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Foreword

This seventh issue of the EPC Documentation Bulletin covers the term-of-office of the German Presidency (1 January – 30 June 1988). 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, abstracts related to EPC of the reports presented by the German Presidency at the beginning and at the end of its term-of-office, as well as other reports on matters of EPC.

Also included are several documents which for technical reasons could not be included in earlier issues of the Bulletin.

Our gratitude goes to all those who helped in the preparation of this issue, in particular to Ms Anne Bremner, Ms Angelika Lanfranchi and Ms Emir Lawless.

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. Thus, the first document issued in 1988 bears the number '88/001'. Documents are ordered chronologically in each issue, and they are numbered consecutively throughout the volume (two issues) 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 can not be included in the volume concerning the year in which 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 and issue in which the document can be found.

The EPC Bulletin contains further information on the origin and status of the documents, and on their contents.

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 *Status of document* permits the location of documents according to their type.
- 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

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.G.	Assemblée générale
A.E.L.E	Association européenne de libre-échange
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)
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
CDU	Christlich-Demokratische Union (Deutschlands)
C.E.	Communautés européennes
C.E.E.	Communauté économique européenne
CERD	Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination
CMEA	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon)
C.F.P.I.	Commission de la fonction publique internationale
C.I.J.	Cour internationale de justice
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
COM	Communist and Allies Group (EP); Groupe communiste et apparentés (PE)
Comecon	Cf. C.A.E.M., CMEA
COSATU	Council for South African Trade Unions
CPC	Committee for Programme and Coordination

List of abbreviations

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	Conférence 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; Drachme
E	Spain; Espagne
EC	European Communities
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
E.C.O.S.O.C.	Conseil économique et social
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
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
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
GNP	Gross national product
GR	Greece; Grèce
I	Italy; Italie
IAEA	International Economic 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
IDA	International Development Association
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMO	International Maritime Organization
IRA	Irish Republican Army
IRL	Ireland; Irlande
JO	Journal officiel (des Communautés européennes)
JIU	Joint Inspection Unit
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)
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
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
O.I.T.	Organisation internationale du travail
OJ	Official Journal (of the European Communities)
O.M.I.	Organisation maritime internationale

List of abbreviations

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
O.L.P.	Organisation pour la libération de la Palestine
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
PFP	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)
RDE	Groupe des renovateurs 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
R.F.S.Y.	République fédérale socialiste de Yougoslavie
RSA	Republic of South Africa
R.S.A.	République sud-africaine
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
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 internationale
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
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDC	United Nations Disarmament Commission
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
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organization
UNIFIL	United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon
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
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
U.R.S.S.	Union des républiques socialistes soviétiques
US; USA	United States of America
U.S.A.	United States of America; États-Unis d'Amérique
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WEU	Western European Union
WHO	World Health Organization
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union

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85/344. Reply to the United Nations Secretary-General Pursuant to Resolution 39/148 [Q] Concerning the Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade

Date of Issue: 6 May 1985

Place of Issue: New York

Country of Presidency: Italy

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1. The ten Member States of the European Community share the purposes and objectives of the second Disarmament Decade proclaimed by the United Nations General Assembly with Resolution 35/46 of 1980. They are convinced that progress in the arms control and disarmament process is of the greatest importance and that the goals of true peace and international cooperation cannot be achieved in the absence of significant results in the disarmament field. Five years after its adoption, the Declaration remains a basis for action by Member States and a guideline for world public opinion.

2. The ten Member States of the European Community continue to be committed to the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control and believe that this goal should be pursued through patient and constant efforts. They are obviously aware of the obstacles on the way to disarmament which have so far allowed for only limited progress in the process. However, they are convinced that all States must continue to play an active and constructive role to overcome these obstacles and, for their part, they have endeavoured over the last years to fulfil their responsibilities in this vital field. The Member States of the European Community have worked hard in the recent past to promote a resumption of the dialogue and of disarmament negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union. They hope that these will lead to concrete agreements on the reduction of existing armaments and the prevention of the unconstrained development of new weapons.

3. The active involvement of the Ten in the arms control and disarmament process is reflected in the positions they have taken and in the views they have expressed at the United Nations, whether on the occasion of the second Special Session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament or in the First Committee and in the United Nations Disarmament Commission. The Ten express their satisfaction at the momentum acquired by ongoing review of the relationship between disarmament and development, at the support received by resolutions tabled by Members of the Ten on bilateral nuclear disarmament negotiations and chemical weapons, at the progress made in the drafting of guidelines for the implementation of confidence-building measures, and at the positive conclusion of the work on the study on conventional disarmament. They support the efforts made by the United Nations and in particular by the UNDC to reach consensus solutions to the important problem of the reduction of military budgets and deeply regret that limited progress has been made so far towards a greater transparency in military expenditures and a wider use of the standard instrument designed to contribute to this transparency.

4. The ten Member States of the European Community have been actively involved in the work of multilateral disarmament forums including the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva. They welcome the efforts which are taking place within the context of the work of the Conference in order to reach agreement on the text of a convention on a global and verifiable ban on the production, stockpiling and use of chemical weapons. They believe that the Conference should continue to attach the highest priority to the conclusion of such an agreement and stand ready as in the past to make an active and constructive contribution to the achievement of this goal. The Ten also welcome the agreement recently reached at the Conference on the establishment of an *ad hoc* committee with the mandate to consider issues relevant to the prevention of an arms race in outer space. They believe that this development, which was the result of lengthy negotiations, could set a favourable precedent for the work of the Conference on other issues as well.

5. The Ten have constantly promoted and actively supported the pursuit of agreements on confidence- and security-building measures and on disarmament measures in regional forums. They attach a particular importance to the work of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe and are firmly convinced that a positive outcome of this work would significantly strengthen security and mutual trust in the European continent,

thus reducing the risks of conflict in an area where there is the largest accumulation of weapons in the world. Those of the Ten who take part in the Vienna negotiations on Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions in Central Europe, while regretting the slow pace of the talks and the limited progress achieved on basic issues which are essential to a positive result of the negotiations, are fully prepared to continue to seek, with patience and goodwill, mutually acceptable solutions, in the belief that security and stability in the European continent should be ensured at a lower level of conventional forces through balanced and verifiable reductions.

6. Those of the ten Member States of the European Community who are signatories of the Convention on the Prohibition of Military or any Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques, and of the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Seabed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof confirm their positive judgement on the results achieved over the last five years by the said convention and treaty, and express their satisfaction at the successful conclusion of the relevant review conference, in which they have taken an active part. The ten Member States of the European Community attach significance to the Convention on Prohibition or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons which May be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects.

7. Those of the Ten who are parties to the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty believe that this treaty has ensured to all States both essential benefits in terms of security and significant advantages in the field of technical assistance for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. They express the hope that the forthcoming third review conference will result in improving the effectiveness of the treaty, and are prepared to work actively to this end.

8. In the Ten's view, a fuller understanding by public opinion of disarmament issues, of their interrelation with a number of factors connected with international stability, and of their treatment within the framework of the United Nations and of other multilateral forums and bilateral forums would be an important element in the pursuit of substantive progress in the path to disarmament. This can be achieved through a wider circulation in all Member countries of objective information on disarmament, including publications of various kinds, seminars and conferences with an ample participation of scholars and experts, reports by governments to parliaments, and contacts with non-governmental organizations. An objective and detailed information on disarmament issues represents a need and a right for public opinion in all countries.

9. The ten Member States of the European Community firmly believe in the urgent need to stop and reverse the arms race and to take serious steps on the road to disarmament. They are convinced that each Member of the United Nations should make its own contribution to the implementation of the declaration of the 1980s as the second Disarmament Decade. Efforts must continue to be made to gradually achieve the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. The international community should focus on the search for practical, balanced and verifiable ways to reduce armaments and preserve international security at the same time.

85/345. Reply to the United Nations Secretary-General Pursuant to Resolution 39/151 [G] Concerning the Role of the United Nations in the Field of Disarmament¹

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The ten Member States of the European Community uphold the principle, embodied in the final document of the tenth Special Session of the General Assembly, that the United Nations must play a central role in the sphere of disarmament and help the international community in gradually pursuing the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. The United

Nations have already given and are giving a major contribution to the cause of disarmament. However, their role should be further strengthened in order to enable the Organization to cope with ever-increasing complexities in the disarmament process and in the international situation.

1. In the view of the Ten, the authority and the effectiveness of the Organization in the field of disarmament cannot be separate from the authority and effectiveness of the Organization as a whole. Therefore, the United Nations' contribution to the disarmament process would be greatly enhanced if full respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter were ensured.

2. From a general point of view, the Ten believe that the effectiveness of the Organization's action in the field of disarmament would benefit from greater understanding by all Member States of the security concepts and principles which determine the positions of individual countries or groups of countries. Moreover, the effective handling of disarmament problems would be greatly facilitated in a context of greater trust among nations. This in turn requires general respect for the Charter of the United Nations, and especially for the principles of non-use of force in international relations, of the peaceful settlement of disputes and the full observance of sovereign equality and individual human rights.

3. In order to give greater impulse to the disarmament process, the Ten believe that periodic reviews of the United Nations machinery and of the prospects for its improvement would be both useful and desirable, also bearing in mind the recommendations made in the Secretary-General's report on the institutional arrangements. The extent to which the disarmament machinery and institutional arrangements can effectively handle increasing activities must be regularly assessed, so as to identify what interventions are needed to develop new functions and strengthen the United Nations' role. On the other hand, the enhancement of the role of the United Nations, the improvement of its machinery and the prompt implementation of its decisions could be an important factor in supporting the peaceful endeavours of Member States.

4. The United Nations General Assembly, because of its universality, provides the most appropriate forum for over-all consideration of activities in the field of disarmament. The recommendation contained in paragraph 117 of the final document of the tenth Special Session devoted to disarmament, according to which 'the First Committee should deal in the future only with functions of disarmament and related international security functions', maintains its validity and should be reaffirmed. At the same time, experience shows that the burden of work of the First Committee is constantly increasing. Therefore, there is a need to enhance the Committee's effectiveness through rationalization of its proceedings, building on recent efforts in this direction. Measures aimed at shortening the duration of the general debate and the length of individual statements would leave more time for consultation and negotiations on draft resolutions which would help broaden the basis of consensus and significantly contribute to a constructive outcome of the Committee's work. In the same spirit, Member States should informally agree to limit the number of draft resolutions tabled under the various agenda items, thus avoiding, *inter alia*, a proliferation of contradictory texts. Finally, if real progress is to be achieved, Member States should refrain from giving priority to the scoring of political or propagandistic advantages and take a constructive and realistic approach to the work of the Committee. The process of deliberation and review would gain significantly if the main issues were kept sharply in focus and declaratory resolutions avoided. In the view of the Ten, resolutions which are not directed to the achievement of concrete action weaken the credibility of the Committee.

5. The Ten consider the UNDC as an important deliberative organ and an essential element of the United Nations' machinery in the sphere of disarmament. Consideration should be given to the Commission's role and competences. In particular, the Commission should be allowed to maintain its specificity with primary responsibility for making recommendations on important disarmament questions requiring consideration at the multilateral level. Therefore, the Commission's agenda should not be overburdened with a proliferation of new items as a consequence of deliberations of the United Nations General Assembly. The inclusion in the Commission's agenda of an excessive number of subjects would seriously weaken the effectiveness of the UNDC contribution to the disarmament process. The Ten believe that, on the contrary, the Commission should be entrusted with the examination of selected questions which cannot be adequately discussed and solved during the ordinary sessions of the General Assembly because of their inherent complexity and specificity. The agenda should be as concise as

possible and consideration of substantive items should be completed if necessary over a number of sessions. The work of the UNDC would certainly gain if Member States were to concentrate their efforts on in-depth consideration and elaboration of specific recommendations on a limited number of important issues, as provided by Resolution 37/78 [H].

6. The Ten believe that the United Nations machinery in the sphere of disarmament would also be made more effective by the adoption of the following measures:

- in cases where aspects of the activities of the specialized agencies of the United Nations system concern the disarmament field, it is desirable to bear in mind the need to enable better use of the available resources and to avoid duplication in the areas covered by the work of the United Nations itself and by the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva;
- in any event, there should be effective coordination with the United Nations bodies and institutions (in particular, the Disarmament Department) in regard to aspects of the activities of the specialized agencies which have a direct or indirect bearing on disarmament questions;
- bearing in mind the financial constraints on the United Nations budget, more attention should be paid, in the establishing of studies, to the limited financial resources available, in order that these studies might be undertaken in a more cost-effective manner;
- in order to avoid a multiplicity of studies, as in recent years, the views of the Advisory Board should be included in the report of the Secretary-General in which approval for a study is sought. The mandates for studies should be as precise and workable as possible. Limitations should be imposed on the time spent on study projects. Freely available academic research results should be incorporated whenever appropriate in studies, full utilization of UNIDIR should be sought, etc. While the ten Member States of the European Community look with considerable interest at the studies conducted on disarmament issues, regarding both nuclear and conventional weapons, it is clear that on the one hand such studies are not a substitute for concrete measures and on the other that their impact will depend on the degree of consensus they reflect. The Ten therefore express the hope that studies conducted under United Nations auspices will seriously pursue the goal of advancing the cause of disarmament.

7. The ten Member States of the European Community have always attached a great importance to the work of the Conference on Disarmament as the permanent multilateral negotiating body.

The Ten are convinced of the importance of overcoming the obstacles preventing the work of the Conference on various issues. They trust that the enlargement of the Conference will take place as soon as possible. They believe that the negotiating character of the CD should be enhanced. This can only be achieved if more efforts are devoted to realistic debates on substantive questions. This applies to various points on the agenda of the CD. The Ten are fully committed to giving the greatest impulse to the work of the CD. They are convinced that one of its most urgent priorities is to proceed constructively towards the conclusion of an agreement banning chemical weapons.

¹ Cf. A/CN.70/69/Add. 1, pp. 1–3.

86/409. Question No 522/85 by Mr Flanagan (RDE–IRL) Concerning Missing Persons in Nicaragua

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Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 24 May 1985

Will the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation consider the case of seven instructors of the '50th Anniversary' Brigade who were abducted. The names are: Ana Julia Cortez; Elman Luis Cortez Siesa; Maria Mercedes Rivas Obregon; Guillermo Osvaldo Rios Martinez; Luis Ramon Seas; Carmen Cubillo Molina; Maria Mercedes Chanorro Corrales, with a view to making representations to the Government of Honduras for its cooperation to ensure that these people are repatriated?

Answer:

According to our information, four of the persons referred to in the question are dead (Ana Julia Cortez; Luis Ramon Seas; Guillermo Osvaldo Rios Martinez; Elman Luis Cortez Siesa); their names were mentioned at a ceremony held in Managua on 22 December 1985, in a list of instructors of the '50th Anniversary' Brigade killed in action. It seems that Maria Mercedes Rivas Obregon has succeeded in escaping from her abductors, but the fate of the other two is still unclear.

As the Honourable Member will doubtless be aware, the Twelve have repeatedly stated that the problems of Central America must be resolved peacefully. The ministerial conferences with the countries of the region, held in San José on 28 and 29 September 1984 and in Luxembourg on 11 and 12 November 1985, underlined the support of the Twelve for a negotiated political settlement, based on the principles of independence, non-intervention, self-determination and the inviolability of frontiers.

86/410. Question No 2246/85 by Mr Glinne (S–B) Concerning South Africa's External Debt Burden

Date of Issue: 9 April 1986

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: The Netherlands

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 11 December 1985

Since the external debt of the Republic of South Africa stands at 24 billion dollars, what is the Foreign Ministers' view of:

1. the decision last August by the South African Government to freeze the repayment of loans it has received;
2. the opinion of bankers in the private sector (notably Mr Fritz Lentwiler and Mr Max Kuhne) that a number of banks want the conclusion of an agreement on the rescheduling of repayments to be accompanied by genuine reform of the South African political system?

Is the Council of Ministers prepared to support the attitude of the banking world and ensure that the Republic of South Africa obtains no further loans from the International Monetary Fund as long as apartheid remains in force?

Answer:

The decision of the Government of South Africa to freeze the repayment of international loans is the consequence, among other things, of the lack of confidence of the international community in the South African Government's internal policy. It is unlikely that this confidence will be restored until the South African Government has begun a thorough-going reform of the South African political system – as the Twelve have asked it to do on several occasions since the early summer of 1985 – allowing a genuine dialogue to be opened with all parts of South African society, with the aim of abolishing apartheid.

In view of the situation in South Africa, the Twelve decided on 10 September 1985 to harmonize their attitudes on a number of restrictive and positive measures *vis-à-vis* South Africa. The Ministers reserved the right to review their position if there was no significant progress within a reasonable period.

86/411. Question No 2302/85 by Ms Dury (S–B) Concerning the Message from President Mubarak to Europeans

Date of Issue: 9 April 1986

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: The Netherlands

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 12 December 1985

President Mubarak has sent a message to the French, Belgian and Luxembourg Governments on the occasion of the European summit, urging Europe to play a more active role in reviving the peace process in the Middle East.

Can the Council of Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation state:

1. what the attitude of the Governments concerned has been to this message;
2. what action is being taken by the Twelve in response to President Mubarak's proposals?

Answer:

The Twelve noted with interest President Mubarak's message in December 1985, his recent speech to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and his contacts in Paris and Bonn.

The Twelve intend to stand by their common position on the Arab–Israeli conflict as set out in the declaration of the European Council in Venice and subsequently confirmed on several occasions by the Twelve in joint declarations and before the European Parliament. They support a peaceful negotiated solution based on Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 which would respect the principles of the right to existence and security of all the States in the region, including Israel, and the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination with all that that implies.

The Twelve welcomed the Jordano–Palestinian agreement concluded in Amman on 11 February 1985. They consider that it is now necessary to sustain and intensify efforts to bring about a process of negotiation which would cover all the various aspects of a just and lasting solution.

They therefore remain willing to support all constructive efforts and, in their contacts with all parties, will endeavour to encourage a reconciliation of positions.

86/412. Question No 2325/85 by Ms Dury (S–B) Concerning the Breaking off of Diplomatic Relations with South Africa by Denmark

Date of Issue: 9 April 1986

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: The Netherlands

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 10 January 1986

The Danish Government has decided to break off diplomatic relations with South Africa with effect from 1 December 1985.

Can the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation answer the following questions:

1. Were there consultations in advance about this decision?
2. Will this development encourage the Member States to increase their pressure on South Africa?
3. Do other Member States intend to follow the example set by Denmark?

Answer:

As the Danish Government has not decided to break off diplomatic relations with South Africa, neither this specific question nor the more general issue of the Twelve breaking off relations with South Africa has been discussed in European political cooperation.

However, the Honourable Member may be interested to know that after the meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Twelve in Helsinki on 31 July 1985, the Danish Government informed its partners that it intended to close its Consulate-General in Johannesburg; it did so at the end of 1985.

86/413. Question No 2402/85 by Ms Ewing (RDE–UK) Concerning Human Rights in East Timor

Date of Issue: 9 April 1986

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: The Netherlands

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 16 January 1986

1. Are the Ministers aware that, since their invasion of East Timor in December 1975, Indonesian troops have persistently and systematically engaged in human rights violations, in particular the torture and ill-treatment of persons in their custody; the imprisonment without charge or trial of persons suspected of opposition to the Indonesian occupation; extra-judicial executions; the organizing of 'disappearances' of political opponents, and the denial of a fair trial to a number of East Timor citizens charged with political offences?
2. Will the Ministers concert their activities in the United Nations to support resolutions of the Security Council and General Assembly condemning these violations, and bring to an end the policy of abstaining on such resolutions, which has prevailed since 1976 in all European Community countries with the exception of Ireland?

Answer:

The situation in East Timor, and particularly the question of human rights, has been regularly raised in the framework of political cooperation with a view to coordinating Member States' positions in international bodies.

86/414. Question No 2600/85 by Mr Deprez (PPE–B) Concerning the Arrest of a Lutheran Minister in the USSR

Date of Issue: 9 April 1986

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: The Netherlands

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 24 January 1986

The Lutheran minister, Harri Moutsnik, was arrested on 3 April 1985, and has since been held in the central prison of Tallinn, capital of Estonia. A USSR citizen, Harri Moutsnik became a minister only at the age of 44 following a career as a lawyer.

In 1976 and 1982 he set up a Lutheran parish at Pushkin, a town near Leningrad. Since his activities displeased the authorities, he was dismissed from his post. Nevertheless, he was subsequently allocated another parish, at Urvaste in Estonia. But in December 1984 he was again dismissed from his post because of his too open support for oppressed Christians in Estonia and the rest of the Soviet Union.

Do the Foreign Ministers not feel that this constitutes a flagrant violation of the Helsinki Final Act and the United Nations Charter, both signed and ratified by the USSR, and, if so, what action do they intend to take?

Answer:

The case of the Lutheran minister Harri Moutsnik, mentioned by the Honourable Member of Parliament, has not been discussed as such in the framework of European political cooperation. However, the freedom to profess and practise religion or belief is stipulated in the Helsinki Final Act and the Madrid Concluding Document. The Ten – and from 1 January 1986, the Twelve – individually and collectively use every occasion that presents itself to remind the Soviet Union of the obligations it accepted by signing the Final Act and by adhering to the United Nations Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, both of which refer to freedom of worship.

86/415. Question No 2621/85 by Ms Dury (S–B) Concerning the Meeting with the African National Congress in Lusaka in February 1986

Date of Issue: 9 April 1986

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: The Netherlands

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 31 January 1986

In 1985 The Netherlands, which currently holds the Presidency of the Council, expressed a wish that Member States would have meetings with the representatives of the ANC on the sidelines of the meeting between the European Community and the front-line States in Lusaka in February 1986.

1. Which Member States have responded positively to this proposal?
2. If any Member States have refused to take part, what is the reason?

Answer:

The Presidency is not aware of the remarks attributed to The Netherlands by the Honourable Member, but she may wish to know that the Netherlands' Foreign Minister had a meeting on behalf of the Twelve with senior representatives of the ANC on 2 February 1986 in Lusaka.

86/416. Question No 2654/85 by Mr Pordea (DR–F) Concerning the Community Declaration on the Division of Europe

Date of Issue: 9 April 1986

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: The Netherlands

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 31 January 1986

On his recent visits to a number of countries in Eastern Europe, Mr George Shultz, the US Secretary of State, declared during a press conference that the United States and its allies regarded the division of Europe as artificial and illegitimate given that the people of Eastern Europe had not decided of their own free will to live separately from those in the West.

The fact they have been associated with this declaration, whose intrinsic and circumstantial importance is obvious, should encourage the United States' allies, and the European Community in particular, to endorse it by a complementary declaration which would cite and denounce the reason for the division of Europe, namely Soviet imperialism and hegemony and the totalitarian communism imposed by force on the countries of Eastern Europe against the will of their peoples.

What view do the Ministers take of this proposal?

Answer:

The Twelve have on many occasions expressed their preoccupation with the consequences of the division of Europe as this came into being after the end of the Second World War. They have sought peacefully and in a long-term perspective to build on the common traditions and history which are shared by the countries of Eastern and Western Europe. In the framework of the CSCE they have endeavoured to alleviate the negative aspects of the division of Europe, and they will continue to do so.

A declaration as envisaged by the Honourable Member of Parliament does not, however, seem an appropriate means to this end.

86/417. Question No 2789/85 by Ms Piermont (ARC–D) Concerning the Obligation to Notify an Intention to Produce Atomic, Biological and Chemical Weapons, and the Fixing of Maximum Levels of Stocks with a Simple Majority of the WEU Council in Accordance with Protocol III to the WEU Treaty

Date of Issue: 9 April 1986

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: The Netherlands

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 17 February 1986

1. Has any Member State of the WEU ever announced the intention since the WEU was set up, to produce, hold and store atomic, biological or chemical weapons?
2. Has the French Government ever notified an intention to manufacture and store atomic weapons?
3. Has the WEU Council ever established by simple majority upper limits for these atomic weapons held on the European continent?
4. Does the WEU Armaments Control Agency have any information on French chemical weapons and has the WEU Council set any limits in this respect?
5. Do the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation share my view that failure to notify stocks and the failure to establish limits represent violations of the WEU Treaty?

Answer:

The issue raised by the Honourable Member of Parliament refers to military aspects of security and is, therefore, outside the scope of European political cooperation.

88/001. Question No 3003/86 by Mr Glinne (S–B) Concerning the Confusion Between Zionism and Racism

Date of Issue: 5 January 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 27 March 1987

The creation of the State of Israel in 1948 did not signal an end to the *raison d'être* of Zionism which, far from identifying itself with this State in its present form, has diversified into a number of different channels, particularly on social issues.

At the last Zionist world conference, members of the Knesset expressed favourable opinions, as activists, on peaceful coexistence, tolerance, peace, pluralism and the fight against racism. Prior to this congress, Mr Elazar Granot of the MAPAM Party and Shulamit Aloni of the Civil Movement for Human Rights (RATZ) campaigned in the United States with the assistance of 'Americans for a Progressive Israel' (Hashomer Hatzair; 150 Fifth Avenue, Suite 911, New York, NY 10011), collecting contributions to finance the removal of settlements on the West Bank and backing a pluralism diametrically opposed to intolerant religious orthodoxy.

The existence of such ideological tendencies within the Zionist movement is, at any rate, sufficient proof of the falseness and unacceptability of the United Nations Resolution No 3379 (XXX) of 10 November 1975, which equates Zionism with racism and racial discrimination and describes it as a threat to peace and world security. Such confusion can only reinforce the misapprehension which clouds all the concepts and moral judgements applied to Zionist ideology, thus encouraging anti-Semitism.

Given that the nine Member States of the European Community voted against this resolution in November 1975, and that since that time these States have constantly reiterated this opinion in their

joint and individual statements, do the Twelve meeting in Political Cooperation judge the time ripe to reiterate their stance on the United Nations Resolution 3379 (XXX), given that there now seems to be some prospect, despite everything, of a solution to the Middle East problem?

Answer:

The Honourable Member is requested to refer to the reply given to Oral Question with debate No O-16/87¹ by Mr von Habsburg on the same subject.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 87/314.

88/002. Question No 3063/86 by Mr Hänsch (S–D) Concerning the Release of Mr Issa bin Ali Afrir, a Political Prisoner in South Yemen

Date of Issue: 5 January 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 30 March 1987

1. Are the Foreign Ministers aware that the former Mahri Sultan of Socotra, Mr Issa bin Ali Afrir, was arrested during the struggle for power in South Yemen in 1967 and since then has been held for fourteen years as a political prisoner in Aden?
2. Are the Foreign Ministers prepared to make representations concerning this matter to the Government of South Yemen, which for fourteen years has refused to provide any information in response to enquiries by human rights organizations?
3. Will the Foreign Ministers call for the release of Mr Issa bin Ali Afrir and consider the general situation of political prisoners in South Yemen?

Answer:

In their relations with third countries, the Twelve attach particular importance to respect for human rights. The Twelve make known their concern over specific cases of alleged violations of human rights whenever they believe that this intervention would have the desired effects and would be in the interests of those involved.

The case referred to by the Honourable Member has not been discussed by Foreign Ministers of the Twelve meeting in Political Cooperation.

88/003. Question No 70/87 by Ms Lizin (S–B) Concerning the Meeting of the Human Rights Commission in Geneva – Freedom of Movement for Children (Item 13 on the Agenda)

Date of Issue: 5 January 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 6 April 1987

Following the meeting of the Human Rights Commission, can the chairman of the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation state the subjects of the coordinated positions which he proposed to the Twelve during the meeting in Geneva?

In particular, when item 13 – children's rights – came up, did the chairman of the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation suggest a common stand, especially with a view to promoting the concept of freedom of movement for children?

Answer:

Membership of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights is limited, and only some partners are members of it. It is not therefore customary for initiatives to be taken or statements made on behalf of the Twelve.

However, Member States' delegations take an active part in the proceedings of the Working Group with non-limited membership responsible for framing a draft convention on children's rights.

One of the fundamental aims of this draft is to improve the *conditions of children* and to protect them against what are at times harsh social realities. The issue raised by the Honourable Member is therefore one of the factors taken into account in drafting the convention.

88/004. Question No 142/87 by Mr Glinne (S-B) Concerning Pakistan's Nuclear Armament Programme and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty

Date of Issue: 5 January 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 13 April 1987

Professor Martin Brabers of the University of Louvain had the very rare privilege last November of visiting the nuclear installations at Kahuta in Pakistan and of meeting the director, Mr Abdel Kader Khan, his former pupil and a former trainee at the German-Dutch-British research centre at Almelo in The Netherlands. According to Professor Brabers, the two laboratories at Kahuta and Islamabad, after some ten years' work, have enabled Pakistan to produce an estimated 45 kilos a year of highly enriched uranium, more than enough to make an atomic bomb. Pakistan's nuclear capacity has been confirmed by Dr Khan himself, various of the country's authorities and reliable international sources.

Would the Foreign Ministers answer the following questions?

1. As the Kahuta civil nuclear programme is very similar as regards procedures to the programmes at Almelo, Capenhurst (United Kingdom) and Gronau (Federal Republic of Germany), can the Government of the sovereign State of Pakistan be blamed for having developed its programme?

2. Is not the extension of the civil programme for military ends, acknowledged by Dr Khan in an interview with *The Observer* of London, dangerous owing to the Indian strike force and the difficult situation between India and Pakistan?

3. Does it not fall within the terms of reference of Political Cooperation between the Twelve to take steps to persuade the Indian Government to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty and to agree to observation and monitoring procedures similar to those which the Pakistan Government says it is willing to accept?

4. Should attempts not also be made to persuade the Pakistan Government to give guarantees that it will freeze its military programme?

5. Should Community development cooperation with these two countries in the subcontinent take into account their willingness or otherwise to contribute to the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons?

6. How do the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation view the implementation of the Non-Proliferation Treaty in sensitive areas such as the Indian subcontinent, the Middle East and Southern Africa?

Answer:

The Twelve have at all times stressed that each State has an unalienable right to develop and use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and attach great importance to international cooperation in this field, particularly with developing countries. However, the Twelve continue to maintain that the peaceful

application of nuclear energy should be covered by international safeguards that are credible, effective and efficient. The International Atomic Energy Agency verification system was set up to form an essential element in providing such safeguards.

The Twelve are engaged in efforts to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons and attach the utmost importance to an effective international non-proliferation system.

88/005. Question No 1152/87 by Mr Pannella (NI-I) Concerning the Attitude of the Foreign Ministers Following Statements by the President of the Commission on European Defence

Date of Issue: 5 January 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 1 September 1987

In the light of the statements of President Jacques Delors during the Forum RMC-FR3 broadcast of 13 July 1987, calling for a conventional European defence capability under a single command structure extended to include tactical nuclear weapons, and the statements of the President-in-Office of the Community Council of Ministers who, two days later, stated that the problems cannot and must not be examined in the context of Political Cooperation:

1. Do the Foreign Ministers consider the statements by the President of the Commission compatible with the Treaty or do they agree with the statements by the President-in-Office of the Council?

2. Have the Foreign Ministers been officially consulted on the proposals about which Mr Delors, speaking as President of the Commission and therefore in its name, made his public statements?

Answer:

The question raised by the Honourable Member falls outside the scope of European political cooperation and has consequently not been discussed by the Foreign Ministers of the Twelve meeting in Political Cooperation.

88/006. Question No 1179/87 by Mr Glinne (S-B) Concerning Ways and Means for a 'Democratic Transition' in Chile

Date of Issue: 5 January 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 1 September 1987

A 'controlled' plebiscite is expected in late 1988 or early 1989 to ensure the continuation of the Pinochet system, whoever is elected Head of State: this, at any rate, is the opinion of Americas Watch, a well-known American human rights organization¹. I should be particularly interested, therefore, to hear the Ministers' views on the democratic prerequisites for a forthcoming election in Chile, in particular as regards the following points:

1. Is the registration of voters organized properly at present and as regards the near future, or is it orchestrated in such a way as to discourage or even prevent participation by the democratic civilian opposition?

2. Is the currently applicable electoral law structure correct or is it deliberately fraudulent?

3. Is the notion of 'protected democracy' proposed by General Pinochet an acceptable one or is such 'protection', entrusted in advance to the military at the expense of the powers of future 'elected representatives' and excluding the centrists and the left, merely a farce?

Are the Ministers prepared to take up a joint position in reply to these three questions and to take account of the views of the democratic Chilean forces which are being subjected to increasing physical and political repression? What joint and/or bilateral steps are they prepared to take at the level of the international Community?

Answer:

The Twelve are following the political situation in Chile closely. They have frequently called on the Chilean Government to restore democracy in Chile. In this respect, in a statement they issued on October 9, 1987², they expressed their firm conviction that the Chilean people should have complete freedom of information and opinion, and should be able to elect their President and the members of their Parliament in a ballot guaranteeing the free expression of their will.

In the same statement, in restating their condemnation of violence, whatever its source, the Twelve expressed their hope that the Government, the institutions and all the political forces in Chile will take the steps needed in order that the forthcoming elections may be conducted in accordance with the international instruments to which Chile is party, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of December 1948 and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of December 1966.

¹ Cynthia Brown, associate director of Americas Watch, writing in *The New York Times* and *The International Herald Tribune* (20 July 1987).

² *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 87/366.

88/007. Question No 1188/87 by Mr Ephremidis, Mr Adamou and Mr Alavanos (COM–GR) Concerning Human Rights in Jordan

Date of Issue: 5 January 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 1 September 1987

The Prime Minister of Jordan, Mr Zaid Al Rifa'i, in his capacity as commander of the country's armed forces and allegedly in accordance with the martial law in force since 1970, has ordered the closure of the offices of the Jordanian Writers' Union in the cities of Amman, Irbid, and Al Zarga. The decision was taken on the day before the elections to the Union, which has a membership of 327. The outgoing chairman of the Union, Khaled Al Kargi, confirmed that the offices were to be closed, and expressed his surprise at this development given that no action had been taken against the Union since it was founded in 1974, because its activities were purely cultural.

Can the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation remain indifferent in the face of such *flagrant violations of human rights*?

Answer:

The Twelve have on several occasions stated their commitment to promote and protect human rights and fundamental freedoms. They have appealed to all States to enhance public awareness concerning the cause of human rights through educational programmes and by allowing non-governmental organizations freely to disseminate human rights information.

The Jordanian Government is well aware of the Twelve's position concerning human rights.

**88/008. Question No 1376/87 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S–E)
Concerning Death Sentences in Somalia**

Date of Issue: 5 January 1988
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 7 October 1987

Have the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation taken any steps to seek a reprieve for the Sheikhs Nur Barud Gurhan and Hashi Olhage and another seven preachers and scholars, who are members of Islamic organizations and have been sentenced to death by the Social Security Court in Mogadishu?

Answer:

The Twelve have followed this question closely and understand that in the nine cases referred to by the Honourable Member the death sentences have been commuted to life imprisonment.

88/009. Statement Concerning the Situation in the Occupied Territories

Date of Issue: 12 January 1988
Place of Issue: Bonn/Brussels
Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Press Statement

On instructions of the Governments of the twelve Member States of the European Community, the ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany in Tel Aviv, accompanied by his Troika colleagues and the representative of the Commission, today expressed to the Israeli Government the Twelve's concern at Israel's decision to pursue a policy of deportation in the occupied territories.

The ambassador underlined the Twelve's unreserved support for UN Security Council Resolution 607 of 5 January 1988. He drew the Israeli Government's attention to the fact that the Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Times of War, of 12 August 1949, is applicable to territories occupied by Israel since 1967. The ambassador called upon Israel to refrain from deporting Palestinian civilians from the occupied territories.

88/010. Statement Concerning the Meeting of the Central American Presidents in San José on 15 January 1988

Date of Issue: 14 January 1988
Place of Issue: Bonn/Brussels
Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Press Release

The Twelve have followed very closely and have welcomed the efforts undertaken by the countries of Central America to implement the Esquipulas-II Agreement. In the last few months they have repeatedly appealed to all the parties directly or indirectly involved to give effect to the agreement in letter and spirit and to contribute towards the region's efforts for peace, democracy and economic development.

Although progress has been made in individual areas, the Twelve note that the main prerequisites for stable and lasting peace in Central America have not yet been fulfilled. All the more importance therefore attaches to the meeting of the five Presidents of Central American countries at San José, Costa Rica, on

15 January 1988. They are again faced with a historic task. Their decisions will determine whether the peace process, which got off to a promising start, can soon be completed despite all the difficulties encountered.

The Twelve remain convinced that there is no alternative to the efforts for achieving peace in Central America by political means and strengthening democracy in all countries of the region, and they renew their appeals to this effect.

The Twelve believe that a positive conclusion of the forthcoming meeting in San José, Costa Rica, will moreover have great significance for the development of the European–Central American dialogue. Once more the Twelve seize the opportunity to reaffirm their readiness to assist the peace process in Central America to the best of their ability.

88/011. Question No 969/87 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S–E) Concerning the Imprisonment of Father Filip Lukenda in Yugoslavia

Date of Issue: 15 January 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 27 July 1987

Following the imprisonment, in January 1986, of Father Filip Lukenda, a Catholic priest from Presnace in the Yugoslav republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina, on suspicion of having 'incited religious and national intolerance and undermined the harmony and unity which exists among the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia', have the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation taken any measures to bring about his release?

Answer:

The Twelve seize every appropriate opportunity to remind the States signatories to the Final Act of Helsinki of their obligation to respect the provisions to which they have freely subscribed. Freedom of thought, of conscience, of religion or of conviction for all is inscribed in the Final Act. The implementation of the Final Act is presently being examined at the CSCE follow-up meeting in Vienna. The specific case, mentioned by the Honourable Member, has not been discussed by the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation.

88/012. Question No H-812/87 by Mr Alavanos Concerning the Reinforcement of the INF Agreement

Date of Issue: 19 January 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Following the concluding of the INF agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union, a series of initiatives is being taken by Member States of the Community which undermine the positive climate which has been created (talks between France and the United Kingdom on the joint development of a medium-range nuclear air-to-surface missile to replace the Tornado and the ASMP). What view do the Foreign Ministers take of these moves to modernize and develop medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe and what steps will they take to stabilize and reinforce the climate created by the INF agreement?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: As you know, only the political and economic aspects of security are discussed by the Twelve. Consequently, the matter raised by the

Honourable Member was not discussed by the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation.

Mr Alavanos (COM): It is difficult to frame a supplementary question to a question which has not been answered. Yet, bearing in mind the statement by the chairman of Political Cooperation, I would like to put the question somewhat differently on the same subject: to what extent does the German Presidency, at least, believe that during its six-month term of office it will be possible to complete the agreement between the EEC and Comecon, an achievement which would stabilize the groundwork laid by the signing of the INF agreement, and promote *détente* and peace all over the world and especially in Europe?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: Regarding the agreement between the EC and Comecon, efforts are indeed underway to get it ready for signature as quickly as possible. At present not all the problems arising in this connection have yet been solved and not all our doubts have been set aside, but we hope that agreement will be reached as soon as possible because we attach great importance to it.

88/013. Question No H-804/87 by Sir Peter Vanneck Concerning the Protection of Community Citizens and Shipping in the Gulf

Date of Issue: 19 January 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Is the German Presidency satisfied with the coordination and burden-sharing of the European partners involved in the protection of Community citizens and shipping in the waters of the Gulf, given the frequent cynical attacks by Iranians on Community shipping and laying of mines by Iranians in the path of innocent vessels?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: The Twelve have repeatedly condemned attacks on merchant shipping in the Gulf and have emphatically endorsed the principle of freedom of navigation. The coordination of measures to protect Community merchant vessels is a matter not for the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation but for the Member States concerned, which take the relevant measures they deem necessary.

Sir Peter Vanneck (ED): I want to ask a supplementary question as I have been given a very anodyne answer. If that answer means 'yes', my supplementary question would be, given that Greece and Portugal receive more than one-third of their oil imports from the Gulf and Spain more than one quarter, would the German Presidency invite these Member States to share the burden of protecting their oil supplies? I understand that the Federal Republic obtains 10% of oil imports through the Gulf according to the *Bundesamt für Gewerbliche Wirtschaft*.

If the President-in-Office's answer meant 'no' – I think it was meant to be taken either way – then my supplementary would be to ask whether the German Presidency could arrange to place its naval vessels at the disposal of other Member States in order to satisfy the Federal constitutional requirement that its ships be operational only within the NATO sphere of responsibility, thereby freeing other Member States' vessels to protect their and other Member States' commercial shipping in the Gulf. If the President-in-Office's first answer was somewhere between 'yes' and 'no', what contingency action, apart from an estimated 80-days oil stock in the Federal Republic, is the German Presidency taking to enable the Community to cope with a prolonged cut-off in oil supplies from the Gulf? I offer three supplementaries. Perhaps I could have an answer to all three, depending on what in fact was the answer to the original question?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: I thought actually that my reply to the Honourable Member's original question had been clear. This was not raised by the Ministers meeting in European political cooperation and there was no decision on it. But of course the Twelve have repeatedly discussed the situation in the Gulf, and as I have already said, they have stressed the importance of maintaining freedom of navigation.

The decision by some EC Member States to send ships to the Gulf was their own sovereign decision. That answers the Honourable Member's first supplementary question.

In reply to the second: the Federal Republic of Germany has sent additional ships to do duty in the North Sea and the Mediterranean, thus releasing ships of other Alliance members for other duties, in the Gulf and elsewhere.

My answer to the third supplementary is that the Community naturally keeps its energy supplies in mind and will certainly take appropriate decisions in due course should it become necessary.

88/014. Question No H-819/87 by Ms Lizin Concerning the International Conference on the Middle East

Date of Issue: 19 January 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Does the German Presidency plan to approach Syria specifically on this subject?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: In their statement of 23 February 1987 the Twelve expressed their support for an international peace conference on the Middle East under the aegis of the United Nations and their wish to make a positive contribution towards reconciling the positions of the parties concerned with a view to convening such a conference. At their Copenhagen meeting of 13 July 1987 the Foreign Ministers of the Twelve resolved to expand their contacts with the parties concerned at all levels both through the Presidency and on a bilateral basis.

On 15 and 16 January 1988 Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher visited Syria and spoke to the Syrian leaders, being briefed at first hand on Syria's view of the Arab-Israeli conflict. He informed his fellow Ministers meeting in European political cooperation of the Syrian position. In the course of these talks Foreign Minister Genscher clarified and explained the views of his Government and of the Twelve on the questions arising.

Ms Lizin (S): I think we shall be looking in greater detail on Thursday, on the occasion of the topical and urgent debate, at the special situation in the occupied territory of the Gaza Strip. Could the President-in-Office of the Council indicate what action she has in mind in the six months of the German Presidency? In addition to Mr Genscher's talks in Syria, is it her aim to obtain diplomatic results at the conference?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: Federal Foreign Minister Genscher's visit to Syria, which he undertook in his capacity as President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers, was a first step and reflects the great importance which the German Presidency of the Council attaches to a peace conference and the efforts it has in view to help bring about such a conference.

In the course of this week Federal Foreign Minister Genscher will be going to Israel and having talks at governmental level on 23 and 24 January. On 25 January President Mubarak will be in Bonn for political discussions. On 8 February King Hussein of Jordan will be having talks with the Foreign Ministers of the Twelve.

The situation will of course be discussed at all these meetings and the Community's desire to help bring about a solution to the conflicts will be made clear. A peace conference of the kind envisaged remains one of the objectives which the Presidency endorses and will continue to promote.

88/015. Question No H-753/87 by Ms Crawley Concerning the Release of Soviet Christian Anna Chertkova

Date of Issue: 19 January 1988
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Would the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation call upon the USSR immediately to release Soviet Christian Anna Chertkova, wrongfully detained against her will in a prison psychiatric hospital since 1973, and, at the same time, condemn this political use of psychiatry which, as a legitimate branch of medicine, should only be used for healing purposes?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: The case of Anna Chertkova which the Honourable Member raises has not been discussed as such by the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation. Her case has, however, often featured on the list of cases of hardship raised by several Member States on a bilateral basis during discussions of human rights.

According to latest reports, Anna Chertkova was released in Alma Ata on 3 December 1987. Her sister sent the requisite sponsorship papers to the Soviet authorities from the Federal Republic of Germany at the end of December. There is now reason to hope that the Soviet authorities will grant Anna Chertkova an exit visa in accordance with their current rules on the reuniting of families. Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including freedom of thought, conscience, religion or conviction without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion is enshrined in the Helsinki Final Act. Individually and collectively the Twelve take every available opportunity of reminding the Soviet Union of the obligations it undertook when it voluntarily became a party to the international treaty on civil and political rights and signed the Helsinki Final Act. The Soviet Union has recently announced changes to the legislation which protects the rights of psychiatric patients.

Doing away with the terrible practice of using psychiatry to political ends would be a welcome step in the right direction. It must, however, be followed by the release of all dissidents and persons practising a religious faith who are forcibly detained in psychiatric hospitals, and there must be no new detentions.

Ms Crawley (S): I want to thank the Minister for her reply. I am sure she will be as pleased as I am about Anna's release.

To take a more general point, I have been asked by many organizations, including Amnesty International, about the criteria used when the Twelve meet to discuss organizations or individuals who are the victims of abuse, torture or illegal psychiatric confinements. What criteria are used in deciding whether to take up individual cases and to examine them in detail as opposed to a general reply about the basic principles of opposition to the abuse of human rights? The criteria used by the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation are of genuine interest to a lot of organizations, particularly Amnesty International.

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: In all these cases the criterion is of course humanity and respect for human rights. At bilateral level all cases which are known about are followed up. Within the framework of European political cooperation there are also a whole series of bodies which constantly deal with human rights matters, including specific individual cases. There are no criteria whereby one case will be taken up and another not; the chance of protection conferred by a measure or campaign by the Twelve is given to all who need this help.

88/016. Question No H-776/87 by Mr Duetoft Concerning Terrorism in South Africa

Date of Issue: 19 January 1988
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Have the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation protested to the ANC about the organization's calls for acts of terrorism to be perpetrated against the South African public? The latest of these came in a broadcast by 'Radio Freedom' on 11 November 1987 which called for the use of car bombs, bazookas and land mines. Statements such as these jeopardize a peaceful resolution of the problems in South Africa.

