, 87/105, 87/137, 87/146, 87/159, 87/172, 87/178, 87/184, 87/203, 87/205, 87/208, 87/239, 87/257, 87/258, 87/301, 87/305, 87/333, 87/354, 87/404, 87/407, 87/421, 87/435, 87/452, 87/477, 87/488, 87/498, 87/506, 87/527, 88/016, 88/025, 88/029, 88/111, 88/114, 88/121, 88/168, 88/169, 88/177, 88/204, 88/298, 88/385, 88/409, 88/447, 88/462, 88/499, 88/510, 88/512, 88/515, 88/525, 88/528, 89/012, 89/014, 89/019, 89/020, 89/027, 89/064, 89/105, 89/156, 89/179, 89/187, 89/221, 89/237, 89/307, 89/311, 89/312, 90/177, 90/215, 90/216, 90/243, 90/287, 90/338, 90/370, 90/427, 90/431, 90/432, 90/470, 90/474

- Euroterrorism, 85/033, 85/078, 85/208, 85/225, 86/142
- Sovereignty, 85/161, 85/169, 85/175, 85/185, 85/187, 85/191, 85/194, 85/219, 85/222, 85/237, 85/240, 85/253, 85/263, 85/279, 85/297, 85/307, 85/312, 85/331, 85/337, 85/340, 85/341, 85/345, 86/046, 86/087, 86/173, 86/186, 86/209, 86/280, 86/303, 86/306, 87/043, 87/096, 87/119, 87/164, 87/173, 87/190, 87/244, 87/256, 87/262, 87/299, 87/333, 87/352, 87/370, 87/378, 87/406, 87/414, 87/468, 87/481, 87/505, 87/509, 88/052, 88/074, 88/115, 88/147, 88/160, 88/204, 88/210, 88/242, 88/308, 88/389, 88/408, 88/441, 88/448, 88/488, 88/489, 88/494, 88/522, 89/190, 89/194, 89/218, 89/221, 89/223, 89/235, 89/244, 89/245, 89/247, 89/253, 89/269, 89/305, 89/307, 89/316, 89/327, 90/012, 90/021, 90/084, 90/093, 90/099, 90/163, 90/187, 90/230, 90/265, 90/301, 90/307, 90/315, 90/338, 90/355, 90/360, 90/373, 90/375, 90/377, 90/411, 90/438, 90/443
- Independence, 85/002, 85/023, 85/036, 85/039, 85/051, 85/068, 85/069, 85/071, 85/161, 85/162, 85/167, 85/168, 85/185, 85/195, 85/219, 85/222, 85/230, 85/237, 85/238, 85/251, 85/253, 85/297, 85/300, 85/304, 85/307, 85/312, 85/315, 85/327, 85/331, 85/341, 86/046, 86/067, 86/068, 86/100, 86/145, 86/162, 86/186, 86/199, 86/212, 86/217, 86/247, 86/273, 86/274, 86/275, 86/280, 86/303, 86/304, 86/306, 86/307, 86/316, 86/324, 86/340, 86/362, 86/363, 86/376, 86/392, 86/403, 86/407, 86/409, 87/002, 87/015, 87/043, 87/045, 87/069, 87/096, 87/106, 87/119, 87/173, 87/206, 87/210, 87/244, 87/249, 87/262, 87/263, 87/299, 87/333, 87/352, 87/363, 87/370, 87/377, 87/406, 87/414, 87/448, 87/451, 87/468, 87/481, 87/493, 87/498, 87/505, 87/509, 87/511, 87/517, 88/049, 88/092, 88/094, 88/114, 88/147, 88/160, 88/170, 88/185, 88/204, 88/210, 88/216, 88/233, 88/242, 88/248, 88/255, 88/298, 88/299, 88/308, 88/313, 88/314, 88/331, 88/366, 88/367, 88/384, 88/389, 88/408, 88/415, 88/421, 88/429, 88/440, 88/441, 88/448, 88/452, 88/488, 88/489, 88/494, 88/499, 88/510, 88/517, 88/522, 88/526, 89/190, 89/218, 89/221, 89/225, 89/235, 89/241, 89/245, 89/247, 89/253, 89/269, 89/273, 89/307, 89/308, 89/313, 89/316, 89/327, 90/012, 90/021, 90/078, 90/084, 90/093, 90/099, 90/141, 90/163, 90/187, 90/230, 90/265, 90/269, 90/301, 90/314, 90/337, 90/338, 90/355, 90/359, 90/360, 90/365, 90/373, 90/375, 90/377, 90/394, 90/404, 90/438, 90/443
- Non-interference in internal affairs, 85/024, 85/064, 85/068, 85/077, 85/148, 85/161, 85/237, 85/253, 85/295, 85/297, 85/304, 85/307, 85/331, 85/340, 86/065, 86/152, 86/182, 86/253, 86/362, 86/407, 86/409, 87/026, 87/159, 87/210, 87/468, 87/490, 87/491, 87/498, 88/052, 88/144, 88/147, 88/195, 88/204, 88/441, 89/205, 89/279
- Occupied territory, 85/002, 85/138, 85/211, 85/231, 85/256, 85/300, 86/021, 86/023, 86/026, 86/036, 86/137, 86/324, 86/359, 86/363, 86/373, 86/376, 86/378, 86/407, 87/114, 87/119, 87/186, 87/222, 87/260, 87/298, 87/312, 87/333, 87/456, 87/465, 87/466, 87/488, 87/498, 87/535, 88/009, 88/020, 88/025, 88/036, 88/057, 88/058, 88/075, 88/077, 88/084, 88/085, 88/093, 88/101, 88/121, 88/124, 88/167, 88/170, 88/172, 88/183, 88/195, 88/204, 88/210, 88/247, 88/260, 88/298, 88/299, 88/308, 88/313, 88/379, 88/384, 88/408, 88/420, 88/425, 88/429, 88/441, 88/443, 88/447, 88/452, 88/494, 88/499, 88/507, 88/511
- Self-determination, 85/002, 85/012, 85/023, 85/069, 85/117, 85/167, 85/219, 85/231, 85/237, 85/238, 85/240, 85/251, 85/253, 85/256, 85/279, 85/300, 85/309, 85/312, 85/327, 85/331, 86/046, 86/048, 86/182, 86/199, 86/232, 86/267, 86/273, 86/275, 86/299, 86/322, 86/327, 86/346, 86/354, 86/359, 86/363, 86/373, 86/378, 86/409, 86/411, 87/028, 87/096, 87/143, 87/159, 87/186, 87/210, 87/263, 87/278, 87/333, 87/349, 87/363, 87/370, 87/419, 87/421, 87/433, 87/448, 87/451, 87/452, 87/465, 87/466, 87/488, 87/493, 87/498, 87/504, 87/506, 87/511, 88/025, 88/052, 88/075, 88/094, 88/114, 88/146, 88/168, 88/169, 88/170, 88/182, 88/204, 88/248, 88/250, 88/298, 88/313, 88/314, 88/322, 88/333, 88/342, 88/384, 88/389, 88/415, 88/421, 88/443, 88/447, 88/449, 88/452, 88/494, 88/499, 88/507, 89/012, 89/015, 89/053, 89/073, 89/092, 89/164, 89/178, 89/179, 89/221, 89/225, 89/237, 89/241, 89/269, 89/285, 89/288, 89/307, 89/311, 89/312, 89/314, 89/331, 90/001, 90/021, 90/033, 90/074, 90/093, 90/099, 90/102, 90/146, 90/201, 90/218, 90/280, 90/287, 90/315, 90/322, 90/337, 90/338, 90/355, 90/389, 90/394, 90/440, 90/443