Do the Foreign Ministers share my view that unequivocal rejection of violence by the ANC would enhance the prospect of a political solution in the region?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: The Twelve have always stressed that they emphatically and unreservedly condemn all deeds of violence. They have repeatedly declared that apartheid can only be got rid of by peaceful means and that violence must give way to a process of national dialogue if South African society is to develop on a peaceful footing. In order to attain this goal the South African Government should, amongst other things, lift the ban on the ANC, the PAC and other political parties.

Mr Duetoft (PPE): That was a rather strange answer. I asked what was being done about the terrorism that the ANC is fomenting in South Africa and got the answer that the South African Government should recognize the ANC. I cannot see that it really has anything to do with the matter. It is not an answer to the question I put. Now I do not know of course whether the President-in-Office has been to South Africa — it would not surprise me if she had not. I have been there and I can inform you that, if you talk to black residents of Soweto or Crossroads, they will tell you that they are terrorized daily by ANC supporters if they desire a moderate and progressive line involving negotiations. I should like to ask the President-in-Office whether the Community would not earn much greater respect in the debate in South Africa if, instead of condemning one side only, it condemned others too. The Community would then be seen as a mediator rather than a party to the conflict.

Mr Beazley (ED): In view of the Minister's answer, can we have an assurance that the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation will no longer support the use of violence by the ANC as an acceptable means of creating political democracy in South Africa? Will, therefore, the Foreign Ministers demand the rejection of both overt and covert, internally and externally stimulated violence as a means of putting pressure on the South African Government to accelerate the speed at which they grant more democratic voting rights to all South African races?

Ms Lizin (S): I think Madam President is aware of the diplomatic steps taken by the Belgian Government *vis-à-vis* the South African Government and its diplomatic representation in Brussels following the detention of Madame Passtoors in prison. Has the Belgian Government consulted EPC on this problem and, if so, is the Presidency willing to support it with a view to obtaining the release of Madame Passtoors?

Mr McMahon (S): The Minister said that the South African problem can best be solved by peaceful means. Will the Council then step up sanctions during the German Presidency? During the last Presidency, the Danish President-in-Office came to this House and assured us that the Presidency and the Council were looking very closely at the question of stepping up sanctions. Can we have an assurance that since the baton has now changed hands, the Germans will carry out the policy which the Danes assured this House earlier last year would be the policy of the Community?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: The foreign policy of the Twelve is a policy of consensus. The Twelve will thus continue their common policy on South Africa as enshrined in the Luxembourg statement of September 1985 and the Brussels resolutions of September 1986. The Twelve will continue to exert political pressure. This will be accompanied by economic measures.

On 16 September 1986 the Twelve adopted a package of restrictive measures, including a ban on new investments in iron and steel and Krugerrands. The Twelve will go on expressing their solidarity with the victims of apartheid in South Africa by an intensification of positive measures. The Twelve urge all those concerned to renounce violence in South Africa and solve the problems through a process of peaceful negotiation. But a national dialogue of this kind can only take place if Pretoria first ends its emergency regulations, releases the political detainees and lifts the ban on the opposition. In this connection I would like to say to Ms Lizin that we shall of course go on pursuing the specific case she mentions.

The Twelve will continue their policy on human rights and, if necessary, take joint measures. Until such time as there is significant progress towards the abolition of apartheid the Twelve will consistently review their policy towards South Africa. Regarding their policy on more extensive sanctions, which I was also asked about, I think the Twelve will maintain their collectively formulated policy over the next few months too.

88/017. Question No H-793/87 by Mr Gerontopoulos Concerning the US Vice-President's Support for an Initiative on Research into Genocide of Armenians

Date of Issue: 19 January 1988
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

According to reports in the Turkish press (*Cumhuriyet*, 13 November 1987), Mr Bush, Vice-President of the USA, has instructed Mr Strausz Hupe, US ambassador at Ankara, to have the Ottoman archives opened up to discover the truth about the genocide of the Armenians.

What steps do the Community Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation intend taking in order to support this initiative, which is in keeping with the spirit of the European Parliament's resolution dated [18] June 1987¹.

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: The question raised by the Honourable Member was not covered by the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation.

Mr Gerontopoulos (PPE): I should like to ask the following question. Last July Parliament adopted an important motion for a resolution which described Turkish crimes against the Armenians as genocide. What steps is the Council taking to align its policy with Parliament's resolution?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: The resolution to which the Honourable Member refers was not discussed by the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation. The German Federal Government made the following statement on 14 July 1987 regarding that resolution by the European Parliament:

Concerning the resolution on the Armenian question adopted by the European Parliament, the Federal Government shares the view held by most of the European partners, viz. that clarification of those tragic events of over 70 years ago is primarily a matter for the historians.

The Federal Government still holds this view.

¹ Resolution on a political solution to the Armenian question, *OJ* No C 190 of 20 July 1987, pp. 119–121.

88/018. Question No H-795/87 by Ms García Arias Concerning the Detention of Saharan Citizens

Date of Issue: 19 January 1988
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Do the Ministers meeting in political cooperation know whether Sidati Ould Sallami, El Ghalia Ment Abdallahi and Yagga Sidi Ahmed El Alemm have been released together with the other Saharan citizens who were detained in connection with the visit of the United Nations technical delegation to the Western Sahara?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: The question raised by the honourable lady has not been discussed recently by the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation. The Twelve have on a number of occasions voiced their concern about violations of human rights and have urged the parties involved in the Western Sahara conflict to react positively to the efforts by the United Nations Secretary-General to find a peaceful solution.

Ms Garcia Arias (S): [...] I would like to know if the people who were detained because of the visit of the technical mission have been released, and if the Council under Germany's Presidency will take steps to ascertain whether these people, who were simply exercising the right of free speech and demonstration, have been freed.

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: The cases which the honourable lady mentions are hitherto unknown to the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation and in the individual Member States of the Community. Consequently, I cannot give any concrete answer to her question, but as these cases have been raised, we shall of course examine them further.

88/019. Question No H-726/87 by Mr Ephremidis Concerning Community Cooperation with the Initiative of the Six for Disarmament and Peace

Date of Issue: 19 January 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

On 18 February 1987, the European Parliament voted by a large majority to establish permanent and practical cooperation between the Community institutions and the initiative of the Six with a view to formulating a joint policy of specific measures to promote disarmament and peace (Trivelli report – Doc. A 2-202/86)¹.

Would the Foreign Ministers state what specific decisions they have taken and what steps they intend to take to implement the European Parliament's resolution?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: The question which the Honourable Member raises concerns another organization and has not therefore been discussed by the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation. As he will be aware, Title III, Article 30, paragraph 6(c) of the Single European Act states that there is nothing to prevent closer cooperation on security matters among some of the High Contracting Parties under the Western European Union of the Atlantic Alliance.

¹ Resolution on development and disarmament, *OJ* No C 76 of 23 March 1987, pp. 71–75.

88/020. Question No H-815/87 by Mr Dessylas Concerning the Attacks by the Israeli Army on the Occupied Palestinian Territories

Date of Issue: 19 January 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

The Israeli Government has launched a fresh attack on Gaza and the occupied Palestinian territories. Large military forces are being used against unarmed civilians, even children and patients in hospitals.

What response do the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation propose to make to ensure that Israel's terrorist activities cease forthwith, the democratic freedoms of the Palestinian people are secured and a final solution is found to the Palestinian problem?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: The Twelve are deeply concerned at the current situation in the occupied territories. We called on the Israeli authorities on 18 December 1987 to provide immediate protection for the inhabitants of the occupied territories in accordance with international law and human rights. A similar call was made by the United Nations Security Council in its Resolution No 605, unanimously approved on 22 December 1987. Israel's conduct in the occupied territories has recently been publicly condemned by a number of Member States.

On 12 January 1988 the Twelve conveyed to the Israeli Government their concern at Israel's decision to operate a policy of expulsion in the occupied territories and reiterated their unreserved support for the UN Security Council's Resolution No 607 of 5 January 1988.

On that occasion the Twelve reminded Israel of her obligations under the Geneva Convention towards the territories occupied since 1967¹. In a statement issued at the European summit in Copenhagen on 5 December 1987 the Twelve repeated their desire to see the Israeli-Arab conflict resolved by a negotiated settlement which, in accordance with the principles of the Venice Declaration would bring a just, comprehensive and lasting peace to the region. They also repeated their support for an international peace conference under the aegis of the United Nations.

Mr Dessylas (COM): I thank the President-in-Office for her answer. In fact, since our question was first submitted there have been new and far worse developments. We have seen terroristic deportations of Palestinian freedom fighters from their country, which Israel went ahead with. I also bear in mind the unanimous decision by the Security Council of the United Nations.

I would, however, like to ask whether the German Presidency intends to take any additional practical measures within the scope of Political Cooperation, to condemn those actions and to protect human rights within the occupied territories.

Mr Arbeloa Muru (S): As it is so difficult to determine how many times Israel has rejected United Nations resolutions, I would like to ask you, Madam President, if you know how many times Israel has rejected or failed to heed the resolutions and appeals of the Council of Ministers of the European Economic Community.

A second question: does the Council of Ministers intend to tell Israel that conquest, the simple right of conquest, whether in the war of 1947-49 or that of 1967 is not a valid right for a democratic State?

Mr Pearce (ED): Does the Minister agree that the Government of Israel has made it very clear that it has no intention of responding to pleas from the international community to modify its behaviour in these territories and that the European Community should therefore take whatever steps are available to it in the context of our collaboration agreement with Israel, to exert economic pressure on Israel — in other words, to impose a form of economic sanctions against Israel — until its government agrees to change its ways?

Mr McMahon (S): In the light of the continued refusal of Israel to settle matters in Gaza and to evacuate the illegal occupants of the West Bank, would the Council take on board, in Community trading policies and protocols, a ban on trade with the Israeli Government until such time as Israel puts its house in order?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: The Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation will certainly continue the measures already taken in regard to the conflicts in Israel and to which I alluded in my first answer. The Council of Ministers too will certainly go on reminding Israel of the obligations it bears in the occupied territories under the Geneva Convention.

It has hitherto been the Community's policy not to employ economic sanctions as an instrument of pressure to attain political objectives, against Israel or any other country. I do not anticipate any change in this policy.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 87/509.

88/021. Question No H-754/87 by Mr Pordea Concerning a Regional Conflict in Eastern Europe

Date of Issue: 20 January 1988
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

At their periodic meetings the Foreign Ministers of the USA and the USSR are working out agreements in preparation for future summit meetings between Mr Reagan and Mr Gorbachev. In addition to disarmament issues, these will consider the problem of regional conflicts, particularly in Afghanistan, the Gulf, Cambodia, Southern Africa and Central America.

Do the Foreign Ministers not think that the Soviet occupation of Eastern Europe constitutes a European regional problem of the first magnitude (if only because it entails the enslavement of a hundred and twenty million human beings) and that as such, it is a problem which the Foreign Ministers must endeavour to have included in the coming East–West debate?

Answer:

In his Written Question No 326/87 the Honourable Member touched upon the same subject matter. Allow me, therefore, to refer Mr Pordea to the answer given to him by the Twelve some months ago¹.

Let me add that the European Council at its meeting in Copenhagen on 4–5 December 1987 emphasized that all the CSCE undertakings made in Helsinki and Madrid should be fully implemented. They underlined that respect for human rights and freedoms is a prerequisite for confidence, understanding and cooperation. The CSCE follow-up meeting in Vienna is now entering a decisive phase. The Twelve are determined that the Vienna meeting should benefit all individuals in the thirty-five countries involved.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 87/438.

88/022. Question No H-663/87 by Mr Cano Pinto Concerning the Common Stance on Apartheid in South Africa

Date of Issue: 20 January 1988
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

In a speech to the European Parliament on 8 July 1987, explaining its programme, the Danish Presidency undertook to take an active part in international pressure for the complete abolition of the apartheid system in South Africa. Five months later, can the Council give specific reasons why the Twelve follow no uniform, consistent policy in this matter, but on the contrary one which is at times contradictory?

Answer:

The Twelve follow a consistent policy towards South Africa designed to contribute to the early and complete dismantlement of apartheid and its replacement by a genuinely democratic and non-racial system of government which takes into account the diversity of the South African society. The two-track approach adopted by the Twelve, using positive and restrictive measures, is designed to achieve this purpose and has been pursued actively since September 1985. During the Danish Presidency a thorough exercise was undertaken to ensure that the Twelve's restrictive economic measures are being fully and properly implemented. At the same time the EEC special programme for the victims of apartheid

continued, 20 million ECU were allocated in 1987 compared with 10 million ECU in 1986. Throughout 1987 the Twelve made clear their continuing preoccupation about the human rights situation in South Africa and undertook a number of *démarches* about cases of particular concern.

**88/023. Question No H-778/87 by Ms Pantazi Concerning
Community Cooperation with the Initiative of the Six for Disarmament
and Peace**

Date of Issue: 20 January 1988
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

On 18 February 1987, the European Parliament voted by a large majority to establish permanent and practical cooperation between the Community institutions and the initiative of the Six with a view to formulating a joint policy of specific measures to promote disarmament and peace (Trivelli report – Doc. A 2-202/86)¹.

Would the Foreign Ministers state what specific decisions they have taken and what steps they intend to take to implement the European Parliament's resolution?

Answer:

The question of setting up permanent cooperation between the Twelve and the Six has not been on the agenda of European political cooperation.

Many of the various aspects of security and disarmament referred to in the Trivelli report are under discussion by the Twelve. As the report of Mr Trivelli is entitled 'Disarmament and Development', I would like to mention specifically that during the United Nations Conference on Disarmament and Development in the summer of 1987, the Twelve made a crucial contribution to the consensus adoption of a final document.

¹ Resolution on development and disarmament, *OJ* No C 76 of 23 March 1987, pp. 71–75.

**88/024. Europe at the Crossroads – Opportunities and Problems at
the Start of the German Presidency**

Date of Issue: 20 January 1988
Place of Issue: Bonn
Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Press Statement

The paramount goal pursued by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany upon assuming the presidency of the Council of the European Community and of European political cooperation on 1 January 1988 is to impart fresh impetus to the Community, to promote European unification and to make progress towards a European Union on the basis of the Community's treaties and the Single European Act.

Democratic Europe is at a crossroads. It is up to the twelve Members of the European Community alone whether it makes new resolute steps towards a European Union or forfeits a promising future through stagnation and thus retrogression. In this era of fundamental changes and global challenges, there is a greater need than ever before for a united Community capable of acting and mastering the tasks of the future. The dynamic developments in East–West relations, enduring armed conflicts in various

parts of the world, unsettled international financial markets, world economic imbalances, deep-rooted structural problems, high unemployment on the one hand and rapid technological progress on the other as well as the threats to our environment call for common European efforts and responses.

The Single European Act has mapped out the way. Strengthening the Community's internal structures and ensuring that it is more capable of external action are imperative for safeguarding the future of all members of the Community and for the whole of Europe. The Federal Government will make every effort so that the Community gains new cohesion and lives up to its responsibility for peace in freedom and for economic stability in Europe and worldwide. [...]

European cooperation in foreign affairs is also faced with fundamental tasks and challenges. The summit meeting in Washington and the treaty signed by President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev on 8 December tangibly manifest the new momentum in the dialogue between the superpowers in the context of East–West relations. More than ever, the twelve countries of the Community have to muster their common potential in European political cooperation in order to ensure that Europe's voice is heard.

The Federal Government will make every effort to bring about palpable progress in developing a common European external policy, to which the Twelve expressed their commitment in the Single European Act. It will make dynamic use of all provisions of the Act, not least those relating to security policy. The aim is to strengthen European political cooperation as the central instrument for safeguarding our external interests, to develop Europe's identity in the fields of external and security policy. Close participation by the European Parliament is of particular importance in this connection.

The Community will be able to play its due role all the more actively, the stronger the foundation formed by European–American relations and the closer the rest of free, democratic Europe is incorporated into forward-looking strategies. Close, smooth relations between Europe and America are more crucial than ever.

In East–West relations, including the CSCE, we must resolutely make use of all rudiments of a common European policy for consolidation and cooperation and develop them further. The Twelve must assume a decisive role of their own. Special importance attaches to the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting. Together with our partners we also want to advance the Twelve's relations with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the Warsaw Pact.

The European Community's responsibility for peace is not confined to Europe. The Community will continue its stabilizing, peace-promoting efforts in the world's crisis-torn regions. This applies to the Gulf and to the Arab–Israeli conflict, to Central America, to Southern Africa and to Afghanistan. In the transition from a bipolar to a multi-polar world, the dialogue with Japan and China is of eminent importance. The countries of the Middle East expect the European Community to make constructive contributions. This includes efforts to bring about an international conference, for which the Arab summit in Amman laid a significant basis.

At the fourth San José Conference in Hamburg on 29 February and 1 March, the Twelve will continue their support for the peace process in Central America and deepen their economic cooperation with that region. The seventh meeting of EC and ASEAN Foreign Ministers in Düsseldorf on 2 and 3 May is another illustration of the intensification of inter-regional relations. A major objective is the completion of the negotiations on a cooperation agreement with the Members of the Gulf Cooperation Council.

The German Presidency will continue the cooperation designed to respond in an ever more extensive fashion to all external challenges facing the Community, including unforeseeable ones. The Twelve must act wherever Europe has to share responsibility for the preservation of peace and human rights worldwide. Together with its partners, the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany will endeavour to meet this responsibility.

88/025. Statement on the Programme of Activities for the German Presidency – Abstracts¹

Date of Issue: 20 January 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Programme Speech to European Parliament

Mr Genscher, President-in-Office of the Council and of the Foreign Ministers: Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the Treaties of Rome have now been in force for thirty years. Today we stand on the firm foundation of a unique historical achievement which makes the process of European unity irreversible. The Community has largely the European Parliament to thank for what it is today. Our generation's responsibility towards Europe is to complete European union.

The European Parliament has consistently demonstrated its clear vision of the Community's future. Its Draft Treaty Establishing the European Union reminded the parliaments and governments of the Member States of their common historical duty to Europe. Without the initiative, encouragement and dynamism of the European Parliament, the Single European Act would not have been concluded. Europe is facing great challenges.

In East–West relations, particularly in relations between the two superpowers, a change for the better is taking place. In the Soviet Union itself, a process of internal reconstruction has begun which could lead to a lessening of confrontation and eventually to a fresh impetus in Europe. The West would be well advised to turn this development to constructive ends.

The Washington summit – the outcome of which is of unique importance – made the breakthrough to genuine disarmament. This could mark the beginning of a new era in international relations. Europe must play its part in shaping these developments. For this we need forward-looking goals, an unmistakable identity and the will to shape our European destiny.

Europe needs partnership with the Third World. War and famine persist in various parts of the world. In 1987 the world population passed the five-milliard mark. Only by working together can we accomplish the tasks which therefore face us. This too is the only way to achieve lasting peace in the world.

The world economy faces great risks, but great opportunities too. Breathtaking technological advances and new industrial centres on the one hand, serious imbalances and far-reaching structural changes on the other. The situation is characterized by unstable financial markets, lower growth rates, high structural unemployment and growing indebtedness, and this not only in the Third World.

Even the threat to the natural environment in which we live has a worldwide dimension. We need common European answers to these challenges more urgently than ever before.

We must strengthen the Community from inside and equip it to act more effectively in the outside world.

A united and effective Community is in the interests of Europe as a whole. It safeguards our common future. At the same time it constitutes a hope of peace for the entire world. During the German Presidency we will do our utmost to ensure that the Community is given fresh impetus and shoulders its responsibility for peace with freedom and for economic stability and social progress in Europe and throughout the world. [...]

Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the firmer and more united the Community is internally, the greater its scope for action in foreign policy. The Community has long been an economic and political reality on the world stage. I sometimes have the impression that its internal capabilities are underestimated and its external capabilities overestimated. This is equally true of European cooperation in foreign policy and of the European Community's external relations.

The European Parliament's resolution of 14 October 1987 on the political aspects of a European security strategy² draws attention to an area in which there is still a clear deficit. Integration geared to the European Union will remain incomplete without extensive cooperation in security and defence policy.

There are encouraging signs of this in Western European Union. At a time of increasing dynamism in East–West relations and far-reaching global political changes, progress in giving European unification a security policy dimension is urgently needed.

Security policy is not just defence. Arms control and disarmament, and attempts at dialogue and extensive cooperation between East and West also form an integral part of it. This comprehensive security policy is geared to bringing about just and lasting peace throughout Europe. This is primarily a challenge to the European nations themselves. We – the Twelve in European political cooperation and the Seven in Western European Union – must face up to this challenge.

I am pleased to see that the European Parliament has taken on the role of pacemaker of European integration in the area of security policy too. The more solid the foundations of European–American relations, the more effectively the European Community will be able to play its role in foreign policy. For Europe and America close, trusting relations are as vital as ever. We shall continue carefully to foster the close exchange of views and dialogue between the Community and the USA. The Twelve are partners in foreign and security policy matters, equal partners, as President Reagan recently put it. Together with the USA and Japan, the Community must ensure free world trade and resist protectionism. The GATT Uruguay Round is of the utmost importance in this respect. We are confident that the USA will abide by the standstill agreement of September 1986, just as the Community will. The European internal market will not erect any new barriers at the Community's external frontiers. On the contrary, it will offer our partners new marketing and investment opportunities.

At the world economic summit in June of this year we shall also do all we can to safeguard the Community's interests. Not only the Community but the whole of democratic Europe must be brought together in concepts that shape the future. We shall therefore take a particular interest in cooperation with the EFTA countries. As the internal market is completed, we must join with them in seeking to create a European economic area. The conference with the EFTA countries to be held in Brussels on 2 February will provide an opportunity for a further expansion of this cooperation. At the same time, we shall try to achieve an even closer political dialogue between the Twelve and the EFTA countries and with the other countries of the Council of Europe.

We have important tasks to perform in the context of the Community's policy towards the Mediterranean countries. New life must be breathed into our association with Turkey and new financial protocols negotiated with Malta and Cyprus.

Next Friday will see the resumption of the CSCE follow-up conference. The Presidency will have the important task of joining with our partners in European political cooperation and in the Western alliance in ensuring that progress is made at the negotiations in Vienna.

Our common goal is the early conclusion of a final document that is balanced and has substance. The result we want is one that means, above all else, tangible progress for people. The Community's proposal for an economic conference in the Federal Republic of Germany is intended to give a decisive boost to stagnating economic and ecological cooperation. Progress can be made in every area, and it is essential if the relations between East and West are to develop in a climate of trust. The Twelve will therefore continue their efforts to work out a further package of confidence- and security-building measures on the basis of the Stockholm Conference. The dialogue and cooperation within the CSCE are among the most important factors for the shaping of Europe's future and the achievement of the great objective of Western policy referred to in the Harmel report, the creation of lasting and stable peace for the whole of Europe.

In relations with the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact countries we intend to seize every opportunity for dialogue and cooperation, even outside the CSCE process. It must be our goal to overcome the division of Europe step by step. The time is ripe for this. We want to expand the Community's bilateral relations with the Warsaw Pact countries. The European Community and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance have spent long enough discussing a joint declaration. It is our aim to see this joint declaration issued during our Presidency.

Ladies and gentlemen, economic cooperation with the East is economically and politically important. It may open up the system and so have a confidence-building effect. This will also require rethinking on

government influence on East–West economic relations. No responsible politician in the West wants to endanger Western security interests, but the trade restrictions currently imposed by COCOM go further than is necessary.

They are still largely determined by past attitudes. They must be carefully reconsidered and, with an eye to the future, reduced to what is absolutely necessary. It is in the West's interests too that the economic and technological division of our continent should be overcome.

Ladies and gentlemen, European responsibility for peace is not confined to Europe. The Community must use its influence throughout the world to bring stability and promote peace in the crises in other regions. In the war between Iraq and Iran our efforts to help bring the hostilities to an end as soon as possible are concentrated on the work being done in the United Nations Security Council, in which four Member States of the European Community are currently represented. With you and with the backing of joint positions adopted by the Twelve we shall seize every opportunity to support the Security Council and the Secretary-General of the United Nations in their quest for a solution.

The Israeli–Arab conflict has entered a new and dangerous phase as a result of the recent unrest. This makes it more important than ever to find a negotiated settlement, as the Twelve last proposed in their declaration of [23] February 1987³. The Twelve will pursue their efforts to have an international conference convened. We are maintaining close contact with all concerned so that we make our position clear and offer our assistance. Having visited many Arab countries, I shall be going to Israel at the weekend. The meeting of the twelve Foreign Ministers will be having with King Hussein on 8 February 1988 reflects the importance of the Arab summit meeting in Amman. Nor will the Europe of the Twelve refuse its help if it is a question of supporting and safeguarding a political settlement of the conflict with economic cooperation. This will also include the approval of the adjustment protocols for Israel and a decision on the form the Community's assistance for the occupied territories should take.

During this Presidency we shall also be paying particular attention to the situation in Southern Africa. We shall continue to press for the long overdue national dialogue in the Republic of South Africa, the only acceptable alternative to the escalation of violence. Before this dialogue can begin, Nelson Mandela and the other political prisoners must be released.

Before this dialogue can begin, the ban on the ANC and the other organizations representing the black majority must be lifted. This was emphatically reaffirmed by the Foreign Ministers of the Twelve in their resolutions of 10 December 1985⁴ and 16 September 1986⁵. The goal must be equal rights for all citizens of the Republic of South Africa regardless of the colour of their skin. The apartheid system cannot be reformed; it must be dismantled immediately.

In Namibia the Security Council's Resolution 435 must at last be implemented. It is the expression of our will to enable the Namibian people to exercise the right of self-determination. We regard the so-called 'interim government' as null and void, as the Italian Presidency made clear on behalf of the Twelve on 17 June 1985⁶. The destabilization of the front-line States, especially Angola and Mozambique, by South Africa must stop. The effective use of positive measures and the continued application of the restrictions that have been imposed remain important aspects of our common policy. We shall also be keeping a close watch on the situation in the front-line States, particularly Angola and Mozambique. The Community's association with the 66 African, Caribbean and Pacific countries is a historic success for cooperation between North and South. The negotiations should be started in the first half of 1988. We must therefore decide on the Commission's negotiating mandate as quickly as possible. The Third World can develop only if the fight against hunger and poverty can at last be won. This is a major task for us. The credibility of our North–South policy must and will therefore always be judged by what we actually do for the countries of the Third World. The Community's development policy consequently remains an important factor in our common North–South policy.

Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, we are prepared to continue and increase cooperation with other regions of the world, which has proved its worth. The San José IV Conference, which will be taking place in Hamburg on 29 February and 1 March at ministerial level, and the meeting of EEC–ASEAN Foreign Ministers in Düsseldorf on 2 and 3 May are clear indications of the acceptance and success of a policy of regional cooperation. The Hamburg Conference will also serve to give a further boost to the peace process in Central America and to lend effective support to the efforts of the Central American countries.

We want the peace process in Central America to succeed. We also intend to intensify and develop our contacts with the other countries of Latin America. A meeting will therefore be held with the eight Foreign Ministers of the Rio Group on 2 March. ASEAN was the European Community's first regional partner. The political dialogue and economic cooperation have developed well. In the political sphere they have also had a favourable effect on our cooperation in the Cambodia question, for example. The Community will endeavour to make progress in the negotiations on a cooperation agreement with the Gulf States. We also intend to explore any opening for a reactivation of the Euro–Arab Dialogue.

Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the dialogue between the Twelve and regional groupings is complemented by a network of contacts which the Twelve maintain with third countries. They include not only the other free and democratic countries of Europe and the United States and Canada, but especially Japan and China. The German Presidency will seek to ensure that this network is used to the full and, where necessary, expanded so that here again the Community can take its place in an increasingly multi-polar world. The external offices of the Twelve and the Commission will cooperate more closely to this end. We intend to ensure that every opportunity is seized, and especially that facilities are created jointly and existing facilities shared at places where living conditions are difficult.

Within the United Nations the Twelve have made major contributions to the common, worldwide struggle against international terrorism. We know that a great deal remains to be done. The Community has always attached the utmost importance to the fight for the worldwide respect of human rights – not just within the CSCE framework, in other words. The Twelve will continue to cooperate closely, as they have successfully done in the past, and, with the help of the newly established Working Group on Human Rights, make this cooperation even more effective.

The German Presidency, Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, will uphold a tradition of cooperation that provides an increasingly comprehensive response to all the foreign policy challenges facing the Community, including those which cannot be foreseen. The Twelve must act wherever Europe is called upon to share responsibility for the worldwide preservation of peace and human rights. The Federal Government will accept this responsibility. We ask Parliament for its support.

[After the ensuing debate, Mr Genscher stated, moreover:] I listened very carefully to what was said about European political cooperation. I have commented on this. We believe we can strengthen our role in the Middle East. A great deal is also expected of our even-handed policy on the Middle East. As I have said, I have been to a number of Arab countries, and I shall be going to Israel at the weekend. We shall continue to do what we can to bring about an international peace conference. I believe that, considering all the trouble there is in the Middle East at the moment, the outcome of the summit conference of the Arab League in Amman was encouraging. We therefore invited the conference host, the King of Jordan, to come to Bonn for discussions with the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation. [...]

¹ Cf. *OJ Annex* No 2-360 of 20 January 1988, pp. 124–159.

² *OJ* No C 305 of 16 November 1987, pp. 81–84.

³ Cf. *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 87/114.

⁴ Cf. *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 85/172.

⁵ Cf. *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 86/271.

⁶ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 85/112.

**88/026. Question No O-119/87 by Mr Poettering and Others
Concerning the Initiatives Planned During the German Presidency for
Strengthening Cooperation in the Field of Security Policy Within the
Framework of European Political Cooperation¹**

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The assumption of office by the German Presidency comes at a time of important developments in disarmament and arms control, and increased efforts on the basis of the appropriate provisions in the Single European Act to develop a European Community identity in security policy matters. Against this background the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation under the German Presidency are invited to give their views on the following points:

1. What action do the Foreign Ministers intend to take in particular, in response to Title III, Article 30 (6)(a) of the Single European Act, to contribute to the development of a common identity in external policy matters by closer coordination of their position on the political and economic aspects of security?
2. What ideas does the German Presidency have on possible forms of complementary or coordinated cooperation on matters of security policy between European political cooperation and other organizations concerned with security policy?
3. Is it intended during the German Presidency to take steps to ensure that the Community Member States put their common views effectively in future talks on disarmament and confidence-building measures in Europe and the Geneva multilateral disarmament talks?
4. Do the Foreign Ministers intend during the German Presidency to have common criteria and control measures for the sale of arms to third countries drawn up and applied?
5. In what way does the German Presidency intend to ensure that, in accordance with the provision contained in Title III, Article 30 (4), the views of the European Parliament are also given due consideration in the discussion of matters of security policy within the framework of European political cooperation?

Mr Genscher, President-in-Office of the Council: Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, these are the first questions which I personally — Ms Adam-Schwaetzer answered questions yesterday — have to answer during this Presidency. When I took a close look at the draft answers, I had the same uneasy feeling as during past Presidencies about the bureaucratic adoption of the lowest conceivable common denominator of twelve States. During this Presidency I will try to make answering questions into a rather more political instrument.

If the House permits, I will therefore concentrate largely on answering the questions the Honourable Member has just put, because I cannot do any coordinating now.

As regards the first three of your questions, Mr Poettering, I will say this: at the first unofficial meeting of the Foreign Ministers I will raise the question of better coordination in security policy, with account also taken of the economic and defence policy aspects. As we begin this work, we are really dealing with a new dimension. With your permission, I will report to you at the end of our Presidency on the progress we have made.

In answer to your fourth question, Mr Poettering, I will do everything in my power to ensure that we establish and apply common criteria and checks to the sale of armaments to third countries. That is part of our common foreign and security policy. An uncoordinated policy on the export of armaments is bound to jeopardize the coordination of foreign policy in certain areas.

In answer to your fifth question, I would say that I can imagine it being possible for the Presidency to draw attention to Parliament's opinion, if it has adopted one, on any aspect of security policy being discussed within the framework of European political cooperation. I hope that my colleagues will agree to this.

I now come to Parliament's role in security policy. I should like to see the European Parliament having an in-depth debate on all aspects of our security, because it really is unsatisfactory that European security policy should be discussed only in the national parliaments, and then most certainly from a national angle, and that it should be only on this basis that we form our opinions in the Council. So I should like to see the European Parliament deciding to have an in-depth debate, and as long as European political cooperation has not yet committed itself too firmly in this area, the Presidency is, of course, free to speak in such debates. In the relationship between European political cooperation, Western European Union and NATO it will be important to ensure that the debate in the European Community does not develop to the stage where it is regarded with suspicion by the non-European members of NATO.

Still very fresh in my memory is the statement which President Reagan made here to the House. He placed great emphasis on the need to strengthen the European pillar of our alliance. Seen from this

angle, I believe, the adoption of a common position on security policy by the Member States of the European Community will not lead to misunderstandings. What is most important is that we Europeans take the right attitude towards East–West relations. I am not at all impressed and, as a European, I can only feel concerned when the negotiations between the two superpowers on East–West relations and aspects of arms control policy are criticized in Europe.

What else should they be doing? For a long time we wanted *détente* between the two superpowers. What is wrong is not that the two superpowers are drawing the logical conclusions from the situation that has arisen, but that Europe has not yet really decided on its security policy identity. That is the issue we must begin to tackle.

This is a responsibility that rests equally on the governments, the national parliaments and the European Parliament, and if we now manage, on the basis of the Single European Act, to develop this security policy identity, it will be a gain for the alliance and East–West relations. We should not be anxious about this, but make our own contributions to this dialogue. Those who duck their heads should not be surprised if policy is made over their heads. We should also see ourselves as a factor in this debate which makes its own contributions and does not just raise objections to the contributions made by others.

As regards the Franco–German Defence Council, an institution born of the Franco–German Treaty, the close, essential and historic partnership between France and Germany must always be understood as no more than the focal point of European unification. It does not therefore exclude others but invites them to join.

[*Upon the ensuing debate, Mr Genscher stated, moreover:*] If the new dimension of security and foreign policy is to be introduced into the work of our Community, which I consider to be urgently needed and essential, it is no surprise that we have heard expressions of concern and also new ideas on security policy, some from very different angles, in numerous speeches today. You might almost have thought – if you will allow me to say so – that we were only just beginning to establish a security policy in Western Europe. But that is not the case, and I feel we must recall some of the basic concepts of our security policy.

Let me remind you of the Harmel report of 1967. It was at that time that the great objective was formulated – one that we must never lose sight of, especially here in the European Parliament – the goal of a European system of peace in which all the nations of Europe are to have their place. This important European and Atlantic document reminded us as long ago as 1967 that in our policy of *détente*, cooperation, defence, disarmament and arms control we must always remember that Europe is more than the European Community, that the Europeans east of the line dividing Europe are also Europeans. I consider that to be an important factor to remember in the definition of our objectives.

The road to this European system of peace is mapped out in a document which has been approved by all the countries of the European Community: the Helsinki Final Act. It sets the course for a better Europe. This and the goals set in the Harmel report are crucial documents for our security policy.

It is obvious that the peace it has been possible to maintain for several decades in Europe since the horrors of the Second World War has been maintained thanks to our willingness to defend ourselves. Our defence efforts are characterized by an appropriate relationship between conventional and nuclear capabilities, but the strategy of our alliance is a strategy of preventing, not waging war.

The strategy of deterrence means deterring others from declaring war on us, and that is the right way to view the essential nuclear weapons. They are there to prevent war, but we must not lose our way in scenarios of warfare. That would allow our continent to become a place for experiments with weapons of destruction.

That is why it is so important for us to bear this objective of our strategy in mind as we take steps towards disarmament and to realize that the aim of disarmament is to make the world increasingly safe. The reduction in the numbers of short- and medium-range intermediate missiles naturally means a reduction of the potential for destruction; and while I appreciate that we are only talking about a reduction by a few per cent, it is a first step in disarmament.

It shows that two things are possible; firstly, that disarmament can be verified, and this was an innovation, and secondly, a principle was adopted that must now be applied to all other aspects of disarmament: the very simple principle that he who has more must disarm more.

As we have only about 350 warheads in the West, this meant that we could only destroy 350, whereas the Eastern Bloc had to destroy 1 500. The same must now be done in all other areas of disarmament.

I was pleased to see representatives of all manner of political groupings unreservedly advocating the worldwide destruction of chemical weapons, although the word 'weapon' plays down the power of these devices to kill human beings. They do not, moreover, form part of our strategy of preventing war: we have chemical weapons only to deter others from threatening to use them. Their destruction by both sides would be a major gain for mankind, because the danger we face is that these weapons will spread throughout the world and become a kind of poor man's nuclear weapon of destruction for those who do not have any nuclear materials of their own and so resort to chemical weapons. There are horrifying examples of this in the Third World.

We must now consider the question of conventional stability. We in Europe are most affected by this. Here the Soviet Union has superiority in quite a few areas, not so much in numbers of troops, but certainly in numbers of tanks and artillery pieces, the very weapon systems, in other words, that are suitable for offensive use.

It is therefore worth making a start on this, but we must realize one thing: balance in conventional forces alone is not enough to ensure genuine peace because, as history shows, even where there is balance, nations risk war. So there has to be something else. The ability to attack, the ability to invade must be eliminated. We must find ways of alleviating the implications for security of the geographical disparity that is to the West's disadvantage. So we must talk about deployment, about degrees of preparedness.

Of course, the West's inferiority is due not only to the major efforts made by the East but also to the fact that not all the countries in the West are not doing all they should to ensure conventional stability and defence. I speak for a country which has conscription. There are countries in the Western alliance that do not have conscription. But conventional strength lies not only in today's armed forces but also in those that can be mobilized tomorrow or the day after or in a week's time.

For this, reserves are needed, and that means we must also apply the principle of 'he who has more must disarm more' to conventional disarmament and above all ensure that systems suitable for offensive purposes are eliminated. We must also bring about agreement on the security doctrines on both sides so that there may be more stability, more security in Europe with fewer weapons.

The Western alliance also placed the question of short-range nuclear missiles in this context in the Reykjavik declaration and said we shall be drawing up a mandate for the limitation of these systems at a lower level — a limitation, a ceiling that means fewer of these weapons, particularly in the East, which is vastly superior at the moment.

The Honourable Member who said just now that security in Europe must be more than defence on the one hand and disarmament on the other, that it must also include a political dialogue aimed at bringing about *mutual dependence in the good sense of the term*, was quite right. That is what our political foster fathers were telling us in the Harmel report.

This is, if you like, a peace initiative for a better Europe. We should feel committed to this idea. We are not the countries that are opposed to disarmament: we are the countries that want more security through disarmament.

¹ Cf. *OJ Annex* No 2-360 of 20 January 1988, pp. 123–167.

88/027. Statement at the Opening of the Fifth Session of the Vienna CSCE Follow-up Meeting: the CSCE, CDE and Other Aspects of the Helsinki Final Act

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Mr President, the date set for the conclusion of the conference has been postponed twice. The expectations held in the work of the CSCE by our peoples have not yet been fulfilled.

At a time of grave strain on East–West relations, the CSCE follow-up meeting in Madrid proved to be a sound platform for East–West dialogue and contributed with its results to an improvement in the international situation. Today, now that the international climate is more favourable and the globally lauded treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range missiles has been concluded, the CSCE follow-up meeting in Vienna is stagnating. To put it briefly: this meeting is not up with the times! We wonder why a few participating States want to concentrate on progress in one field of the CSCE process here in Vienna. Why can't they show the requisite political willingness for joint steps forward towards the Human Dimension which they themselves also recognize as being essential?

We wonder quite seriously how we are to expect a satisfactory outcome in Vienna without such joint steps in the Human Dimension? At this conference, many participating States have repeatedly stressed the need for a balance in the CSCE process. It is no secret that participating States already regard the balance among the major goals of the CSCE as jeopardized and that they view it as essential to restore this balance by progress in human rights and in the provisions of the third Basket. It is this humanitarian component in particular which gives the CSCE its great moral strength. It is of major significance for the whole process.

We welcome genuine progress where it takes place. It is important. But it would contradict a basic principle of the CSCE for it to advance in one field only. The CSCE is like a troika. One horse may be stronger than the others, but the sleigh can only move when all three horses are running!

Today, on behalf of the Member States of the European Community, I should like to reaffirm the goals of the Twelve at this meeting. We wish to advance the CSCE process in all its fields; we are striving for a substantial and balanced final document in Vienna. It is essential that three objectives be promoted:

- implementation of the commitments undertaken a long time ago, as set forth clearly and unequivocally in the Final Act of Helsinki and in the Concluding Document of Madrid;
- agreement on further commitments offering, where necessary, precise and concrete instructions for action;
- and agreement on follow-up meetings in all Baskets of the Final Act.

Mr President, there have, no doubt, been positive achievements here in Vienna. Extensive debate has revealed weaknesses still evident in the carrying out of CSCE commitments. This is particularly true of human rights. Though some political prisoners have been released, many hundreds of anonymous prisoners are still waiting for their release. We cannot and will not forget them.

We do not want to conceal progress where it is evident. We welcome positive developments in emigration. We are happy whenever a person who wishes to leave his or her country of origin is allowed to do so. But amnesties alone are not enough, since it is still within the State's discretion to grant them or revoke them. Confidence is built on predictability. This is also true of the rights of the individual. We welcome every sign of liberality, but what is needed are unequivocal commitments in accord with the Final Act of Helsinki and the Concluding Document of Madrid which people can rely on.

A major objective of the Twelve, indeed of all friendly Western countries, is a Vienna decision on a programme of continuing action to realize human rights. Such a programme includes a conference in several stages on the Human Dimension, with individual meetings on various subjects concerning human rights and human contacts. This proposal is in keeping with the tradition of European political cooperation, which has made its impact felt on the CSCE process from the very start and which

introduced the Human Dimension to it. Since then, other participating States in their declarations have come to recognize that respect for human rights is an essential part of State relations and of international security. States which genuinely recognize this should have no difficulty in accepting the proposals on human rights and human contacts tabled here in Vienna without any restrictions altering their meaning.

We have noticed with interest that a meeting of non-government representatives supporting the implementation of CSCE commitments took place recently in the Soviet Union. The circumstances under which this meeting was held were, however, far from those which the States participating in the CSCE process take for granted. We hope that in the future such meetings in the Soviet Union and in other CSCE States will be considered normal events and be held under normal conditions.

Together with the other Western countries, the twelve Member States of the European Community have also made proposals on all the other subjects of the Final Act here in Vienna.

We want respect for freedom of religion. We demand freedom of movement for people in a divided Europe. We demand the implementation of the right of every individual to leave his or her country and to return to it at any time. We call for the practical recognition of the right of every individual and of non-governmental organizations to invoke the Final Act of Helsinki and to stand up for human rights.

On human contacts, our proposals are directed towards the simplification and expedition of application procedures for travel and family reunification, towards preferential treatment in urgent humanitarian matters, and towards the facilitation of contacts between our people in general.

To mention but one example, we do not understand why some States in Vienna reject such a simple measure as providing their citizens with administrative decisions in writing, giving grounds for refusals and stating possible means of legal recourse against such decisions. Compliance with this demand is one of the most basic elements of a legal culture which has evolved in Europe over the centuries.

In this connection, the Twelve are worried about another problem which they already referred to on previous occasions. The Member States of the European Community note with interest the developments in the Soviet Union. However, they regret to have observed that these developments have so far not produced any tangible improvement in the working conditions of foreign Missions in the Soviet Union. As in the past, the duty to protect foreign Missions is misinterpreted to the effect that peaceful visitors are hindered from access to these Missions.

The freedom of movement of foreign citizens within the Soviet Union and their possibilities of having contacts with Soviet citizens are restricted due to administrative measures. This is in contradiction with international law and the commitments undertaken within the CSCE framework.

The Twelve hope that the Soviet authorities will comply with these obligations and contribute to creating a climate of confidence between their own and foreign citizens by permitting free access to the diplomatic Missions of the Twelve and others, by abolishing restrictions for foreign citizens and by permitting unhindered contacts between Soviet citizens and citizens of our countries.

In an era of mass tourism and satellite media, it is hard to justify barriers in the middle of Europe hindering families and friends from neighbouring countries from doing what is quite normal, from exchanging ideas freely, from visiting one another, from meeting!

In the important fields encompassed by Basket II, among which are industrial cooperation and environmental protection, we must make concrete and decisive progress here in Vienna, too. Many opportunities are not being made use of here. Economic cooperation is a long-term stabilizing factor in global relations between East and West. There will be no strengthening of cooperation without an improvement in the overall conditions for economic activity. This is not wishful thinking on the part of the West, it is an imperative.

Environmental protection is a subject of interest to everyone in Europe. In this field there are no special concerns of States or groups; here we all win or lose together. The practical results of our long and intensive consultations on Basket II have been limited up to now. As yet, there has only been provisory consensus on five texts. Smart and flexible negotiators are what is called for in view of the multitude and complexity of the subject matter still to be dealt with.

In the field of information, we support the unimpeded flow of opinions and news. We cannot understand why, in an age in which global communication has become technically feasible, the use of

something as common as a copy machine or a typewriter should be subject to government control. We also demand a definitive stop to all jamming of international radio transmissions. We note some positive developments in this field. Our proposals are intended to create more cultural openness, to allow the writers, artists and musicians of our countries to meet one another freely. We all want to profit from the free exchange of the intellectual riches and budding variety of expression of our countries. The Cultural Forum of Budapest brought forth a multitude of ideas from our artists and writers. Let us make use of them!

Nothing unites Europeans more than their history and culture, nothing is more characteristic of their unity than what Vaclav Havel called 'a profound feeling of unity, though a unity in difference'. Havel's open letter, sent to this meeting a few weeks ago, is a moving appeal for freedom of culture and freedom for the artist. We hope that this appeal will be heard everywhere.

The Member States of the European Community advocate the right to set up cultural institutes in other participating States. We appreciate the positive reaction to this proposal shown by all the groups of States and are confident that it will find its proper place in the final document of Vienna.

Budapest offers a model for CSCE follow-up meetings. Those people most concerned were themselves given the microphone. This idea is reflected in the proposals which the Member States of the European Community, together with other Western States and some neutral participating States, have tabled for future CSCE follow-up meetings. The EC Member States have proposed an economic conference to be held in the Federal Republic of Germany to improve overall conditions for economic and industrial cooperation between East and West. We propose an information forum for which the United Kingdom has invited us to London. We support a science forum in Erice and a meeting of experts on Mediterranean ecology in Palma de Mallorca. Reaction to all these proposals has encouraged us and given us hope that we can agree on these meetings in a final document of Vienna.

In the field of military security, the Member States of the European Community support a continuation of the process begun in Stockholm. The package of confidence- and security-building measures agreed on there was an important step towards building more confidence. Agreement in Stockholm on mandatory on-site inspection in particular has meant a fundamental breakthrough. It has cleared the way for agreement on comprehensive inspection contained in the INF Treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union.

We welcome this treaty, because for the first time it eliminates a whole category of weapons and paves the way towards more security by means of a stable balance of nuclear weapons at a lower level. As the twelve Heads of State and Government declared in Copenhagen in December 1987, the Twelve consider it essential that this achievement in nuclear arms control should give further impetus to substantive progress in the field of conventional arms control and disarmament. The Stockholm agreements stood the test last year. Irrespective of the overall success of implementation in the first year, there is still a lot of room left for further improvements concerning the foreseeability of military activities and for the creation of more military transparency throughout Europe. We therefore strive for further confidence- and security-building measures, building upon and expanding the results attained in Stockholm.

We are also decisively in favour of negotiations to bring about conventional stability through the creation of a secure balance of conventional forces at a low level, through a reduction in destabilizing disparities and through the elimination of offensive capabilities for invasion. We welcome the fact that major progress has already been made in talks on a mandate for the goals of these negotiations.

Mr President, in taking time to describe our proposals in detail, we wish to make it clear once again that these proposals are moderate, cannot be considered unreasonable by any participating State, and do not call for any measures threatening the internal order of other States. Our aim is rather to make existing CSCE commitments clearer and more precise and to gradually extend them.

In view of this, the Twelve find it difficult to understand why formal consensus has been given to so few of these proposals up to now, especially to our proposals on the Human Dimension.

We regard the non-papers transmitted to us by the coordinators in the final days of the last Session as a positive sign. We wish to express our thanks to the coordinators for their helpful assistance under difficult circumstances.

The Twelve are of the opinion that, with the good will of all participants, it must now be possible to attain results in all three Baskets in Vienna within a short time. On behalf of the Twelve, I appeal urgently to all Eastern participating States to cooperate so that the conference can complete its work quickly to make life in Europe more normal, more secure and more humane for its people.

Mr President, we have recently been hearing the term 'a common European house'. We are willing to interpret this visionary political term as a constructive appeal calling on all political forces in Europe, irrespective of the demarcation line between the systems, to contribute to the shaping of a common future for all Europeans. We wish to attain an order in Europe stressing the many things we have in common in the 'common European house' and gradually eliminating the things which divide us, an order in which the peoples of Europe, though living in differing social and governmental systems, may advance in peaceful competition and without fear of one another.

Being European is not simply a question of geography, of common historical experience and reciprocal cultural stimulation. It is primarily a question of intellectual topography.

European identity is to a great extent an expression of a certain political ethos formed by the victory of religious and ideological tolerance over the infallibility claimed by religious and secular authorities. It is characterized by the assertion of individuality over collective patronage. It has found its most consistent expression in the rule of law of pluralist democracy which today is the norm among the States of the European Community. This identity links us Western Europeans to our allies across the Atlantic.

In the final analysis, the attitude which each State takes to Europe is a reflection of its reaction to these specifically European traditions. The form taken by the 'common European house' which we have heard so much of, requires a certain agreement on the furnishings. This must not fall short of what was attained in the Age of Enlightenment and democratic revolution.

Socialism, too, once recognized these achievements. We therefore hope that it will find its way back to them in political practice.

On a practical level, this means that the road to a common and genuinely European future for us all presupposes the realization of the CSCE documents, both those already agreed upon and those to come.

88/028. Statement at the Third Session of the Preparatory Committee for the Third Special Session on Disarmament

Date of Issue: 25 January 1988

Place of Issue: New York

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: German Delegation to the United Nations

Status of Document: Statement in International Forum

Mr Barker: Mr Chairman, speaking on behalf of the twelve Member States of the European Community, I would like to outline the assessment, shared by these twelve States, of the current situation in the field of disarmament and arms control, and present our approach to the task that this meeting of the Preparatory Committee for SSOD III has before it. I shall be brief, since we believe that the focus of the Preparatory Committee meeting should be concrete and specific, and statements of a general nature should therefore be limited to a minimum of time.

The agreement on the global elimination of United States and Soviet land-based intermediate-range missiles is a milestone, eliminating for the first time an entire class of weapons. The Twelve hope that this agreement will enter into force soon.

They consider it essential that this achievement in nuclear arms control should give further impetus to substantive progress in the whole range of present and future bilateral US–Soviet and multilateral negotiations on arms control and disarmament.

The relevance of this most welcome development for our common task of preparing SSOD III, the third Special Session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, is that it strikes a positive note in the debate on arms control and disarmament and should allow us to chart a constructive and concrete course for dialogue in this area in succeeding years.

The Preparatory Committee meeting will hopefully make a useful contribution to the final outcome of SSOD III. It is the conviction of the Twelve that the final document should, in some form, reflect the considerations I have just presented. The 1978 final document of SSOD I, which was adopted by consensus, will be a significant building block for our proceedings. Let us concentrate on defining and describing what particular steps we would want to be taken next. Let us pay particular attention to the future course of international deliberations in this most important of areas. We should devote our resources and skills to looking forward. We should avoid spending too much time looking into any additional documentation. Indeed, the documentation, called for in Resolution 42/40, could, in our view, be limited to the amount necessary to allow the Special Session to conduct its work in the most effective and efficient manner possible.

The impact of SSOD III on the outcome of the various ongoing disarmament negotiations can be considerable when its concluding document is concrete and specific and oriented on the next milestones along the road. In a changed international situation, characterized by important prospects of an improvement in East–West relations, we can make the voice of SSOD III effective and enduring if our work is carried out in a positive and constructive spirit, and if we can secure agreement by consensus on the final document of the Special Session.

Mr Chairman, the Twelve hope that this Preparatory Committee meeting will accomplish its task of preparing SSOD III as completely as possible. The Twelve stand ready, as in the past, to contribute actively towards that goal. It is in this spirit of active participation, readiness to compromise, sober judgement, and a keen interest in a positive outcome, that the Twelve wish this Preparatory Committee every success. Thank you, Mr Chairman.

88/029. Statement Concerning the Destruction of a Korean Aircraft

Date of Issue: 26 January 1988
 Place of Issue: Bonn/Brussels
 Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
 Source of Document: The Twelve
 Status of Document: Declaration

The Twelve take note of the findings of the Korean authorities' investigation into the destruction of Korean Air flight 858 on November 29, 1987 and of the presently available indications implicating a North Korean woman in this incident.

The Twelve deeply regret the tragic loss of 115 lives. They have repeatedly expressed their strongest condemnation of terrorist acts against civil aviation.

They vigorously condemn this particularly despicable attack against a Korean civil aircraft and wish to draw the attention of relevant international forums to this incident.

They expressed the hope that the situation on the Korean peninsula will not be affected by this criminal act.

88/030. Statement Concerning Central America After the San José Summit Held 15–16 January 1988

Date of Issue: 26 January 1988
 Place of Issue: Bonn/Brussels
 Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
 Source of Document: The Twelve
 Status of Document: Declaration

The Twelve pay tribute to the political determination of the five Presidents of Central American countries that enabled them, despite all difficulties, to achieve a positive outcome of their summit meeting at San José, Costa Rica, on 15 and 16 January 1988. The Twelve appreciate the renewed commitment of the Presidents to fully meet their obligations under the Esquipulas-II Agreement.

Convinced that there is no alternative to the efforts for achieving peace in Central America by political means and for strengthening democracy in all countries of the region, the Twelve urge the countries of the region to fulfil all the outstanding obligations under the Esquipulas-II Agreement unconditionally and without delay, and to preserve the progress already made. They condemn all acts of violence which might jeopardize the peace process.

The Twelve renew their appeal to countries with links to and interests in the region to lend constructive support to the peace efforts of the Central American countries and to make an effective contribution towards achieving peace in Central America.

The Twelve look forward to continuing the political dialogue with the countries of Central America, with the participation of the Members of the Contadora Group, for which purpose the Foreign Ministers will meet in Hamburg on 29 February and 1 March 1988, and hope that by then further progress will have been made towards peace and democracy in the region.

The meeting in Hamburg will afford an opportunity for the Twelve to reaffirm their readiness to assist the peace process in Central America to the best of their ability.

88/031. Statement at the Third Session of the Preparatory Committee for the Third Special Session on Disarmament: Consideration of Substantive Issues for Incorporation in the Document or Documents to be Adopted at the Special Session¹

Date of Issue: 28 January 1988

Place of Issue: New York

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: German Delegation to the United Nations

Status of Document: Statement in International Forum

Mr Barker: Mr Chairman, speaking on behalf of the twelve Member States of the European Community, I should like to say that we have listened to the exchange of views that has taken place over the past few days. We have noted that there is a particular interest in the nature of the United Nations' role in the field of disarmament. We think it would be useful to put forward some ideas of our own on this subject.

The Twelve have continuously supported endeavours aimed at strengthening the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament, consistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter, and they view it as necessary that serious efforts should be continued with the aim of organizing the work within the United Nations in the field of disarmament in a more efficient way.

In this respect, the forthcoming Special Session should generate new impetus, taking into account relevant decisions of the General Assembly, notably its recent Resolution 42/42 [N] on the rationalization of the work of the First Committee, and the deliberations of the United Nations Disarmament Commission since its 1984 session.

In its concluding document, the Session should include the following points on the issue of the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament:

1. It could reaffirm its fundamental belief that the United Nations have to play a central role in the sphere of disarmament and help the international community in gradually pursuing the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control, taking into consideration the major contribution the United Nations have already made and are making to the cause of disarmament.

2. It could emphasize that the United Nations' contribution to the disarmament process would be greatly enhanced if full respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter were ensured.

3. It could express its hope that, although only a few new agreements have been concluded in the disarmament field in the United Nations in recent years, the progress achieved outside the multilateral disarmament process will also have a positive impact on improvement of the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament.

4. It could voice its conviction that, in order to give greater impulse to the disarmament process, periodic reviews of the United Nations machinery and of the prospects of its improvement would be both useful and desirable.

5. It could reaffirm the role of the General Assembly and particularly of its First Committee as central forums of disarmament problems.

6. It could reaffirm the necessity of continued efforts to find solutions that are conducive to a work situation in which the First Committee will be able to perform its duty optimally in helping the international community to achieve progress in disarmament, especially by reducing the number of resolutions and expanding the area of meaningful consensus, and by rationalizing the agenda.

7. It could enhance the useful contribution the Disarmament Commission makes to deliberations on disarmament problems (by allowing for in-depth examination of specific issues which cannot be undertaken elsewhere), with a recommendation that the agenda of the UNDC should not be too long, yet leave sufficient scope for discussion of the subjects.

8. It could underline the importance of the Conference on Disarmament as the single multilateral negotiating body.

9. It could strengthen the primary role of the Department for Disarmament Affairs in coordinating the resources of the United Nations in the field of disarmament in order to avoid unnecessary duplication of work, also in regard to aspects of the activities of the specialized agencies which have a bearing on disarmament questions.

10. It could stress the need that studies conducted under United Nations auspices should be related to specific practical objectives and be the subject of proper consultation. It could at the same time assess the role of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research.

11. Concerning information, and given the importance the Twelve attach to openness and transparency, the third Special Session could, *inter alia*, affirm the value of the international system for the standardized reporting of military expenditures, adopted under the auspices of the United Nations, as a universal framework whereby States with different social and economic systems can supply information about their military expenditures in a comparable and non-prejudicial form.

Mr Chairman, these are some preliminary observations of the Twelve on the subjects contained in items 13 and 14 of the provisional agenda for the third Special Session of the United Nations devoted to disarmament which the Twelve wish to be duly reflected in any concluding document of the Special Session. The Twelve are prepared to further elaborate on these and other points at an appropriate later stage. Thank you, Mr Chairman.

¹ Agenda item 5.

88/032. Statement at the Third Session of the Preparatory Committee for the Third Special Session on Disarmament: Comment on the Chairman's Non-Paper of 1 February 1988 on Suggested Elements for Consideration Under the Substantive Items of the SSOD III

Date of Issue: 2 February 1988

Place of Issue: New York

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: German Delegation to the United Nations

Status of Document: Statement in International Forum

Mr Barker: Mr Chairman, speaking on behalf of the twelve Member States of the European Community, I should like to make the following comments on the non-paper which you have distributed this morning.

Let me first say that the Twelve appreciate your efforts in compiling this non-paper. To us, the non-paper seems to be an appropriate basis for our discussions in the meetings to come. We are very much aware of what you, Mr Chairman, said this morning concerning the nature of the non-paper; that it is subject to refinement, additions, subtractions, modifications, and reformulations as delegations see fit.

We understand the non-paper to become the basis of the subject matters the working groups will concentrate on during SSOD III.

The Twelve recommend that there should be a total of three working groups covering agenda items 9 to 11, 12 as well as 13 and 14 respectively. We believe that the distribution of working groups should follow the geographical pattern which is used for the distribution of offices within the General Assembly.

We hope that the work of this Preparatory Committee on the basis of this non-paper will advance our substantive preparations to the point where we might be able to conclude that another meeting of this Preparatory Committee is no longer needed.

Specific comments on individual items will follow at a later stage of this phase of work. Let me, however, at this point make two more general remarks. Some of the drafting contains value judgements which we at this point should *not* want to expressly endorse. The efforts of the United Nations Disarmament Commission concerning items on the list should, to our opinion, also be reflected in the list of elements, since it is the hope of the Twelve that this year's deliberations at the UNDC lead to a positive outcome and a subsequent report to SSOD III. Thank you, Mr Chairman.

88/033. Statement at the Third Session of the Preparatory Committee for the Third Special Session on Disarmament: Comment on Part III of the Chairman's Non-Paper of 1 February 1988 on Suggested Elements for Consideration Under the Substantive Items of the SSOD III: Machinery

Date of Issue: 3 February 1988

Place of Issue: New York

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: German Delegation to the United Nations

Status of Document: Statement in International Forum

Mr Fisher: The Twelve appreciate your endeavours in compiling a list of elements reflecting the various positions expressed in the debate.

The position of the Twelve, as set forth in their statement of 28 January, is on the whole reflected in the list. It would be desirable to refer to recent positive developments in the field of disarmament which will also have a positive impact on the improvement of the role of the United Nations in this field. It would also be desirable to include the idea of a periodic review of the United Nations disarmament machinery with a view to its improvement. This would also apply to United Nations studies.

We suggest that consideration of the role of the Security Council with respect to disarmament issues should be removed from the list of elements.

The Twelve also believe that SSOD III should be very cautious and pragmatic about defining what specific action a multilateral disarmament organ outside the United Nations system should take or which form it should have.

88/034. Statement Concerning Haiti

Date of Issue: 3 February 1988

Place of Issue: Bonn/Brussels

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: The Twelve

Status of Document: Declaration

The Twelve have on many occasions expressed their support for the process of restoring democracy in Haiti. They followed with sympathy the courage and tenacity shown by the Haitian people in their endeavour to obtain democratic elections, and they strongly condemned the violence which led to the suspension of the elections of 29 November 1987.

Since the elections of 17 January 1988 are marred by the fact that their outcome is not representative, the Twelve will in their relations with Haiti's new Government take into consideration how far it succeeds in laying the foundations for a true democracy. The Twelve appeal to the Government and the

political forces of Haiti to take the path of national reconciliation, to continue their efforts to overcome the difficulties resulting from several decades of dictatorship in a spirit of cooperation and openness, and to create the conditions necessary for a peaceful political life based on true democracy and the respect for human rights.

The Twelve are conscious of the fact that the Haitian people must not be abandoned at a time when they are endeavouring to cope with the very difficult economic and social situation facing the country.

88/035. Statement Concerning the Situation of Human Rights in Honduras

Date of Issue: 3 February 1988
 Place of Issue: Bonn/Brussels
 Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
 Source of Document: The Twelve
 Status of Document: Press Release

In Tegucigalpa the Twelve have conveyed to the Government of Honduras their deep concern about the recent reappearance of violent actions by armed groups. A number of citizens have been threatened by such violence, including persons committed to the defence of human rights. The ambassadors of the Federal Republic of Germany, Spain and the United Kingdom have been instructed to express the dismay of the Twelve at the murder of Sergeant José Vilorio (on 4 January, 1988) and of Angel Pavon and Moises Landaverde (on 14 January, 1988). The Twelve support the efforts of President Azcona to strengthen democracy and the rule of law in Honduras. Honduras has accepted the jurisdiction of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. The Twelve appeal to the Honduran Government to do its utmost to strengthen the judicial system and the respect for human rights throughout the country and in all sectors of political life in compliance with the Agreement of Guatemala of 7 August, 1987.

88/036. Statement Concerning the Middle East

Date of Issue: 8 February 1988
 Place of Issue: Bonn
 Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
 Source of Document: The Twelve
 Status of Document: Declaration

The Foreign Ministers of the Twelve had a thorough discussion on the situation in the occupied territories and the Arab–Israeli conflict. They expressed their profound concern at the deteriorating conditions in the occupied territories.

The *status quo* in the occupied territories is not sustainable. The Foreign Ministers again stressed their conviction that the only solution is by means of a comprehensive, just and lasting political settlement of the Arab–Israeli conflict, as proposed by the Twelve in their 1980 Venice Declaration and their subsequent declarations.

The Twelve reaffirm their strong support for an international peace conference under the auspices of the United Nations, in accordance with their 23 February and 13 July 1987 declarations¹, as the suitable framework for the necessary negotiations between the parties directly concerned. They took note of the wide support given to such a conference and urge all parties to work for agreement on the convening of it as early as possible. The Twelve will continue to play their full part in these efforts. In that perspective they welcome all recent efforts to inject new impetus in the search towards a negotiated settlement to the conflict.

Without prejudging future political solutions, the Twelve remain determined to work towards improving the living conditions of the inhabitants of the occupied territories. The Community is pursuing its own development programme for these territories, has granted additional humanitarian aid to their Palestinian population and is determined to promote direct exports of agricultural and industrial products from the territories to the Community market.

The Twelve deplore the Israeli settlement policy in the occupied territories, and the diversion of resources to these illegal settlements. They acknowledge the valuable work by UNRWA and ICRC in favour of the Palestinian population in the territories and expect Israel to facilitate the task of those bodies.

The Twelve urge Israel fully to comply with UN Security Council Resolutions 605 (1987), 607 (1988) and 608 (1988) and with the Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949. They deeply deplore the repressive measures taken by Israel, which are in violation of international law and human rights. These measures must stop. They strongly appeal to all parties to exercise maximum restraint in order to reduce the dangerous level of tension in the occupied territories.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Docs. 87/114 and 87/260.

88/037. Statement Concerning the Seventh Synthesis Report on the Code of Conduct for Community Companies with Subsidiaries in South Africa

Date of Issue: 8 February 1988

Place of Issue: Bonn

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: The Twelve

Status of Document: Press Release

The Ministers for Foreign Affairs approved the Seventh Synthesis Report on the application of the Code of Conduct by Community companies with subsidiaries 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 1985 to 30 June 1986 and analyses responses of 265 companies with more than 105 000 black employees out of a total of 136 000.

This is the first report since the introduction of the revised version of the Code of Conduct adopted in November 1985¹. The revision has placed an increased emphasis in areas such as employee representation, education, training and black career development. New sections regarding the encouragement of black business and support for wider black community projects have been introduced.

Much of the period under review was marked by the imposition of a state of emergency in South Africa, which affected the freedom and effectiveness of trade unions, in particular due to the detention of many of their leaders and members. At the same time, the economic situation deteriorated with inflation reaching higher rates and unemployment rising, especially in the black community.

The Twelve noted with satisfaction:

- (i) that the level of companies' involvement with trade unions representing black workers continued to increase;
- (ii) that companies are applying common pay scales for all employees, irrespective of race;
- (iii) that over 95% of black workers are receiving wages at or above the level advocated by the Code; and
- (iv) that many companies have specific policies of training and promoting black employees and are providing them with a wide range of fringe benefits.

The Twelve reiterate that the Code of Conduct is an important instrument in their policy of seeking the total abolition of discriminatory practices and of the system of apartheid, and wish to encourage European companies to pursue their efforts to improve the social and economic conditions of black employees. At the same time, the Twelve urge the South African Government to take specific steps to allow full desegregation of places of work, to remove all discriminatory legislation and to release all those detained without charge, including trade unionists.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 85/291.

88/038. Seventh Synthesis Report on the Application of the Code of Conduct by Community Companies with Subsidiaries in South Africa (1 July 1985 to 30 June 1986)

Date of Issue: 8 February 1988

Place of Issue: Bonn

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Report to European Parliament and ECOSOC

I. *The response from companies*

This report covers the twelve-month period to the end of June 1986. It was marked by the imposition of a state of emergency in South Africa for much of the period, which affected the freedom and effectiveness of trade unions, in particular due to the detention of trade union leaders. At the same time, the economic situation deteriorated, with inflation reaching 18% and unemployment rising, particularly in the black community. On 1 December 1985 the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) was established: it has some 700 000 members and is thus the largest trade union federation ever created in South Africa.

This is the first report since the introduction of the revised version of the Code of Conduct, which was adopted by European Community Foreign Ministers in November 1985¹. The revision of the Code has placed an increased emphasis on a number of areas which are now of greater relevance and concern than in 1977, when the original Code was drawn up. In particular, the sections covering employee representation, education, training and black career development, have been restructured. In addition, two new sections have been introduced. They cover the encouragement of black business (Section 7) and support for wider community projects (Section 5.2).

As a consequence of the revision of the Code, this year's report is not fully comparable with those of past years. There are several reasons for this. Even where the same general provisions are covered in the revised Code, the specific details which are now requested have often been amended to reflect changes in emphasis. Secondly, a number of companies had already prepared reports in line with the original version of the Code, while most were able to follow the revised format. The result is that reports have been received under both the original and the revised formats. For these reasons the twelve months under review should be regarded as a transitional period. It is hoped that all companies will report under the revised format² for the next reporting period.

The numbers of companies who have reported in the twelve months under review are shown by country in the following table:

	<i>No of companies reporting</i>	<i>Total No of employees covered (black)</i>	
Belgium	5	140	(24)
Denmark	7	1 038	(270)
Germany	93	38 600	(19 200)
Greece	2	192	(39)
Spain	1	3 870	(310)
France	14	3 834	(1 974)
Ireland	—	—	(—)
Italy	1	[not stated]	(112)
Luxembourg	—	—	(—)
Netherlands	14	9 079	(4 527)
Portugal	2	705	(66)
United Kingdom	126	[not stated]	(79 100)
Total:	265	136 670	(105 622)

II. Analysis of company reports

Section 1: Relations within the undertaking

In recognition of developments in this area during the life of the original European Community Code, the revised version requests more information, in greater detail, than its predecessor. While it is clear that the level of companies' involvement with trade unions representing black workers continued to increase, it is not possible to make precise comparisons with previous reporting periods.

Well over 90% of the companies confirmed that all employees, irrespective of race, were free to choose the type of organization to represent them. Most reported having taken steps to inform their employees of their social and trade union rights (although fewer had explained or discussed the company's policy with regard to the Code). A large number of companies stated that they had adopted various measures (such as allowing officials to organize meetings and distribute information) to facilitate communication between their employees and trade unions.

Most of the companies reported formal involvement with trade unions representing their black employees and those which did not tended to employ only small numbers of blacks. Many had reached collective bargaining agreements at direct company-union level, had signed recognition agreements at this level, and provided support for union activity (e.g. by allowing union officials time off). The actual number of agreements was considerably greater because many companies, through their various subsidiaries, recognized or bargained with more than one union. Other companies were party to agreements reached in the Industrial Council system, where wages and working conditions are set in industry-wide bargaining between employer organizations and trade unions (a number of these companies had also signed agreements at company-union level). This reflects the general situation in South Africa, where Industrial Councils continue to be the major arena for negotiations on pay and conditions in industry. The majority of companies who had not yet reached collective bargaining or recognition agreements confirmed their willingness to do so. In many instances companies reported the existence of some form of consultative body, such as a works or liaison committee, although the growth of formal trade union activity means that the overall importance of such bodies is declining.

Section 2: Migrant labour

The majority of European companies do not use migrant labour, but the number reporting the use of migrant labour was little changed from the previous reporting period. The total number of migrant labourers employed remained at about 12 000, with around 75% of these employed by one company. The numbers employed by other companies were usually only a small proportion of their total workforce. Measures reported by companies to alleviate the particular hardships experienced by migrant workers included: providing opportunities to help migrant workers lead a family life, providing for regular renewal of migrant workers' contracts and assisting the settlement of migrant workers' families near their places of work. Other benefits for migrant workers included: improved accommodation, advisory services and additional paid leave. For example, the only company employing a significant number of migrant workers reported spending over 150 000 rand on refurbishing hostels for them. In addition, many companies stated that they regarded migrant workers as part of their permanent workforce, and so entitled to the same benefits as other employees.

Some companies reported that they were trying to phase out the use of migrant labour, while others indicated that they did not intend to dismiss their current, often long-standing, migrant workforce. A number of companies referred to the abolition of influx control (on 1 July 1986), which has removed a number of the restrictions previously placed on the mobility of black employees.

Section 3: Pay and wage structures

With the exception of two companies which did not comment on this question, all confirmed that common pay scales were applied for all employees, irrespective of race, i.e. that they applied the principle of equal pay for equal work. The majority of companies based their wages on qualitative job evaluations

which in many cases had been publicized. The number of employees of European Community companies receiving less than the minimum wage-level advocated by the Code (the Supplemented Living Level for a family of five in the district concerned as calculated by the University of South Africa) continued to decrease, to below 4% of all black workers employed by companies reporting under the Code.

Among the explanations given by companies for paying minimum wages below SLL5 were: the employees concerned were in a probationary period; they were paid according to the Supplemented Living Level for their personal circumstances, not for a family of five; SLL5 was too far in excess of the going rate for the industry or area to be economically viable. Over three-quarters of those paid below SLL5 were accounted for by such explanations.

In addition, a significant number of companies outlined specific plans to pay all employees above SLL5 in the near future. These included companies which had recently acquired subsidiaries with particularly low wage levels, and had already substantially increased minimum levels without yet attaining SLL5. Many companies also stated that they reviewed wage rates more than once per year, and indicated that particular efforts were made in respect of raising minimum rates.

Section 4: Training and promotion of black employees

Much of this section was subject to considerable restructuring in the revised Code, again preventing anything but the most general comparisons with previous reporting periods. Over two-thirds of the companies indicated specific policies of employing and promoting black Africans in and to supervisory and management jobs. The remainder of companies who stated a policy confirmed that employment and promotion were based on merit – with no discrimination according to race – the only exceptions being where such a policy was forbidden by law, i.e. in mining-jobs covered by 'scheduled persons' legislation. As in previous periods, a high level of training was provided: almost all companies provided some form of training, with the great majority either running internal training schemes or utilizing external training facilities. A number of companies pointed out, however, that due to their size or the nature of their business, provision of higher-level training was either impractical or inappropriate. Smaller companies tended to concentrate on on-the-job training. A further feature of reports was that a willingness to employ, promote and train black employees was often frustrated by a lack of suitable candidates, due in particular to the differences in the quality of school education in South Africa's segregated system.

Companies' responses concerning their dependence on white immigrants followed the trend established in previous years. Once again, the number of companies reporting a policy of no overseas recruitment increased, while the remainder of companies who stated a policy only recruited from abroad when the necessary skills were not available locally. In addition, some of the companies who did employ white immigrants stated that they intended to reduce the numbers concerned. There was a sharp decrease in the number of companies who did not clearly state their policy in this area.

Section 5: Fringe benefits

As in previous periods, companies reported provision of a wide range of fringe benefits. Well over 90% operated pension schemes and insurance and medical schemes, and in larger companies medical facilities were provided on the premises. A high percentage also assisted employees with the purchase of housing, e.g. by the provision of low-cost loans. Other fringe benefits provided (financial or other) included transport, education, subsidized meals, clothing provision, legal advice, bonuses, long-service and retirement awards, loan schemes, savings schemes and recreational and sports facilities.

In addition, many companies support local educational and other facilities designed to help the communities within which the companies operate. This covers not only financial contributions to, for example, local technical colleges, but also support for organizations such as the Urban Foundation and the South African Institute for Race Relations.

Section 6: Desegregation of places of work

During the period under review, the South African regulations relating to segregation were eased, resulting in a considerable decrease in the number of companies mentioning constraints of law and

government policy. However, municipal legislation was cited as a reason for continuing segregation in certain areas. Although the restructuring of this section has meant that the details requested from companies have been amended, it is clear that there have been significant increases in the numbers of companies reporting desegregation. Most companies who had not yet achieved total desegregation stated that everything possible had been done to eliminate segregation and/or confirmed that it was company policy to remove remaining segregation at the earliest possible opportunity.

Most companies outlined measures which had been taken to promote inter-staff contact between different racial groups. For the most part, these measures involved social events such as parties and dinners, while over a third of the companies also organized inter-racial sporting events. Among the relatively few companies who reported that such measures had not been taken, a number indicated that natural inter-racial mixing made them unnecessary.

Section 7: Encouragement of black business

In this newly introduced section, the revised Code encourages companies to support the establishment and growth of black-owned businesses. The kind of assistance provided by companies who outlined their policies fell into two broad categories. The first of these comprised activities such as sub-contracting to black businesses and giving such businesses priority treatment in customer–supplier relations. The other broad category of encouragement included the provision of advisory services to black businessmen, and the provision of loans, training, etc., to black companies as well as support for other relevant bodies. Within the latter category, companies reported support for the Small Business Development Corporation and the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce. Many were involved in other supportive or advisory services run either by the company or externally. A number of companies were willing to provide the encouragement envisaged in the Code, but to date had not been able to identify suitable black businesses with which to deal. The remainder of the companies who provided information stated that they did not discriminate in their dealings with other businesses and that contracts were placed according to purely commercial considerations.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 85/291.

² *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 86/175.

88/039. Question No H-848/87 by Mr Arbeloa Muru Concerning the Policy of the Twelve in the Field of Human Rights¹

Date of Issue: 9 February 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

On the initiative of the Danish Presidency, the Foreign Ministers decided in October to set up a group on human rights within the framework of European political cooperation, thus complying with Parliament's resolution of 12 March 1987².

What are the proposed guidelines for action by the Twelve and what proposals have been put forward on general aspects of the Twelve's policy in the field of human rights?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: Human rights issues have a very high priority in the policy of the Twelve. The general aspects of the human rights policy of the Twelve are outlined in the declaration on human rights published by the Foreign Ministers on 21 July 1986³. The Twelve are at pains constantly to improve their resources so that they can satisfy the needs of their human rights policy. Against this background, and on the basis of the policy outlined in the declaration I have just mentioned, the new working group has begun its work. The group has met twice so far and will meet again under the German Presidency. Its activities will be coordinated with aspects of the human rights policy in the work of such other groups as the CSCE group, regional groups and others.

The Twelve take this opportunity to emphasize that they greatly appreciate the European Parliament's interest in their human rights policy and that they will continue and strengthen the exchanges and cooperation in this area. The President-in-Office of the Council, Foreign Minister Genscher, stressed this in the statement he made before the European Parliament on 20 January 1988.

Mr Ramirez Heredia (S): [...] My conclusion, in the light of the deterioration of human relations in the countries of our Community, is that words are not enough and we must begin to act urgently. I am sure the Council of Ministers is in fact echoing Parliament's expression of the popular will of the citizens of Europe. But a forthright and effective policy in defence of human rights must be adopted. This committee may have met twice, Minister, but it would be better if it had met not just twice but three or even ten times if need be, and had adopted measures each of our Member States is obliged to fulfil, so that human rights can become more than a grand platform on which members of Parliament often hold forth, more than something which is always watered down when it comes to the moment of truth.

Mr De Vries (LDR): [...] May I [...] say how pleased I am that the Council, or rather the Twelve, have heeded Parliament's resolution calling for the creation of such a working party. May I ask whether the working party will also concern itself with the Twelve's human rights policy within the United Nations framework? As the Presidency will know, the UN intends to make economies that will also affect its human rights activities, and that is disquieting. Are the Twelve prepared to do all they can to ensure that the UN's human rights activities remain untouched by any economies that institution makes?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: The Council Presidency welcomes the fact that the European Parliament takes such a lively interest in human rights questions and repeatedly suggests what could be done, how it could be done, and what could be improved. But you will surely agree with me when I say that there are often differences of view on how the efficiency of action on human rights can best be ensured. Respect for human rights will always have to be demanded in public as well. But I am sure you agree with me that in many cases the more efficient way is through diplomacy, where action does not take the form of a broadly based public campaign.

As for the second supplementary question on the terms of reference of the working group, which was indeed set up at the suggestion of the European Parliament, the position of the Twelve in international human rights bodies will, of course, be coordinated in this group. This is true of the relevant bodies of both the United Nations and, naturally, the human rights conference. In addition, the working group will develop general guidelines on human rights policy, it will collect and evaluate information, and it will advise on the political steps the Twelve should take in the case of serious violations of human rights. In other words, an instrument has been created which will ensure, along with the meetings of the Foreign Ministers, the continuity of European political cooperation on human rights issues.

Mr Andrews (RDE): [...] let me refer to the earlier question on the invitation to the King of Morocco⁴. We are talking here about human rights. There is no greater human rights abuse than that being perpetrated against the Polisario people.

In the same breath, I want to refer to the allegations of a shoot-to-kill policy on the part of the Royal Ulster Constabulary in the six occupied counties of my country, where young people are shot down and their killers defended by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and by the Attorney-General of the United Kingdom in the House of Commons. A debate is to take place on this very shortly. I would ask you, Minister, to refer to *these* human rights abuses when you are talking, as you do so well and so capably, about the issue of human rights and the possibility of improving the situation within the European Parliament.

Mr De Vries (LDR): I am afraid that there must have been a misunderstanding in the translation of my question. My question referred to the cuts in the budget of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. I asked the Council Presidency if the working group would look into possibilities of neutralizing those cuts so as not to endanger the effectiveness of this essential procedure.

Sir James Scott-Hopkins (ED): Would the honourable lady give this House in writing, later, information on the terms of reference of this working group and explain what it is actually set up to do? Whilst she is doing that, perhaps she would also bear in mind that there is an abuse of human rights, as far as Northern Ireland is concerned, in the encouragement given by some people in the Republic of Ireland to the IRA terrorists.

Mr Killilea (RDE): [...] Taking up the last part of the supplementary question put by Mr De Vries when he spoke about ourselves here in Parliament and public representatives as a whole, all we seem to be doing now is saying things which appear to fall on deaf ears. Here in Strasbourg, the homeland of human rights, renowned internationally throughout the world, with the Court of Human Rights across the road from where we work, can the President-in-Office tell me why certain nations are allowed derogations from the procedures and provisions to which they have appended their signatures? I am asking this question in the context of Mr Andrews' remarks about the Stalker affair in Northern Ireland.

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: The question of extending an invitation to King Hussein was in fact removed from the agenda. Nevertheless, I can tell you that the report, which was evidently published, is completely unfounded.

An answer has indeed not yet been given to the question about contributions to the human rights conference. If my memory serves me right, while it is true that the contributions entail less expenditure for us, this has something to do with changes in exchange rates and is not due to an actual reduction.

The working group's terms of reference have already been explained. I can only repeat what I have just said in answer to the previous supplementary question. It will be for the European political cooperation working group on human rights to discuss and submit recommendations on general guidelines for the implementation of the Twelve's human rights policy to the Political Committee, to coordinate the positions of the Twelve on human rights issues which are likely to be discussed in all the relevant international bodies and to gather and evaluate information on violations of human rights in the various parts of the world and on measures taken by the Twelve in the case of such violations.

In answer to Mr Killilea's supplementary question, I should like to say this: we find it extremely regrettable that, although many countries have signed human rights conventions or the CSCE Final Act, they must constantly be reminded of their consequent obligation to put them into practice. But it is, of course, a crucial aspect of the European Community's human rights policy, which we pursue in all the available forums, to help ensure that human rights are respected, or respected again where they have been violated, by referring to actual agreements.

¹ Cf. *OJ Annex* No 2-361 of 9 February 1988, pp. 66–67.

² Resolution on human rights in the world for the year 1985–86 and Community policy on human rights, *OJ* No C 99 of 13 April 1987, pp. 157–167.

³ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 86/230.

⁴ Cf. *OJ Annex* No 2-361, p. 60 and pp. 161–162.

88/040. Question No H-854/87 by Mr Hindley Concerning Human Rights in Taiwan

Date of Issue: 9 February 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

What view do the Ministers take of the continuing violations of human rights in Taiwan? In particular, will the Minister raise the question of the continued use of the charge of 'sedition' based on statutes dating from the Civil War on the Chinese mainland; as exemplified by the indictment of Tsai Yu-Chuan and Hsu Tsao-Teh on 10 December 1987, which was the international Human Rights Day?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: As the Twelve have already stated on several occasions, they take a particular interest in violations of human rights and raise such problems in their relations with the governments concerned. The cases referred to by the Honourable Member have not been discussed by the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation. I must also point out that none of the twelve Member States has diplomatic relations with Taipei.

Mr Hindley (S): The fact that the Community does not have diplomatic relations with Taiwan should not prevent us from taking a stand on human rights in that country. Taiwan is a major trading partner

with the EEC – in fact its volume of trade is greater than that of the Republic of China itself. Taiwan is extremely keen to establish relations with the EEC, and Members of this House have tabled questions in that regard. I would not like the Minister to get off the hook so easily by saying that we do not have diplomatic relations.

Could I ask for an assurance that when Taiwan does make approaches about relations with the Community, the Council of Ministers will raise the very real question of human rights violations in that country?

Mr Duetoft (PPE): Will the Foreign Ministers not acknowledge that very substantial political reforms have taken place in Taiwan in recent years, including increased press freedom, more political parties and the lifting of the state of emergency which had been in force for many years? I should like to ask whether the Foreign Ministers have noted that, and whether they have commented with satisfaction on the fact that there has been a positive development in Taiwan.

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: If violations of human rights occur, they should and must, of course, be discussed, irrespective of whether we have relations with the country concerned as a Community and as individual States.

But the problem I referred to in my answer entails the following: the mere fact that neither the Community nor its Member States have diplomatic relations with Taiwan means that we do not receive any direct information on the human rights situation in that country. To assess the internal situation, we therefore have to rely on reports from such other organizations as Amnesty International. This will constantly be an obstacle to our own assessment of the internal situation in a country. The fact that we do not have diplomatic relations also means that we cannot take any steps to complain about possible violations of human rights or to press for an improvement in the human rights situation. We also assume that relations will not be established between the Community and Taiwan.

88/041. Question No H-860/87 by Mr Ulburghs Concerning the Franco–German Cooperation on Defence Policy¹

Date of Issue: 9 February 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

France and the Federal Republic of Germany, two EEC Member States, enjoy special relations. In view of Franco–German cooperation on security and defence policy, and specifically the plans for a Franco–German brigade, a European nuclear power with French nuclear weapons in the Federal Republic of Germany is not inconceivable. These initiatives are deeply disturbing and could place European political cooperation beyond the control of the remaining Member States.

Do the Foreign Ministers intend to introduce a procedure to include the other Member States in decisions of this kind, and what are the Ministers' views on this subject?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: Questions concerning military cooperation between Member States do not fall within the terms of reference of European political cooperation. But I will take this opportunity to reiterate what Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher said here during the European Parliament's debate on 20 January 1988. The historical partnership between France and Germany can only ever be seen as the focal point of European unification. It does not therefore exclude others but invites them to join.

Mr Ulburghs (NI): The Franco–German military cooperation as a crystallization point of European unity is, to my mind, a very weak argument and also very dangerous. Clearly, Franco–German friendship is an important matter and forms the backbone of European unity. So it has been in the past, where two arch-enemies now cooperate at economic, political level, etc. But a very delicate form of cooperation is here involved, a military form, and that, moreover, in the field of nuclear armament, and we feel that to be a very delicate and questionable issue. In this time of consultation between the nuclear powers about

reducing nuclear weapons between East and West, at a time when European union is taking great steps towards 1992, is not the fact that private or bilateral initiatives are now being undertaken a disruptive element for the unity of the European Community? What conclusions does the Council draw from this?

[...]

Mr De Vries (LDR): It is not indeed for the Twelve to pronounce on the bilateral defence policy of France and Germany. But it is for the Twelve to deliberate on the implementation of the European Act, particularly Article 30 (6). Article 30 (6) states that Member States shall coordinate their policies as regards the economic aspects of security. What initiatives will the German Presidency take to intensify cooperation by the Twelve in respect of the economic aspects of security?

Mr Hindley (S): I am grateful for the assurance from the President-in-Office that defence is not a matter for the Twelve. She will know clearly that for many reasons it seems that the United States is drawing back from its involvement in Europe as signified by the signing of the INF Treaty. May I, therefore, ask for an assurance from the President-in-Office that as long as the Germans have the Presidency, they will resist the obvious tendencies that are emerging within the EEC to draw the EEC closer into military defence alliance?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: I should like to make it clear that I am not always replying in my capacity as President of the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation. There is a certain overlap of responsibilities as you are, of course, all aware because it has already been pointed out previously.

Franco–German cooperation and the Franco–German friendship treaty, or the Elysée Treaty, were really the basis for the healing of the wounds in Western Europe after the Second World War, and so were a very important step that also contributed to a development culminating in the European Community and the continuing integration of the European Community.

I would point out that provision was made in the Elysée Treaty itself for defence cooperation between Germany and France and that the addition to the Elysée Treaty signed by Federal Chancellor Kohl and President Mitterand on 22 January is therefore a supplement to the mandate handed down 25 years ago. As for the concern about nuclear weapons, all I can say is that it is for the President of the French Republic alone to decide whether they should be used. This is also explicitly accepted by the German Government. It is also the way this question has been settled in the United States and in the United Kingdom. The Federal Republic of Germany has explicitly foregone the possession of nuclear weapons. We have signed agreements on this, and this position has not changed in any way in the intervening years. Nor, in my own view, will it in any way change in the future. At least the German people do not want it to change.

The mandate for the Franco–German Defence Council also calls for increasing coordination of the two countries' activities in all questions relating to Europe's security, including arms control and disarmament, and for the establishment of joint concepts on defence and security. This mandate clearly means that a goal is being pursued here, the goal of closer cooperation on security policy in Europe and of using Franco–German security cooperation to achieve this goal. The very fact that France does not form part of NATO's military structures makes this particularly important.

I would also point out that Germany and France have informed their ten partners in the European Community of all the details of the Defence Council and of the agreement that supplements the Elysée Treaty. Their partner countries in Western European Union and NATO have also been given details of the defence and security council and of the establishment of a mixed brigade.

In my capacity as President I must disagree with the view the Honourable Member bases on the assessment of the INF Treaty. The European member countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization have welcomed the signing of the INF Treaty and described it as a step towards greater security in Europe. With our American partners in the USA we are convinced that we must organize our security together and that the United States has an important role to play in this respect. All this is being discussed in the European political cooperation bodies in accordance with the Single European Act.

Mr De Vries, in answer to your question on the form the economic aspects of European political cooperation should take in the defence sphere, I should like to say this: practical action is already being

taken in that Community projects in which various countries do and can participate are — even now — constantly being discussed and actually implemented.

¹ Cf. *OJ Annex* No 2-361 of 9 February 1988, pp. 68–70.

88/042. Question No H-880/87 by Ms Jackson Concerning European Community Cooperation in the Gulf

Date of Issue: 9 February 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

What discussions have taken place among the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation about the possibility that warships from European Community countries at present operating in the Gulf should automatically offer protection to all merchant ships registered in any European Community Member State?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: The Twelve are observing the situation in the Gulf very closely and discuss it regularly. The Twelve are unreserved champions of the principle of the freedom of shipping. They have stated this position publicly on numerous occasions.

The coordination of activities to protect European merchant vessels does not take place within the framework of European political cooperation. It is a matter for the Member States concerned, and they take the decisions they consider necessary.

Ms Jackson (ED): Would the Minister tell us whether it is possible for the Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation to discuss the question of coverage of European Community merchant ships by ships of those navies from European Community countries which happen to be in the Gulf? To cite one instance, I believe a Danish ship was recently attacked. Is she happy that there will be British, Belgian and Dutch ships in the Gulf which, unless the Ministers get together to discuss this matter, would presumably not have gone to the aid of that ship or have been able to offer it any protection?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: I must point out once again that security questions are not discussed by the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation and that measures relating to the deployment of ships of individual Member States are the responsibility and are governed by the sovereign powers of those Member States and are not therefore a matter for European political cooperation.

Mr Boesmans (S): I hear and I read that more and more voices are calling for a common European initiative in the Persian Gulf. Have those who advocate joint action ever examined what concrete results have been achieved by the action in the Gulf of some of the European partners, who indeed for purely domestic political reasons have heeded the request — or was it perhaps the order — of the United States? It would be interesting for those who may in the future be confronted with this issue to know whether the action by the Belgian, Dutch and British fleets in the Gulf achieved any concrete results other than that more reprisals were taken against European citizens.

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: I must disagree with what you have said and would point out once again that the decision whether and which ships are sent to the Gulf by individual Member States of the European Community and the plans of action for these ships are solely the responsibility of those Member States. The Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation naturally discuss matters relating to their partner, the United States of America, in its relationship with the European Community and the individual Member States; but the Member States bear sole responsibility for the resulting decisions.

88/043. Question No H-894/87 by Sir Peter Vanneck Concerning the Protection of Community Citizens and Shipping in the Gulf

Date of Issue: 9 February 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

How can the Foreign Ministers of the Twelve discuss the situation in the Gulf in European political cooperation without drawing the necessary conclusions for coordination and burden-sharing among them, particularly given that Greece, Portugal and Spain import a significant proportion of their oil needs from the Gulf?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: The close consultations among the Twelve on the conflict between Iraq and Iran and the situation in the Gulf have enabled them to adopt a joint position both on a political solution to the conflict and on the freedom of shipping in the Gulf. This joint position is reflected in practical terms in, among other things, the joint support given to pertinent measures taken by the Security Council and the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

In the same spirit, the Twelve are also conducting a dialogue with the member countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council. The protection of European merchant vessels and oil imports by military means does not, however, fall within the terms of reference of European political cooperation.