Territorial integrity, 85/002, 85/003, 85/012, 85/016, 85/024, 85/039, 85/046, 85/068, 85/069, 85/077, 85/092, 85/094, 85/112, 85/123, 85/135, 85/141, 85/148, 85/161, 85/175, 85/185, 85/222, 85/231, 85/238, 85/240, 85/251, 85/253, 85/297, 85/307, 85/312, 85/341, 86/046, 86/050, 86/087, 86/100, 86/105, 86/145, 86/153, 86/186, 86/187, 86/209, 86/247, 86/275, 86/280, 86/303, 86/304, 86/306, 86/307, 86/316, 86/324, 86/362, 86/385, 86/392, 86/403, 86/409, 87/043, 87/073, 87/096, 87/106, 87/119, 87/159, 87/173, 87/206, 87/244, 87/256, 87/262, 87/299, 87/333, 87/352, 87/370, 87/377, 87/378, 87/406, 87/414, 87/468, 87/481, 87/498, 87/505, 87/509, 88/052, 88/074, 88/114, 88/115, 88/147, 88/160, 88/210, 88/298, 88/366, 88/448, 88/488, 88/489, 88/494, 88/499, 88/522, 89/218, 89/221, 89/235, 89/245, 89/247, 89/253, 89/269, 89/303, 89/307, 89/313, 89/316, 89/327, 90/012, 90/021, 90/084, 90/093, 90/163, 90/187, 90/230, 90/265, 90/293, 90/301, 90/307, 90/338, 90/355, 90/360, 90/373, 90/375, 90/377, 90/396, 90/438, 90/443

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