Sir Peter Vanneck (ED): I thank the Minister and I am glad that these discussions take place. I felt that they must. In view of the apparent hopelessness of attempts to agree [on] peace between Iran and Iraq and in the knowledge that significant volumes of Gulf oil to fuel the economies of Member States are essential for many years to come, will the German Presidency place on its agenda burden-sharing as well as just discussions – burden-sharing either financially or in kind among Member States – as a priority, please? Particularly as Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal are better placed to offer support.

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: On several occasions the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation have used all the means at their disposal in an attempt to bring the war between Iran and Iraq to an end. Individual Member States have also been active, time and again, on both sides of the conflict. In addition, the two permanent Members of the UN Security Council among the Member States of the European Community are currently joined by two other Member States as non-permanent Members, and they are also playing an active part in the quest for a solution to the conflict between Iran and Iraq. All these efforts should have our full support, and we very much hope that this conflict can soon be brought to an end.

The second point you raised is not a matter for discussion by the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation. It was the decision of each Member State that has sent ships to the Gulf to do so, and this has no implications for cooperation and no financial implications of any kind.

Mr Wijsenbeek (LDR): Would you not agree, Minister, that the deployment of German naval vessels in the Mediterranean represents in itself an involvement in this conflict and that therefore the question of burden-sharing at Community level raised by Sir Peter Vanneck would be a good thing and should be discussed?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: It is for each country to decide whether or not to take action. I have now pointed this out several times. The German navy has sent some of its vessels to the Mediterranean to release other NATO partners from their duties there, so that they can undertake duties in the Gulf. Every country that decides to deploy its vessels is also aware of the financial consequences, and I believe this is a sound basis for the future.

38/044. Question No H-900/87 by Ms De March Concerning Discriminatory Practices of a Xenophobic Nature in the Payment of Family Allowances by the Levallois-Perret Town Council

Date of Issue: 9 February 1988
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

The mayor of the town of Levallois-Perret (Hauts-de-Seine, France) has recently decided to introduce a municipal allowance for families residing within the municipality's boundaries who have three or more children. Payment of this allowance is subject to the two parents being entered on the electoral roll and hence rules out families where at least one parent is of foreign origin.

Do the Foreign Ministers not feel that this procedure represents a discriminatory practice of a racist or xenophobic nature?

What action do they intend to take on this issue?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: The problem referred to in the question does not fall within the terms of reference of the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation.

Mr Chambeiron (COM): It would be an exaggeration to say that I was satisfied with the answer given by the President-in-Office of the Council.

I should like just to ask her a question that follows naturally from the first: since the family benefit in question was refused on the grounds that the parents were not on the electoral roll, does she foresee that efforts will be made during the German Presidency, which expires at the end of June, to ensure that the Council finds a solution to a problem that is of great concern to the European Parliament, which recently passed a resolution calling for the right to vote – at least in local elections – to be extended not only to migrant workers from within the Community but also to those originating from non-Community countries?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: Whether foreigners are granted the right to vote in local elections is not a matter for the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation. It cannot yet be said if initiatives will be taken in this respect in the foreseeable future. It is not, at least, one of the German Presidency's priorities at the moment.

88/045. Question No H-863/87 by Mr Robles Piquer Concerning the Hunger Strike by Political Prisoners in Cuba

Date of Issue: 10 February 1988
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

In the light of the joint resolution adopted by the European Parliament on 29 October 1987¹ on political prisoners in Cuba, can the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation confirm that prisoners in Cuban prisons have declared a hunger strike, as stated by the poet Armando Valladaros, President of the Human Rights Committee in Cuba?

If so, is it due to the Cuban Government's refusal to allow the families of political prisoners to leave the country, in accordance with a freedom which is one of the most fundamental of all human rights?

Answer:

The Twelve seek universal observance of human rights. They are therefore following the human rights situation also in countries of Latin America and the Caribbean with attention. The information which

they currently have does not, however, enable the Presidency to answer the concrete questions raised by the Honourable Member in the affirmative. The Twelve will continue to follow the human rights situation in Cuba.

¹ OJ No C 318 of 30 November 1987, pp. 113–114.

88/046. Question No H-902/87 by Mr Pérez Royo Concerning the Arrest and Conditions of Detention in Spain of Jean-Philippe Casabonne, a French National

Date of Issue: 10 February 1988
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

On 6 July 1987 Jean-Philippe Casabonne, a 22 year-old French student and school monitor in Pau, was arrested in Torremolinos by the Spanish authorities. He is accused of 'membership of an armed band' and is subject to the exceptional conditions provided for in the so-called 'anti-terrorist' law. He has been heard only once since then by the examining magistrate and it has not been possible to produce a single reliable piece of evidence against him.

Are the Foreign Ministers aware of this case? Do they know that Jean-Philippe Casabonne was manhandled while under 'interrogation', that those charged along with him have completely exonerated him, and that – still worse – no legal investigation is in progress? What steps do they intend to take, in particular, to intervene with the French and Spanish Governments?

Answer:

The question raised by the Honourable Member does not fall within the sphere of European political cooperation.

88/047. Question No H-907/87 by Ms Lizin Concerning the Adoption of Romanian Children

Date of Issue: 10 February 1988
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

The Press in Belgium, France and a number of other countries have reported on recent difficulties in respect of adoption procedures in Romania. Have the Foreign Ministers considered this matter within the context of its relations with this country?

Answer:

The question raised by the Honourable Member has not been discussed by the Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation. However, certain Member States for whom the matter is a problem have referred to it in their bilateral contacts with the Romanian authorities.

88/048. Question No H-727/87 by Mr Ephremidis Concerning the Arrest of Mr Kutlu and Mr Sargin in Turkey

Date of Issue: 10 February 1988
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

At its sitting of 19 November 1987, the European Parliament adopted a resolution (B 2-1326/87) calling for the release of Mr Haydar Kutlu and Mr Nihat Sargin, leaders of the United Turkish Communist Party, who have been detained by the Turkish authorities, and for freedom of political activity in Turkey¹. This resolution was forwarded to the relevant Community institutions.

What representations have the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation made to the Turkish Government on this matter?

Answer:

The Turkish authorities are well aware of the importance which the Twelve attach to the full respect for human rights and the observance of international conventions in this field freely entered into. Concerning the specific cases raised in the question, the Honourable Member no doubt knows that the previous as well as the current Presidency and other Member States have been following developments in these cases closely and will do so also in the future.

¹ Resolution on the arbitrary arrests in Turkey on 16 November 1987, OJ No C 345 of 21 December 1987, p. 133.

88/049. Statement Concerning Afghanistan

Date of Issue: 25 February 1988
 Place of Issue: Bonn
 Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
 Source of Document: The Twelve
 Status of Document: Declaration

The Twelve continue to follow closely political and diplomatic developments in the Afghan question, which remains a major source of international tension.

They note with interest General Secretary Gorbachev's statement of 8 February 1988 announcing the Soviet Union's readiness to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan starting on 15 May, according to a fixed timetable not exceeding ten months.

The Twelve note that the Soviet Union makes the withdrawal of its troops dependent on the formal conclusion of an agreement in Geneva.

The Twelve refer in this connection to the declaration by the European Council of 5 December 1987 on Afghanistan¹ and reiterate their wish to see the total and irrevocable withdrawal of Soviet troops carried out in the course of 1988.

On the eve of a new round of proximity talks in Geneva, they renew their support for the efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and his personal representative to pave the way for a settlement. They pay tribute to the positive and responsible attitude adopted by Pakistan for many years now.

The Twelve stress that in order to establish a lasting peace and [to] bring an end to the ordeal of the Afghan people, it is necessary to re-establish the independence and non-alignment of Afghanistan and enable the refugees to return to their country in safety and dignity.

They consider that it is of the utmost importance that all parties concerned, including the Resistance, are involved in the peace process without delay. The establishment by the Afghans themselves of a transitional government, whose independence could not be called into question, is clearly the key to this.

The Twelve remain willing, for their part, to contribute constructively to such a settlement and, when the time comes, to participate in international aid for Afghanistan.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 87/511.

88/050. Declaration Concerning South Africa

Date of Issue: 25 February 1988

Place of Issue: Bonn

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: The Twelve

Status of Document: Declaration

The Twelve vigorously condemn the new manifestation of political suppression represented by the prohibition by the South African Government of South African organizations peacefully opposed to apartheid from engaging in political activities. This prohibition will considerably exacerbate the tensions within South Africa, leading to further confrontation and domestic polarization.

The Twelve urge the South African Government most strongly to repeal the imposed measures without delay. They are convinced that a constructive national dialogue with all political groups, across the lines of colour, politics and religion, is essential in order to ensure a peaceful future for the country. They reiterate their commitment to political action aimed at promoting the achievement of this objective.

88/051. Statement at the Forty-Second Session of the United Nations General Assembly: Report of the Committee on Relations with the Host Country¹

Date of Issue: 29 February 1988

Place of Issue: New York

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: German Delegation to the United Nations

Status of Document: Statement in International Forum

Count York: Mr President, I have the honour to speak on behalf of the twelve Member States of the European Community in this debate.

The Twelve have already expressed their view on this matter during the debate of item 136 in the Sixth Committee².

We regret that, despite a series of consultations between the United Nations and the host country, no satisfactory solution to the problem has so far been found.

We share the concern expressed in the Secretary-General's reports of 10 February 1988 (A/42/915) and 25 February 1988 (A/42/915 Add. 1) in which he informs the General Assembly of the most recent developments in accordance with the terms of Resolution 42/210 [B] of 17 December 1987.

With regard to the matter under discussion, the Twelve reiterate their position: they fully share the views already expressed by both the Secretary-General of the United Nations and US Secretary of State George Shultz to the effect that the United States are under an obligation to permit PLO observer-mission personnel to enter and remain in the United States to carry out their official functions at the United Nations Headquarters. They therefore supported Resolution 210 [B] adopted by the 42nd General Assembly.

The Headquarters Agreement is binding under international law. The Twelve urge the host country to abide by its international legal obligation, and not to implement its legislation in a way that would prevent the discharge of the official functions of the PLO Observer Mission to the United Nations; at the very least, the host country should settle this matter through the procedure set out in Section 21 of the Headquarters Agreement and therefore agree to the request of the Secretary-General to enter formally into the dispute-settlement procedure and consent to the establishment of an arbitral tribunal.

We expect that the present arrangements for the PLO Observer Mission will not be curtailed or otherwise affected pending a decision by the arbitral tribunal.

The Twelve express their hope that this matter can still be resolved in a way which corresponds to the Headquarters Agreement and which would allow the PLO Observer Mission to establish and maintain premises and adequate functional facilities, and would enable the personnel of the Mission to enter and remain in the United States to carry out their official functions.

¹ Agenda item 136.

² Cf. *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 87/495.

88/052. Joint Political Declaration on Political Dialogue and Economic Cooperation Between the European Community and its Member States, and the Countries of Central America and of the Contadora Group, Issued at the Ministerial Conference in Hamburg

Date of Issue: 1 March 1988

Place of Issue: Hamburg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Foreign Ministers (with other actors)

Status of Document: Joint Declaration

1. The fourth conference between the European Community and its Member States and the countries of Central America and of the Contadora Group, on the political dialogue inaugurated in San José, Costa Rica, on 28–29 September 1984 and continued in Luxembourg on 11–12 November 1985 and in Guatemala City on 9–10 February 1987, and on economic cooperation between the European Community and the countries of the Central American isthmus, was held in Hamburg, on 29 February – 1 March 1988.

2. Those taking part in the conference were:

For the European Community

H.E. Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher (Federal Republic of Germany),

Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs

H.E. Mr Karolos Papoulias (Greece),

Minister for Foreign Affairs

H.E. Mr Francisco Fernandez Ordóñez (Spain),

Minister for Foreign Affairs

H.E. Mr Jean-Bernard Raimond (France),

Minister for Foreign Affairs

H.E. Mr Brian Lenihan, T.D. (Ireland),

Tánaiste and Minister for Foreign Affairs

H.E. Mr Giulio Andreotti (Italy),

Minister for Foreign Affairs

Mr Robert Goebbels (Luxembourg),

State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Foreign Trade and Cooperation

H.E. Mr Hans van den Broek (Netherlands),

Minister for Foreign Affairs

Mr José Manuel Durao Barroso (Portugal),

Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and for Cooperation

Mr Tim Eggar, MP (United Kingdom),

Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs

H.E. Mr Leo Tindemans (Belgium),
Minister for External Relations
H.E. Mr Uffe Ellemann-Jensen (Denmark),
Minister for Foreign Affairs
Mr Claude Cheysson (Commission of the European Communities),
Member of the Commission

For Central America

H.E. Mr Rodrigo Madrigal Nieto (Costa Rica),
Minister for Foreign Affairs
H.E. Dr Ricardo Acevedo Peralta (El Salvador),
Minister for Foreign Affairs
H.E. Mr Alfonso Cabrera Hidalgo (Guatemala),
Minister for Foreign Affairs
H.E. Mr Carlos Lopez Contreras (Honduras),
Minister for Foreign Affairs
H.E. Mr Miguel D'Escoto Brockman (Nicaragua),
Minister for Foreign Affairs

For the Contadora countries

H.E. Mr Julio Londoño Paredes (Colombia),
Minister for Foreign Affairs
H.E. Mr Bernardo Supelveda Amor (Mexico),
Minister for Foreign Affairs
H.E. Mr José M. Cabrera (Panama),
Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs
H.E. Dr Germán Nava Carrillo (Venezuela),
Minister for Foreign Affairs

For the Permanent Secretariat of the General Treaty on General American Economic Integration – SCAIE

Mr Marco Antonio Villamar Contreras, Secretary-General.

3. The participants had an extensive exchange of views on the political and economic issues which have been their common concern since their first meeting in San José four years ago. They considered the Hamburg Conference as an important and promising step in the dialogue and cooperation between the two regions. The meeting took place against a background of considerable efforts towards achieving peace and stability in the area and towards strengthening respect for international law, democratic principles, human rights, social justice and economic development in Central America. The participants renewed their commitment to fostering these goals.

4. The Ministers of the European Community paid tribute to the five Central American Presidents, whose high sense of responsibility brought about the signing of the 'Procedure for the Establishment of Firm and Lasting Peace in Central America' on 7 August 1987, based on the plan put forward by the President of Costa Rica and on the proposals from the other countries of Central America and inspired by the determination to achieve the objectives and to develop the principles laid down in the United Nations Charter, the Charter of the Organization of American States, the Document of Objectives, the Caraballeda Message for Peace, Security and Democracy in Central America, the Guatemala Declaration and Punta del Este Communiqué, the Panama Message, the Esquipulas Declaration and the Draft Act of 6 June 1986 for Peace and Cooperation in Central America.

5. The Ministers of Central America and of the European Community expressed their gratitude to the Contadora and Support Groups for their continued support for and encouragement of the peace

process, for their valuable contribution to the efforts of the Central American Presidents, which culminated in the Guatemala Agreement and their readiness to cooperate in its implementation. They likewise encouraged them to persist in their willingness to cooperate in the search for a peaceful solution.

6. The Ministers of the Contadora Group pointed out that peace and stability in Central America are matters of priority to the extent that not only free determination, the consolidation of democracy and the development of the Central American peoples are at stake, but also the preservation of the interests of the whole region. They also expressed their willingness to make a continuing contribution to the efforts to achieve peace in Central America.

7. The Ministers of Central America and of the European Community welcomed the decision taken by the Group of Eight in November 1987 to support the launching of an international emergency programme of cooperation for the Central American countries commensurate with the wish of the Central American Governments that the international community afford Central America a treatment guaranteeing peaceful development.

8. The Ministers of Central America and of the Contadora Group recalled with satisfaction that it was at the Stuttgart European Council meeting in June 1983, in the Federal Republic of Germany, that the European Community first demonstrated its full support for the peace initiatives for Central America by underlining the importance of greater cooperation for the development of Central America.

9. The Ministers examined thoroughly developments in and prospects for Central America after the endorsement of the Guatemala process, which they saw as a unique example of political will and determination in the cause of peace, security, democracy, cooperation and socio-economic development.

10. The Ministers of the Member States of the Community acknowledged the efforts of the International Verification and Monitoring Committee in helping to implement the Esquipulas-II Agreement, in particular the contribution of the Secretaries-General of the United Nations and of the Organization of American States.

11. The Ministers exchanged views on the progress of the dialogue process for national reconciliation and democratization and reaffirmed their commitment to the principle of the full participation of the peoples in genuinely democratic processes.

They also stressed the importance of an authentic, pluralistic, democratic process involving the promotion of social justice, respect for human rights, sovereignty, the territorial integrity of States, and the right of all nations freely and without external interference of any kind to determine their economic, political and social model.

12. They expressed satisfaction at the various measures adopted for this purpose in line with the Guatemala process and emphasized the importance of the mechanisms introduced to permit, in accordance with the law, dialogue with all unarmed internal political opposition groups and with those groups which had accepted amnesty. They also took note with satisfaction of the efforts made to introduce cease-fires, as provided for in the Guatemala Agreement. The participants appealed to all interested parties to continue these efforts to achieve an effective cessation of hostilities.

The Ministers also noted the importance of an amnesty decree in the national reconciliation process.

13. They pointed out that the commitment on the part of regional or extra-regional governments providing aid to non-regular forces or insurrectional movements to discontinue such aid was vital to the achievement of stable and lasting peace in the region.

The Ministers also stressed the importance of the commitment to prevent their territory being used and neither to provide nor to permit logistical military support for persons, organizations or groups whose aim is to destabilize the Governments of the Central American countries.

14. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the European Community and of the Contadora Group likewise voiced their deep satisfaction that the Central American Presidents had, at their summit meeting in Alajuela, Costa Rica, on 15 and 16 January 1988, ratified their desire for peace, along with the importance of the Esquipulas-II Agreement, the conception and spirit of which were recognized as being of value for the achievement of democracy and peace in the region.

In this connection, they noted the acknowledgement by the Presidents that the Esquipulas-II undertakings had not been honoured in full and the reaffirmation of their determination to fulfil unilateral, unconditional obligations on governments to implement them completely and unflinchingly.

15. They expressed their conviction that a framework of national and international institutions set up to verify that the commitments entered into were fulfilled was a key element of the Guatemala Agreement.

The Ministers underlined the decision taken by the Presidents at San José on 16 January that the main task of verifying, monitoring and following up would be undertaken by the Executive Committee, made up of the Ministers for External Relations of the Central American States. In the process, the Committee would administer cooperation between regional and extra-regional States or bodies of recognized impartiality and technical capability which had indicated a wish to collaborate in the Central American peace process.

The Ministers also pointed to the President's statement that the implementation of the [agreements of the] Esquipulas-II document involved commitments [whose] honouring by governments was subject to essential and specific verification – in particular the cessation of aid to non-regular groups, the non-use of the territory for the purposes of supporting such groups and genuinely free electoral processes.

The Ministers voiced their conviction that verification that the commitments entered into were being fulfilled and maintained was an important component of the Esquipulas-II Agreement.

16. The Ministers of the European Community reiterated their desire to cooperate to the best of their ability in the performance of the task of verification, monitoring and following up entrusted to the Executive Committee, if so requested by all Central American States.

17. They welcomed the resolution of the Central American Presidents adopted on 16 January to the effect that the implementation of Esquipulas II entailed following up obligations [relating to] an already established strategy, namely arms control and security and disarmament agreements.

In this connection they expressed their satisfaction at the continuation of the outstanding negotiations on security matters, resumed in Caracas, Venezuela, on 10 December 1987, with the Contadora Group taking part in its role as mediator.

18. The Ministers reiterated their conviction that it is essential for all countries with links to and interests in the region to contribute to the achievement of peace, stability and democracy in Central America and to fully respect the implementation of the undertakings entered into by the Central American Governments in the Guatemala process.

19. The participants particularly welcomed the signing by the Central American Presidents of the constituent treaty of the Central American Parliament and other political authorities, and they expressed the hope that an early approval or ratification of this treaty by the Central American legislative bodies would enable direct elections to be organized as soon as possible. They were confident that these elections would provide new impetus to the process of peace, democracy and regional integration in Central America.

20. The Ministers of the European Community and of the Contadora Group noted with satisfaction the decision of the Central American countries to adopt a system for the election of representatives to the Central American Parliament on the basis of common rules which encouraged true ideological pluralism, guaranteeing the broadest participation by all political parties, and helping to strengthen the democratic process in the States concerned. They noted with satisfaction that the Central American Governments had undertaken to invite third States and international organizations to send observers to the electoral process.

21. The European Community and the Contadora Group confirmed their intention of lending their full support to the establishment and functioning of the Central American Parliament. In this context, the European participants expressed their wish to promote, among other actions, cooperation between the European Parliament and the Central American Parliament as soon as the constituent treaty entered into force. The European Ministers stated that they were willing to respond positively to the invitation to send observers to the electoral process, taking into account their established national practices.

22. The Ministers of the European Community and of the Contadora Group welcomed the electoral agreements adopted by the Central American Presidents.

They also applauded the determination of the Central American Governments to develop and guarantee in their respective countries every human right and fundamental freedom, as defined in international agreements such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the American Declaration of Human Rights and Duties, and the American Convention on Human Rights.

23. Peace, democracy and development are inseparable. In this respect, the Ministers and the Commission of the European Community and the Ministers of the Contadora Group welcomed the determination of the Central American Governments to adopt agreements which would accelerate development and create more egalitarian societies which were free of poverty.

The Ministers noted with satisfaction the presentation by the Central American countries of [an] 'immediate plan of action' to obtain the support of the international community for the economic reactivation and development of their region. The Community and its Member States stated that they were prepared, in order to support the peace process, to cooperate, with their particular contribution, in the implementation of this plan. The latter will be examined and coordinated with the plan of the United Nations and the other donor countries. The Community states as from now that it is willing to grant special emergency aid in food, to strengthen the programme for the voluntary repatriation of refugees and the relocation of displaced persons, and to make a specific contribution to the material and technical organization of the elections to the Central American Parliament.

24. They welcomed the measures adopted by the Central American Governments with the aim of facilitating the repatriation of refugees, on a voluntary and individual basis, and the programmes for assisting displaced persons. The European Ministers agreed on the urgent need to step up assistance for Central American programmes in this field.

25. The participants in the Hamburg Conference expressed satisfaction at the results of their dialogue and they decided to meet next year in Central America, in accordance with the established practice.

26. The participants in the Hamburg Conference expressed their profound gratitude to the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, at whose invitation the conference was held. They also wholeheartedly thanked the Senate and the citizens of Hamburg for their excellent reception and warm hospitality, as well as for the perfect organization of the conference, which had enabled it to proceed in a climate of constructive cooperation.

88/053. Statement Concerning Panama

Date of Issue: 2 March 1988
 Place of Issue: Bonn/Brussels
 Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
 Source of Document: The Twelve
 Status of Document: Declaration

The Twelve have followed with deep concern recent developments in Panama. It is their view that the difficult political and economic problems of the region can only be solved if the principles of democracy, the rule of law and independence prevail. The Twelve appeal to the present rulers of Panama to open the way for internal peace and democracy.

88/054. Question No H-979/87 by Mr Ford Concerning the Expulsion of Iranian Refugees to Gabon

Date of Issue: 8 March 1988
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

The Ministers are doubtless aware of the expulsion of a group of Iranians recognized as refugees in France, Sweden and the United Kingdom (one of whom held valid British travel documents) from

France to Gabon. This group of Iranians qualified for refugee status under the 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol and, as such, their expulsion without access to legal remedies has astounded refugee agencies. Can the Ministers comment upon the current situation of these refugees, particularly with reference to their prospects in the near future?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: The question which the Honourable Member raises falls within the competence of an individual Member State and, as such, was not discussed by the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation. As he no doubt knows, all the refugees alluded to in his question have since returned to Europe. The UN High Commissioner for Refugees was largely instrumental in getting them back. Their present legal position is consistent with international law.

Mr Ford (S): This cavalier approach by the French Government to the convention and protocol on refugees seems to indicate a loss of Europe's long-held and cherished reputation for helping to protect those political exiles under threat from totalitarian regimes. As vice-chairman of the Federation of Exiles in Europe, I find this action extremely reprehensible.

Equally, I have to say that it is clear that other member governments are taking the law into their own hands. We had a debate at the last part-session about the Stalker report and the shoot-to-kill policy and we have had the apparent summary execution of IRA terrorists in Gibraltar. Have the Member States given notice that these matters are being pursued and have they been discussed in the Council?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: In my first reply I said that this was a matter of national competence and thus had not been discussed by the Ministers meeting in European political cooperation. In the remaining part of my answer I gave such information as is available to the Council Secretariat and the Presidency.

88/055. Question No H-999/87 by Mr Tzounis Concerning the Discrimination Against Greeks in Turkey

Date of Issue: 8 March 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Are the Foreign Ministers aware that Turkey has failed to make retroactive its repeal of secret government decision No 6/3801 which imposed serious restrictions on Greeks resident in Turkey in respect of property ownership, which means in effect that for the considerable number of persons penalized by the original decision, the repeal will amount to nothing more than a sham? What steps do the Ministers intend to take to ensure that the Turkish authorities make full amends for the major financial hardship they have caused?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: The Twelve have taken note of the Turkish Government's repeal of Decree 6/3801. The European partners are aware of Greece's concern over this matter.

Mr Tzounis (PPE): I would like to ask whether the Foreign Ministers are aware that in the statement issued after the last meeting between the Prime Ministers of Greece and Turkey, the restitution of the properties of Greek subjects is accompanied by reservations which revoke its substance. In view of the link between the restitution of properties and the normalization of affiliative relations between Turkey and the EEC, do the Foreign Ministers intend – as they should – to monitor the situation and keep Parliament informed?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: The question you raise was not discussed officially in European political cooperation because the Community is convinced that what Prime Ministers Papandreou and Özal are doing suggests that both States are trying to work together constructively to get rid of these problems.

88/056. Question No H-959/87 by Mr McMahon Concerning the Latin America Peace Plan and the Continued American Aid for the Contra Rebels

Date of Issue: 8 March 1988
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Did the Council of Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation recently discuss the latest developments in Central America, especially in El Salvador and Nicaragua, and what steps has the Council taken to encourage the Arias Peace Plan and the withdrawal of foreign troops in Nicaragua?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: The Hamburg ministerial conference of 29 February and 1 March 1988 with the States of Central America and the Contadora Group gave the Twelve an opportunity to hold a free and wide-ranging discussion on the latest developments in Central America and in particular on the steps taken so far to implement the peace accord.

Those attending the Hamburg Conference welcomed the efforts made towards a cease-fire under the Guatemala Agreement. They called on all the parties involved to continue these efforts with the aim of reaching a true cessation of hostilities. The Ministers discussed the progress of dialogue on national reconciliation and democratization, and again voiced their support for the principle of full participation by the people in a truly democratic process. The Ministers reiterated their conviction that it is vitally important that all countries with ties and interests in the region should help to attain peace, stability and democracy in Central America and should unreservedly respect the observance of the obligations undertaken by the Central American Governments in the Guatemala accord. In Hamburg the Ministers of the European Community repeated their desire to help as far as they could in the work of checking, control and supervision entrusted to the Executive Committee, if the Central American States asked them to.

In the certainty that the creation and election of a Central American parliament would lend new impulses to the process of peace, democracy and regional integration in Central America, the Community reiterated its intention of giving every support to the creation and the work of the Central American parliament. The Community also declared itself ready to step up its level of aid to refugees and deportees and to programmes for their voluntary return.

Mr McMahon (S): While I thank the President-in-Office for a very full reply, I should like to ask her whether the Council decided at the Hamburg Conference last weekend to make representations to the United States with a view to discussing a possible timetable for the withdrawal of American mercenaries from Nicaragua? If not, will it do so at the forthcoming Hanover Conference? This is a source of many of the problems in that country.

What representations will the Council of Ministers make to President Reagan to withdraw his mercenaries from Nicaragua?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: According to paragraph 13 of the joint statement issued after the Hamburg talks, the Ministers emphasized that it was essential to the creation of a viable and lasting peace in the region that governments in and outside the region who had been supplying aid to irregular armed forces or revolutionary movements should first cease doing so.

The Ministers also emphasized the importance of the undertaking by countries not to allow or to enable their own sovereign territory to be used and to give neither military nor logistical support to individuals, organizations or groups seeking to destabilize the Governments of the Central American countries.

This in essence is the attitude which will form the basis of future Community efforts to support the peace process in Central America.

Mr De Courcy Ling (ED): Would the President-in-Office agree that the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua is a menace to the security of the United States, our ally, and that the European Community should sympathize with United States preoccupations?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: Of course we are concerned to go on discussing local regional crises with the United States in future. But the Community, at its Hamburg Conference, has just made very clear, with the approval of the States of Central America, that it gives its full support to the Central American peace process as currently pursued on the basis of the peace plan of Costa Rican Prime Minister Arias, and that both political dialogue with all States in the region and the granting of material aid will substantially assist this peace process.

As I have already said, the Community is prepared to give increased aid to refugees and to give more food aid, and it has also declared its willingness to assist in projects under an emergency plan for the Central American States. These are concrete steps towards the economic improvement of Central America which will have positive repercussions on the citizens of those States but also on the peace process in which all States of Central America must take part and, I believe, want to take part.

Mr Arbeloa Muru (S): I don't think I have heard the President-in-Office say anything about the attitude recently shown by the Congress of the United States. What does the Council of Ministers think about Congress' courageous rejection, in line with the Esquipulas Agreement, of the aid proposed by the Reagan Administration for the support of the armed opposition in Nicaragua?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: Once again, paragraph 13, subparagraph 2, of the joint statement by the Twelve deals with this in detail, as I have already said. The Community thinks it most important that the peace process in Central America should lead to a resolution of the conflicts from within the region itself, and that it is not therefore up to States from outside the region to intervene here.

Mr Boesmans (S): We have already – as recently as last month – had occasion to draw the Council's attention to the fact that El Salvador is not observing Article 8 on the return of refugees to the areas from which they had fled under the threat of war, and that Community aid is being obstructed by the army in those areas in particular and withheld from those entitled to it. Has this problem already been discussed in Hamburg with officials from the Salvadoran Government, or is it the intention to make this a point of discussion in the period ahead?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: The European Community has declared itself willing to intensify action on a programme for the voluntary repatriation of refugees and their reintegration. Responsibility for this programme lies with the Commission, which will of course also monitor compliance with the terms of the programme.

88/057. Question No H-1033/87 by Mr Papoutsis Concerning the Israeli Acts of Violence in the Occupied Territories

Date of Issue: 8 March 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

According to a report in the Greek newspaper *Ta Nea* of 15 February 1988, based on an Associated Press dispatch, the Israeli weekly *Kol Ha'ir* has disclosed that Israeli soldiers buried four Palestinians alive in ditches near the village of Kefar Saler, and that the Palestinians were later dug up by inhabitants of the village.

This revolting act is just one incident in the whole framework of murders, torture and arrests unleashed against the civilian population of the occupied territories by the Israeli Government over the last three months.

What steps will the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation take to put pressure on the Government of Israel with a view to putting a stop to the persecution of the Palestinian population, which is developing into real genocide, and organizing an international conference on the Middle East?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: At their meeting in Bonn on 8 February 1988 the Foreign Ministers of the Twelve discussed the situation in the occupied territories and the Arab–Israeli conflict in detail. They again voiced their deep concern at the deteriorating conditions in the occupied territories.

They deeply deplored the repressive measures taken by Israel, which are an infringement of international law and human rights. They repeated their conviction that the only solution lay in a comprehensive, just and lasting political settlement of the Arab–Israeli conflict along the lines set out in their Venice Declaration of 1980 and subsequent declarations.

The Twelve repeated their continued support for an international conference as the appropriate forum for the requisite talks between the parties directly concerned. They noted that there was broad support for the idea of a conference of this kind and urged all parties to work to get it convened as soon as possible. The Twelve will continue to play their part in these endeavours. They thus welcome all recent efforts towards revitalizing the search for a negotiated settlement to the conflict.

Mr Papoutsis (S): I thank the Minister very much for her analytic answer. I truly feel particularly pleased about the recent decision of the twelve Ministers. However, I would like to ask about exactly what my original question dealt with.

Is it envisaged to act in any specific ways to exert pressure upon the Israeli Government to put a stop to the cruel infringement of human rights which all Europe's citizens see and hear about day after day in their television and radio broadcasts?

I refer to a decision concerning specific action to exert pressure on the Israeli Government to stop this suppression of human rights.

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: It goes without saying that the Twelve are observing the situation in the occupied territories very carefully. They have done so in the past and will do so in future. They will continue to urge the Israeli Government strictly to fulfil its obligations as an occupying power under the terms of the fourth Geneva Convention. The Community applies the same policy *vis-à-vis* States embroiled in other regional conflicts.

Mr De Courcy Ling (ED): Will the Minister please say what contact there has been between Mr Genscher and Mr George Shultz concerning Mr Shultz's peace plan for the Middle East and what modification to the plan the Presidency would suggest?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: It is still the view of the Twelve that an international peace conference is the best way of solving the political conflict in the Middle East. But the Twelve welcome any initiative likely to reactivate the search for a negotiated settlement. For this reason the Twelve welcomed Secretary of State Shultz's visit to the region. There have of course also been contacts on this matter between the US Administration and the European Community. I can only repeat that we are eager to see and warmly welcome anything which may ease the way towards a negotiated settlement.

Mr Ulburghs (NI): Up to now the media have been reporting the repressive measures taken by Israel against the Palestinians, but now it appears that the Israeli Government is denying the media access to certain towns and certain areas. What is the view of the Council on this and what does it intend to do about it?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: The Twelve have stated that they do not consider the *status quo* in the occupied territories to be tenable. They said this on 28 February 1988, demanding the meticulous observance everywhere and by all governments of citizens' rights. This also covers the measures which the Israeli Government has just taken against journalists. Such measures are not acceptable. But, as I have just indicated, the Community will explore every possible means of influencing the Israeli Government. It will do likewise with other States embroiled in regional conflicts, through dialogue.

Mr McMahon (S): Among the measures which the President-in-Office is suggesting we use to influence the Israeli Government, would there be a public statement condemning the barbaric acts we have seen on our television screens within the past few days? Would not the best way of expressing our discontent and displeasure with the Israeli Government be an appropriate vote in this House tomorrow when we come to renew the Protocols?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: In paragraph 6 of their Bonn Declaration of 8 February 1988¹ the Twelve called on Israel to abide fully by UN Security Council Resolutions 605 of 1987 and 608 of 1988 and the

Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949 regarding the protection of civilians in time of war. They deeply deplored the repressive measures taken by Israel, which constitute an infringement of international law and human rights. These measures had to stop.

That is a statement which still applies, of course, and which the Twelve expressly uphold *vis-à-vis* Israel.

Mr Ephremidis (COM): The Minister has repeatedly told us that the Twelve are in favour of an international conference, because the facts have shown that all other approaches have failed, while perhaps that might succeed in finding a peaceful solution. My question, then, is: firstly, what specifically have the Twelve done or will they do to promote that idea? Secondly, so far as concerns what is actually going on there, I ask the Minister: have any specific measures been taken to put a stop to this barbarism? Since the Twelve now constitute an institutional body, why do they not confront the Commission, which is currently promoting three protocols that will strengthen Israel financially, economically and commercially, so rewarding those barbarisms? Why, at that conference, did the Council not say that these protocols would be postponed owing to the situation prevailing?

I would like specific answers to each of those specific questions.

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: The Council's policy towards Israel is based on the same principles which underlie its policy in other regions of the world where conflicts smoulder on. The Council has repeatedly discussed whether it makes sense to link political and economic measures together. It has repeatedly declared that it does not think that sanctions, i.e. the lumping together of economic and political issues, is the best way to force through changes in the way governments think. For this reason the Council does not recommend that approval of the protocols negotiated with Israel and already approved by the Council should be postponed. The Council believes that these protocols should be brought into effect.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 88/036.

88/058. Question No H-918/87 by Mr Dessylas Concerning the International Conference on Palestine

Date of Issue: 8 March 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Recent developments in the Palestinian occupied territories show once again that only an international conference on the Middle East can deal with the matter effectively and fairly.

What specific measures do the Foreign Ministers intend to take to ensure that an international conference is held as soon as possible and what representations could they make to Israel and the USA?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: At their meeting in Bonn on 8 February the Twelve discussed the situation in the occupied territories in detail. They noted that the *status quo* there was untenable. At the same time, they referred to their earlier declarations and repeated their continued support for an international peace conference under the aegis of the United Nations as the appropriate forum for essential negotiations between the parties directly involved.

The Twelve are prepared to play their due part in this conference. Both through the Presidency and through their bilateral contacts they will do everything possible to achieve a *rapprochement* of the parties' positions and get a conference convened as soon as possible.

The Twelve have noted that there is broad support for a conference of this kind and thus welcome all recent efforts aimed at reactivating the search for a negotiated settlement to the conflict.

Further to the previous speaker's question, I would add that a negotiated settlement can of course only bring about a lasting peaceful solution if the PLO is included in the negotiations.

Mr Arbeloa Muru (S): I welcome the statement by the President-in-Office on behalf of the Council of Ministers in support of an international peace conference on the Middle East, attended by the parties

concerned. As we all know, Mr Shultz, King Hussein, Shimon Peres, the PLO and others all have their own ideas as to such a conference. Would the conference, as far as the Council of Ministers is concerned, include representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization?

Mr Dessylas (COM): Following 8 February 1988, when the declaration of Political Cooperation was made, developments have been far worse. When on the television we see horrific scenes – the hands of children being broken –, when the occupying forces throw children out of helicopters, when the famous Mr Kissinger suggests to the Israeli Government that it should ban television crews and journalists from the occupied territories and crush the Palestinians within a matter of days, when we see all this, do you not think, Madam President-in-Office, that Political Cooperation and the German Presidency should have done with mere appeals and statements and get on with specific action, both towards the Israeli Government and towards that of the United States which supports Israel, and that it should take the initiative to convene an immediate international conference specifically upon the Middle East and Palestinian problems, i.e. a conference including all the members of the United Nations Security Council with participation, also, by the legitimate representatives of the Palestinians, the PLO?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: As I have just said, the Twelve consider an international peace conference to be the best forum for resolving the conflicts in this region. Such a conference can only succeed if all parties involved in the conflict work together constructively on the conference. In the past there have also been discussions on this among the Arab States, which ought of course also to take part in a conference of this kind, and, as you know, there is no consensus in Israel on an international conference.

As the country currently holding the Presidency, the Federal Government will leave no avenue unexplored which might persuade all potential participants in such a conference to agree to that conference being convened. But I think we Europeans have to say, from the experience of our own history, that a settlement in this region cannot be propped up from outside if it is to last. The outcome of such settlements has to be determined from within the region itself.

The peace process in Central America underlines this principle particularly clearly; and thus the Presidency and our fellow Ministers meeting in European political cooperation will take every opportunity of influencing those who might take part in a conference of this kind.

Mr De Courcy Ling (ED): Would the Minister agree that the main obstacle to an international peace conference on the Middle East is the difficulty of identifying a single and valid representative of the PLO to take part in the conference?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: There are a variety of problems yet to be solved before an international peace conference can be convened.

First of all, all those who might take part must declare their willingness to do so. Then it must be decided which of the nations not directly involved in the conflict should attend such a conference, and in what capacity. It must also be decided what the conflict mechanisms are, before any such conference can be organized.

This presents enormous problems, which previous EEC Presidencies have also tackled. The Council President for the first half of 1987, Belgian Foreign Minister Tindemans, expressed the Community's willingness in numerous talks to consider and convene a conference, and encouraged this. The other Presidencies have done the same. We should all be very happy if a conference could be convened within the foreseeable future.

88/059. Question No H-809/87 by Mr Ephremidis Concerning the Violent Treatment Meted out to the Detainees Sargin and Kutlu by the Turkish Authorities

Date of Issue: 8 March 1988
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Despite the worldwide outcry, the Turkish Government is still holding the leaders Sargin and Kutlu in the most inhuman conditions, in which they are unable to contact their lawyers in the normal way. Serious concern has been expressed regarding their health and even their lives.

How do the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation propose to react to this flagrant violation of human rights in Turkey?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: As will be clear from the reply to Question H-[727/87]¹, the Turkish authorities are well aware of the importance attached by the Twelve to the scrupulous observance of human rights and compliance with the international agreements which Turkey has signed.

The Twelve are always concerned when prisoners are detained for periods of time which exceed the standards consistent with human rights, without contact with the outside world. The Twelve have noted that at the beginning of this year Turkey signed the Council of Europe's Convention on the Prevention of Torture and Other Inhuman or Humiliating Treatment or Punishment and the UN Convention on Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman and Humiliating Treatment or Punishment.

The Twelve will be glad to see these conventions ratified promptly by Turkey. The Twelve are carefully monitoring developments in the specific cases alluded to by the questioner and will continue to do so.

Mr Ephremidis (COM): We have again heard assurances about 'careful monitoring' of these tragic and unacceptable circumstances, but we have not heard an answer to the question of what the Foreign Ministers have done about the cases of Kutlu and Sargin, who have been imprisoned for five months now without trial, under unknown conditions, and certainly not humanitarian ones, and how this attitude of the Foreign Ministers is consistent when there is a specific resolution approved by this very Parliament, by a large majority from all over the political spectrum, calling in its second paragraph for the immediate release of those two political leaders. Do not the Foreign Ministers, then, respect Parliament's decision either? Why do they not tell us what they have done, what action has been taken following Parliament's resolution? That is the specific answer we wish finally to hear, even if they tell us 'we are indifferent – just not interested'. At least that would be more honest.

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: The Honourable Member has already asked this question on a previous occasion, and, if I remember aright, the Danish Presidency replied that it had raised the matter with the Turkish Government at the political level. I myself raised it a few days ago with a high-ranking member of the Turkish Government.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 88/048.

88/060. Question No H-986/87 by Ms Crawley Concerning the Chilean Authorities' Attempt to Extradite Cesar Bunster

Date of Issue: 9 March 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Will the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation give assurances to the European Parliament that EEC Member States will not give in to pressure from the Chilean authorities to extradite Cesar Bunster, one-time resident of my constituency of Birmingham East and accused by the Chilean authorities of participating in the attempt on Pinochet's life in September 1986; will the Foreign Ministers further give support to the Spanish Government which has steadfastly refused the Chilean courts their request for extraditing Cesar Bunster Ariztia?

Answer:

The question raised by the Honourable Member relates to national competence of individual Member States.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that the Ministers of Justice, at their meeting on 28 April 1987, reiterated the vocation of Member States to receive persecuted persons and underlined their will to fully respect the Geneva Convention for refugees.

8/061. Question No H-987/87 by Ms Ewing Concerning the Follow-up to Resolutions on Human Rights from the European Parliament

Date of Issue: 9 March 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

When the European Parliament passes a resolution on human rights, is that resolution automatically placed on an agenda of a meeting of the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation, and if not, why not?

Answer:

In European political cooperation special attention is always paid to resolutions of the European Parliament and due note is taken of them.

This includes resolutions of the European Parliament on human rights.

The creation in October 1987 of an EPC Working Group on Human Rights, by the Ministers, accords with the European Parliament's resolution on 12 March, 1987¹ and demonstrates the sensitivity of the twelve to this field.

¹Resolution on human rights for the year 1885/86 and Community policy on human rights, *OJ* No C 99 of 13 April 1987, pp. 157–167.

8/062. Question No H-1029/87 by Ms García Arias Concerning the Emergency Programme for the Reconstruction of the Countries of Central America

Date of Issue: 9 March 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

How willing is each of the twelve Member States to make a special contribution to the programme for the reconstruction of the countries of Central America and to coordinate this contribution with the Commission of the European Communities?

Answer:

On the occasion of the San José IV meeting in Hamburg on 29 February and 1 March, the Ministers discussed, among other subjects, possibilities of intensifying the economic contributions to the reconstruction of the countries of Central America. Since this subject is not dealt with in European political cooperation, the Honourable Member is referred to the *communiqué* issued after the meeting¹.

¹*EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 88/052.

88/063. Question No H-1034/87 by Mr Iversen Concerning the Recognition of the Hun Sen Government in Cambodia

Date of Issue: 9 March 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Having regard to the latest developments in Cambodia, where Prime Minister Hun Sen and resistance leader Norodom Sihanouk have reached agreement on free elections in Cambodia and 34 governmental organizations have called on Western governments to break off relations with the old Pol Pot regime in Cambodia, will the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation say whether diplomatic relations with the Pol Pot regime will be broken off and the Hun Sen Government recognized in Cambodia, and will the Ministers support the case against Pol Pot for war crimes before the International Court?

Answer:

The Twelve are following closely the recent developments in Cambodia. They have expressed their position on many occasions. They have also made clear their support for the courageous initiative of Prince Sihanouk. In their statement during the UN General Assembly last year they said:

The present regime in Phnom Penh has no claim to legitimacy. However, the Twelve have no intention of contributing to the re-establishment of the Pol Pot regime in Cambodia. We share the collective abhorrence by the world community at the terrible abuses inflicted on the Cambodian people by Pol Pot and [the] *Koumrouge*. But this provides no justification for Vietnam's illegal occupation and its imposition of an illegitimate regime¹.

No partner has diplomatic relations either with Pol Pot or the resistance coalition. Therefore the question does not arise. The question of supporting a case against Pol Pot for war crimes before the International Court of Justice has not been discussed by the Ministers.

The Twelve continue to give their full support to the efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, his representatives and the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea to bring about a peaceful and just solution to the conflict in Cambodia.

At the ministerial meeting of the Twelve with ASEAN on 2 and 3 May 1988, the question of Cambodia will figure prominently among the subjects of discussions.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 87/370.

88/064. Question No H-855/87 by Mr Hindley Concerning Diplomatic Recognition Between EEC and Vietnam

Date of Issue: 9 March 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

What view do the Foreign Ministers take of the request by the Vietnamese Government for formal diplomatic recognition between that country and the EEC?

Answer:

The question of establishment of diplomatic relations between the EC and Vietnam is being dealt with within the framework of the Council. The Honourable Member is therefore kindly requested to refer

he answers given to the same questions by the Council (Question H-765/87 by Mr Toussaint) in January¹ and by the Commission (Question H-853/87 by Mr Hindley) in February².

OJ Annex No 2-360 of 20 January 1988, p. 205.

OJ Annex No 2-361 of 10 February 1988, pp. 149–150.

88/065. Question No H-870/87 by Mr Arbeloa Muru Concerning Jewish Refugees in the Arab Countries

Date of Issue: 9 March 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Do the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation know the number of Jewish refugees from Arab countries over the last twenty years? Has any form of aid ever been granted to them by the EEC?

Answer:

The question raised by the Honourable Member has not been the subject of discussions in European political cooperation.

88/066. Question No H-908/87 by Ms Lizin Concerning the Imprisonment of Hélène Passtoors in South Africa

Date of Issue: 9 March 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Have the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation considered the advisability of a Community initiative in this matter since Belgium expelled three South African diplomats?

Answer:

The Twelve are following the question of the imprisonment of Ms Hélène Passtoors in South Africa closely. They support the efforts of the Belgian Government aimed at her release and hope that the case will be resolved on humanitarian grounds.

88/067. Question No H-912/87 by Mr Alavanos Concerning Human Rights in Saudi Arabia

Date of Issue: 9 March 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

According to the reply given by the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation to my Question No H-587/87¹, there has been no discussion of specific matters relating to human rights in Saudi Arabia. In the mean time, arrests, persecution and savage tortures are continuing, to the point where certain prisoners' lives are in danger.

What specific immediate measures do the Foreign Ministers intend to take to ensure that human rights are observed in Saudi Arabia? In the mean time, have the Foreign Ministers decided to discuss these issues and, if so, what steps do they intend to take to encourage the observance of human rights in Saudi Arabia?

Answer:

The reply given to the Honourable Member's Question No 587/87 on 18 November 1987¹ is still valid today. In the words of that answer:

The Twelve have stated on various occasions that the protection of human rights is the legitimate and continuing duty of the world community and of nations individually. Respect for human rights is an important element in relations between third countries and the Europe of the Twelve.

The Twelve make representations on human rights cases whenever they are persuaded that this will have the desired effect and will be in the interests of the persons involved. The specific case mentioned by the Honourable Member has not been discussed within European political cooperation.

The cases to which the Honourable Member refers in his current question have likewise not been discussed within European political cooperation.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 87/471.

88/068. Question No H-923/87 by Ms Dury Concerning the Election of 17 January in Haiti

Date of Issue: 9 March 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

What is the attitude of the Twelve towards the fraudulent election which was held on 17 January in Haiti? What has been the reaction of the Twelve and what pressure have they exerted to support a return to democracy in Haiti?

Answer:

The Twelve have consistently encouraged the establishment of democracy in Haiti. They strongly condemned the violence which led to the suspension of the electoral process in November 1987 and urged all those involved to support a genuinely democratic election to be organized and held in an atmosphere of peace and stability.

The elections of 17 January suffered from a lack of popular representativeness. In their relations with the new Government of Haiti, the Twelve will take into consideration whether it succeeds in establishing the foundations for true democracy.

In their declaration of 3 February 1988, the Twelve appealed to the Government and the political forces of Haiti to seek national reconciliation in a spirit of cooperation and openness so that the difficulties stemming from decades of dictatorship can be overcome and the necessary conditions established for political life to take place in peace and democracy and with respect for human rights.

The Twelve have been following with sympathy the courage and tenacity of the people of Haiti in their quest for democratic elections. The Twelve are fully aware that the Haitian people should not be abandoned at a moment when their country is confronted with a very difficult economic and social situation.

88/069. Question No H-929/87 by Mr Newton Dunn Concerning the German and Hungarian Minorities in Romania

Date of Issue: 9 March 1988
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

What steps is the German Presidency taking to improve the lot of the German and Hungarian minorities in Romania, following the demonstrations in Brasov and the general suppression of human rights in the country, particularly in Transylvania where these minorities are concentrated?

Answer:

The Twelve have noted the preoccupation with the situation in Romania, expressed by the European Parliament in its resolution of 17 December 1987¹.

During the German Presidency the Twelve continue to follow very closely and with concern the situation of respect for human rights in Romania. They also watch attentively how the amnesty decree, published on 27 January, will be implemented. The Romanian authorities are fully aware of the interest which the Twelve take in these issues, as well as in the fate of individuals who are critical of the Romanian Government's policies or otherwise suffer from these.

In the CSCE context, the Twelve will continue to insist on the full implementation of all commitments solemnly entered into by all thirty-five participant States. The Presidency has recently reminded the Romanian authorities, on behalf of the Twelve, of the need for Romania to respect these commitments.

At Vienna, at the ongoing CSCE follow-up meeting, they have also made proposals to gradually extend these commitments and to ensure better implementation. These proposals include better protection of national minorities. The Twelve are determined that the Vienna meeting should benefit all individuals in the thirty-five countries involved.

¹Resolution on Romania, *OJ* No C 13 of 18 January 1988, p. 101.

88/070. Question No H-937/87 by Mr Pranchère Concerning the Situation in the Western Sahara

Date of Issue: 9 March 1988
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

On 17 December 1987 Parliament adopted an emergency resolution protesting against the Moroccan Government's arrest and imprisonment of inhabitants of Western Sahara during the UN and OAU Delegation visit¹. Since this resolution was passed, the situation in the occupied territories of Western Sahara has deteriorated, police and military repression has intensified, and a Sahrawi woman has died under torture in a Moroccan prison. What measures has the Council taken or planned in pursuance of this resolution to persuade the Moroccan Government to end this policy of repression and release those imprisoned?

Answer:

The twelve Member States of the European Community have noted the European Parliament's resolution of 17 December 1987 on the Western Sahara. The Twelve seek universal respect for human rights. The protection of these rights is the legitimate and constant duty of the world community and of each nation individually.

The specific question raised by the Honourable Member has not yet been discussed in the context of European political cooperation. As for confirmation of the facts in this matter, it is always hard to get the information confirmed by an independent source. The policy of the Twelve on human rights is nevertheless well known to the authorities in Rabat. The Twelve will continue to give their full support to the efforts of the UN Secretary-General to find a peaceful settlement of the conflict in the Western Sahara.

¹ Resolution on Western Sahara, *OJ* No C 13 of 18 January 1988, p. 102.

88/071. Statement at the Forty-Second Session of the United Nations General Assembly: the Report of the Committee on Relations with the Host Country¹

Date of Issue: 22 March 1988

Place of Issue: New York

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: German Delegation to the United Nations

Status of Document: Statement in International Forum

Count York: Mr President, I have the honour to speak on behalf of the twelve Member States of the European Community.

The Twelve have repeatedly stated that the host country is under an obligation, in accordance with the Headquarters Agreement, to permit PLO Observer Mission personnel to enter and to remain in the United States to carry out their official functions at United Nations Headquarters. They, therefore, supported Resolution 42/229 [A] which reaffirms that the Permanent Observer Mission of the Palestine Liberation Organization to the United Nations in New York should be enabled to establish and maintain premises and adequate functional facilities.

A series of consultations and efforts have been undertaken on this matter, particularly by the UN Secretary-General, whom we fully support. Unfortunately, no satisfactory solution to the problem has so far been found and the situation has become even more difficult.

The Twelve are concerned about the latest decision taken by the Attorney-General of the United States to close the office of the PLO Observer Mission to the United Nations in New York pursuant to the Anti-Terrorism Act of 1987, irrespective of the agreement between the United Nations and the United States regarding the United Nations Headquarters.

Provisions of internal law can never be invoked as justification for not performing treaty obligations, including, of course, those arising from the Headquarters Agreement. This agreement is of great importance for the proper functioning of the United Nations. Accordingly, it must be observed with the utmost care, if the world Organization is not to suffer serious damage.

In the view of the Twelve, this dispute should be resolved through the dispute-settlement procedure provided for in the Headquarters Agreement. Therefore, the Twelve urge that the arbitration procedure referred to in section 21 of the Headquarters Agreement should be commenced with participation of the host country.

The Twelve hope that this matter can still be resolved in a way consistent with the Headquarters Agreement and which allows the PLO to maintain its facilities and enable its personnel to carry out their official functions as Observer to the United Nations. Thank you, Mr President.

88/072. Statement at the Plenary of the Vienna CSCE Follow-up Meeting

Date of Issue: 25 March 1988

Place of Issue: Vienna, Austria

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: German Delegation

Status of Document: Statement in International Forum

Mr Eickhoff: Mr Chairman, the working phase of the Vienna follow-up meeting ending today has not brought us much closer to our joint aim of adopting a substantive and balanced concluding document. The good intentions with which we came back to Vienna after the new-year recess have been frustrated. We have our expectations to achieve the substantial progress we were led to believe would be possible before the recess. We have been able to note a certain number of texts in different and certainly relevant areas. But still, nearly one and a half years after the beginning of the meeting, we are far from being able to tell the people in our own countries in the East and West that we have made the great strides we are committed to. Looking closely at the state of our work, it is difficult to escape the impression that the initial phase of this Conference has only just begun.

Mr Chairman, the twelve Member States of the European Community therefore share the concerns voiced at a recent meeting that we still lack a sound basis for starting the necessary work of elaborating a comprehensive draft concluding document. This is certainly not due to lack of efforts on the part of the coordinators. To the task of facilitating consensus they have devoted an admirable knowledge of the subject, an ability to draw valuable conclusions from our debates and an untiring energy.

Let me now turn to some questions of detail. The situation in Drafting Group S – Principles – gives us cause for optimism. On the contrary, there is growing concern over the lack of progress in this field. At the end of the fourth session of this meeting we were all very grateful to the Coordinator, who submitted a paper he had drafted on the basis of signals received from all parties involved. Since then, things have totally changed. We are faced with attempts of certain delegations at a constant hardening of positions and, in some areas, with the rejection of any substantial discussion whatsoever.

Against the background of recent events in some of the Eastern participating States, we feel it is particularly unfortunate that, in major problem areas where better implementation remains our chief concern, progress is totally lacking. This applies in particular to the issues of freedom of movement, freedom of religion and the role of organizations, institutions and individuals. Several attempts have been made to undermine concrete and substantial new commitments in these areas by attaching key importance to general restriction clauses and numerous references to national legislation. This is unacceptable to the Twelve, whose common aim is to ensure that observance of human rights commitments should not become the exception and that the exception should not become the rule. We will not give our consent to the creation of declaratory texts as a substitute for real progress in the field of operational commitments. What we need are concrete commitments leading to better implementation, not empty gestures.

Let me stress this once again: I very much hope that we will return to proper drafting-oriented work, in order to achieve progress in main problem areas of the implementation of principles.

Our main proposal in the Human Dimension is to ensure continuous incentives for improved implementation by a mechanism of consultations and a series of meetings.

Mr Chairman, when we look back over the past months, we cannot but observe with regret that the work of Drafting Group S – Military Security – has stagnated since October of last year and that it has so far not been possible to note any further text elements; this is in stark contrast to the tangible and important progress achieved regarding the mandate negotiations of the Twenty-Three. We must now direct all our joint energies to breaking out of this stagnation. With a sense of realism, we must now make here a considerable degree of *rapprochement* regarding the structure and content of future security negotiations can be discerned. The criterion of our efforts in the field of military security must be to make possible comprehensive progress that will take into account the interest of all participating States.

The tabling of various new papers of all sides offers promise of early progress during the coming session.

Mr Chairman, in Basket II, only small steps have been taken in the past phase of the Conference course, the fact that we have noted two texts regarding arbitration and marketing – on which there already been consensus last year – and that an additional text on the training of personnel has provisionally agreed can be an occasion for some satisfaction. We were also positively impressed by the new approach of several partners to questions of tourism, which facilitated progress on some elements in this field. But the decisive tasks are still before us. Solutions demand more efforts and flexibility than has been noticeable in the past two months. The game of tactical probing must be abandoned – this has been the main cause of immobility here – otherwise, we run the risk of losing sight of our main goals. We must substantially improve general conditions for business activity and cooperation, so that, among other things, we can halt and progressively reverse the negative trend in the development of our trade relations. We must intensify cooperation in the struggle against environmental dangers, and it must be our aim to expand scientific and technological cooperation. Let us make practical results our criterion. Only then will Basket II be able to contribute meaningfully to the dynamism of the CSCE process.

Mr Chairman, in the 'Mediterranean' drafting group as well, practical results are the criterion for judging the quality of our work. After the 'Evaluation of the Venice Seminar' has been noted, it is necessary, through the Coordinator's further drafting work, to specify exactly the problems that must be tackled and solved, which can be done by improving and intensifying cooperation.

The status of negotiations in the whole of Basket III is not at all satisfactory. We deeply regret this not least thanks to tireless mediation by the Coordinator, a number of texts that were susceptible to consensus – first and foremost his non-paper on Human Contacts of 18 December 1987 – were already available at the beginning of this period of negotiations. But our partners from the Warsaw Pact States flatly refused to reply for several weeks.

As a result, the Coordinator took the initiative again; in a move which was welcomed on all sides he identified in all sections of Basket III at least a package of texts susceptible of consensus. The Twos together with their Western partners and friends, immediately agreed to his proposal of 29 February 1988 that these texts be jointly noted. On the other hand, for unfathomable reasons, the Warsaw Pact States delayed their assent for several weeks, up to the end of the present phase of the negotiations. They have only now *at last* given it.

We welcome the provisional agreement that has thus come about on a small number of texts, some of which contain by no means insignificant material. However, we regret that the negotiation of this package, which is modest in volume and content, has greatly impaired and even in fact paralysed negotiations on all of the other Basket-III proposals, which have long been to hand.

Unfortunately, the hope originally fostered that the Coordinator's initiative might be an 'ice-breaker' for Basket III and also for other areas has not been fulfilled in any way; the reverse has rather been the case.

In the negotiations that lie before us after the Easter recess, we shall persevere with our proposals for Basket III; our sole concern is to achieve sensible, practical arrangements that will directly benefit the citizens in a divided Europe. These proposals have long since received a large measure of agreement from the neutral and non-aligned partners.

Mr Chairman, the CSCE process has shown remarkable dynamism in the past, and that in all respects covered by the Helsinki Final Act. If we do not want the Vienna follow-up meeting to be a negative turning point in the process or to get out of touch with overall developments in East–West relations, it is necessary that we achieve progress in all fields beyond what is contained in the Helsinki Final Act and the Madrid Concluding Document. This applies to all of the Baskets! The people of our countries are waiting impatiently for substantial results. The final phase of the Conference must begin

8/073. Statement Concerning the Cease-Fire Agreement of Sapoa, Nicaragua, of March 23, 1988

Date of Issue: 28 March 1988
 Place of Issue: Bonn
 Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
 Source of Document: The Twelve
 Status of Document: Declaration

The Twelve note with satisfaction that the Government of Nicaragua and the Nicaraguan resistance have reached agreement on the basic provisions of a limited cease-fire. They welcome this truce accord as a positive step towards the achievement of peace and reconciliation within a pluralistic democracy in Nicaragua.

The process initiated by the Esquipulas Agreement of August 1987 has thus entered into a decisive new phase. This represents an element of hope for the region as a whole.

In view of the problems that remain to be solved, the Twelve appeal to the parties concerned to do their utmost to convert the cease-fire agreement now reached into a stable structure of lasting peace and genuine democracy. The Twelve consider it essential that all countries with links to and interests in the region play a constructive part in achieving these aims.

8/074. Statement Concerning the Recent South African Raid in Botswana

Date of Issue: 31 March 1988
 Place of Issue: Bonn
 Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Press Release

The ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany, Dr Immo Stabreit, acting on behalf of the twelve Member States of the European Community, today (31 March 1988) delivered a strong protest to the South African Government in reaction to the recent South African raid in Botswana in which four people were killed in a house near Gaborone. The German ambassador stated that the twelve Member States of the European Community condemned the raid as an aggressive act, constituting a flagrant violation of international law. In his talk with Deputy Minister Kobus Meiring of the South African Department of Foreign Affairs, the German ambassador appealed to the South African Government to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Botswana and other neighbouring States of South Africa and to refrain from further acts of aggression in the future.

8/075. Question No 328/87 by Mr Pordea (DR-F) Concerning the Disparity in the Community's Response to the Soviet Occupation of Afghanistan and Eastern Europe

Date of Issue: 8 April 1988
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 6 May 1987

In their joint statement of 16 March 1987¹, the Foreign Ministers of the twelve Member States of the European Community called for the rapid and total withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan on the basis of an irrevocable timetable so that the Afghan people could exercise freely their right to self-determination.

Despite the analogous situation, the representatives of these very Ministers made no similar call on behalf of the occupied countries of Eastern Europe to government experts at their meeting to establish official relations between the EEC and the CMEA (Geneva, 18–20 March 1987).

Would the Foreign Ministers indicate why the European Community has failed to press home its considerable advantage over the Soviet Union and its satellite States arising from the fact that on this occasion it was the latter who made the first approach; is this attitude – an error from the diplomatic point of view – liable to be maintained even in the event of East–West cooperation – for which there is undoubtedly a real opportunity – being widened to include the new technologies and leading to some form of reunification of Germany?

Answer:

The Twelve, like the great majority of members of the international community, have unequivocally condemned the illegal occupation of Afghanistan and have demanded a solution based on withdrawal of Soviet troops and restoration of the Afghan people's right to self-determination.

Regarding negotiations between the EEC and the CMEA, I must first point out that they are a matter for the Community and are not therefore within the purview of European political cooperation. I would, however, add that the Twelve have repeatedly expressed their concern at the division of Europe resulting from developments which started at the end of the Second World War: their policy is directed towards overcoming the consequences of that division in a peaceful way, particularly within the framework of the CSCE, by drawing on the traditions, interests and history common to the countries of Eastern and Western Europe.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 87/143.

88/076. Question No 1159/87 by Ms Dury (S–B) Concerning Human Rights in Morocco

Date of Issue: 8 April 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 1 September 1987

Have the Ministers considered the problems of failure to respect human rights in Morocco?

Have they already made representations to the Moroccan authorities concerning the fate of political prisoners and missing persons and concerning torture and oppressive treatment in prisons?

Answer:

The Twelve follow closely the internal situation in Morocco.

They never fail to make representations to the authorities of third countries on specific human rights cases wherever the representations are considered to have the desired effect or to be in the interest of those concerned.

88/077. Question No 1258/87 by Mr Tridente (ARC–I) Concerning the Violation of Human Rights in Israel

Date of Issue: 8 April 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 23 September 1987

ast July, a Palestinian, Hassan Jabarin, who is an Israeli national in that he lives in the territory which was occupied in 1948, and [who] is secretary of the cultural group in Um El Fahem, a village in Galilee, attended the international conference on the Mediterranean held in Reggio Calabria. On returning to Israel, he was arrested on 2 August under the new law which forbids Israeli citizens to have contacts with members of the PLO (there was a member of the PLO among the international guests attending the conference).

1. Do the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation not consider an official move necessary, in order that the Israeli Government guarantees freedom of opinion and freedom of speech in its territory and in the territory under military occupation?

2. Bearing in mind the question of human rights, what action do the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation intend to take to secure the release of the Palestinian Hassan Jabarin?

Answer:

The question raised by the Honourable Member has not been discussed by Foreign Ministers of the Twelve meeting in Political Cooperation.

The Twelve have on several occasions stated that they consider Israeli claims to sovereignty over occupied territories as a violation of international law.

In their declaration on human rights of 21 July 1986¹, the Twelve have stated that 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.

EPC Bulletin, Doc. 86/230.

88/078. Question No 1681/87 by Mr Robles Piquer (ED–E) Concerning the Situation in the Republic of Haiti

Date of Issue: 8 April 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 12 November 1987

The situation in the Republic of Haiti is continuing to deteriorate. More than a year and a half after the overthrow of the Duvalier dictatorship, there seems to be no prospect of free elections being held in the near future. A press correspondent has even affirmed that the economic situation in the country, the poorest on the American continent, is 'worse than in the Middle East or than in the strife-torn African countries'.

In view of these circumstances and bearing in mind that the cultural origins of Haiti are largely European and that a major European nation played a significant role in the history of Haiti, do the Foreign Ministers not feel that the European Community should show greater interest in the situation in Haiti? If so, do they not also consider that this could be done in cooperation with the United Nations Organization or the Organization of American States, since Haiti is one of the longest-standing members of both the UN and the OAS?

Answer:

The Twelve are following closely the situation in Haiti and they strongly support efforts aiming at restoring a genuine democratic regime.

In this context a declaration was issued by the Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation on 23 November 1987¹, in which they called upon all the parties concerned to unite their efforts to overcome the obstacles inherited from the past.

Furthermore, following the tragic events which occurred on 29 November 1987, they issued a declaration by which they expressed their deep concern for the bloodshed which led to the suspension of the electoral process and condemned the acts of violence, which are the responsibility of the adherents of the former dictatorship².

Since the elections on 17 January are marred by the fact that their outcome is not representative, the Twelve [made clear] in their declaration issued on 3 February that in their relations with Haiti's Government they will take into consideration how far it succeeds in laying the foundations for a true democracy.

In this same declaration, the Twelve appealed to the Government and the political forces of Haiti to take the path of national reconciliation and to create the conditions necessary for a peaceful political process based on true democracy and the respect for human rights. In this context, they took note with satisfaction of Mr Manigat's declaration on his intention to promote national reconciliation and to ensure justice without discrimination.

Furthermore, the Twelve declared that they are conscious of the fact that the Haitian people must not be abandoned at a time when they are endeavouring to cope with the very difficult economic and social situation in the country.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 87/492.

² *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 87/512.

88/079. Question No 1818/87 by Mr Stevenson (S—UK) Concerning Human Rights in Chile

Date of Issue: 8 April 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 30 November 1987

Is the Council of Ministers aware that there have been allegations of breaches of human rights and the victimization of students and refugees returning from the United Kingdom to Chile? Will the Council of Ministers look into the allegations relating to Mr Luis Tricot and Ms Rocio Reyes who were detained in Santiago on 3 September 1987, and will the Council of Ministers take whatever steps that are in their power and necessary, to prevent any breach of human rights in the future?

Answer:

The Twelve are following closely the human rights situation in Chile, and they make their views clear to the Chilean Government in compliance with their long-standing policy on human rights issues, as set down in the declaration by the Foreign Ministers of 21 July 1987 on human rights¹.

The specific incidents referred to by the Honourable Member have not been discussed within the framework of European political cooperation.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 86/230.

88/080. Question No 1867/87 by Ms Lizin (S—B) Concerning the Sale of Civil Nuclear Material and Technology to Iran

Date of Issue: 8 April 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 18 December 1987

What controls do the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation intend to impose on supplies of civil nuclear material to Iran from European companies?

Answer:

1. The Presidency would like to inform the Honourable Member that Member States apply the nuclear suppliers guidelines when exporting civil nuclear material, regardless of the country concerned.

2. In this context, a governmental assurance is required from the importing country that:

- a) the nuclear material will only be used for peaceful purposes;
- b) IAEA safeguards will be applied to the imported nuclear material.

3. The implementation by the Twelve of the nuclear suppliers guidelines (London Guidelines) is harmonized in the framework of European political cooperation.

**8/081. Question No 1879/87 by Mr Cabezón Alonso (S–E)
Concerning Free Elections in Chile**

Date of Issue: 8 April 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 18 December 1987

What action, measures or assistance have the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation adopted to help enable the people of Chile to be registered on the electoral roll and thereby regain one of their fundamental civil rights?

Answer:

The Honourable Member will wish to refer to the answer given to Written Question No 1179/87 by Mr Ernest Glinne¹.

¹*EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 88/006.

**8/082. Question No 2152/87 by Ms Dury (S–B) Concerning the
Refusal by the State of Israel to Accept Inspections by the International
Atomic Energy Agency of the Nuclear Power Station Which it is Due to
Buy from the Federal Republic of Germany**

Date of Issue: 8 April 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 28 January 1988

The Council of Ministers will no doubt be aware that nuclear power stations designated officially for peaceful purposes can also be used for military ends, and that it is therefore necessary to have international inspections of nuclear installations to prevent such uses.

Furthermore, irrespective of the military potential which a nuclear power station offers in the event of conflict, any malfunction can also endanger the life and health of the neighbouring population, including the people of adjacent countries.

What steps has the Council taken to obtain assurances from the German Federal authorities that the sale of the nuclear power station to Israel will be made conditional upon agreement to accept periodic IAEA inspections on its territory?

Answer:

In the context of European political cooperation the Member States exchange any information which may be useful in preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

The Twelve have accordingly given a commitment to make any supply of nuclear installations to a third country conditional upon undertakings by that country in respect of peaceful and non-explosive use, subject to IAEA inspection, and in respect of physical protection and transfers.

88/083. Question No H-1057/87 by Mr Pearce and Question No H-53/88 by Mr McMahon Concerning South Africa

Date of Issue: 12 April 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Questions

Question No H-1057/87:

Have the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation discussed South Africa since Ms Thatcher's visits to Kenya and Nigeria and Mr Strauss's visit to South Africa? If so, what conclusions were arrived at?

Question No H-53/88:

Did the Foreign Ministers at their informal meeting recently discuss the current crisis in South Africa? Will the Foreign Ministers guarantee that the question of Community trade with South Africa be closely monitored and [that] the Community will amend the export restitution legislation to curtail trade between the Community and the Republic of South Africa?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: South Africa constantly receives the full attention of the Twelve. All the partners make valuable contributions to the serious discussions regularly held in the context of European political cooperation. As you probably know, the Twelve recently took a number of decisions regarding South Africa.

On 8 February 1988 the Foreign Ministers of the Twelve approved the seventh summary report on the Code of Conduct for Community companies with subsidiaries in South Africa and resolved to forward this report to the European Parliament and the European Community's Economic and Social Committee. The Ministers noted with satisfaction the positive results already achieved and called on the competent South African authorities to repeal, among other things, all discriminatory legislation.

On 25 February 1988 the Twelve published a statement sharply condemning the South African Government's ban on South African organizations which oppose apartheid by peaceful means. The Twelve urged the South African Government to rescind this ban at once. They took a number of measures in this connection.

The Twelve also expressed their concern to the South African Government over its plan to introduce legislation aimed at depriving anti-apartheid organizations of foreign support. Both collectively and individually, the Twelve have repeatedly appealed to the South African President to pardon on humanitarian grounds the Sharpeville Six, six blacks who were convicted and sentenced to death following unrest in the townships.

Although the South African Government has so far always refused a pardon, the Twelve hope, in the light of the stay of execution granted by the South African Supreme Court, that the lives of the Six will be spared. Future policy by the Twelve will be agreed on in accordance with their joint assessment of the situation.

Mr Pearce (ED): I wonder whether the Minister would confirm that she or her colleagues, together with the representatives of two other Member States, will be meeting twelve Foreign Ministers from

African, Caribbean and Pacific States on 26 April to discuss apartheid in South Africa, and whether she can confirm that she will be as opposed to further sanctions against South Africa as she herself declared herself to be in the case of Israel in the last two part-sessions in this Parliament? Will she now recommend that the Community undertake a process of genuine dialogue, to establish through shuttle diplomacy meetings of one kind or another an actual process of dialogue with all sections in South Africa or bring about changes there?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: What the Council and the governments meeting in European political cooperation consider necessary in South Africa is indeed a peaceful dialogue involving all the peoples of South Africa. For a wide variety of reasons this has not yet come about, on the contrary. In recent months the South African Government has once again hardened its attitude to the enforcement of apartheid. This is also borne out by the fact that eighteen organizations which oppose the regime in South Africa by peaceful means have been banned and forbidden to operate. Further evidence of this hardening attitude is provided by the tabling of a Bill by the South African Government which forbids organizations working in South Africa to accept funds from abroad. This would mean that even the positive measures applied by the European Community to help the suffering peoples of South Africa could be applied only on a limited basis, if at all. This is certainly an unacceptable aggravation of the situation, reflecting anything but a readiness for dialogue.

I can confirm the date of 26 April which the Honourable Member mentions. On that date there will be a meeting between the Troika of European political cooperation, comprising the German Council Presidency, the Danish and Greek Governments, and twelve ACP Foreign Ministers appointed by the 56 ACP States to speak for them. This meeting to discuss the situation in South Africa has been called at the request of the ACP States. I think the European Community too cannot and will not ignore the deteriorating situation in South Africa. The Community will prepare carefully for this meeting with the ACP States. I would remind the Honourable Member that the Community previously decided in 1985 and 1986 on measures to encourage dialogue with the South African Government and implemented these. These measures — though there is room for discussion about what they should be called — have not yet had the desired result, and so I think discussion will continue within the European Community about what should be done, and when.

I would add one thing, on my own personal account. I think we should do all we can to stop the South African Government from feeling confident that no further measures will be taken at any time.

Mr McMahon (S): Would the President-in-Office agree that, as the measures taken by the Community thus far have been ineffective, then obviously, it behoves the Community in the interests of the poor, oppressed citizens of the Republic of South Africa, to step up the measures against the racist and Fascist regime in South Africa, and on 26 April, would the Troika consider increasing sanctions against the Republic of South Africa, with a view to putting a ban on coal and other items which at the moment are imported from the South African Republic into the EEC?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: First, I would point out that there are two kinds of measures: those we refer to as positive measures, whereby we attempt to ease the suffering of the peoples of South Africa. These positive measures, for example, try to ensure that South Africans who have no chance of getting a proper education there can in fact get one. On the other hand, there are measures of the kind decided on in 1986, concerning the importation of certain goods from South Africa or the banning of new investment in South Africa. All these measures have been applied by the Community Member States. Only a short time ago, the Council received and debated a report on their application.

The meeting set for 26 April will provide an exchange of information between the Community Troika and the ACP Foreign Ministers. It is not a meeting for decision-making. But as I have just explained, the Community will prepare for it most carefully. The preparatory talks are under way, but not yet completed.

Mr Beazley (ED): What grounds do the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation have for believing that, should the European Community further restrict the trade which it has at present with South Africa, it would force the South African Government to change its policies on apartheid or in any way assist the African, coloured and Indian peoples in South Africa rather than damage their present economic and political position?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: I think that all potential measures should be discussed and decided on with a view to applying them in specific situations and in order to achieve specific results. It would be reprehensible of the Community not to envisage more far-reaching measures to be applied in specific circumstances. I can only repeat that it is quite unacceptable to us that the white minority government in South Africa, against all its earlier assurances, is clearly not intending to improve the lot of the blacks and has considerably hardened its attitude towards the black majority in recent months. This situation is not conducive to a lessening of the fears and anxieties which the Community feels about the position in South Africa and in Southern Africa as a whole. On the contrary, it sharpens our concern and leads to a greater urgency to our discussions. I think the European Community will be failing in its responsibility towards the peoples of South Africa if we do not respond to this situation.

Mr Habsburg (PPE): I should like to ask the Minister if the report on the Code of Conduct and adherence to it is the best proof that practical results can be achieved even without sanctions. But I would also like to ask if the dialogue seemingly conducted by the Community with the black organizations in South Africa is in fact a true dialogue, since only small isolated groups take part, whilst majority groups such as those of Gatsha Buthelezi and Bishop Mokoena are not involved at all, or are not accepted as partners in the discussions.

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: Any change, even those prompting a more positive evaluation of the position of workers in South Africa, will have no lasting effect until such time as these people have a legal right to whatever easing of their lot may perhaps have been granted them in the interim. Specifically as regards workers in South Africa, the position is worsening in that further restrictions are planned by the Government on the grounds that further subversive activities have allegedly been observed. I don't think we need to philosophize here on the fact that the notion of 'subversive activity' is open to a wide variety of interpretations. In a State in which the majority of the people have no legal right to a decent human existence, such a notion can be employed by the government in power as yet another means of gagging them. The policy of the European Community is thus aimed at getting apartheid abolished. Apartheid cannot be 'reformed'.

Mr Ewing (RDE): Since Ms Thatcher's visit, the Council will be aware that the Lomé Assembly met in Lomé. Is the President-in-Office aware of the vote of the European Members at that Assembly which I participated? Has this vote been discussed in your agenda? If not, when will it be discussed or will we European Members in the ACP wasting our time?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: The honourable lady may recall that I was present at the EEC/ACP Joint Assembly, at least for part of the time. Since that meeting, the Council of Foreign Ministers has not met, though there have been working party meetings. Certainly, the very clear pronouncements by the Joint Assembly are not only noted in the Council; they also feature in its deliberations.

Ms Simons (S): My question concerns the EC Code of Conduct. Does it still have any basis in law in light of the changes to the law on labour relations currently being made by the South African Government? Is this problem now being discussed by the Foreign Ministers and perhaps by the Economic Affairs Ministers?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: There are no discussions of it at the moment, but I am sure that if the plans now before Parliament should become more specific, even though they may not have been completed, these changes will be a major topic in the Community's discussions. They will certainly be important when the Troika prepares its position prior to the meeting on 26 April.

Mr Marshall (ED): Would the President-in-Office of the Council accept that a change in the hearts and minds of those who rule South Africa is much more likely by contact between them and Community citizens than by imposing additional sanctions on South Africa which will merely hurt the Bantu and the decision-makers?

Would she accept that the changes which have taken place in South Africa in recent months would suggest that the measures that the Community has taken so far have merely made the South African more inward-looking rather than more liberal? Would she encourage Community citizens to go to South Africa and try and have a dialogue with South African citizens?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: As we all know, individual politicians naturally, in the normal run of things, have contacts with the South African Government and have endeavoured to influence them for the better. I won't in any way speculate on what has had more effect in the past – if indeed anything has. The South African Government appears set on continuing its course of absolute and violent oppression of the black majority, and we thus have to look at the overall situation in South Africa, both regarding the attitude the Community decides to adopt and the measures it deems necessary. Account also has to be taken of the way in which the situation changes in other States, for example the neighbouring States, as a result of South Africa's pursuit of this policy.

Community measures must thus be taken, on the one hand, with an eye to possibly influencing the South African Government. This is hard enough, as the events of recent weeks have shown, and equally hard, whatever way one tries. But, on the other hand, we must also consider how the situation is viewed in the other States of Africa and how this situation develops. All this has to be borne in mind, and we will certainly have difficulty reaching our decisions.

Ms Crawley (S): I warmly welcome many of the points that have been made by the President-in-Office this afternoon. Many of us have renewed confidence in her contribution to the meeting of the Troika on 12 April.

I would like to ask two questions specifically. One, what was the response of the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation to the fact that several EEC-funded organizations have been banned in South Africa and their personnel put in detention? I am talking, for example, about the secretaries of the Council of Churches in South Africa. What is the specific reaction of the Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation to that?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: I think the Honourable Member will be familiar with the Council's statement regarding the banning of opposition organizations. I believe I read it out here during the last Question Time. The Community is particularly upset by the fact that the ban also prevents the further activities of those organizations which have consciously declared themselves in favour of peaceful change in South Africa, and this is so drastic a hardening of the South African Government's attitude, such a slap in the face for those who have tried to work on the South African Government to clear the way for dialogue, that it must seriously damage relations between the Community and South Africa. How can you talk to someone you have yourself banned from all activity. How can you talk to someone who is in prison. How can you talk to someone whose mouth you have stopped!

11/084. Question No H-18/88 by Sir James Scott-Hopkins concerning the Gaza Strip and the West Bank

Date of Issue: 12 April 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Do the Foreign Ministers recognize that they have a responsibility and a role to play in helping to find a solution to the problems resulting from the occupation of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank? What political initiatives are they taking to try to bring about a solution and what steps are they taking to help relieve the human tragedy which afflicts the refugees in the area?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: The Twelve are more than conscious of their ties with the countries and peoples of the Middle East. In recent years the Twelve have made energetic efforts to help improve the lot of those living in the occupied territories. They will go on doing so and will also give particular attention in future to the economic, social, cultural and administrative problems of this region.

In October 1986 the Community decided on measures to allow Palestinian produce access to EC markets on preferential terms. The Commission and the Twelve are doing everything they can to ensure that these measures are implemented soon and in full. As the Honourable Member is certainly aware, the

Community gives humanitarian aid to people in the occupied territories through UNRWA and the Palestinian bodies. Measures of this kind are important, but they are no substitute for progress towards a negotiated settlement of the Arab–Israeli conflict.

In their Bonn statement of 8 February 1988, the Foreign Ministers of the Twelve declared that the *status quo* in the occupied territories was untenable. The events of recent months in these territories confirmed the Twelve in their conviction that the only solution lies in a comprehensive, just and lasting political settlement of the Arab–Israeli conflict. Such a solution is urgently needed.

In this connection, and in accordance with their declarations of 23 February, 13 July and 5 December 1987, the Twelve continue to favour an international peace conference under the aegis of the United Nations as the only appropriate forum for the requisite negotiations between the parties directly involved.

Sir James Scott-Hopkins (ED): Would not the Minister agree that, whilst recent events and circumstances have rather taken the focus off what is going on in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, nevertheless we are not taking the initiative there? It seems to be the Americans and George Shultz who are doing it all. Would she not agree that it is Europe, with all the expertise we have and all the historical links with that part of the world, that ought to be taking the political initiative and not sitting back and letting the Americans do it?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: The Community has by no means been twiddling its thumbs. As you will doubt recall, the Belgian Presidency made concentrated efforts towards sounding out possibilities for a Middle Eastern peace conference involving all the parties concerned, i.e. all those who might wish to take part. In so doing, it made a major contribution towards setting out the lines along which a conference of this kind might perhaps be organized.

The current Presidency, and the German Foreign Minister Mr Genscher in particular, held direct talks with representatives of the States in the region at the beginning of the German Presidency, and to an extent as early as December 1987, to explore ways of finding a forum in which a peace conference of this kind could take place. It also looked at the conditions under which a solution to the Middle Eastern conflict might be found.

You will realize why the Israeli Government especially has been unable as yet to agree to a conference. The Israeli Government is split over this issue.

The Twelve will of course not slacken their efforts and [will] continue to look for ways of getting the parties together at the same negotiating table. They have also welcomed the initiative by US Secretary of State Shultz and stressed that they support any moves aimed at reactivating the process of peace in the Middle East. This applies most especially to Secretary of State Shultz's current efforts.

No one can stand idly by, and no one is doing that, because we all have a duty to do our part, and the Community has always understood that its role can only be that of a catalyst to precipitate talks. It cannot propose some kind of solution on its own initiative. Experience of our own history has taught us that solutions imposed from outside never last.

Lasting solutions can only be worked out by the parties concerned.

88/085. Question No H-871/87 by Mr Arbeloa Muru Concerning the Palestinian Refugees

Date of Issue: 13 April 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

What aid did the EEC grant in 1986 and 1987 to the Palestinian refugees in Jordan, Egypt, Lebanon, Syria and the occupied territories?

answer:

he decision to grant humanitarian aid to Palestinian refugees in Jordan, Egypt, Lebanon, Syria and the occupied territories is taken in the Community framework and not in the framework of European political cooperation.

8/086. Question No H-915/87 by Mr Ephremidis Concerning the Franco–German Defence Agreement

Date of Issue: 13 April 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

What prospects for the role of the Community do the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation discern in the recent Franco–German agreements on defence and security and in the European security policy being promoted in the EEC by the German Presidency? Do they not have a negative effect on the climate and on the prospects for arms reductions created after the Reagan–Gorbachev agreement on medium-range missiles?

answer:

Questions concerning bilateral cooperation between Member States fall outside the scope of European political cooperation.

As regards your first question, I would, therefore, limit myself to the statement Foreign Minister Jenischer made on 20 January 1988: the historic partnership between France and Germany is a nucleus of European unification. As such, it does not exclude others. It invites others.

Concerning your second question, let me tell you that the German Presidency is committed to promote full and faithful implementation of the provisions of the Single European Act. As the Honourable Member knows, under Article 30, paragraph 6, of the Single European Act, the Twelve have undertaken to coordinate their positions more closely on the political and economic aspects of security.

One key feature of the Twelve in this field has been and will remain in the promotion of arms control and disarmament. In this framework, they support the INF Treaty as a milestone, eliminating for the first time an entire class of weapons. The Twelve hope that this agreement will enter into force soon. They consider it essential that this achievement in nuclear arms control should give further impetus to substantive progress in the whole range of present and future bilateral US–Soviet and multilateral negotiations on arms control and disarmament.

Far from having a negative effect on disarmament perspectives, greater cohesion and closer cooperation within the Twelve is an essential contribution to that goal.

8/087. Question No H-26/88 by Mr Lomas Concerning the Advertising of Holidays in the Turkish Military-Occupied Zone of Cyprus

Date of Issue: 13 April 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

In a special feature in its *Holiday Which?* magazine, the British Consumer Association has recently been recommending holidays in the Turkish military occupied zone of Cyprus.

In view of the continued illegal occupation, following the brutal invasion of Cyprus by the Turkish army, which led to the death or 'disappearance' of thousands of Cypriot citizens and the uprooting of thousands more to make room for 'Turkish settlers', and, in view of the fact that, along with the rest of the world, no European Community country recognizes this occupied part of Cyprus, will the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation take steps to prevent propaganda of this nature?

Answer:

Without having seen the publication mentioned by the Honourable Member of Parliament it can generally be stated that the activities of private citizens and organizations do not fall within the scope of European political cooperation. But, as the Twelve reject any action which purports to establish an independent State within Cyprus, activities of the kind should be discouraged.

That being said, let me emphasize that the Twelve remain concerned and committed to find a just and viable solution to the problem of Cyprus. The Twelve restated their position on this very important issue at the 42nd United Nations General Assembly.

The Presidency in exercise also explained this position of the Twelve in detail to the European Parliament during Question Time in November of last year. You will find it in the answer to Mr Bombard's Question No H-448/87¹.

As regards the humanitarian question of missing persons in Cyprus, the Twelve support the reactivation of the Committee on Missing Persons, comprising the representatives of the Greek and Turkish communities on the island and an ICRC representative, as appointed by the UN Secretary-General. The Twelve welcome that Greece and Turkey have decided to make a recommendation to this effect to the parties concerned. Allow me in this respect to refer the Honourable Member to the joint press *communiqué*, issued by the Greek and Turkish Prime Ministers on the occasion of their meeting in Brussels on 3 and 4 March 1988.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 87/481.

88/088. Question No H-28/88 by Mr García Arias Concerning the Response to the Acapulco Meeting

Date of Issue: 13 April 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Do the Ministers believe that, by way of a European response to the Acapulco meeting, a political dialogue can be established on trade and economic matters? Was this discussed at the Copenhagen and Brussels summits? Will it be discussed at a forthcoming meeting?

Answer:

The question of the Honourable Member falls into the competence of the European Community. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the Twelve have already established an informal dialogue with the Group of Eight, in which all issues of common interest are discussed in a free, frank and flexible

88/089. Question No H-32/88¹ by Mr Bru Purón Concerning the Office of the PLO's Representative at the United Nations

Date of Issue: 13 April 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

he media report that the United States intends to close the office of the PLO's representative at the United Nations on 21 March.

Such action would constitute a breach of the obligations incumbent on the United States of America as the host of the United Nations, with headquarters in New York, and would mean withdrawing financial support from the Palestinian representative, who has been present as an official 'observer' since 1974.

This intended measure is probably illegal and would, in any case, be subject to a ruling by the Arbitration Tribunal, provided for in such cases under the terms of the agreement between the United States of America and the United Nations, and is particularly discreditable from the political point of view, since, by depriving it of funds, the United States of America is trying to silence a voice which should be heard within the United Nations. This is all the more important in view of the present tension in the territories occupied by Israel.

What steps do the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation intend to take to prevent unjust acts of this kind, which are bound to have a detrimental effect as far as peace in the Middle East is concerned?

Answer:

On 1 a *démarche* to the State Department on 4 February 1988, the Troika, comprising the Ambassadors of Germany, Denmark and Greece and a representative of the Commission, have made known the reoccupation of the Twelve about the envisaged closure of the PLO observer mission to the United Nations, the maintenance of which is covered by the Headquarters Agreement. The Troika also referred to the effects such a measure would have on the United Nations.

On 26 February 1988, the Presidency reaffirmed to the State Department the position of the Twelve. It stressed in particular the Twelve's concern that international law be respected, and pointed out that, in the Twelve's view, the United States of America is obliged under the Headquarters Agreement to allow the members of the PLO observer mission to enter and stay in the United States of America for the discharge of their official functions.

A new high-level Troika *démarche* was carried out on 23 March 1988, referring to the decision taken by the US Attorney-General to close the office of the PLO observer mission according to the 1987 Anti-Terrorism Act. The Troika recalled that the Twelve had supported the UN General Assembly resolution of 2 March 1988, in which the question whether the USA is under an obligation to enter into arbitration in accordance with Section 21 of the Headquarters Agreement was unanimously referred to the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion. They conveyed the view that the arbitration procedure envisaged in the Headquarters Agreement should be commenced with the participation of the United States of America.

Former Oral Question without debate (O-204/87/rev.) converted into a question for Question Time.

88/090. Question No H-38/88 by Mr Pranchère Concerning the Hunger Strike in the Diyarbakir Prison, and Question No H-56/88 by Mr Papoutsis Concerning the Conditions Under Which Kurdish Political Prisoners Are Held in Turkish Gaols

Date of Issue: 13 April 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Questions

Question No H-38/88:

Can the Foreign Ministers inform Parliament of the situation in the prison at Diyarbakir, where the Turkish authorities ended a hunger strike by 2 000 inmates by subjecting them to torture and

ill-treatment? Can they confirm that one prisoner died during these incidents and that five more are in coma?

What approaches do they intend to make to the Turkish Government with a view to bringing inhuman treatment to an end?

Question No H-56/88:

Some 2 000 Kurdish political prisoners held in Turkish gaols at Diyarbakir and Eskisehir have been on hunger strike since 9 February 1988 in protest against the sentencing to death of 20 Kurdish political prisoners (confirmed by a report in the Turkish newspaper *Milliyet* on 4 February 1988) and the inhuman conditions of detention in Turkish gaols. This action once again focuses attention on the wretched conditions in Turkish gaols, the accusations of torture and the Turkish authorities' violation of the Kurdish community's basic human rights.

What steps will the Foreign Ministers take and what pressure will they exert on the Turkish Government to secure respect for political prisoners' status, an immediate end to torture, an end to executions and respect for the human rights of the Kurdish community in Turkey?

Answer:

The Twelve do not have special information on conditions and events in the prisons mentioned by Honourable Members in these questions.

As Members of the European Parliament well know, the Twelve continue to follow the human rights situation in Turkey with due attention. They are doing so on the basis of their well-known human rights policy, set out in the declaration of 21 July 1986 by the Foreign Ministers of the European Community.

The Turkish authorities are fully aware of the position of the Twelve, also with regard to the particular issues of torture and death penalties.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 86/230.

88/091. Question No H-40/88 by Mr Dessylas Concerning an International Conference on the Palestinian Problem

Date of Issue: 13 April 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

What measures have the Foreign Ministers taken or do they intend to take to put pressure on Israel to hold an international conference with PLO participation to find a solution to the Palestinian problem in view of the fact that dozens of Palestinians are still being killed and wounded by the Israeli army?

Answer:

The Twelve continue to support all recent efforts aimed at injecting new impetus into the search for a negotiated settlement of the Arab—Israeli conflict.

To that end, we have, either through the Presidency or jointly or also on a bilateral basis, numerous contacts with the parties to the conflict and with all other interested parties.

As we have stated on many occasions in the past, *inter alia* on 23 February and 13 July 1987, and most recently in the declaration on the Middle East issued by Ministers on 8 February 1988, the Twelve strongly support an international peace conference in the Middle East, under the auspices of the United Nations, as the suitable framework for the necessary negotiations between the parties directly concerned. They are ready to do their utmost to facilitate such negotiations.

The Twelve are indeed convinced that only a negotiated solution to the Arab–Israeli conflict, by means of a comprehensive, just and lasting political settlement, can bring peace to the region. The unrest in the occupied territories since December 1987 has underlined the urgent need for such a political settlement. The Twelve never fail to make clear these views to all interested parties.

8/092. Question No H-46/88 by Mr Alavanos Concerning the Military and Economic Measures Taken by the USA Against Panama

Date of Issue: 13 April 1988
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

How do the Foreign Ministers view the military and economic measures taken by the USA against the Government of Panama, which threaten to create yet another flashpoint in the sensitive Central American region?

Answer:

The Twelve are deeply concerned by the crisis affecting Panama. In their desire to see an improvement in the situation in this part of the world, the Twelve in a statement of 2 March 1988 repeated their belief that the difficult political and economic problems besetting this region can be solved only if the principles of democracy, respect for the law, and independence prevail. Furthermore, the Twelve have addressed an appeal to the current leaders of Panama to open the way for peace and democracy in the country.

8/093. Question No H-57/88 by Mr Mavros Concerning the Turkish Occupation of Cyprus and the EEC–Turkey Association Council

Date of Issue: 13 April 1988
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

What position do the Foreign Ministers propose to take at the forthcoming EEC–Turkey Association Council in view of Turkey's continued unlawful occupation of the northern part of the Republic of Cyprus and the problems deriving from this?

Answer:

The Honourable Member may wish to know that preparations for the EEC–Turkey Association Council take place in the Community framework, and not in European political cooperation.

The position of the Twelve on the situation in Cyprus has been made known on numerous occasions since 1974. Allow me to refer the Honourable Member to the answer given to Question No H-26/88 by Mr Lomas¹.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 88/087.

88/094. Statement Concerning Afghanistan

Date of Issue: 14 April 1988

Place of Issue: Bonn

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: The Twelve

Status of Document: Declaration

The Twelve welcome the successful conclusion of the Afghanistan talks. The Geneva Agreement represents an important step towards a solution of the Afghanistan crisis. Now the Twelve expect the Soviet Union to withdraw all its troops from Afghanistan without any delay before the end of 1988. This will bring an end to an occupation which has brought untold sufferings to the Afghan people.

The Twelve appreciate the untiring efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and his Special Representative Mr Diego Cordovez, to achieve a solution of the crisis.

The Twelve pay tribute to the readiness particularly of Pakistan to accept millions of Afghan refugees over the years. They also express admiration for the resistance of the Afghan people to Soviet occupation.

The Twelve hold the view that, to permit the restoration of genuine peace, the withdrawal of Soviet troops and the unimpeded return of refugees must be accompanied by an overall political settlement of the crisis. In this connection, they consider participation by the resistance in a process of negotiation, determination and in the installation of a truly representative government in Kabul to be indispensable.

Afghanistan has been devastated by a war lasting eight years. In connection with a settlement of the crisis, the Twelve are ready to render, in close coordination with the relevant international organizations and other countries prepared to do likewise, their contribution to the return of the refugees to their country and to the due course to the reconstruction of an independent and non-aligned Afghanistan.

88/095. Statement to the Plenary of the Vienna CSCE Follow-up Meeting

Date of Issue: 15 April 1988

Place of Issue: Vienna, Austria

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Statement in International Forum

Mr Chairman, the concern of the twelve Member States of the European Community today is to overcome immobility and enter on a new stage of the CSCE process. Whenever and under what conditions we should finish our work in Vienna, the Twelve will not accept insufficient or unbalanced results. One thing is inconceivable to them: not to improve on what we achieved in Helsinki and Madrid.

Since the Vienna follow-up meeting took up its work, far-reaching changes have taken place in the relationship between the East and the West, in particular in the military field. The treaty on the world-wide elimination of the medium-range missiles that were stationed in several participating States has been signed. The confidence- and security-building measures of the Stockholm Document are being applied in their entirety. Greater openness and predictability of military activities are already contributing towards lightening the political landscape in Europe.

And there have been significant improvements in the practice of some participating States regarding travel abroad.

The Twelve had hoped that the improvement in relations between East and West would soon lead to an agreement on generous and concrete commitments. They have been disappointed in that hope. In the areas in which the discrepancy between the promises of the Final Act and the commitments agreed upon and their implementation is most painful, long overdue corrective action has not been forthcoming. In this instance, with regard to freedom of religion, freedom of movement, and also freedom of association.

One and a half years after the beginning of this Conference, it is high time that the thirty participating States achieve our jointly avowed aim and agree on a substantive and balanced conclusion.

document that will comprehensively advance the CSCE process on all fronts. The commitments are now almost thirteen years old. The Twelve do not wish to overtax the CSCE process, but they believe we must at last make use of the existing conditions for progress towards better observance and carefully considered expansion of CSCE commitments. Our citizens have a right to this. They are waiting impatiently for the promise of the Helsinki Final Act to be followed by deeds. They want to experience tangible, positive effects in their daily lives.

Pride of place in this context goes to unreserved respect for human rights, to which our Governments committed themselves in Principle VII. The Twelve, together with other participating States, advocate a mechanism combined with meetings intended to ensure better respect for *all* human rights in *all* participating States. The strong, positive echo that this proposal has aroused encourages us. Disregard of human rights must finally become a thing of the past. The members of the younger generation in Europe and North America, who have now grown to political responsibility, are keenly alive to questions of justice at home and in the world outside. This modern ethical and political awareness linking our peoples must be reflected in the results of our work.

There is one common denominator in all of the work of the Twelve for better respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms, in which context I need not go into the details of individual texts. All of us have long since accepted the basic obligations in question; in Principle VII of the Final Act, in the United Nations Charter, in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the United Nations Covenants. In all of their proposals and initiatives, the Twelve are pursuing the common aim that observance of the commitments spelled out in these documents should not become the exception, and that the exception should not become the rule. That is the direction in which this meeting must make a great step forward. There is unanimity between the Twelve and many other delegations on this.

The Member States of the European Community have been passionate advocates of the CSCE process since its inception. After the bitter experience of the past, they hope that Europe will no longer be an arena for conflicts and wars but a continent of peace, security and cooperation. They are aware of the continuing existence of fundamental divergences between systems or ideologies. They nonetheless advocate all the more strongly a joint search for progress to ensure that all States may participate in international relations on the basis of equal rights and to guarantee that the human rights and fundamental freedoms of our citizens will be comprehensively respected.

The fact that we have not progressed further is not due to any lack of diligence or to intransigence on the part of the Twelve. The proposals they have made with like-minded delegations have been moderate in scope and content. They have also discerned valuable elements in many proposals of other participants that would carry the process forward.

And the neutral coordinators have performed a responsible and selfless task. We have among us veterans from the very first days of the CSCE, such as our Executive Secretary, Ambassador Helmut Liedermann, and we know what the dynamism of the process owes to these neutral mediators. The coordinators of the Vienna follow-up meeting have lived up to this demanding tradition. They deserve our confidence. Through their patient and circumspect consultations, a considerable degree of *rapprochement* has been achieved in all three Baskets.

The Vienna meeting offers the opportunity to prepare very far-reaching steps on the military aspects of security:

- to continue among the thirty-five participating States the process of gradual confidence-building in the military sphere that was begun in Stockholm, with the mandate to negotiate a further set of confidence- and security-building measures; and
- to open the way for distinct negotiations between the Twenty-Three directed towards achieving stability through the establishment of a secure balance of conventional forces at a lower level and eliminating the capacity for surprise attacks and large-scale offensive action.

The course of the Vienna meeting to date has shown that the thirty-five participating States are aware of the implications of this opportunity. The CSCE process gives to all the possibility of cooperating actively in shaping the future, in creating a lasting, stable and peaceful order for the whole of Europe. The themes of the two mandates are complementary: confidence-building, security, stability at a lower level.

Many individual provisions of the two sets of negotiations are interrelated. Progress in work on both mandates is possible and mutually complementary. It is also indispensable if we are to bring the Vienna follow-up meeting to a successful conclusion.

The Vienna meeting will have to supplement this work of confidence-building in all the spheres of the Helsinki Final Act by ensuring greater, reliable cooperation where such cooperation is overdue; with regard to stagnating economic cooperation, in joint action to avert environmental dangers threatening us all; in the liberation of the intellectual forces whose interaction is hampered by barriers and discrepancies between the two systems. It is high time that resistance to these vital currents should be consigned to the scrap-heap of antiquated technology.

We have heard in the news in recent days that trade between East and West has continuously lost momentum during the last year and threatens to shrink to insignificance. Against the background of continuously expanding world trade this is an alarming sign. A contribution by the Vienna meeting to a new upswing in economic relations between Western and Eastern participants has still not been achieved. In past sessions, negotiating tactics have dominated in our discussions. The risk we run is that we may lose sight of our common goal: to extend and intensify the economic cooperation between our countries for the benefit of our peoples. We must strive to create the necessary business environment for reviving growth in economic exchange between East and West.

We should be guided by the ambition to create conditions in which it makes no difference for the businessman whether he works in France, Finland or Poland.

There is growing awareness of the need to harmonize and finally unify the general conditions for the economic activities in the whole of the CSCE region. Let us take the necessary initiatives to reflect this awareness in practical action. The economic East–West conference, which the Twelve and other like-minded delegations have proposed, will serve this purpose.

In the field of cooperation in science and technology, much leeway still has to be made up to improve the substance and the conditions of such cooperation. That encompasses the need of scientists for free and creative communication among themselves. The Scientific Forum which the Twelve and others propose to be held at Erice in Sicily should serve as a model for the fruitful role that can be played by a concentrated debate conducted in full academic freedom.

In the same way, there should be no material obstacles when a tourist wants to travel to other parts of Europe, west or east, in order to find recreation, to enjoy the local treasures of our common European heritage or to meet other people in private surroundings.

The economic dynamism of recent decades has helped to solve many problems; but it has also burdened us with other problems whose full impact has not become clear to us until recently. In environmental protection we must make up for lost ground and take action to avert new threats. Here also, there must be no disengagement. International standards must be worked out jointly and observed by all. On this point, the Twelve have also presented a comprehensive and at the same time realistic proposal. Recent scientific findings have underscored the vital importance of these tasks. In deliberations regarding cooperation in the Mediterranean, their proposal for an ecological expert meeting in Palma de Mallorca is inspired by this perception. It sheds new light on the economic importance and the ecological concerns of the Mediterranean region.

In Basket III of the Final Act, the practical concerns of our citizens are the direct and concrete subject of negotiations. It should be our aim to increase and facilitate meetings and contacts between people in a divided Europe. That is the purpose of Western proposals on expediting application procedures in cases of family reunification, and on reducing the necessary notice period for exit travel in humanitarian hardship cases. That is the purpose of the proposals for the provision of more opportunities for contacts in all fields: town-twinning, sports meetings, youth and student exchanges, which have already been provisionally agreed upon. That is above all the purpose of the urgent demand to solve pending cases in the field of human contacts as soon as possible, but not later than two months after the end of this meeting.

All that we demand is the practical implementation of the human right to freedom of movement.

Another point must be tangibly reflected in the Vienna concluding document: we want to make the peoples of North America and Europe more aware of our common cultural heritage. We should, by means of vigorous initiatives, promote mutual cultural enrichment in as many areas as possible.

The right of a State to set up cultural institutes in other participating States serves the interests of *both* parties in all cases. That should finally be recognized.

In the decades that have elapsed since the invention of the transistor, the technology of communication, information and information-processing has developed with undreamt-of dynamism. Social and economic developments are stimulated and controlled by this technology. How can we accept archaic obstacles and discrepancies that impede information and mutual knowledge in the heart of Europe? It is truly time to release the flow of information across frontiers, to abolish the jamming of radio and television broadcasts once and for all.

Cooperation is inconceivable without communication. Above all, the right of our citizens to the free expression of opinion includes the freedom to obtain, receive and disseminate information and ideas of all kinds. An Information Forum which many delegations support and that the United Kingdom is willing to host would help to stimulate and release flows of information among the Thirty-Five.

The modern State needs citizens who can think for themselves, who can take responsibility for themselves and others in the industrial society. Such citizens must be well-informed, open to dialogue and also critical. To control the flow of information for reasons of State keeps them in leading strings. No participating State can really afford to do that.

The implementation and further development of agreements in Basket III, as in the other dispositions of the Final Act, remain for the Twelve a touchstone for the sincere willingness of all CSCE participants to take respect for human rights seriously.

The final phase of this Conference must begin now. Success will be in sight if we strive for agreements to benefit all our citizens. Success will be in sight if we are all directed by the guiding principle of confidence-building, which is a common aim in all of the Baskets. Finally, success will be possible and, indeed, within our grasp, if we observe the spirit and letter of obligations that we have long since entered into and together take seriously our duty to the future in the CSCE process. Thank you, Mr Chairman.

88/096. Statement Concerning Israeli Practices in the Occupied Territories

Date of Issue: 15 April 1988

Place of Issue: Bonn

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: The Twelve

Status of Document: Declaration

The Twelve have noted with concern recent actions by the Israeli authorities in the occupied territories which are likely to have the effect of deepening mistrust between Israelis and Palestinians, and making a peaceful settlement in the region harder to find. They regret the continuing loss of life during the current violence.

The Twelve deplore the deportation of eight Palestinians from the occupied territories on 11 April 1988, and the Israeli threat to deport twelve more. As the Twelve expressed in their *démarche* to the Israeli authorities on 12 January 1988, such action is a clear breach of Article 49 of the Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949, and is in defiance of UN Security Council Resolutions 607 and 608 of January 1988. The Twelve deeply deplore the continuing repressive measures taken by Israel, including the destruction of houses, which is in clear contradiction to international law.

The Twelve furthermore regret the closure on 30 March 1988 by the Israeli authorities of the Palestinian press service, which has been an important source of information for those concerned with developments in the occupied territories. The Twelve believe that suppression of facts and restrictions on the freedom of the media will endanger the search for a negotiated solution in the region.

The Twelve call upon the Israeli authorities to be mindful of the effects such action will have upon the worsening situation in the occupied territories and upon the search for a lasting negotiated peace.

**88/097. Questions No 1868/87 and 1869/87 by Ms Lizin (S–B)
Concerning Morocco**

Date of Issue: 15 April 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Questions of 18 December 1988

Question No 1868/87:

What action has the Council taken on the resolution on political rights in Morocco adopted by the European Parliament at its second part-session in October 1987?

Question No 1869/87:

What action have the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation taken on the resolution on political rights in Morocco adopted by the European Parliament at its second part-session in October 1987?

Answer:

The Twelve have taken note of the resolution on [human] rights in Morocco, adopted by the European Parliament on 29 October 1987¹.

Member States of the Twelve have, on many occasions, made known to the Moroccan authorities their attachment to universal respect for human rights. They have, likewise, made known their full support for the UN Secretary-General's efforts to find a peaceful solution of the Western Sahara conflict.

The Twelve continue to follow closely the human rights situation, and make the representations they deem necessary.

¹ OJ No C 318 of 30 November 1987, p. 112.

**88/098. Question No 2136/87 by Mr Pordea (DR–F) Concerning the
Soviet–American Agreements and the Fate of Eastern Europeans**

Date of Issue: 15 April 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 28 January 1988

The USA–USSR agreement, which is likely to take the form of a series of bilateral arms-reduction treaties, implies American acceptance of the Soviet seizure of Eastern Europe. This tacit recognition of totalitarian communist governments which have been propped up by force in those countries for 40 years, knowingly condemns 120 million Europeans to a regime of permanent terror and poverty.

Does not the Council believe that – in the interests of the European Community, and more especially its own security, if not for the sake of continental solidarity and the moral standards and humanitarian and democratic principles which it upholds in other instances – it is its duty to make representations in this respect to the signatories of the agreements in question?

Answer:

It has been a consistent policy of the Twelve to promote arms control and disarmament. In this context, the Heads of State and Government in their declaration of 5 December 1987¹ from the European

Council in Copenhagen expressed their support for the INF agreement. They stated that they consider it essential that this achievement should give further impetus and substantive progress in the whole range of present and future negotiations on arms control and disarmament.

We do not see the implication mentioned by the Honourable Member in his question. On the contrary, the Twelve are determined to overcome, step by step, the negative consequences of the division of Europe. This has been explained also in the answers to the Questions No 326/87 and No 327/87 from the Honourable Member².

The CSCE process has been and will remain most important in this regard, as was clearly emphasized by the European Council in its declaration of 5 December 1987.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 87/510.

² *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 87/438 and 87/278.

88/099. Question No 2195/87 by Mr Glinne (S–B) Concerning the II-Treatment of the Turkish Minority in Bulgaria

Date of Issue: 15 April 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 1 February 1988

It is well known that the cultural identity of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria is under attack by the Bulgarian authorities on a scale and with a severity which amounts to deliberate persecution.

Can the Ministers state whether political cooperation among the Twelve has resulted in political and humanitarian initiatives being taken in this area in respect of a government which is a signatory of the Helsinki agreements and their 'Third Basket'? What results have been achieved thus far?

Answer:

The Twelve use all appropriate occasions to remind the countries signatories to the CSCE Final Act of the obligations which they have freely entered into in Helsinki and Madrid. Such position was specifically stressed in a *démarche* made by the Presidency's Foreign Minister Mr Poos with the Bulgarian ambassador in Luxembourg on July 26, 1985, on the importance that we attach to the seventh Principle of the Helsinki Act. The Twelve will continue to insist on the full implementation of all these commitments.

In Vienna, at the ongoing CSCE follow-up meeting, they have also made proposals to gradually extend these commitments and to ensure better implementation. These proposals include better protection of national minorities. The Twelve are determined that the Vienna meeting should benefit all individuals of the 35 countries involved.

Certain Member States have raised this question individually in bilateral contacts with Bulgaria or in the appropriate multilateral forums.

It remains to be seen whether the joint Bulgarian–Turkish working group on existing bilateral problems, which is to be set up under the protocol signed in Belgrade on February 23 between both countries, will show any positive effects on the matter in your question.

88/100. Question No 2200/87 by Mr Pordea (DR–F) Concerning the European Security Policy

Date of Issue: 15 April 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 1 February 1988

The Political Affairs Committee of the European Parliament recently discussed the problem of 'the aspects of European security policy'.

While the political and economic aspects of this problem were discussed, strategic matters as were not.

Is this because the Single Act, which does not cover military matters, does not go far enough and so, could it be amended accordingly?

Furthermore, how does the Council justify the outrageous presence of a representative of the So Union at this meeting of a Community body dealing with a particularly important matter of a confidential nature?

Answer:

Discussions on questions of security in the framework of European political cooperation are based on provisions of the Single European Act, and thus concern the political and economic aspects of security.

As far as Title III of the Single European Act is concerned, Article 30 paragraph 12 stipulates that High Contracting Parties, five years after the entry into force of the Single Act, shall examine whether any revision is required.

It is not for the twelve governments of the European Communities to comment upon the decision of committees of Parliament to invite officials from third countries. How meetings of these committees conducted would of course have to be discussed within the European Parliament.

88/101. Question No 2471/87 by Mr Megahy (S—UK) Concerning Human Rights in the West Bank and Gaza

Date of Issue: 15 April 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 24 February 1988

What representations have the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation made to the Israeli Government on the abuse of civil and human rights of Palestinian representatives on the West Bank and Gaza?

Answer:

On 18 December 1987 and 12 January 1988, the ambassador of the Presidency in Tel Aviv accompanied by his Troika colleagues and acting under instructions of the Governments of the Twelve expressed to the Israeli Government the Twelve's deep concern about the rapidly and seriously deteriorating situation and Israel's decision to pursue a policy of deportation in the occupied territories.

The Twelve urged Israel to assure the immediate protection of the inhabitants of the territories and compliance with international law and human rights standards.

The Twelve urgently called upon Israel to abide by UN Security Council Resolutions 605, 607, 608, and the Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of August 1949.

In their statement of 8 February in Bonn, the Foreign Ministers of the Twelve reiterated their position. They deeply deplored the repressive measures taken by Israel, which are in violation of international law and human rights. They also expressed their strong conviction that the *status quo* is not sustainable and that a political solution, along the lines of the Venice Declaration of 1980, is necessary. They reiterated their strong support for an international peace conference under the auspices of the United Nations in the suitable framework for the necessary negotiations between the parties directly concerned.

88/102. Question No 2483/87 by Mr Hughes (S–UK) Concerning the Denial of Human Rights to Turkish Physicians

Date of Issue: 15 April 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 24 February 1988

Are the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation aware that the Turkish Government has banned documents produced by the British Medical Association on the medical effects and the long-term and environmental effects of nuclear war? Further, are they aware that Turkish doctors and health workers have been refused permission to lobby public opinion around these two documents, in contravention of basic human rights?

Will the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation outline what action they have taken, and propose to take, to restore human rights and the democratic structure to Turkey, and what sanctions and other measures they have considered in the event of the Turkish Government steadfastly refusing to grant the most basic of human rights – the right to assembly? Also, can they inform me whether the Turkish State is still refusing permission to physicians and others to form a group opposed to nuclear war?

Answer:

The Twelve are aware of reports that the Turkish Administration had previously imposed bans on the activities of the Society of Turkish Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War. It is understood that the Turkish State Prosecutor has decided there was no case against the Society and has dropped legal proceedings, thus freeing the Society to carry out its activities.

The position of the Twelve concerning human rights and democracy in Turkey has been explained to Parliament on many occasions. The Honourable Member may wish to refer to the answers given by the Twelve in 1987, *inter alia* to the following questions: H-801/86, H-852/86, H-248/87, H-442/87, H-445/87¹.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Docs. 87/107, 87/125, 87/246, 87/380.

88/103. Question No 2695/87 by Mr Cottrell (ED–UK) Concerning the Greek–Turkish Dialogue

Date of Issue: 15 April 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 14 March 1988

In welcoming the process of *rapprochement* between Greece and Turkey, what practical action do the Ministers propose to take to support this essential dialogue?

Answer:

The dialogue, initiated by the Prime Ministers of Greece and Turkey in January 1988, relates to issues of mutual concern to these two countries. While this dialogue is very much to be welcomed, it is not incumbent on Greece's partners in the European Community to comment upon a bilateral dialogue of this nature.

88/104. Statement Concerning Foreign Relief Workers in Eritrea and Tigray

Date of Issue: 20 April 1988
Place of Issue: Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Message

The Twelve express their deep concern over the present escalation of the civil war in the North of Ethiopia where heavy fighting seriously endanger[s] the food distribution to millions of people threatened by famine and starvation.

They regret that ongoing military action ha[s] led to a situation where expatriate staff engaged in relief, medical and rehabilitation activities related to the drought have been requested to leave Eritrea and Tigray and to temporarily withdraw to Addis Ababa. They request all parties involved to find ways and means to allow the staff members to return to the region if they wish to do so, under circumstances of as much safety as possible, in order to continue their humanitarian task.

88/105. Statement Concerning Relief Workers in Ethiopia

Date of Issue: 21 April 1988
Place of Issue: Bonn
Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The Twelve express their deep concern over the present escalation of the civil war in the North of Ethiopia where heavy fighting seriously endanger[s] the food distribution to millions of people threatened by famine and starvation.

They regret that ongoing military action ha[s] led to a situation where expatriate staff engaged in relief, medical and rehabilitation activities related to the drought have been requested to leave Eritrea and Tigray and to temporarily withdraw to Addis Ababa. They request all parties involved to find ways and means to allow the staff members to return to the region if they wish to do so, under circumstances of as much safety as possible, in order to continue their humanitarian task.

The Twelve once again appeal to all concerned to make serious efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement of these internal conflicts which have caused endless sufferings to the population in the Horn of Africa.

88/106. Statement Concerning the Normalization Agreement Between Ethiopia and Somalia

Date of Issue: 25 April 1988
Place of Issue: Addis Ababa, Ethiopia and Mogadishu, Somalia
Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Message

The Twelve note with satisfaction that the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and the Somali Democratic Republic after the meeting of their Heads of State in Djibouti on March 22nd have signed on April 3rd, 1988, in Mogadishu an agreement on the normalization of bilateral relations between the two countries. They welcome the decision of the Governments of Ethiopia and Somalia to normalize their bilateral relations, after more than a decade of warfare and tension, by confidence-building measures, including the disengagement of all troops from the border by May 15, the ending of all subversive activities and hostile propaganda, the re-establishment of diplomatic relations and the exchange of prisoners of war and other persons held by the respective parties, within four months.

The Twelve consider this agreement as a positive step towards the achievement of peace in the Horn of Africa. They appeal to the parties concerned to do their utmost to convert the agreement now reached to a stable and lasting peace between the two countries.

88/107. Question No 2106/87 by Mr Vandemeulebroucke (ARC–B) Concerning the Platform on European Security and the Single Act

Date of Issue: 28 April 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 28 January 1988

Paragraph 2 of the 'Platform on European Security' adopted on 27 October 1987 by the Foreign and Defence Ministers of the Member States of the WEU in The Hague, mentions the attachment of the countries concerned to the construction of a European Union in conjunction with the Single Act drawn up by the European Community, and it is stressed that the construction of an integrated Europe could not be completed until security and defence were included. Moreover, the resumption of the American–Soviet dialogue on disarmament makes the need felt for a European Community position on this issue.

Does the reference to the European Community in the above-mentioned 'platform' imply that, in accordance with Article 30 (6)(a) of the Single Act, which concerns the coordination of the position of the European Community Member States on political and economic aspects of security, meetings of the Foreign Ministers of the WEU will be held at the same time as meetings of the Foreign Ministers of the European Community? In what other ways will these two organizations harmonize their position?

Answer:

In accordance with the relevant provisions of the Single European Act, the Twelve are determined to coordinate more closely their positions on the political and economic aspects of security. Closer cooperation on questions of European security contributes in an essential way to the development of a European identity in external policy matters.

When considering the question of security cooperation between European political cooperation and other organizations, one has to keep well in mind the contents of the Single European Act, Title III, Article 30, paragraph 6, and the preamble of the Single European Act as well as the different competences of other organizations in which, as acknowledged in Article 30, paragraph 6(c) of the Single European Act, certain partners pursue an even closer cooperation.

As the Twelve state in the preamble, they are aware of the responsibility incumbent upon Europe to act with consistency and solidarity in order more effectively to protect its common interests and independence, and to contribute to the preservation of international peace and security.

Seven of the Twelve are Members of WEU but there are no formal relations between the two organizations. There are no provisions for holding EPC ministerial meetings at the same time as WEU ministerial meetings.

88/108. Question No 2146/87 by Ms Lizin (S–B) Concerning the Achievements of the Danish Presidency in the Area of Political Cooperation Regarding the Middle East

Date of Issue: 28 April 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 28 January 1988

What initiatives and what results has the Danish Presidency to its credit as regards the Middle East process? What is the present state of European thinking regarding the international conference?

Answer:

Under the Danish Presidency, the Twelve continued to follow closely developments in the peace process. They made statements on this subject on several occasions, particularly at the ministerial meeting on 1 July and at the European Council meeting on 4 and 5 December 1987.

The Presidency has also had contacts with the parties concerned to explore the possibilities of bringing about progress in the peace process.

As regards the holding of an international peace conference on the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations, the Twelve remain convinced that this is the appropriate framework for the essential negotiations between the parties directly concerned. The Honourable Member of Parliament is requested to refer to the statements issued in Copenhagen on 13 July 1987 and 5 December 1987¹ and to those issued in Bonn on 8 February 1988².

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Docs. 87/260 and 87/509.

² *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 88/036.

88/109. Question No 2197/87 by Mr Telkämper (ARC-D) Concerning the Franco-German Cooperation on Military Security Policy

Date of Issue: 28 April 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 1 February 1988

The Governments of the Federal Republic of Germany and France have begun to strengthen their bilateral cooperation on military and security policy. Plans include a combined French and German brigade and a Franco-German defence and security council to be established on 22 January 1988, the 25th anniversary of the Elysée Treaty.

For a number of weeks the press has carried reports that Great Britain, Italy, The Netherlands, Belgium and Spain have expressed objections to, and reservations about, a Paris-Bonn military axis, mainly because of fears of German and French ascendancy in the European Community.

1. What are the views of the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation on the establishment of a Paris-Bonn military axis?

2. Do they share the view repeatedly stressed by the French that it is the first step towards creating a Western-European NATO defence pillar or a future Western-European defence Community? If so, why? If not, why not?

3. Do they believe that a military axis between Paris and Bonn will cement bonds between the twelve Member States of the European Community, or is it more likely to create imbalances?

Answer:

Questions concerning military cooperation between Member States fall outside the scope of European political cooperation.

As far as the third question of the Honourable Member is concerned, the Presidency would like to draw his attention to the answer given on 9 February to Question No H-860/87 by Mr Ulburghs

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 88/041.

8/110. Question No 2498/87 by Ms Dury (S–B) Concerning the Execution of the ‘Sharpeville Six’

Date of Issue: 28 April 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 24 February 1988

Have the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation made representations to President P.W. Botha urging compliance with the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 and Additional Protocol No 1 of 1977?

Answer:

The Twelve, both jointly and individually, have repeatedly appealed to the South African State President to exercise clemency in favour of the Sharpeville Six on humanitarian grounds.

Although the South African Government has refused to pardon them, the Twelve have noted the decision of the South African Supreme Court to postpone the executions and hope the lives of the condemned persons will be saved.

8/111. Question No 2710/87 by Mr Glinne (S–B) Concerning the Dangers Involved in the Proposed Cooperation Between the United States and Japan Concerning the Peaceful Use of Nuclear Energy

Date of Issue: 28 April 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 18 March 1988

At the beginning of November 1987, the Administration referred to the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States a proposal for nuclear cooperation between America and Japan which has prompted a motion of approval by the House of Representatives (House Joint Resolution 439 of 27 January 1988 by Mr Fascel and Mr Broomfield) and a motion of rejection by the Senate (Senate Joint Resolution 241 of 27 January 1988 by Mr Byrd and Mr Dole).

2. The Foreign Affairs Committees of the Senate and the House of Representatives held debates and hearings on the subject in December.

3. The proposed agreement would allow commercial aircraft of the 747 type to transport cargoes of plutonium regularly from one end of the world to the other.

4. The agreement between America and Japan currently in force (in principle until 2003) allows the United States to monitor the use of the plutonium contained in the uranium fuel that Japan obtains from the United States, the latter being the supplier of 80% of Japan's nuclear fuel in the form of low-enriched uranium, while Japan is required to secure prior American approval for converting spent fuel into plutonium.

5. The new proposed agreement would grant Japan automatic approval for 30 years to reprocess plutonium and transport it by air without examination of individual cases.

6. Japan would buy low-enriched uranium from the United States, burn it in Japanese reactors, then send the spent fuel to France and Great Britain for reprocessing, after which it would be sent back by air to Japan, with stop-overs currently scheduled in Alaska, Washington State or the north of the United States; these uranium transport flights would operate two or three times a month.

7. There is unanimous opposition to these proposals from both Houses of the State Legislature and other public and private authorities in Alaska, concern in Canada, and opposition from the US Nuclear Regulatory Commission, the United States Secretary of State for Defence and the Nuclear Control Institute in Washington.

8. Japan is planning to transport the plutonium by air in the form of plutonium oxide powder, 5 pounds of which would cause tens of millions of cases of contamination and cancer-related illnesses the same scale.

Will the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation:

- a) ascertain the correct and most recent figures for cancer-related illnesses in the vicinity of the base Thulé in Greenland, where a B-52 aircraft crashed in 1968 with a cargo of 16 kilogrammes plutonium on board;
- b) consider:
 - the precedent which would be set by the adoption of the afore-mentioned agreement as regards nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty of 1978;
 - the danger of accidents affecting this type of transport;
 - the temptation that this kind of transport would offer to terrorist groups?

Answer:

The Presidency would inform the Honourable Member that existing provisions on non-proliferation not in any way prohibit the reprocessing of irradiated fuels and the use of separated plutonium for other purposes, on condition, of course, that such activities are carried out under the supervision of the IAEA.

As far as transport is concerned, those same provisions lay down particularly strict physical protection measures, including the use of specially designed containers, constant surveillance by an escort and close liaison with adequate intervention forces.

Furthermore, the number of instances of such transport between Japan and Europe will decrease as Japan obtains its own reprocessing facilities.

88/112. Question No 2711/87 by Mr De Gucht (LDR-B) Concerning the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

Date of Issue: 28 April 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 18 March 1988

Thirty-nine of the eighty-seven States which have acceded to or ratified the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights have accepted the competence of the Human Rights Committee of the United Nations to deal with individual complaints by ratifying or acceding to the Optional Protocol. Among those countries are seven of the Member States of the European Communities: Denmark, France, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Portugal and Spain.

Do the Ministers of Foreign Affairs envisage bringing into line the Member States that have so far not ratified or acceded to the Optional Protocol, in view of the search for full respect of human rights observance and an even fuller guarantee for the European citizen in this matter?

Answer:

In their declaration on human rights of 21 July 1986¹, the Twelve have reaffirmed that respect for human rights is one of the cornerstones of European Cooperation, that they seek universal observance of human rights and that the major United Nations instruments in the field of human rights should be universally ratified as soon as possible.

In this context it should be mentioned that all Member States have already either signed or ratified the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

As far as individual complaints are concerned, the Presidency wishes to point out that the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, which entered into force in 1953,

13 September 1953 and was ratified by all Member States, offers in Article 25, which is explicitly adhered to by all Member States, provisions to this effect and provides the European citizens with substantial guarantee as, contrary to the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, it may lead to binding decisions.

EPC Bulletin, Doc. 86/230.

8/113. Statement at the General Debate of the United Nations Disarmament Commission (UNDC)

Date of Issue: 2 May 1988

Place of Issue: New York

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Statement in International Forum

Mr Chairman, on behalf of the twelve Member States of the European Community I have the honour to convey to you our sincere congratulations for your election. I should like to add our best wishes for successful work at this year's UNDC session. The Twelve are very much in agreement with you that we should make every effort to keep the general debate to a minimum and then get right to work.

With only one month left to the opening of SSOD III this work will be of specific importance. At the special Session we will be expected to draw up a number of concrete recommendations, thus contributing to an intensified dialogue. Concentrated and result-oriented deliberations will therefore be necessary. What we can achieve this year will at the same time be proof of the degree of efficiency UNDC is able to provide. The twelve Member States of the European Community are prepared to commit themselves to active and constructive participation in this work.

I should like to comment briefly on some of the substantive items of our draft agenda. In the vast field covered by the comprehensive disarmament topic of item 4, practically no progress could be achieved last year. Although we are fully aware of the difficulties existing in this area, we feel that it should be our ambition to produce at least a limited number of recommendations. Since we are meeting in an international climate that should inspire and influence our work in an increasingly positive manner, such progress should be possible.

As to agenda item 5, i.e. reduction of military budgets, the Twelve welcome the considerable progress that [was] made last year. It should now be possible to finalize those parts of the draft on principles which are still under consideration. In this context we wish to reiterate the importance we attach to the application of the standardized international reporting system by the broadest number of States. This reporting system provides a universal framework whereby States with different social and economic systems can supply information about their military spending in a comparable and non-prejudicial form. It is unfortunate that there are still many States within the United Nations which have not yet been able to participate in this useful exercise. Willingness to publish data about force levels and expenditure is a true test of a country's commitment to increased openness and transparency in military matters.

South Africa's nuclear capability is another item on our agenda where further progress should be possible.

So far as the review of the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament is concerned, progress could be achieved this year. The Twelve attach particular importance to this agenda item especially with regard to the disarmament machinery. We should like to urge all participants to contribute actively to the finalization of proposals.

Our delegations engaged in a substantive consideration of the question of conventional disarmament at last year's UNDC session. The interest and the active involvement of the Twelve particularly in matters of conventional disarmament are well known. It is conventional weapons that have been the cause of many millions of lost lives and grave suffering in different parts of the world, and it is expenditure on conventional armament that accounts for the overwhelming part of all military budgets in the world. The process of conventional disarmament is therefore essential for all States in the world and should be

pursued on the global and regional levels. We look forward to the continuing consideration of this issue by UNDC and its working group chaired by one of our members. Last year, that working group made considerable progress towards agreeing upon a substantive report concerning conventional disarmament. We are confident that this task can be completed during the current session of UNDC.

With regard to verification, the Twelve should like to stress again the overall importance they attach to this agenda item. They believe that verification is a basic requirement of any particular agreement on arms limitation or disarmament. Considerable progress was achieved during last year's UNDC session. We therefore are optimistic that it will be possible to finalize a catalogue of concrete recommendations and proposals regarding verification in all its aspects, including principles, provisions and techniques to promote the inclusion of adequate verification in arms limitation and disarmament agreements.

Since the adoption of the final document of 1978, significant improvements towards more confidence-building amongst nations have been achieved. The concept of confidence-building as an important instrument for the strengthening of international peace and security meets with growing acceptance among States. However, further steps towards establishing a firm network of confidence-building measures are still needed. The United Nations as a whole has a particular responsibility in this field, as do the individual member States. In this context, special emphasis should be given to reaching the final consensus on the draft guidelines for confidence-building measures. We are confident that we will succeed in reaching agreement on still outstanding parts of these draft guidelines. It is for this purpose that the draft guidelines re-appear on our agenda.

Mr Chairman, the twelve Member States of the European Community continue to be convinced of the role UNDC has to play as the specialized deliberative body within the United Nations multilateral disarmament machinery. The Disarmament Commission is the place where, with the participation of all UN member States, consensus on the necessity and modalities of disarmament and arms control measures can be reached. In [this respect] the Disarmament Commission is an indispensable link in the multilateral disarmament process. This does not exclude that it needs to step up its efficiency. It is up to us to do better and to help the Commission use its full potential. The Twelve are prepared to contribute to this goal.

88/114. Joint Declaration of the Seventh EC–ASEAN Ministerial Meeting Held in Düsseldorf, 2 and 3 May 1988 – Abstracts

Date of Issue: 3 May 1988

Place of Issue: Düsseldorf

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Foreign Ministers (with other actors)

Status of Document: Joint Declaration

The seventh meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the European Community and of the Association of South-East Asian Nations was held in Düsseldorf on 2 and 3 May 1988. The Ministers had a comprehensive exchange of views on political and economic subjects, revealing a high level of agreement. The meeting confirmed that EC and ASEAN developed a working relationship which matured into an enhanced and broad mutual understanding in all fields. The Ministers felt that it was in the best interest of the EC and ASEAN to further strengthen the elements of their political and economic solidarity. The excellent record of relations among the Ministers gave confidence for the future cooperation between the two groups of states.

The Ministers welcomed important developments since their last meeting in Jakarta in October 1986, in particular progress in integrating the European Community manifest in the Single European Act, the impressive confirmation of ASEAN solidarity at the meeting of ASEAN Heads of Government in Manila in December 1987 and encouraging developments in world politics as reflected by the conclusion of the INF Treaty. At the same time, the Ministers expressed their concern that regional conflicts had not yet been resolved. They reaffirmed their determination jointly to work for the restoration of peace in the regions of tension to the best of their ability.

The Ministers were satisfied to note that the economies of the EC and ASEAN have again shown upward trends despite difficult global economic conditions. The Ministers expressed their great interest in even stronger economic cooperation between the two regional groupings and welcomed in this connection the fact that joint EC–ASEAN investment committees have been founded in all ASEAN capitals since their last meeting.

Regional cooperation

The EC Ministers informed the ASEAN Ministers about the Single European Act which entered into force on 1 July 1987, and which is an expression of the will of the EC Member States to continue the work to transform relations as a whole among themselves into a European Union.

The ASEAN Ministers informed their European counterparts about the meeting of ASEAN Heads of Government which took place in Manila on 14–15 December 1987. The EC Ministers congratulated ASEAN on the twentieth anniversary of its founding and on the progress it had made through close cooperation. The Ministers noted that ASEAN had evolved into an area of peace among its members and of growing stability and economic progress.

Now that the European Community is well on its way towards the completion of an internal market of 20 million and in the process of establishing an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe and that the meeting of ASEAN Heads of Government in Manila has adopted an important Programme of Action, it has become particularly evident that the establishment of EC–ASEAN relations was both presighted and advantageous for all partners.

The Ministers were encouraged by the positive results of consultations between the EC and ASEAN since the beginning of the ASEAN–EC ministerial meeting in 1978. The Ministers reaffirmed the desirability in the future of having periodic consultations on issues of mutual interest, which would contribute further to the strengthening of the existing cooperative relations between the two regional groupings.

Cultural relations

The Ministers agreed to further strengthen EC–ASEAN cultural ties. In this context, emphasis should be given both to the cooperation between universities and other institutions of higher education and the cooperation in the field of sciences in general.

International political issues

East–West relations

The Ministers discussed East–West relations. They noted with satisfaction signs of improvement in East–West relations. They voiced their expectation that this should have a positive effect on the solution of the regional conflicts. The Ministers expressed their readiness to actively contribute to such solutions.

Disarmament and arms control

The Ministers welcomed the INF Treaty as a milestone, being the first agreement by which the United States and the Soviet Union have decided to reduce their nuclear arsenals. They hope that this agreement will be followed by others and will thus be beneficial to other fields of arms control and disarmament. The prospect of a START agreement, reducing the strategic nuclear weapons of the United States and the Soviet Union, was welcomed by Ministers as significant also for Europe and Asia.

The Ministers had a useful exchange of views on the economic and political aspects of the security situation in their respective regions in which they share interest.

The Ministers agreed that the negotiations at the Geneva Conference on Disarmament on a convention to ban chemical weapons worldwide must be rapidly brought to a fully satisfactory

conclusion. They reaffirmed their resolve to spare no efforts towards reaching such a global and verifiable convention. In view of the alarming proliferation of chemical weapons, it is essential to eliminate them once and for all.

Cambodia

The Ministers had a thorough exchange of views on the Cambodian problem. They reaffirmed their belief that peace and stability in South-East Asia can be restored only through the cessation of hostilities and of foreign military occupation of Cambodia. They welcomed the initiatives of Prince Sihanouk in the search for a comprehensive settlement of the problem. As the Cambodia conflict is primarily a result of foreign aggression and military occupation, the Ministers therefore urged all those concerned to help accelerate the search for the settlement and appeal in particular to Vietnam to join Prince Sihanouk in the peace talks.

The Ministers reiterated their resolve to work in accordance with the relevant resolutions adopted by the United Nations which aim at restoring the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cambodia consistent with the interests of the people of Cambodia who have undergone so much suffering. A democratic, neutral and independent Cambodia is not attainable without the withdrawal of all foreign troops under international supervision. The Ministers thus reiterated their call for Vietnam to withdraw its troops from Cambodia. The Ministers reaffirmed that no assistance should be given to Vietnam of such a nature as to sustain and enhance the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia.

The Ministers firmly believed that the preponderant role of Prince Sihanouk in the settlement of the Cambodian problem would promote the various interests of all parties concerned; thus, the Ministers saw the need to render all possible support for Prince Sihanouk's efforts to seek a political solution.

In this connection also, the EC Ministers noted with appreciation the continuing efforts of ASEAN to contribute to finding a comprehensive political settlement to the Cambodian problem, including the convening in Jakarta of an informal meeting of the parties directly involved, above all Vietnam.

For a political solution Vietnam's participation is indispensable.

Indochinese refugees

ASEAN and EC Ministers shared the view that the plight of those who have fled from Indochina, including those still in refugee transit camps in ASEAN countries and those along the Thai–Cambodian border, remained the cause of serious concern. These refugees and displaced persons have an inalienable right to return to their home countries. The Community is ready to assist in their return. As long as the flow of refugees continues, humanitarian efforts coordinated between the countries of first asylum, the resettlement countries and the international organizations concerned will have to continue to ease the suffering of the refugees and expedite their resettlement.

The Ministers were seriously concerned about the recent dramatic increase in the flow of Vietnamese boat people, a problem which originated with Vietnam. They were of the view that Vietnam should, in conformity with humanitarian principles and in the interest of regional peace, stability and harmony, cooperate with the UNHCR, the countries of first asylum and the resettlement countries to find a solution. Vietnam should also accept the return of those who do not meet the agreed criteria for refugee status, subject to satisfactory guarantees as to their treatment on return.

ASEAN and EC Ministers stressed their determination to maintain their coordinated response to the situation.

Afghanistan

Ministers welcomed the successful conclusion of the indirect Geneva talks on Afghanistan on 14 April 1988.

They expressed appreciation for the untiring efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and his Special Representative Mr Diego Cordovez, to achieve a solution of the crisis.

The Ministers hold the view that, to permit the restoration of genuine peace, the withdrawal of Soviet troops and the unimpeded return of refugees must be accompanied by an overall political settlement of

the crisis fully involving the Afghan people. In this connection, they consider participation of the resistance in a process of self-determination and in the installation of a truly representative government in Kabul to be indispensable.

Middle East

The Ministers discussed developments in the Middle East and expressed their concern about the situation in the occupied territories. They referred to declarations and *démarches* made by the Twelve, including the declarations of February 23rd, July 13th, December 5th, 1987, and February 8th, 1988, and to resolutions of the UN Security Council. They supported the idea of an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations as the suitable framework for a political solution.

The Twelve and ASEAN continue to support the sovereignty, integrity and independence of Lebanon. The Iraq–Iran conflict is continuing to cause great human suffering and heavy material loss. It threatens the stability of the whole region. The Ministers reaffirmed their support for a speedy solution of the conflict through the implementation of Security Council Resolution 598.

Southern Africa

With regard to Southern Africa, the Ministers rejected unequivocally the system of apartheid which violates human dignity and reiterated their call for its total abolition. They called on the Government of South Africa to initiate without further delay the national dialogue with the genuine representatives of the South African people. The prerequisites of this should include the lifting of the state of emergency, and the unconditional release of all political prisoners and the unbanning of all political parties. The Ministers vigorously condemned the recent political suppression of South African organizations. They urged the South African Government most strongly to repeal the imposed measures without delay. The Ministers further condemned all aggressive and destabilizing activities on the part of South Africa against its neighbours in the region and called for the settlement of regional problems by peaceful means. The Ministers called for the independence of Namibia without further delay on the basis of the inalienable right to self-determination in accordance with UN Resolution 435.

International terrorism

International terrorism continues to affect a wide range of countries, and is a source of great concern. The Ministers reiterated their strong condemnation of all forms of international terrorism and their resolve to cooperate as closely as possible in the fight against this menace. They also underlined the importance of finding political solutions to the problems which form the roots of terrorism.

Narcotics

Drug trafficking and abuse constitute an increasing threat to the economic and social development of the international community. The Ministers expressed their resolve to unite their countries' forces to fight this serious international threat. They welcomed the fact that the first International Conference on Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking in June 1987 provided an opportunity to work out common strategies to combat the illicit manufacture, trafficking and consumption of drugs and related criminal activities. It is now essential to implement the conference's recommendations consistently and rapidly, in particular by implementing the recommendations in the resolution adopted by consensus at the 1988 meeting of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs and by an early negotiation, signature and ratification of the new United Nations Convention on Illicit Trafficking.

The ASEAN Ministers expressed their appreciation to the European Community for its assistance for the ASEAN–EC drug related projects in the areas of drug prevention and rehabilitation. [...]

88/115. Statement Concerning the Israeli Military Action in Southern Lebanon

Date of Issue: 6 May 1988
Place of Issue: Bonn/Brussels
Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The Twelve consider the Israeli military action in Southern Lebanon to be a further violation of Lebanese sovereignty and territorial integrity. In their view, even individual hostile groups' incursions, which are equally unacceptable, do not justify military action of this kind.

The Twelve regret the Israeli attacks and deeply deplore the resulting deaths and destruction.

Peace and security in the Lebanese–Israeli border area can only be achieved by the full implementation of Security Council Resolution 425 (1978), which calls for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Lebanese territory; and by an end to all fighting in the Lebanese–Israeli border area. International peace and security must be restored through the United Nations Interim Force for Southern Lebanon.

88/116. Statement Concerning the Recent Developments in Poland

Date of Issue: 10 May 1988
Place of Issue: Bonn/Brussels
Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
Source of Document: The Twelve
Status of Document: Declaration

The Twelve are following very closely and with concern the latest developments in Poland. They call for the current conflict to be resolved in accordance with the obligations accepted by Poland in the CSCE documents and in the international covenants on civil and political and on economic, social and cultural rights.

The Twelve are strongly concerned by the recent arrests in Poland. They appeal to the Polish authorities to release those concerned and to avoid the use of violence in solving internal difficulties.

The Twelve's view is that only an open dialogue between the Polish Government and all representative groups of Polish society can ensure democratic reform in Poland and the success of the process of economic renewal.

They hope that the present difficulties could be overcome in the interest of Poland and cooperation in Europe.

88/117. Statement Concerning the Work of the ECOSOC Special Commission on the In-Depth Study of the United Nations Intergovernmental Structure and Functions in the Economic and Social Fields – Concluding Remarks

Date of Issue: 11 May 1988
Place of Issue: New York
Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Statement in International Forum

Mr Dieckmann: Mr Chairman, speaking on behalf of the Member States of the European Community, let me first of all say that we share your sense of regret that, after months of serious work done by all of us in the Special Commission, you have come to the conclusion that at this moment the time does not seem to be ripe for an agreement on a far-reaching reform of the United Nations in the economic and social

fields. We appreciate the difficulties of the task assigned to the Special Commission and to you in particular and would therefore like to thank you for your commitment and your untiring efforts to guide us to a positive outcome of our deliberations. Our thanks also go to the members of the Bureau and to the Secretariat for their valuable support during our work. We feel that under your able leadership the Special Commission has fulfilled a good part of its mandate, which is to carry out an in-depth study of the United Nations intergovernmental structure and functions in the economic and social fields. This is true in particular for the first three months of 1988. Our discussions, which have revealed many areas of agreement not only with regard to an analysis of present structures and practices, can serve as a useful basis for further work.

The Member States of the European Community have from the very beginning participated actively in the deliberations of the Special Commission and remain committed to the objectives of a meaningful reform. We have expressed our views on the subsidiary bodies of ECOSOC under consideration in the Commission and have made concrete proposals for an overall framework for a restructuring of the United Nations in this area. Together with the proposals put forward by other Groups and delegations, they reflect the serious efforts made by all of us to identify measures which would enable the United Nations to better fulfil its functions, as defined in the Charter, in the economic and social fields. We appreciate your intention to include our paper, dated 31 March 1988, in the report to be submitted by the Special Commission to the second Regular Session of ECOSOC in July 1988. Our proposals, like those of others, remain available for the future.

As far as further procedures are concerned, we share your view that it is up to ECOSOC and the 43rd General Assembly to take the necessary action. The Member States of the European Community remain committed to a meaningful reform which, on the basis of General Assembly Resolution 41/213, should be in the interest of *all* member States. We continue to be committed to strengthening the United Nations, in accordance with the Charter, as an indispensable instrument for international cooperation in the economic and social fields. We are ready at any time to continue discussions and to do our share to bring the reform efforts to a successful conclusion. Thank you very much, Mr Chairman.

88/118. Question No H-93/88 by Mr Newton Dunn Concerning Human Rights Violations in Romania

Date of Issue: 17 May 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Considering the Foreign Ministers' firm stance on human rights violations in the context of confidence-building measures in Europe, will the German Presidency consult the Hungarian authorities about appropriate steps to be taken in the interest of the German and Hungarian minorities in Romania, given the many thousands of refugees from Romania who have recently fled to Hungary?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: First let me refer you to the detailed reply to your Question No H-929/87¹ on ethnic minorities in Romania. Since I was not able to answer that question orally during Question Time on 8 March this year, a written reply was forwarded to you. That reply makes it clear that the Twelve continue to follow the question of respect for human rights, including the rights of minorities in Romania, with attention and concern. The Romanian authorities know full well how concerned the Twelve are about these matters. As can be seen from the reply to Question H-929/87, the Twelve consider that the best approach to the human rights situation in Romania is through direct contacts with the Romanian authorities and through the CSCE process; all thirty-five CSCE States are of course participants in the CSCE talks and negotiations.

Mr Newton Dunn (ED): I find that a very disturbing reply. In response to a previous question by me on Saudi Arabia just now, you said that, providing we did not insist, that would maintain the credibility of the Community in the world. You appear to be suggesting that we do not insist and that we relax and do

it through multinational and large-scale forums and that we pay no particular attention to this major problem which concerns Europeans in our own continent. Is that really satisfactory? Do you really think it will maintain the credibility of the Community in the world if we take such a laid-back and relaxed attitude?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: In both my replies I think I made it sufficiently clear on behalf of the Foreign Ministers that we certainly do not take the situation as regards human rights in Romania lightly. Only, we think it is better to discuss these questions directly with the Romanian authorities, rather than via contacts with third countries, as in the case of Hungary which you mentioned. In any case, developments since 1975 have shown that the CSCE process has given us very valuable tools for securing the further gradual implementation of human rights in all the countries which signed the Helsinki Final Act.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 88/069.

88/119. Question No H-116/88 by Mr McMahon Concerning the Central American Peace Talks

Date of Issue: 17 May 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Can the Foreign Ministers inform the House what measures they propose to take to encourage the continuation of the peace process in Central America? What progress have the European Ministers made since the Hamburg Conference of the spring of this year?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: At the Hamburg Conference of Ministers from 29 February to 1 March 1988 with the Central American countries and the Contadora Group countries, the Twelve repeated that, provided all the Central American States also wanted it, they wished to cooperate with a view to promoting the implementation of the verification and monitoring measures and the follow-up measures to the Esquipulas-II peace agreement to the best of their abilities. They also confirmed their intention to do everything in their power to support the founding and activities of the Central American Parliament and to agree to the request to send observers to the elections. In this context, the Twelve hope that the European Parliament will make every effort to promote this cooperation as soon as the Central American Parliament has been established. Furthermore, the European Community and its Member States declared that, in order to support the peace process, they are prepared to cooperate with other countries and international organizations in implementing the programme of urgent measures which the Central American countries put before the community of States. The European Community also decided to grant Central America special immediate food aid and to start the programme of repatriating refugees on a voluntary basis and to resettle exiles.

Since the Hamburg Conference, the Twelve have been following the progress of the situation in Central America constantly and carefully. In their declaration of 28 March 1988 they took the view that the Sapoa Agreement on a cease-fire in Nicaragua is a positive step which offers some hope for the whole region. They appealed to the parties concerned to do their utmost to turn the cease-fire into a stable structure of lasting peace and genuine democracy and considered it most important that all those countries that have ties and interests in that region make a constructive contribution to these aims.

Mr McMahon (S): I thank the President-in-Office for the full and detailed answer on the various activities of the Council in this sphere. Could I ask further what kind of cooperation with other countries the Council envisages? For example, does it envisage putting pressure on the United States to make sure that we get as rapidly as possible evacuation of Contra forces from Nicaragua? Will they also look closely at the developments in El Salvador, where at the moment the military are causing considerable distress to many of the inhabitants of that country? Whereas I welcome her promises of assistance in food aid and so on, will she make sure that it will fall into the right hands?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: The Commission is in charge of the food aid. And I am quite sure the Commission will see to it that the food aid falls into the right hands. For the rest, I can only refer you again to what I have already said in my reply.

The Foreign Ministers of the European Community attach great importance to all those countries which have ties and interests in the region making an active contribution to the peace process which had its roots within the region and is being organized within the region.

88/120. Question No H-136/88 by Ms Dury Concerning the Declaration Made by the Twelve on 3 February 1988 Concerning the Failure to Respect Democracy in Haiti

Date of Issue: 17 May 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

What was the reaction of the Government of Haiti to the declaration made by the Twelve on 3 February 1988 in which they urged the Government to restore democracy and to respect human rights?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: The Foreign Minister of Haiti, Gérard La Tortue, has meanwhile visited some Member States. Mr La Tortue called for moral support from the Twelve and asked their advice about the policy his Government should follow in order to set in motion the process of restoring democracy and respect for human rights in his country. Mr La Tortue's interlocutors answered along the lines of the declaration made by the Twelve on 3 February.

The Twelve are continuing to follow the progress of the situation in Haiti very carefully. When they formulate their future relations with the Government of that country they will take account of how far that Government manages to create the foundations of genuine democracy.

Ms Dury (S): Given Haiti's economic difficulties, do the Foreign Ministers intend to make any European aid subject to respect for human rights and democratic rules?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: The Twelve realize that the people of Haiti must not be left in the lurch in their efforts to overcome their serious economic difficulties and to tackle the human need in their country. The Twelve have repeatedly expressed their support for the process of restoring democracy in Haiti. They have observed with sympathy the courageous and continued demands of the people of Haiti for democratic elections and bitterly condemned the violent end to the elections on 29 November 1987. The European Community will call for peaceful coexistence under genuinely democratic conditions and in the framework of strict respect for human rights in Haiti. All our endeavours in the talks with Government representatives are directed to that end.

88/121. Question No H-151/88 by Mr Alavanos Concerning the Assassination of Abu Jihad

Date of Issue: 17 May 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Following the assassination of Abu Jihad by Israeli commandos on Tunisian territory, what measures do the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation (EPC) intend to take to counter the terrorist activity pursued by the State of Israel, given that it had previously kidnapped the nuclear scientist Vanunu from the territory of a Member State of the Community?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: The Twelve emphatically and unequivocally condemn all forms of terrorism. As for the Middle East problem, they have repeatedly and clearly expressed their support for a peaceful solution. Now, as in the past, they are committed to contributing to the endeavours to bring about this solution.

Mr Alavanos (COM): I would like to stress that the answer given by the Foreign Ministers' President-in-Office is not convincing in any way at all. My question asked what specific measures have been or are being taken in the face of Israel's terrorist activities, which have got as far as taking place openly inside Member States, as in the case of the Vanunu affair. And beyond verbal distinctions, I would like to put the following question to the President-in-Office: When the Council has decided to take measures against fifty non-Community countries, both within the scope of the TREVI Group and more generally, measures such as requiring special entry permits, etc., why is Israel not included among those fifty countries?

Following the murder of Abu Jihad, why was there no specific intervention by the Community against Israel? Why did the Community essentially remain silent against Israel in the face of Vanunu's abduction?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: The Twelve observe all acts of terrorism with close attention and great concern and repeatedly express their position on acts of terrorism. The details of the Council discussions are not a matter for public discussion in the press or in Parliament.

Mr Arbeloa Muru (S): Madam President, as you are aware, the Italian politician Bettino Craxi has launched a daring and noble idea onto the political ether, which is that in view of the wilful repression in the occupied territories, the European Economic Community should assume the administration of those territories. Has the Council of the European Community looked at this brilliant proposal? Does it intend to do so? If not, what is your personal opinion on this matter?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: The Foreign Ministers are examining Mr Craxi's proposal, which has also been discussed in the European Parliament. It is also being examined by the Member States' governments. To date the Federal Government has not expressed a definitive opinion on it either.

Mr Ephremidis (COM): A little while ago the Minister gave an answer to a supplementary question which negates Parliament's role in this question time procedure, a procedure of monitoring and control; rudimentary perhaps, but, nevertheless, a monitoring procedure. She told us that in specific cases when countries are involved in terrorism, the Council may deliberate, may reach a decision, but may not debate those decisions in our Parliament. In such a case what sort of monitoring or control are we exercising? Are we deluding ourselves? It is shameful. I don't know whether I might have misunderstood the translation, but if that is indeed what the Minister intended to say, then let the Minister explain herself and let us do away with the question time procedure, since we are being told: 'We have deliberated, adopted a position, but we will not tell you about it.'

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: The Foreign Ministers meeting in the Council have not given a definitive opinion on the matter referred to in the original question. That is why I, as President-in-Office of the Council, cannot express any further opinion either.

88/122. Question No H-154/88 by Mr Dessylas Concerning Fresh Plans for Interventions by the USA in the Persian Gulf

Date of Issue: 17 May 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

How do the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation (EPC) intend to respond to the US Pentagon's new plans for intervention in the Persian Gulf, with its recent delivery of coastguard vessels and the extension of direct involvement of American military forces in the region?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: The Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation are observing the developments in the war between Iran and Iraq with care. They have repeatedly declared that they firmly support the principle of freedom of navigation, which is of utmost importance to the entire community of nations.

Mr Dessylas (COM): The President-in-Office did not answer my question, which is quite specific and relates to the American military intervention and presence in the Persian Gulf, and indeed to the intensification of that presence. I will restate my question; granted that recent events in the Persian Gulf show that the American military presence there is not only failing to quieten the situation, but exacerbates the conflicts and confrontations, I ask the President-in-Office again: What specific approaches are intended towards the United States Government to cease this direct intervention, and what specific action is intended towards the two warring nations Iran and Iraq, to restore peace in the area?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: The question implied a view that is certainly not shared by everyone. But apart from that, I must point out that the question and the supplementary come under the headings of defence policy. That is not a matter of European political cooperation.

Mr Newens (S): In view of the fact that neutral vessels using the Gulf have been attacked by Iraqi forces as well as Iranian, has the time not now arrived for greater pressure to be brought on Iraq in addition to that applied to Iran, as the attacks by one side are only used to justify further attacks by the other? In view of the fact that European countries have supplied arms to both sides to carry on this war, does it not make sense, if we wish to bring an end to it and to help to provide for free navigation of the Gulf by neutral vessels, to give further consideration to applying an embargo on the supply of military equipment to both sides?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: The European Community is naturally very concerned about freedom of navigation, especially in the Gulf. And the Member States of the European Community are resolutely trying as far as they can to help bring the war between Iran and Iraq to an end at last. The Member States of the European Community which also belong to the United Nations Security Council have made their contribution in that forum to finding possible solutions so that this war can end. May I also point out that no arms are being supplied to the countries involved in the conflict.

Mr Newens (S): [...] In view of the fact that the Minister did not seek to answer either my question or the original question, may we ask her if she will, before she completes her answers here, endeavour to give answers to those of us who come along here to put them, because otherwise it is a waste of time. She did not even mention the question of Iraq, or the arms embargo and, if I may say with respect, neither did she apply herself to the original question. Can we therefore have answers to our questions instead of just prepared briefs which take no notice of what we want to know? [...]

Mr Alavanos (COM): In connection with events in the Gulf area and the recent developments we have seen, with the damage done to a series of tankers and with about twenty seamen losing their lives, I would like to ask the President-in-Office to what extent the Community intends to take steps relating to the safety of ships' crews. This subject is of direct interest to us as representatives of Greece, because a high proportion of those killed or injured were Greek, and many of the vessels in the Gulf are under Greek ownership. We therefore ask to what extent the Community intends taking steps relating to the correct and complete information of seamen concerning the dangers existing in the Gulf region, but also to a system of compensations for partial, permanent or total disablement due to accident, granted that those compensations are currently at entirely inappropriate and inadequate levels.

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: The Honourable Member knows that some States which belong to NATO and also to the European Community have sent ships to the Gulf in order to do all they can there, to protect freedom of navigation. You also know that defence policy questions are not, let me repeat, questions of European political cooperation, and I am quite sure that your Irish colleagues, if they are still present, would have had serious reservations if I had answered your questions in the way you wished on behalf of the Ministers meeting in the Council, as you asked me to do here.

88/123. Question No H-161/88 by Ms Maij-Weggen Concerning the Consultations on Sanctions Against South Africa

Date of Issue: 17 May 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

According to a letter I received from the South African Mission to the European Community, the ambassadors of the ACP States and the Council Troika were to hold consultations on 26 April 1988 on sanctions against South Africa. Can the Foreign Ministers confirm that these consultations were held? Can the Foreign Ministers say what the outcome was?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: At the request of the ACP States an informal exchange of views took place on 26 April 1988 in Luxembourg between the Troika and ministers representing ACP States on the situation in South Africa and Southern Africa as a whole. The ACP States appreciated the policy of the Twelve *vis-à-vis* that region and stressed that, because of their historical ties with the region and in view of their commitment to democracy, freedom and human rights, the Twelve had an important part to play in the abolition of discrimination. The Twelve reiterated their widely known views on the situation in South Africa and in Southern Africa as a whole. Now, as in the past, the Twelve are aiming at the complete abolition of apartheid and its replacement by a genuinely democratic, non-racist system of government.

The Twelve also emphasized the fact that they intervene on behalf of the victims of apartheid, referring to the measures they have taken to that end and to the many approaches they have made to the South African Government on cases of violations of human rights. As for the situation in Namibia, both sides once again confirmed that they firmly support UN Security Council Resolution 435 and that they are prepared to do their utmost in the framework of the United Nations to secure the independence of Namibia. Both sides regretted South Africa's policy of destabilization in that region.

Ms Maij-Weggen (PPE): With all due respect to the Minister, her reply did not fully deal with the main point of my question. What I asked was whether consideration had been given to tightening up the sanctions against South Africa, and I should be grateful if she could answer this. Has this been considered, and have any plans been put forward?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: May I tell the Honourable Member that the purpose of the meeting between the European Community Troika and the twelve countries representing the ACP States was to hold an exchange of views. It was never meant as a conference with the power to take decisions. And that would not have been possible anyway, because the European Community was represented by the Troika and the 66 ACP States by only twelve of their member States.

Mr Beazley (ED): Have the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation studied the report by Ms Helen Suzman and Mr Colin Eglin of the South African Progressive Federal Party on their very recent visit to the USA? This report strongly attacked the American view on sanctions, whose effects, it said, fall mainly on the black population, and advocated the contrary necessity of building a strong South African economy as the only way of helping the black population. If they have not studied the report, would they please consider doing so?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: Naturally, the Foreign Ministers know that differences of opinion also exist within South Africa both on the policy pursued by the present South African Government and on the effects of possible economic sanctions. These aspects were naturally taken into account by the Ministers meeting in the Council in their opinion-forming and decision-making activities. Even if I cannot tell you at this moment that I know the actual report, I do know of the people to whom you referred.

Ms Ewing (RDE): Is the President-in-Office aware of the resolution adopted in Lomé in March of this year by the Lomé Assembly, which was the toughest resolution ever adopted on the question of sanctions against South Africa? Is there any chance that in the near future the Council of Ministers will take

decisions and settle the question raised by Mr Beazley of whether they are prepared to go for sanctions, which is what the black people ask us to do, even if we know that many black people will be hurt? When will we take decisions? Are we just going to coast along for ever?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: I have already informed you in detail at the last Question Time in the European Parliament and at the one before, what the position of the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation is on sanctions, and in particular on the development of the situation in South Africa.

There are still two major problems that remain to be solved and I have gone into great detail to clarify the Council's approach in its own deliberations with regard to these two major unresolved problems. They are the possible execution of the six Sharpeville prisoners and the question of a possible ban on foreign financing of anti-apartheid organizations. So far, no new factors have emerged with regard to these questions.

88/124. Question No H-123/88 by Ms Lizin Concerning the Events in the Occupied Territories

Date of Issue: 18 May 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Could the Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation summarize the diplomatic measures pursued by the Twelve and explain their views on suitable action for the holding of an international conference?

Answer:

The Twelve continue to keep a very close eye on events in the occupied territories and have made their views on this issue known since mid-December 1987, i.e. a few days after the eruption of violence in the occupied territories. On 5 December 1987, in Copenhagen, the European Council reaffirmed its concern with regard to human rights and living conditions in the occupied territories.

On 18 December 1987, the Danish, Belgian and German ambassadors and the Commission's representative in Tel Aviv, speaking to the Israeli Government on behalf of the Twelve, expressed the latter's profound disquiet at the situation on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip and called on the Israeli authorities to take immediate measures to protect the inhabitants of the occupied territories in accordance with international law and accepted standards of human rights.

Similar action, concerning Israel's policy of deporting Palestinian civilians, was undertaken on 12 January 1988, whereby the Twelve reaffirmed their unconditional support for United Nations Security Council Resolution 607 and stressed that the 1949 Geneva Convention on the Protection of Civilians During Wartime is applicable to the territories occupied by Israel since 1967.

The Ministers for Foreign Affairs, during their meeting in Bonn on 8 February 1988, discussed in depth the situation in the occupied territories and had an exchange of views on this issue with King Hussein of Jordan.

In a declaration issued the same day, the Ministers stated that the *status quo* in the occupied territories was untenable and that Israel must cease all repressive measures violating international law or human rights. This declaration was brought to the attention of the Israeli Government and other interested parties.

On 15 April 1988, the Twelve again condemned Israeli action in the occupied territories, particularly the deportations and repressive measures such as the destruction of homes and the closure of the Palestinian press office.

With respect to the prospects for resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict, the position of the Twelve is well known and has been frequently reaffirmed.

The Twelve are convinced that this is impossible without a comprehensive, just and lasting political solution to the Arab–Israeli conflict, as was proposed in the 1980 Venice Declaration and in subsequent declarations.

The Twelve are staunch advocates of holding an international peace conference under the auspices of the United Nations, as set out in their declarations of 23 February and 13 July 1987¹, since such a conference provides the proper framework for the indispensable negotiations between the parties directly concerned.

The Twelve are pleased to note all the efforts recently committed to the search for a negotiated settlement of the conflict and are prepared to take an active part in bringing closer together the positions of all parties, with the aim of holding such a conference at the earliest opportunity.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Docs. 87/114 and 87/260.

88/125. Question No H-124/88 by Mr Pearce Concerning Ethiopia

Date of Issue: 18 May 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

What steps are the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation taking to impress upon the Government of Ethiopia that its military campaign against a section of its own population – in Eritrea – is not acceptable and that, if the money spent on financing the 17 000 Ethiopian troops who recently surrendered to Eritrean separatist forces had been spent on feeding its people, there would be less need for Western food aid?

Answer:

The situation in Ethiopia is followed with particular attention by the Twelve within the framework of European political cooperation.

As the Honourable Member is aware, the Twelve have recently made public, in their declaration of 21 April 1988, their views on the ongoing military activit[y] in Ethiopia and its negative repercussions on the distribution of food aid. Prior to this, the Presidency representative in Addis Ababa made a joint *démarche* about the return of relief workers to the North.

Following their declaration of 13 November 1987 and 18 December 1987¹, the Twelve expressed on 21 April 1988 their deep concern over the present escalation of the civil war in the North of Ethiopia and once again appealed to all concerned to make serious efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement of the internal conflicts which have caused endless sufferings to the population in the Horn of Africa.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Docs. 87/460 and 87/536.

88/126. Question No H-167/88 by Mr Hindley Concerning the Repressive Measures Against Opposition Members in Singapore

Date of Issue: 18 May 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Have the Foreign Ministers discussed the continued repressive measures employed against critics of the Government in Singapore? In particular, the recent re-arrest on 18 April of Ms Ng Bee Leng, Mr Kevin

de Souza, Ms Tang Lay Lee, Ms Teo Soh Lung, Mr Kenneth Tsang, Ms Wong Souk Yee, Mr William Yap and Ms Chung Suan Tae? Will the Foreign Ministers make representations to the Singapore Government about these re-arrests?

Answer:

The Twelve follow closely the cases mentioned by the Honourable Member. They have expressed their concern in confidential contacts with the Singapore Government. That Government is well aware of the position of the Twelve concerning human rights and civil liberties.

88/127. Question No H-168/88 by Mr Iversen Concerning the Exportation of Coal and Phosphate from South Africa to Denmark

Date of Issue: 18 May 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

According to unconfirmed press reports, Denmark has – despite its sanctions *vis-à-vis* South Africa – received supplies of coal from South Africa via a Hamburg-based company (Basils). Further reports claim that Denmark receives 60 000 tonnes of phosphate from South Africa every year. Can the Foreign Ministers confirm that these goods are being exported from South Africa to Denmark via Basils in Hamburg?

Answer:

The Twelve have no knowledge of the transactions referred to by the Honourable Member, who will be aware of the restrictive measures taken by the Twelve on 10 September 1985 and 16 September 1986 with regard to South Africa.

88/128. Question No H-946/87 by Mr Arbeloa Muru Concerning the Report Forwarded by the South African Mission on Reforms to Dismantle Apartheid

Date of Issue: 18 May 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

What view do the Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation take of the report on the reforms implemented in South Africa with a view to dismantling apartheid, circulated to all the Members of the European Parliament by the South African Mission to the European Communities on 9 December 1987 and signed by Minister Roel H. Goris?

Answer:

The objective of the Twelve is the complete abolition of apartheid as a whole and not just of certain components of the system. They consider that all the citizens of South Africa should enjoy equal rights and the protection of minorities must be ensured. To achieve these objectives a genuine dialogue with the representatives of the black population is necessary.

The Twelve have made clear the sort of steps which, *inter alia*, they believe the South African Government should take in order to allow a process of peaceful change to begin:

- the lifting of the state of emergency;
- the removal of all discriminatory legislation;
- the termination of detention without trial;
- the unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees, including Nelson Mandela;
- the abandonment of the practice of forced removals;
- the lifting of the prohibition on seventeen South African organizations peacefully opposed to apartheid from engaging in political activities;
- the unbanning of the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and other political parties;
- the establishment of a constructive national dialogue involving all political groups across the lines of colour, politics and religion.

88/129. Question No H-43/88 by Mr Ephremidis Concerning the Threat of Execution of Six Black Activists in South Africa

Date of Issue: 18 May 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

What measures do the Foreign Ministers propose to take, following the wave of international protest, to prevent the South African authorities from executing the Sharpeville Six, the black anti-apartheid activists who face unsubstantiated charges of complicity in murder fabricated by the South African authorities?

Answer:

The Twelve, both jointly and individually, have repeatedly appealed to the South African State President in the strongest possible terms to exercise clemency in favour of the Sharpeville Six on humanitarian grounds.

The Twelve are monitoring with the greatest attention the political and legal aspects of this case. They have noted that, following the defence application to reopen the trial, filed in the Pretoria Supreme Court on 15 April, the stays of execution have automatically been extended while the legal procedures continue.

The Twelve hope that the lives of the condemned persons will be saved. They consider that the execution of all or some of them would be a most serious development which would strain relations between South Africa and the Member States of the Community.

The South African authorities are well aware of these views.

88/130. Statement Concerning the Attempted Coup d'État in Guatemala

Date of Issue: 18 May 1988

Place of Issue: Guatemala

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: The Twelve

Status of Document: Message

The Twelve are gratified to note that democracy in Guatemala has been vindicated by the speedy and resolute action of the country's constitutional organs.

The Twelve hope that the democratic constitution will emerge strengthened. They reaffirm their support for the democratic institutions in Guatemala. They see a close connection between the strengthening of democracy in Central America and further progress towards peace in the region. They therefore encourage the Government and people of Guatemala to persevere with their efforts to consolidate democracy in their country.

88/131. Message to President Kaunda of Zambia, Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, at the Occasion of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Organization

Date of Issue: 24 May 1988
 Place of Issue: Bonn
 Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Message

Mr Chairman, dear President Kaunda,

Please accept my warm congratulations on behalf of the Member States of the European Community on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Organization of African Unity.

The Europe of the Twelve, which is linked in partnership with the nations of Africa through the Lomé Convention and other cooperation agreements, follows the development of its neighbouring continent with great interest. We welcome and support the untiring efforts of the OAU, an organization embracing the whole of Africa, to promote unity, peace, justice and economic development and to preserve the cultural identity of the African States.

Perseverance and the ability to achieve compromise solutions have over the past twenty-five years made the Organization of African Unity an instrument for furthering African interests in the community of nations, an indispensable forum for political dialogue among member States, and a bridge for dialogue with partners and friends.

Mastering the huge problems confronting the African nations is a task which requires great efforts on the part of all Africans. In carrying out this task you can count on the solidarity and support of the Members of the European Community.

[signed]
 Hans-Dietrich Genscher
 Minister for Foreign Affairs
 of the Federal Republic of Germany and
 President of the Council of the European Community

88/132. Question No 1387/87 by Mr De Vries (LDR–NL) Concerning the Reductions in the United Nations Human Rights Programme

Date of Issue: 24 May 1988
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 7 October 1987

In answer to my Question No H-397/86, Ms Chalker replied: 'The Twelve will continue to make every effort to ensure that budgetary constraints are not allowed to have an adverse impact on the United Nations human rights programme'¹.

However, the United Nations Secretary-General has announced that, since he is obliged to make a 15% cut in the United Nations budget over the next three years, it is not *a priori* possible to make an exception for any individual programme².

1. Are the Twelve prepared to take steps to amend the United Nations budget so as to render unnecessary the proposed cuts in the human rights programme?
2. If not, will the Twelve state specifically which sections of the programme they consider must at all events be saved?

Answer:

The Twelve would like to confirm the reply given to the Honourable Member by the Presidency in 1986, by stating once more their will to continue their efforts to ensure that budgetary constraints in the United Nations are not allowed to have an adverse impact on the United Nations human rights programme.

To this effect, the Report of the Commission on Human Rights to the Special Commission of the Economic and Social Council, adopted in the Commission on Human Rights without a vote on 10 March 1988, should be mentioned.

The conclusions of this report contain provisions for adequate funds to be provided to the human rights programme of the United Nations. Furthermore, it is stated that adaptations in the personnel and programme sectors should not hamper the functioning of the Centre for Human Rights.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 86/310.

² Debates of the Lower Chamber, 1986–1987 Session, Annex, p. 1797 (Question No 900).

88/133. Question No 1757/88 by Mr Glinne (S–B) Concerning Iran's Nuclear Armaments Programme

Date of Issue: 24 May 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 25 November 1987

According to an article published in *Le Monde* on 15 October, Iran has signed an agreement with a consortium of Argentinian and Spanish companies to complete the construction – suspended in 1979 – of two 1 300 megawatt nuclear reactors originally supplied by the German company KWV. This agreement would give Teheran access to German technology and also to the means (enriched uranium, training of technical staff in Argentina, etc.) to build, if not a real bomb, some type of rudimentary low-power atomic 'device' which would, nonetheless, constitute a serious danger to neighbouring countries. It is becoming increasingly obvious that Iran is eager to join the 'fringe' States, such as Argentina or Pakistan (talks on this subject are currently being held between Iran and Pakistan), although Teheran is a member of the International Atomic Energy Agency and a signatory of the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

1. Is it not essential that the Foreign Ministers of the Twelve meeting in Political Cooperation urge the Argentinian and Spanish Governments to exert pressure on the consortium of companies from their countries to halt all cooperation on Iran's nuclear programme?
2. What major strategic implications do the Foreign Ministers foresee in the event of Iran's achieving its ambitions in the nuclear sector?

Answer:

The Presidency has no knowledge of any contract having been signed between Iran and a consortium of Argentinian and Spanish companies (with or without participation of the German company KWV) to complete the construction of the nuclear power plant at Bushehr.

To the Presidency's knowledge, exploratory consultations between the above-mentioned parties have not been continued since the Iraqi air-attacks on Bushehr on 17 and 19 November, 1987.

Moreover, the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany has repeatedly declared that it will grant no permission for any transfer of nuclear material, facilities or know-how to Iran for the duration of the Iraq–Iran conflict.

Iran is a signatory to the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. This means that the Iranian atomic energy programme is fully subject to IAEA safeguards. It would therefore be impossible for Iran to divert a significant quantity of nuclear material for military, non-peaceful purposes, without detection by the IAEA.

**88/134. Question No 1946/87 by Mr Romera I Alcàzar (ED–E)
Concerning the Murder of Civilians in Mozambique**

Date of Issue: 24 May 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 22 December 1987

The Mozambique Government recently condemned the murder of 278 civilians by members of the Mozambique National Resistance, accusing the regime in neighbouring South Africa of being behind the massacre.

Can the Council say whether these claims are true and, if so, what steps it has taken to ensure that events of this kind, which pose a threat to the right to life of all human beings, cannot recur?

Answer:

The Twelve are not in a position to confirm the specific facts referred to in the question. They, however, deplore the loss of human lives resulting from continuing fighting in Mozambique and have repeatedly emphasized the urgent need for peace and reconciliation in that country without external interference.

They have also condemned in unequivocal terms any attempts to destabilize South Africa's neighbouring countries.

88/135. Question No 2098/87 by Ms Lizin (S–B) Concerning South Africa and the Meeting with a Delegation of ACP Foreign Ministers

Date of Issue: 24 May 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 18 January 1988.

The Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation have just published their declaration on South Africa. Are they now willing to meet the delegation of ACP Foreign Ministers, as requested by the latter, for a discussion on this fundamental issue?

Answer:

The ACP States have been informed that the Twelve, represented by the Troika, were ready to accept this year a meeting at ministerial level in order to exchange views on South and Southern Africa.

This special meeting, which falls outside the formal procedures of the ACP–EEC ministerial meetings, took place in Luxembourg on 26 April 1988.

88/136. Question No 2145/87 by Ms Lizin (S–B) Concerning the Imprisonment of Hélène Passtoors in South Africa

Date of Issue: 24 May 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 28 January 1988

Given that the 'Women in Europe 87' prize has been awarded to Hélène Passtoors, do the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation propose to make a special approach to enable her to receive the prize?

Answer:

The Honourable Member is referred to the answer given to her Oral Question No H-908/87 on the same subject¹.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 88/066.

88/137. Question No 2380/87 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S–E) Concerning the Arrest of the Lawyer Gibson Kamau Kuria

Date of Issue: 24 May 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 22 February 1988

Have the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation considered the case of the distinguished Kenyan lawyer and defender of human rights, Gibson Kamau Kuria, who was arrested in Nairobi on 26 November 1987, then 'disappeared' and may have been tortured, and is now being held indefinitely, without charge and without trial, in a maximum-security prison 1 000 km north-west of Nairobi?

Answer:

The Twelve have followed this case closely and understand that Mr Gibson Kamau Kuria was released on 12 December 1987 together with other persons.

88/138. Question No 2381/87 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S–E) Concerning the Arrest of the Poet Mapanje

Date of Issue: 24 May 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 22 February 1988

Have the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation considered the case of the poet Jack Mapanje, Malawi's best-known poet and head of the Department of Language and Literature at his country's university, who is being held incommunicado and apparently without charge?

Answer:

The Twelve follow individual countries' records on human rights closely and raise instances of human rights abuse where appropriate.

The position of the Twelve on human rights is well known to the Government of Malawi.

Whereas the Twelve monitor the human rights situation in Malawi carefully, Foreign Ministers have not discussed the specific case raised by the Honourable Member.

**88/139. Question No 2414/87 by Mr Debatisse and Others (PPE–F)
Concerning the Elections in Madagascar**

Date of Issue: 24 May 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 24 February 1988

In view of the economic crisis in the country, President Ratsiraka has decided to postpone the 1988 elections for a year, despite undertakings to comply with that deadline, which provides the opportunity for the country to move towards democracy.

Do the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation intend to make representations to President Ratsiraka urging him to comply with the 1988 deadline?

Answer:

Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation have not discussed the issue raised by the Honourable Members.

**88/140. Question No 2480/87 by Mr Lafuente Lopez (ED–E)
Concerning the Detention in Uganda of the Spanish Biologist, Raich Curco**

Date of Issue: 24 May 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 24 February 1988

At the end of November the Spanish biologist, Jordi Raich Curco, was unjustly detained and imprisoned in Uganda for a period of 21 days after having his Spanish passport taken away.

During the period of his detention by the Ugandan army, on a charge of spying for the United States, he had no food or money and lived off the food supplied anonymously by the local people. Finally, after spending three days in a cell, he was released without having been charged.

The gratuitous behaviour of the Ugandan army illustrates the scant importance which a number of African countries attach to the civil rights of European citizens who, as in the present case, may happen to visit them for strictly scientific purposes.

Do the Ministers think that there ought to be a formal protest over the detention of this particular Community citizen in order to prevent such arbitrary actions in the future?

Answer:

The Twelve follow the human rights situation in Uganda closely and raise their concerns as appropriate.

The specific case referred to by the Honourable Member has not, however, been discussed within European political cooperation.

**88/141. Question No 1640/87 by Mr Robles Piquer (ED–E)
Concerning the Joint Jordanian–Egyptian Military Manœuvres**

Date of Issue: 25 May 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 12 November 1987

The recent decision by the Egyptian Government to carry out joint military manœuvres with Jordan at the end of the year appears to incorporate a new element of geo-strategical significance for the present political and military situation in the Middle East.

This balance of power and alliances in the region may be unaffected by this significant *rapprochement* between Egypt and another Arab State, one which, moreover, must play a part in any solution which may be found to the problem of Palestine.

What significance do the Ministers consider the execution of these Jordanian–Egyptian military manœuvres to have and what influence do they think they will have on the political situation in the Middle East?

Answer:

The decision taken by Egypt and Jordan to carry out joint military manœuvres has not been discussed within European political cooperation.

The views of the Twelve regarding a comprehensive, just and lasting negotiated solution to the Arab–Israeli conflict have been made public on many occasions. The Honourable Member may refer to the declaration issued in Bonn on 8 February of this year.

**88/142. Statement Concerning the Re-Establishment of Relations
Between Morocco and Algeria**

Date of Issue: 27 May 1988

Place of Issue: Bonn/Brussels

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: The Twelve

Status of Document: Declaration

The Twelve welcome the recent re-establishment of relations between Morocco and Algeria. This normalization of relations between the two countries will contribute to the stability in the region, for the closer cooperation among the countries of the Maghreb, and offer better perspectives for solutions to the fundamental problems of the region.

**88/143. Message to President Moussa Traore of Mali Congratulating
him with his Election as Chairman of the Organization of African Unity**

Date of Issue: 30 May 1988

Place of Issue: Bonn

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Message

Mr President, allow me to congratulate you, on behalf of the Member States of the European Community, on your election as Chairman of the Organization of African Unity. This high post with which you have been entrusted bears testimony to the great esteem in which you are held by the nations of Africa.

I trust that the proven cooperation between the OAU and the Member States of the European Community will be further strengthened under your chairmanship.

I wish you every success in your new high position serving the community of African States in the interest of international peace and the welfare of nations.

[signed]
Hans-Dietrich Genscher
Minister for Foreign Affairs
of the Federal Republic of Germany and
President of the Council of the European Community

88/144. Mémoire sur l'action entreprise dans le cadre de la coopération politique européenne dans le domaine des droits de l'homme (Memorandum on Action Taken in the Field of Human Rights)

Date of Issue: 31 May 1988
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Report to European Parliament

En mai 1986 et 1987, les présidences en exercice avaient, respectivement, présenté au Parlement européen un mémoire sur l'action entreprise dans le cadre de la coopération politique européenne dans le domaine des droits de l'homme¹.

Le présent mémoire vise à informer le Parlement européen des développements enregistrés depuis lors et de l'activité des Douze en ce qui concerne les deux aspects de leur politique dans un domaine très important tel que les droits de l'homme: leur défense et leur promotion.

A cet égard, la présidence exprime encore une fois l'importance que les Douze attachent au dialogue constructif engagé avec le Parlement européen. Les résolutions que cette institution a adoptées dans le domaine des droits de l'homme constituent un élément important dans le processus d'application de la politique des Douze, en conformité avec les principes énoncés dans leur déclaration du 21 juillet 1986².

Par ailleurs, les nombreuses questions posées par les membres du Parlement européen sur des cas précis relatifs aux droits de l'homme et les réponses apportées par la présidence en exercice manifestent d'une façon solennelle l'attachement inébranlable du Parlement européen et des Douze au respect des droits de l'homme et leur forte préoccupation face aux violations de ces droits, où qu'elles se produisent.

Au cours de la période considérée, les Douze se sont montrés très attentifs à la situation qui prévaut dans le domaine des droits de l'homme, et résolus dans leurs actions contre les violations des droits fondamentaux qui, malheureusement, au cours des douze mois écoulés, se sont poursuivies sans relâche.

De surcroît, les ministres des Douze, désirant souligner l'importance qu'ils attachent à la promotion des droits de l'homme, ont créé, dans le contexte de la coopération politique européenne, un nouveau groupe de travail, consacré aux questions des droits de l'homme. Cette décision reflète aussi la concordance des principes qui animent les décisions des gouvernements des Douze et du Parlement européen.

Le travail de ce groupe est complémentaire aux fonctions assumées par les groupes de travail régionaux et les groupes CSCE et Nations unies.

Les tâches qui ont été confiées au nouveau groupe de travail visent à mieux organiser et coordonner l'activité des Douze et à leur permettre de s'assurer que leurs préoccupations en matière des droits de l'homme reçoivent l'attention appropriée à tous les niveaux de la coopération politique européenne.

La défense des droits de l'homme

Les Douze se sont montrés très actifs dans leurs efforts visant à défendre les droits de l'homme partout dans le monde.

Leurs activités ont revêtu des formes différentes d'investigation et d'intervention et elles ont été entreprises à l'initiative de la présidence ou d'un ou plusieurs partenaires, selon l'opportunité du cas respectif.

Les sources d'information sur la situation globale dans certains pays ainsi que sur des cas spécifiques de violations des droits de l'homme étaient, entre autres, les rapports demandés aux missions des Douze dans des pays tiers, les partenaires, les organismes internationaux spécialisés et les organisations non gouvernementales. Dans ce contexte, le « Rapport sur les droits de l'homme dans le monde » du Parlement européen était d'une importance considérable.

Dans le domaine de la défense des droits de l'homme les Douze se sont manifestés par des:

- prises de position en faveur des droits de l'homme dans des enceintes internationales, comme, entre autres, lors de la quarante-deuxième session de l'Assemblée générale des Nations unies et au sein de la troisième commission; à l'Ecosoc; à Genève, lors de la quarante-quatrième session de la Commission des Nations unies pour les droits de l'homme; et à Vienne au sein de la CSCE;
- références aux droits de l'homme dans les déclarations des Douze sur des questions d'ordre politique général. Dans ce contexte, on pourrait mentionner, à titre indicatif, les déclarations du Conseil européen de Copenhague sur le Moyen-Orient et sur les relations Est-Ouest (5.12.87), la déclaration des ministres sur la situation dans les territoires occupés (8.2.88), la déclaration des Douze sur la situation politique en Afrique du Sud (25.5.87) et au Paraguay (9.9.87), la déclaration en faveur d'élections libres au Chili (9.10.87), etc.;
- nombreuses démarches qui ont été entreprises partout dans le monde.

Ces dernières actions n'étaient rendues publiques que si les circonstances le permettaient. Car les démarches doivent rester confidentielles lorsque l'on juge que la publicité risque d'aller à l'encontre du but recherché par les Douze, qui est d'amener les gouvernements visés par la démarche à modifier leur politique en matière de droits de l'homme.

La promotion des droits de l'homme

Les Douze ont estimé qu'ils ne devaient pas se contenter de la défense des droits de l'homme et de la condamnation des violations en la matière.

Ils ont contribué, activement, à l'effort pour l'établissement et pour l'acceptation universelle des principes fondamentaux pour un comportement respectueux de la dignité humaine. Ils soutiennent tout effort destiné à promouvoir les droits de l'homme et à renforcer leur protection. Dans ce contexte, ils se sont félicités de l'entrée en vigueur de la convention des Nations unies contre la torture, au mois de juin 1987, estimant qu'il s'agissait d'un pas important dans la bonne voie.

Au cours de la quarante-deuxième Assemblée générale des Nations unies, au sein de la troisième commission ainsi que pendant la quarante-quatrième session de la Commission des droits de l'homme, les Douze ou quelques-uns des partenaires ont pris de nouvelles initiatives ou ont poursuivi des initiatives existantes sur la base de leurs principes et de leurs buts communs, tels qu'ils ont été de nouveau formulés sous la présidence danoise dans le discours que l'ambassadeur du Danemark Ole Bierring a fait à New York, le 18 novembre 1987³.

C'est notamment dans le contexte de la CSCE que les Douze ont poursuivi leurs efforts en vue d'obtenir une amélioration de la situation des droits de l'homme en Europe de l'Est.

Lors de la réunion de Vienne de la CSCE, les Douze n'ont pas manqué d'insister pour que tous les engagements auxquels les États signataires de l'Acte final d'Helsinki ont souscrits librement soient respectés. Les Douze ont réaffirmé que le respect des droits de l'homme et des libertés fondamentales par tous les pays participants à la CSCE constitue un facteur essentiel en vue d'assurer la paix et la sécurité, la justice ainsi que le bien-être en Europe. Les Douze ont continué leur travail avec les autres co-parrains pour que la proposition occidentale sur la dimension humaine ainsi que leurs autres propositions relatives aux droits de l'homme et à la coopération dans les domaines humanitaire et autres soient reflétées d'une manière satisfaisante dans le document de clôture de la réunion, afin d'accomplir un saut qualitatif dans ce domaine.

Les Douze considèrent que les expressions de préoccupation suscitées par des violations des droits de l'homme ne sauraient être interprétées comme une ingérence dans les affaires intérieures d'un État.

D'ailleurs, la lutte contre les violations des droits de l'homme et l'effort pour la sauvegarde et la promotion de la dignité humaine doivent se poursuivre sans trêve, car la situation mondiale en matière des droits de l'homme reste alarmante. La promotion des droits civils et politiques ainsi que des droits économiques, sociaux et culturels est d'une importance primordiale pour la pleine réalisation de la dignité humaine et pour l'aboutissement des aspirations légitimes de tous les peuples.

Cela implique une concertation plus étroite et une cohésion encore plus grande entre les Douze. Cette dernière année, ils ont donné la preuve de leur détermination à mieux coopérer pour l'éradication des politiques et des actes qui constituent une honte pour l'humanité.

Les Douze sont déterminés à poursuivre leur politique en faveur des droits de l'homme, en s'inspirant de leur dialogue avec le Parlement européen, qui a tant offert à une cause qui constitue la base de la société démocratique qu'il représente.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Docs. 86/137 and 87/187.

² *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 86/230.

³ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 87/466.

88/145. Statement at the Third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament

Date of Issue: 6 June 1988

Place of Issue: New York

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Statement in International Forum

Mr Genscher: Mr President, I have been entrusted with the honourable task of addressing this distinguished Assembly on behalf of the twelve Member countries of the European Community. Permit me first to congratulate you, Mr President, on your election to this highly responsible post. You may rest assured that we shall do our utmost to support you in the performance of your important functions.

The world pins high hopes and expectations on this third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament. It is being held against the background of encouraging progress made in the ongoing arms control and disarmament negotiations and of improved West—East relations. We Europeans fully welcome that progress, which we will continue to promote and assist strongly. In so doing, we shall place the greatest emphasis on all elements across the range of military arsenals: nuclear, chemical and conventional.

The INF Treaty, which entered into force last week, is a milestone in the field of nuclear arms reduction. It marks a breakthrough from arms control to genuine arms reductions. Instead of limiting armaments at a high level, it eliminates for the first time an entire class of weapons. The principle of asymmetrical reductions is also applied for the first time. Whoever possesses more weapons must scrap more. A far-reaching cooperative verification regime has been agreed on.

The reduction of nuclear arsenals remains one of the highest priorities. The United States of America and the Soviet Union have a crucial responsibility in this respect. The INF Treaty must provide a significant impetus to further progress in arms control and disarmament. Disarmament negotiations are already under way or will shortly be commenced in three important areas:

First, we hope that agreement is reached before the end of the year on halving the offensive strategic nuclear arsenals of the Soviet Union and the United States. We hope for a solution to the problems relating to the prevention of an arms race in outer space. We continue to attach the utmost importance to an effective international non-proliferation regime.

Second, the negotiations for a global ban on chemical weapons have made encouraging progress. The horrific reports of the use of these terrible weapons in the Gulf conflict have served to highlight how important is the need for a global ban. We Europeans condemn vigorously their continued use. We strongly support the work of the Geneva Conference on Disarmament to agree [upon] a comprehensive,

effectively verifiable chemical weapons convention, and re-appeal to all the other countries to do likewise. We are convinced that joint efforts can bring closer the resolution of the pending problems, including the complex but fundamental verification issues, in a way acceptable to all.

Third, in the field of conventional weapons, we Europeans see an urgent necessity to achieve progress in disarmament. Conventional disarmament is an integral and important part of the overall disarmament process. Expenditure on conventional weapons and troops places a heavy burden on the social and economic development of most countries. It is conventional weapons that have been the cause of untold suffering during wars in recent years in various parts of the world.

For Europe, the establishment of stability at a lower level of conventional forces is a central task, necessary to redress the conventional imbalances in Europe. We are strongly in favour of the early commencement of negotiations in the framework of a balanced result at the Vienna negotiations. But we also appeal to all other countries in this Assembly to address urgently conventional disarmament and arms control in their own region. We would submit that the development initiated in Europe of promoting both conventional arms control and confidence- and security-building measures might encourage countries in other regions to tackle these problems.

This Special Session is taking place at a favourable juncture. The dynamic developments occurring in disarmament and arms control and in West-East relations as a whole show that it is possible to reverse the arms race visibly. This process that has been successfully initiated must affect the multilateral disarmament debate more than it has until now. Notwithstanding their specific nature, the concrete disarmament negotiations require constructive support and additional stimuli by the countries gathered here. Conversely, the global debate on disarmament issues must take due account of the ongoing negotiations. We must seize the opportunities afforded by this 'constructive parallelism'. The United Nations must play a central role in the quest for disarmament, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter.

Disarmament and arms control, confidence-building, concrete steps towards strengthening international peace and security: those will be the key topics of this Special Session in the coming weeks.

This Special Session faces important challenges. Familiar concepts must be reconsidered, and new concepts developed. This includes, in my view, thoughts on how the United Nations can play an even more effective role in this field.

This calls for courage and an awareness of what can actually be achieved. It calls for a readiness to reach and expand consensus to the greatest extent possible. Central to our debate must be this recognition: arms control and disarmament should create greater security; they can pave the way towards lasting peace and towards the prevention of any war, whether nuclear or conventional.

Mr President, the Twelve expect this Special Session to take stock of the efforts made towards global and regional disarmament, with due attention being paid to recent progress in disarmament. This progress must gain global recognition. Concrete conclusions must be drawn from it to continue and accelerate efforts in all relevant areas, to ease international tensions and to further promote arms control and disarmament.

We Europeans also expect this Special Session to provide important momentum for the development of confidence-building concepts, for effective verification and for the promotion of more openness and transparency in the military field. In this respect, we believe, ground-breaking developments at the European level should be taken into account.

Verification will be an important topic for this Special Session. Effective verification is a basic requirement for compliance with each individual arms control agreement. Each verification regime must be geared to the specific requirements of the particular treaty. We hope that this Special Session can agree on concrete recommendations, building upon this year's successful work of the United Nations Disarmament Commission.

Here, our debate can draw on recent European developments. The Stockholm Conference as well as the INF Treaty have brought about arrangements which were still inconceivable only a few years ago. Impressive and useful procedures for the mutual inspection of military activities have been developed

among the thirty-five States participating in the CSCE. Soviet and American inspectors will in future verify compliance with the INF Treaty through on-site inspections. This reveals a new awareness: reliable verification is both necessary and feasible; verification generates confidence.

Confidence is also generated through greater transparency and openness in military matters. Here, the United Nations has a major role to play. Thus, the United Nations standardized reporting system is an important means for making military expenditure comparable worldwide, and hence more transparent than hitherto. The twelve countries of the European Community already participate in this system without exception. We appeal once more to all other countries to take part in it as well.

Would it not be possible for the United Nations likewise to provide a framework for more openness and transparency with regard to worldwide arms exports and imports?

There is a common denominator for these considerations: it is the building of more confidence. We must now seek to ensure that the network of confidence-building measures is expanded and intensified on a global scale. Regional approaches are very important in this respect. The United Nations has already laid significant groundwork upon the initiative of the Federal Republic of Germany. A few weeks ago the United Nations Disarmament Commission agreed on a catalogue of guidelines for confidence-building measures. This catalogue can now at last be adopted by the General Assembly and then applied by each country.

Mr President, the most immediate contribution that the Twelve can make to international peace and stability is through the actions on their own continent.

To prevent any kind of war in Europe once and for all and to ensure lasting peace, to obtain security through political dialogue and cooperation in all fields, to bring people closer together and to achieve respect for human rights – this is the political philosophy underlying the Helsinki Final Act. We will continue to work towards achieving more security and closer cooperation among the States participating in the CSCE.

We are firmly committed to an outcome of the Vienna follow-up meeting which benefits all people in the thirty-five participating States. The reason is that respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms constitutes an essential prerequisite for confidence, understanding and cooperation, not least in the field of security, arms control and disarmament.

We adhere to the goal of overcoming confrontation in Europe, as expressed in the Helsinki Final Act. Our continent must overcome its division again. To us, the CSCE process remains the central element of a policy aimed at peace, disarmament, respect for human rights and cooperation. Its aim is that people and nations can develop in peaceful competition and without mutual fear. [...]

Mr President, you will find the twelve countries of the European Community ready to play an active and constructive part in the deliberations and drafting work during the coming weeks. We will make our contribution to a debate that should be focused on the existing situation and on the future objectives of disarmament and arms control. We seek a final document that is short and concise, sets out common ground and can be adopted by consensus.

The Twelve want to see this Special Session devoted to disarmament being brought to a successful conclusion. In this endeavour, Mr President, you can count on our support.

88/146. Statement Concerning East–West Relations

Date of Issue: 13 June 1988

Place of Issue: Luxembourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: The Twelve

Status of Document: Declaration

1. The Ministers welcome the encouraging developments in East–West relations. The Twelve have long advocated and actively contributed to this process. It must maintain its dynamism.

2. The meeting in Moscow between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev was a further step on the road to consolidating and intensifying East–West relations. The Twelve express their

satisfaction at the progress made in the course of recent summit meetings between the US and USSR, notably on arms control and disarmament. The ratification of the INF Treaty clears the way for the elimination of a whole class of US and Soviet weapons. The Twelve, noting in particular its stringent verification provisions and its acceptance of the principle of asymmetrical reductions, confirm their view that it sets a valuable precedent for future arms control progress. The Twelve fully support efforts to agree on a fifty percent reduction in the strategic nuclear weapons arsenals of the United States and the Soviet Union.

They strongly advocate the early establishment of a global and effectively verifiable ban on chemical weapons.

They continue to work resolutely for the establishment of a secure and stable balance of conventional forces in Europe at a lower level.

3. The Twelve welcome the fact that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan has started. They express the hope that it will lead towards a just and peaceful settlement, in full respect of the Afghan people's right to self-determination. Such a settlement should be followed by rapid progress towards the solution of other regional conflicts.

4. The Twelve are paying close attention to the developments currently taking place in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. They welcome them, and hope that these changes will contribute to openings in the political systems of these countries, both towards the citizens of these States and towards the outside world. They are hopeful that such policies will contribute to a lasting improvement in East–West relations. For their part, they are willing to use such opportunities constructively.

5. These include opportunities for strengthening mutual economic relations. The Twelve hope that the current negotiations between the Community and some of the Eastern European countries will soon come to a conclusion. They note with satisfaction that relations are about to be established between the Community, the CMEA and its member States. They hope that this would contribute to the overall improvement of relations and to enhancing stability in Europe.

6. The Twelve reiterate their determination to end the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting by substantial and balanced results, involving a better implementation of the commitments undertaken since 1975 and agreement on significant progress in all Baskets, in particular in the Human Dimension of CSCE. This would allow an important step to be made in East–West relations and an early start to the negotiations on conventional stability, aiming at the establishment of a stable and secure balance of conventional forces in Europe at a lower level, and on confidence- and security-building.

On this occasion, they wish to pay tribute to the efforts of NNA countries, contained in their draft final document, which they consider a helpful contribution towards a balanced outcome in Vienna.

For their part, the Twelve are determined to continue working in this direction. They therefore call upon those countries who have not yet done so to show serious willingness to negotiate a substantial and satisfactory conclusion of the Vienna follow-up meeting in conformity with their recent public declarations.

88/147. Statement Concerning Lebanon

Date of Issue: 13 June 1988

Place of Issue: Luxembourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: The Twelve

Status of Document: Declaration

The Twelve follow with concern the critical situation in Lebanon, which urgently requires a political solution after thirteen years of war and suffering. The proper functioning and strengthening of Lebanon's constitutional bodies is a precondition for such a solution.

The Twelve therefore believe that the orderly and constitutional conduct of the forthcoming presidential election will be of decisive importance for the future of the Lebanese Republic. They call upon all parties involved to support the preparation and good conduct of the election. The Twelve are

vinced that lasting peace can only be achieved by national conciliation and a just solution of the perennial problems, taking into account the legitimate interests of all the different communities of the country. This implies that all should be prepared to make mutual concessions. To this end the Twelve appeal to all parties to work together constructively for an early political solution to the Lebanese crisis and its regional implications.

The Twelve furthermore stress the need to intensify efforts aimed at restoration of the sovereignty, unity, independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon. The full independence and sovereignty of Lebanon must be respected, and it must solve its problems without foreign involvement or interference.

The Twelve underline their support for UNIFIL, and call upon all parties to ensure that these forces are allowed to fulfil their mandate without hindrance.

The Twelve once more condemn the fact that hostages are still being held in the Lebanon, and call for their immediate release.

88/148. Statement Concerning Central America

Date of Issue: 13 June 1988

Place of Issue: Luxembourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Foreign Ministers

Status of Document: Press Release

The Ministers discussed the present situation of the peace process in Central America, in the context of the Esquipulas-II Agreement and of the San José IV Conference in Hamburg.

They expressed their concern that the momentum of the peace process should be maintained. Having strongly supported the efforts of the Central American States to reach peace in the region, particularly the Esquipulas-II Agreement, they reaffirmed their determination – as expressed in the San José IV Conference in Hamburg – to seek to promote the peace process.

They appeal to the Governments of the Central American countries to build on Esquipulas-II to reach comprehensive peace without further delay and to implement its provisions in full. They attach particular importance to the conclusion of cease-fire agreements, to rapid progress towards pluralistic democracy and to the establishment and implementation of procedures and modalities for the election of Central American Parliament.

The Ministers restated their firm support [for] existing negotiations in Central America, as well as to the normal functioning of democratic institutions in the whole Latin American region.

88/149. Statement Concerning the Situation in South Africa

Date of Issue: 14 June 1988

Place of Issue: Luxembourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Foreign Ministers

Status of Document: Declaration

The Foreign Ministers today discussed the situation in South Africa following the decision by the Supreme Court of Pretoria not to reopen proceedings in the case of the Sharpeville Six.

The Ministers expressed their deep distress and concern about the fate of the Sharpeville Six.

They urged that all legal options available in South Africa should be used to prevent the death penalty from being carried out. In this connection they drew attention to earlier representations by the European community.

The German Ambassador in Pretoria will be making representations to the South African Government on behalf of the Twelve.

88/150. Question No H-175/88 by Ms Boot Concerning the Baltic Question

Date of Issue: 14 June 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Can the Ministers meeting in European political cooperation indicate when, and in what way, they have explicitly raised the Baltic question (which, in view of the fact that the majority of the Western countries have not recognized the Soviet annexation, should be treated differently from the issue of other nationalities in the USSR seeking recognition) at the CSCE Conference in Vienna?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: The Twelve take the view that increased efforts are needed to ensure that the rights of the members of national minorities are treated in accordance with the Helsinki Final Act and the final document adopted in Madrid, and that further commitments are undertaken with the object of guaranteeing respect for and the actual exercise of the rights of the members of national minorities, and of protecting their legitimate interests. The Twelve have put forward proposals to this end in Vienna. They are now advocating the inclusion of these proposals in an appropriate form in the final document adopted at this conference.

The problem of the Baltic States as such and the question of other nationalities in the Soviet Union have not been explicitly raised by the Twelve in Vienna.

Ms Boot (PPE): Perhaps I might ask the President-in-Office of the Council — she refers to the Baltic question and the question of the other nationalities in one breath — if she agrees with me that the Baltic question must be viewed differently and in a different light from the nationality question, such as the Armenian or the Tartar question, because the annexations that took place as a result of the Hitler–Stalin pact have not been recognized by the majority of the Western nations, and we are therefore concerned here with three countries which have lost their sovereignty and have been essentially wiped off the political map of Europe. I should therefore like to ask if the President-in-Office of the Council can give me an assurance that this question will be put on the agenda on some occasion in the near future.

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: The Twelve have discussed the situation in the Baltic States on several occasions since the beginning of the year. It was agreed that there is no reason for a change of mind on the annexation of the Baltic States by the Soviet Union and that political developments in these States should continue to be followed closely.

But I would add that there are two things we need to bear in mind: the legal situation — on this, as I have just said, the position of the Twelve has not changed — and the situation of the people in the Baltic areas. We are trying to ease the latter situation by means of a satisfactory final document at the current follow-up conference in Vienna.

Mr Pordea (DR): I should like to ask the Minister whether it is conceivable for any intervention by the Foreign Ministers made on the subject of the incorporation of the Baltic States in the Soviet Union to be confined to this question alone without also raising the matter of this country's forced annexation of other large areas of Eastern Europe.

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: The Twelve repeatedly discuss the violation of national integrity in various regions. Your question was not specific enough to enable me to tell you that what you think has actually been discussed by the Twelve.

88/151. Question No H-184/88 by Ms Ewing Concerning Sanctions Against South Africa

Date of Issue: 14 June 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Have the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation given weight to the vote of the European Members of Parliament cast in the Lomé Assembly held in Lomé in March to press for more sanctions against South Africa, and if so, what further action do they propose?

As Adam-Schwaetzer, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: As the Presidency has stated at the Joint ACP-EEC Assembly, the Twelve have carefully considered the effect of the measures they took against South Africa in 1985 and 1986. On the basis of the information currently available, the Twelve have established that their measures are having the expected effect. They are particularly concerned that these measures should be as effective as possible, and they avoid any action that would impair measures taken by third countries.

The Presidency will continue to keep the European Parliament informed. The Twelve are also following developments in South Africa and Southern Africa very closely and with considerable concern, and are continuing their deliberations on how they might appropriately react if the need arose. The position adopted by the Twelve was also explained to the ACP countries by the Troika at their meeting in Luxembourg on 26 April 1988.

Ms Ewing (RDE): I am not sure if that answer meant that the President-in-Office had taken into account the vote subsequent to the speech made in March at Lomé. The vote was rather particular in that it was the strongest vote ever taken at Lomé against South Africa. Indeed, the 66 ACP States represented applauded the European House for their firm stance. Is the Minister not aware that the general criticism is now extended to the Twelve for the weakness of their stance in view of the growing daily increase in repression in South Africa? Is there no chance that we can look for a stronger line from the Council?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: In the last few months we have in fact discussed the situation in South Africa and the position of the Twelve on the development of this situation at every Question Time. I can tell you that only this morning, at the meeting of the Foreign Ministers in Luxembourg, the situation in South Africa was discussed in the light of the developments relating to the human rights situation that have occurred since yesterday.

The Ministers expressed their concern about the development of the situation and also serious anxiety about the fate of the Sharpeville Six, this being, of course, the reason for the concern that has rightly been felt since yesterday. They urged that all legal means be used to prevent the execution of the Sharpeville Six. They refer in this context to action taken by the Community in the past to persuade President Botha to make use of his right to commute death sentences. The German ambassador in Pretoria will be making representations to the South African Government on behalf of the Twelve.

Mr Smith (S): I would like to follow on from Ms Ewing and ask a question specifically relating to coal sanctions against South Africa. Can the Minister explain to me how, if countries like Britain refuse to implement coal sanctions against South Africa, can coal-producing countries in the EEC hope to compete with South Africa when we know that South Africa pays child wages and the black South African miners have to work in slave conditions?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: The 1985 and 1986 decisions to impose restrictions on relations with South Africa were taken unanimously in the Council, were approved by all the Member States in other words, but we simply have not adopted any other measures. I think that really is everything that can be said on the matter at the moment.

Mr Smith (S): Either I am communicating badly or the Minister is having problems with her hearing. I posed a particular question as to how EEC coal-producing countries can hope to compete with South Africa when South Africa pays child wages and gets its black miners to work under slave conditions. Will she please answer that question and not the question which she thought was going to come up.

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: The Council has repeatedly expressed its opinion on the situation of the people in South Africa and is concerned, as it has always been, about the way its economy is obviously maintained with child labour. I feel this question should be considered and the human rights situation in South Africa should be assessed irrespective of economic issues.

The human rights situation is constantly under review in the Council, but it has nothing to do with how the European Community can remain economically competitive. The Community is focusing all its

attention on the discussion of measures which stand a chance of changing the situation in South Africa that greater account is taken of human rights. As we all know, success in this respect has so far been limited.

Mr Beazley (ED): Can the President-in-Office please advise me which black peoples are pressing sanctions against South Africa? And are such peoples the ones who may be affected by them? Some proponents as the Lomé Assembly and American blacks and politicians are in no way affected by the propositions. Chief Buthelezi and the Zulus who would be most affected are strongly against them, so is the South African Progressive Federal Party. Will the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation please consider that it is the welfare of the South African blacks which is at stake and evaluate calls for sanctions in that light?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: I have, I believe, commented on this question at every Question Time in the past six months. I can say again that the Foreign Ministers are aware that opinions on the question of sanctions differ within South Africa and that this is always taken into account in the Council's deliberations.

88/152. Question No H-248/88 by Mr Alavanos Concerning the Adoption of Measures Against South Africa

Date of Issue: 14 June 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

What is the position of the Foreign Ministers of the Twelve meeting in European political cooperation with regard to the demand made by twelve Ministers of ACP member States (in Luxembourg on 26 April 1988) that the EEC take measures against South Africa, and what specific measures do they intend to take?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: At their meeting in Luxembourg on 26 April, the Troika and ACP Ministers had a very intensive exchange of views on all aspects of the situation in South Africa. The Europeans emphasized that the Twelve thoroughly condemned apartheid and referred to the steps which the Twelve consider necessary if peaceful change is to begin.

The Troika also recalled the restrictive and positive measures which the Twelve introduced in 1985 and 1986 and whose implementation is constantly monitored. The Twelve are still considering what would be the most effective means of maintaining the pressure on the South African Government.

Mr Ephremidis (COM): Bearing in mind the sort of reply the Minister gave to the previous, related question, the sort of reply she will give to the next couple of questions on the subject, and the sort of reply the Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation always give when the issue of South Africa is raised at every part-session, it seems to me that it is hardly worthwhile putting supplementaries. What is needed is some straightforwardness, an admission of the fact that the Twelve are being prevented from implementing the measures which would bring the South African regime to its senses and be of benefit to both blacks and whites by forestalling a terrible conflagration in this troubled part of Africa, because of selfish opposition by certain of the Member States. A straightforward statement to this effect by the Minister would square with the seriousness of the situation, put the Twelve in an honest position and end the evasiveness once and for all.

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: I am rather taken aback by your criticisms, which I consider unjustified. In the last few months I have repeatedly said that the Council has had very thorough discussions on how the inhuman situation in South Africa can be changed. As you know, there are also differences of opinion on this in the Community. The Council has always taken the view that sanctions do not necessarily have the effect that many expect them to have. I have also had the impression again and again that for many people the call for sanctions is a kind of last desperate resort. But that is not the way the Foreign

ministers should act. South Africa will therefore continue to play a decisive role in the Foreign Ministers' deliberations in the coming months, and they will constantly be considering what steps may be appropriate and likely to improve the situation in South Africa to the benefit of the people concerned.

Mr Marshall (ED): Would the Foreign Minister, when considering the siren calls to adopt more sanctions against South Africa, remember that sanctions would impinge on the Bantu rather than the decision-makers in South Africa? Would she also remember the impact they would have on the front-line states, who are very good at applauding Ms Ewing but not so good at imposing sanctions themselves? Would she also consider that additional sanctions would in fact make the South Africans more forward-looking and therefore less likely to reform their odious apartheid system? And would she finally consider the impact of sanctions upon exporting industries within the European Community, who would see markets disappear and be taken over by the Japanese, who are quite happy to trade with anyone regardless of their political systems? Does she really want unemployment to be created in the European Community in order to create more employment for Japanese exporters?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: The Foreign Ministers of the European Community have never regarded the restriction of exports to South Africa as a decisive issue that might have dissuaded them from taking possible steps to help eliminate this inhuman system of racial segregation in South Africa. In our opinion, apartheid cannot be reformed: apartheid must be abolished. Nor can I accept the view you have earlier stated, that steps have been taken towards more internal reforms for the better, especially in recent months. The Ministers do not believe this is so. On the contrary, some of the bills before the white parliament, particularly those on the trade unions, quite clearly follow a trend which indicates that the internal reforms will not be for the better, but in fact for the worse.

Mr Morris (S): I think the Foreign Ministers, and certainly everybody here, support peaceful change in South Africa; but recently proposed legislation in South Africa now criminalizes any possibility of peaceful change. Therefore, if we are to avoid a bloodbath, the onus of responsibility for avoiding that is now with us here in Europe. That is why now it is imperative that we as twelve States impose universal economic sanctions as a matter of urgency. Let us be realistic. Botha's regime is now proposing to ban and criminalize all democratic opposition to apartheid. In that situation, it seems to me that the responsibility for change rests with the civilized world.

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: The Foreign Ministers do not at present consider comprehensive economic sanctions to be a suitable means of bringing about peaceful change in South Africa. But this does not mean that the Council of Foreign Ministers is refraining from any further discussion of possible measures.

8/153. Question No H-250/88 by Mr Iversen Concerning the Community's Policy on Sanctions Against South Africa

Date of Issue: 14 June 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

On 17 May 1988, in a reply to Question H-168/88¹ concerning Danish coal imports from South Africa, the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation referred to the restrictive sanctions adopted by the Twelve against the apartheid regime in South Africa on 10 September 1985 and 16 September 1986. The Spanish Foreign Minister, Fernández Ordóñez, told the newspaper *El País*, in connection with talk of Spain's purchase of uranium from Namibia and South Africa, that the sanctions should be regarded only as recommendations and not as binding sanctions. Can the Foreign Ministers endorse or repudiate his interpretation of the policy on sanctions, and is it normal for decisions adopted unanimously in the European political cooperation not to have the slightest significance in practice?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer, President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers: I can assure you that all of the restrictive measures the Twelve have decided to take against South Africa are politically binding and are

being implemented in full. The restrictions on which the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation agreed on 10 September 1985 have been applied by the authorities and legal systems of Member States. The restrictions approved by the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation on 16 September 1986 have been applied either by Council decision or by decision of [representatives of the Member States' governments meeting in the Council. The positive measures agreed on 10 September 1985 are being applied either by the Member States meeting in European political cooperation or under the Community's special programme for positive measures in South Africa.

Mr Iversen (COM): As I understand it, despite politically binding and restrictive agreements concluded within the framework of European political cooperation, the Spanish Government is still to declare that it will continue to import uranium from South Africa because it only regards adopted measures as recommendations. I should like an absolutely clear answer to the question [of] how the Foreign Ministers propose to make clear to the Spanish Government that, if it is to carry out the decisions which have been taken, it must cease to import uranium from South Africa. I think that the answer the Minister of State has supplied here must be interpreted in a politically binding and restrictive manner in such a way that what is being done in Spain is illegal or at all events in breach of the decisions taken in European political cooperation. In that connection, I should like to hear what steps have been considered *vis-à-vis* the Spanish Government, which quite clearly does not view politically restrictive and politically binding decisions as anything more than recommendations.

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: I do not have the authority to comment on statements by the Spanish Foreign Minister. But I would like to tell you how the Spanish Foreign Ministry reacted to the article in *El País*. It said that the quotation was taken out of context and wrongly interpreted to mean that the Spanish Foreign Ministry regarded the restrictions as a recommendation. This is not true: the Spanish Foreign Ministry has made it clear to what the Foreign Ministers' decision refers. I can also assure you that the statement ascribed to the Spanish Foreign Minister cannot in any way be interpreted as questioning the binding nature of the restrictive and positive measures taken by the Community. The answer I gave you now on behalf of the Twelve is a correct reflection of the legal situation in the Community with respect to your original question.

Mr Mühlen (PPE): [...] The Minister has told us that maintenance of economic activity in South Africa is ensured by child labour — that is how I understood it. I should like to ask her to tell us what she thinks about this.

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: As you know, the legal situation as regards the employment of labour in South Africa is very different from what is usual in our countries. That is what I was referring to.

Mr Smith: Madam Minister, according to a recent declaration by a former top IAEA official, several countries importing considerable amounts of South African uranium, besides Spain, are France and the Federal Republic of Germany. Could you confirm that this is so, and what measures are now being considered to stop further breaking of the sanctions?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: I am not quite sure if I understand the question correctly. All I can tell you is that there has never been any cooperation between the Federal Republic and South Africa in the nuclear field, and that approval is not given for the export of nuclear products requiring authorization.

Ms Simons (S): The President of the Council has said several times that the current restrictions on uranium from South Africa are applied consistently. I have a supplementary question on this.

According to the German press today, the Volkswagen group — Volkswagen South Africa — has announced the launch of a major new investment in its South African subsidiaries. It will be constructing a large factory-building there, the most up-to-date plant in the whole South African automotive industry. Now, we all agree that this quite clearly contravenes Community decisions. My question is this: has the President said that these decisions are being enforced, what does the President of the Council intend to do about this case?

Ms Adam-Schwaetzer: As you know, there is no way in the Federal Republic of Germany of excluding such investment decisions altogether. But I would point out that, in line with the restrictions being imposed by the European Community, the Federal Minister for Economic Affairs has not only informed Germany of the Community's decisions but also urged it to abide by them. I cannot, of course, comment on what you have just stated because I am not on the board of the Volkswagen group, but should wish to

ave just quoted turn out to be true, it would contravene the European Community's decisions and appropriate comments would therefore be required of the Federal German Government, which, of course, endorses those decisions.

EPC Bulletin, Doc. 88/127.

8/154. Question No H-190/88 by Ms Garcia Arias Concerning Economic Aid for the Philippines

Date of Issue: 15 June 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

What can be done by the Member States to help consolidate the democratic process in the Philippines, to resolve the problem of the latter country's enormous burden of external indebtedness (which requires 80% of the country's earnings from exports simply to service), to help in the implementation of agrarian reform and to increase foreign investment?

Answer:

The Twelve have on numerous occasions stated their full support for the democratic process in the Philippines. They are therefore willing, in so far as possible, to contribute actively to the economic recovery of the Philippines and they have expressed this to the Philippine Government as well as to the other donor countries in view of a better coordination of financial and economic aid.

8/155. Question No H-212/88 by Ms Dury Concerning the Second Anniversary of the Joint Declaration Against Racism and Xenophobia, Adopted on 11 June 1986 by the European Parliament, the Council, the Representatives of the Member States Meeting Within the Council and the Commission

Date of Issue: 15 June 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

How do the Ministers view the measures taken to implement the Joint Declaration against Racism and Xenophobia¹ in the Community Member States? What steps will they take to make voting rights a reality for immigrants in the Member States?

Answer:

The question raised by the Honourable Member does not come under European political cooperation and has not therefore been discussed by the Ministers. The Honourable Member is referred to the reply given by the Council to her Question (H-211/88) on the same matter².

¹ Cf. *OJ* No C 176 of 14 July 1986, p. 63.

² Cf. *OJ Annex* No 2-366 of 14 June 1988, p. 65-66.

88/156. Question No H-265/88 by Mr Suárez González Concerning the Report on Cuba

Date of Issue: 15 June 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Is there a written report on the human rights situation in the Cuban Republic drawn up by a Commission or department or by the offices of the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation? If there is, when are the Ministers going to make it available to Parliament, which has already considered a number of serious cases involving human rights in Cuba?

Answer:

The Twelve follow the human rights situation in Cuba closely. They have also taken note of the conclusions of the European Parliament in this matter.

Reports which the Twelve receive within their internal structures are intended for their information. To guard the confidentiality of the discussions within European political cooperation, these reports have an internal and reserved nature. These reports and the Twelve's discussions of human rights within European political cooperation are confidential, but the Twelve's concerns about human rights violations are clearly spelt out in the memorandum which the Presidency recently submitted to the President of the European Parliament.

A delegation from the United Nations Commission on Human Rights is due to visit Cuba in August to observe the human rights situation there. It will prepare a report for consideration by the Commission in 1989.

88/157. Question No H-213/88 by Mr Selva Concerning the Problem of Alto Adige

Date of Issue: 15 June 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

How do the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation propose to prompt the Austrian Government to respond to the package of measures finally adopted by the Italian Government with the agreement of the Italian Parliament, which, according to nearly all observers, provides for one of the most genuinely autonomous forms of administration in the world?

The Foreign Ministers' action should also be presented as a condemnation of terrorism and a contribution to putting an end to terrorist attacks.

Answer:

The Twelve have taken note of the positive steps taken by one partner on the question raised by the Honourable Member. The question is, of course, of the national competence of one partner and therefore not been discussed in European political cooperation.

88/158. Question No H-216/88 by Mr Cabezón Alonso Concerning the Western Sahara

Date of Issue: 15 June 1988
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

In the last few weeks the UN Secretary-General and the President of the OAU have attempted to narrow the gap between Morocco and the Polisario Front on the question of a referendum on self-determination, which might resolve the conflict in the Western Sahara.

Have the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation recently taken any action along these lines in order to bring a settlement closer?

Answer:

The Twelve are following very closely the developments in the Western Sahara. They continue to give their full support to the UN Secretary-General's efforts to reach a negotiated settlement of the conflict in the Western Sahara.

In a common statement on 27 May¹, they welcomed the re-establishment of relations between Morocco and Algeria, which will contribute to the stability in the region and offer better perspectives for solutions to the fundamental problems of the region.

¹ Cf. *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 88/142.

88/159. Question No H-239/88 by Mr Pearce Concerning South Africa

Date of Issue: 15 June 1988
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

What objection have Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation to a proposition that it should propose a detailed plan for dismantling apartheid to the South African authorities?

Answer:

The overall objective of the Twelve's policy towards South Africa remains the total dismantlement of apartheid and its replacement by a genuinely democratic, non-racial system of government, through a process of fundamental but peaceful change and by instituting a genuine dialogue with the representatives of the black population.

In my answer at the part-session in May to Oral Question No H-946/87 by Mr Arbeloa Muru¹, I have listed a number of steps which the Twelve believe should be implemented in order to bring about this objective. The Twelve keep under constant review the question of specific measures to be taken for the implementation of their policy.

¹ Cf. *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 88/128.

88/160. Question No H-240/88 by Mr Mavros Concerning the Changing of Place-Names in the Turkish-Occupied Territory of Cyprus

Date of Issue: 15 June 1988
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Since 1974 there has been an organized and systematic attempt illegally to change the place-names in the Turkish-occupied territory of Cyprus. This practice, which historically constitutes a standard feature of Turkey's expansionist policy, provides further tangible evidence of Turkey's intention to create a legal and permanent basis for the *de facto* partitioning of the island. These measures on the part of Turkey, which are in violation of international law, ethical standards and Resolution No 16 of the third United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Place-Names, will make it even more difficult to find a just solution to the problem of Cyprus.

What position do the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation intend to take in this matter, given that the United Nations and the international community are so keen to preserve and maintain place-names as part of the historical tradition of nations and the cultural heritage of humanity in general?

Answer:

The Twelve strongly back the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of the Republic of Cyprus in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions. They remain fully committed to finding a just and viable solution to the problem of Cyprus. The Twelve continue to emphasize that all parties concerned must refrain from acts which can only render more difficult progress towards such a just and viable solution. They reject any action which purports to establish an independent State within Cyprus as well as to change the demographic and cultural pattern of the island.

88/161. Question No H-243/88 by Mr Dessylas Concerning Remarks Made by the Israeli Foreign Minister in Respect of the Greek Presidency

Date of Issue: 15 June 1988
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

What position have the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation adopted in respect of – and how do they intend to react to – recent remarks by the Israeli Foreign Minister, who linked Greek diplomatic recognition of the State of Israel with the forthcoming assumption by Greece of the Presidency of the EEC?

Answer:

The Presidency would like to point out that the role and responsibility of the Presidency of European political cooperation are set out in the Single European Act, in particular in Article 30, paragraph 10 (a) and (b), and do not depend on third parties.

88/162. Question No H-252/88 by Mr Barros Moura Concerning the Meeting of the EEC–ASEAN Council of Ministers and the Position of the Twelve in Relation to the Situation in East Timor

Date of Issue: 15 June 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

In view of Indonesia's responsibility for the annexation by military intervention of East Timor and for the violation of human rights and the rights of the people of that country, and the responsibilities of the EEC as a member of the international community and with regard to one of its Member States (Portugal), why was the situation in East Timor not mentioned in the final communiqué issued after the last meeting of the EEC–ASEAN Council of Ministers?

How do the Foreign Ministers of the Twelve intend to support the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and press for the vital withdrawal of Indonesian troops? Will any joint action be taken in connection with the forthcoming session of the United Nations General Assembly?

Answer:

The joint declaration issued after the EC–ASEAN meeting in Düsseldorf is a document agreed between all members of the two groupings. It touches on a wide range of political and economic questions.

The Government of Indonesia is aware of the views of the Twelve concerning the question of East Timor.

The Twelve support contacts between Portugal and Indonesia under the auspices of the UN Secretary-General, with a view to achieving a comprehensive and internationally acceptable settlement ensuring to the people of East Timor its rights and cultural identity.

Speaking at a press conference after the closing of the ministerial meeting, Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher said that the Twelve will make their agreed position known in greater detail in the United Nations, which is the appropriate forum to address this matter.

88/163. Question No H-262/88 by Mr Balfe Concerning South Africa

Date of Issue: 15 June 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

In the light of a resolution (2-0309/88) on the threat to the EC special programme for victims of apartheid adopted on 19 May 1988¹:

What diplomatic and other measures have the Council in mind if the bill is passed?

Will the Foreign Ministers consider recommending the simultaneous withdrawal of all EEC ambassadors and heads of mission for a period of consultations?

Answer:

The Twelve are aware of the resolution of the European Parliament in this question.

They did not fail to express their grave concern to the South African Government about its intention to impose wide-ranging restrictive measures against external funding for organizations and individuals in South Africa, making clear that relations with the Republic of South Africa would be severely strained if those measures were enacted.

The Twelve have taken note of the statement which the South African Minister of Justice made on 24 May 1988 on the subject matter.

¹ *OJ* No C 167 of 27 June 1988, pp. 265–266.

88/164. Question No H-3/88 by Mr Arbeloa Muru Concerning the Arrests in Western Sahara

Date of Issue: 15 June 1988
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Are the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation aware of the arrests carried out by Moroccan security forces on 20 and 21 November 1987 in Western Sahara, in anticipation of the arrival of the technical mission sent by the UN and the OAU? Have they taken any steps to secure the release of those arrested?

Answer:

As I have stated already in my reply to Oral Question No H-937/87 by Mr Pranchère¹, it is extremely difficult to obtain reliable information on detainees or other related facts from independent sources.

The Twelve have noted the resolution adopted by the European Parliament on 17 December 1987 voicing the EP's protest². The Twelve's attachment to the respect for human rights is well known to the authorities in the region.

¹ Cf. *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 88/070.

² Resolution on the Western Sahara, *OJ*, No C 13 of 18 January 1988, p. 102.

88/165. Question No H-98/88 by Mr Newton Dunn Concerning the Religious Persecution in Romania

Date of Issue: 15 June 1988
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

The Romanian authorities claim there is no religious persecution in their country. Will the Foreign Ministers request an explanation for the disappearance and whereabouts of Father Imre Tempfli, former vicar of the parish of Sighetu Martsiei, reported in the Roman Catholic weekly *The Tablet*, 12 March 1988, who has not been seen since 31 January 1988?

Answer:

The Foreign Ministers of the Twelve, meeting in Political Cooperation, have not discussed the concrete question raised by the Honourable Member.

In replying to similar questions by the Honourable Member about human rights in Romania, I have already had the opportunity to explain in detail the views and actions of the Twelve in this area.

The Twelve want to see all States fully respect all commitments in the field of human rights, freely undertaken by them, including those in the Helsinki Final Act and the Madrid Concluding Document. This goes for Romania as well. As the Honourable Member will know, there have been direct contacts between the Twelve and Romania concerning, *inter alia*, this matter.

At the ongoing CSCE follow-up meeting in Vienna the Twelve strive to ensure that existing CSCE commitments will be better implemented and that new undertakings in the field of human rights are made.

88/166. Question No H-157/88 by Mr Ephremidis Concerning the Impending Trial of Kutlu and Sargin

Date of Issue: 15 June 1988
 Place of Issue: Strasbourg
 Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
 Source of Document: Presidency
 Status of Document: Answer to Oral Parliamentary Question

Having regard to the trial of the Turkish Communist leaders Kutlu and Sargin, what approaches do the Ministers propose to make to the Turkish authorities on the lines laid down by the European Parliament in its resolutions on the immediate release of the two political leaders and freedom of action for all parties?

Answer:

The Twelve are aware of the cases of Mr Sargin and Mr Kutlu being held by the Turkish authorities and of the European Parliament resolutions passed thereon.

As was stated in an answer given in writing to Question H-727/87 and orally here in the European Parliament on 8 March 1988 on Question H-809/87¹, the Turkish authorities are well aware of the importance which the Twelve attach to the full respect for human rights and the observance of international conventions in this field, freely entered into.

With regard to the trial of Mr Sargin and Mr Kutlu, the Twelve continue to follow developments closely.

¹ Cf. *EPC Bulletin*, Docs. 88/048 and 88/059.

88/167. Joint Political Declaration of the EEC and its Member States and the Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf (GCC) and its Member States

Date of Issue: 15 June 1988
 Place of Issue: Luxembourg
 Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
 Source of Document: The Twelve (with other actors)
 Status of Document: Joint Declaration

1. On the occasion of the signing of the cooperation agreement between the European Community and the Member States of the Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf (GCC), the European Community and its Member States and the GCC and its Member States expressed their determination to continue strengthening and intensifying relations between the two regions in the political, economic and cultural fields. The signing of the agreement will, no doubt, create the momentum for the strengthening of their already solid relations and will expedite the realization of their common objectives.

2. On this occasion the European Community and the GCC Ministers discussed regional and international issues of common interest. They expressed their deep concern over the gravity of the situation in the occupied territories. They share the view that the repressive measures taken by Israel against the Palestinian people are in clear contradiction to international law and human rights and must stop forthwith. This situation underlines the urgent need for a speedy negotiated settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. In this context, the European Community and GCC Ministers, recalling, respectively, the Venice Declaration issued by the European Council and subsequent declarations, and

the Fez Plan and subsequent statements adopted by the Arab League summit, reaffirmed their support for the early convening of an international peace conference and will do their utmost with a view to reaching a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East.

Both sides expressed their profound concern about the continuation of the war between Iraq and Iran which endangers international peace, security and stability. They reiterated their full support for the early implementation of Security Council Resolution 598 and commended the efforts of the United Nations Secretary-General in this regard. They urged the Security Council to take every effort for the realization of a peaceful solution to the conflict and take whatever additional measures are necessary, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, to secure compliance with Security Council Resolution 598.

The two sides also reviewed problems related to navigation in the Gulf's international waterways. They explicitly emphasized that freedom of navigation and unimpeded flow of trade is a cardinal principle of international relations and international law. In this context, they call upon the international community to safeguard the right of free navigation in international waters and sea lanes for shipping *en route* to and from all ports and installations of the littoral States that are not party to the hostilities.

3. Reaffirming that cooperation between the European Community and the GCC countries is complementary to the Euro-Arab dialogue and not a substitute for it, they expressed their determination to support actively the objectives of the dialogue and contribute positively towards its success.

4. Recognizing the positive role of the GCC for the preservation of peace, security and stability in the Gulf region, the European Community and its Member States are determined to develop further cooperation with the GCC and its Member States, particularly in the framework of the cooperation agreement. In so doing, both sides will be contributing to peace and stability in the region.

5. Both sides express their determination to take necessary steps to ensure the early entry into force of the cooperation agreement signed today, and to pursue with vigour its subsequent implementation in accordance with the provisions of the agreement, they decided to hold one annual meeting with participation of the Member States of the Community and the Commission on the one hand, and the Member States of GCC and the Secretariat-General of the GCC on the other hand.

88/168. Statement on the Period of the German Presidency – Abstracts¹

Date of Issue: 16 June 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Balance Speech to European Parliament

Mr Genscher, President-in-Office of the Council and of the Foreign Ministers: Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the European Community is in a buoyant and confident mood. We have made valuable progress towards achieving a wholly united, long-lasting and effective European Union. Our Community of free democracies has become stronger internally, with more scope for action in foreign policy.

Only together can we meet the great challenges facing us. Only together can we take advantage of the great opportunities before us. A strong and united Community gives the whole world hope for peace.

The German Presidency set the Community four major goals for the first half of 1988: on the domestic front, adoption of the Delors package and progress towards the European internal market. Abroad, enhancement of the Community's external relations and of European political cooperation. At the end of the six months, great progress has been made in all four areas. [...]

My colleagues and I are agreed that we should make full use of all potentialities of the Single European Act and the Foreign Ministers' decision of 28 February 1986² for close cooperation with the European Parliament in the European political cooperation area too. I am particularly grateful to the Political Affairs Committee of this House for our two meetings and our fruitful dialogue. As the Community develops on the domestic front, the greater its scope for economic and political action abroad, the greater its attraction for the rest of the world.

It was one of the priorities of our Presidency to extend and intensify the Community's international relations. We have made progress towards a common European foreign policy. The European Political Cooperation Secretariat in Brussels has helped with its comprehensive support. The dialogue between Europe and the USA has gained in breadth and depth. Visits at top political level have emphasized the vital importance of closer and more trusting transatlantic relations.

The Americans are talking about the 'new quality' of the dialogue. On trade relations, we have managed to make headway in important sectors. I am pleased that the American Government has affirmed its commitment to free world trade as regards the new trade bill. It has been confirmed: the USA, too, welcome a Europe that speaks with one voice and shoulders responsibilities.

Together with the USA and Japan, the European Community bears a special responsibility for maintaining free world trade and eliminating protectionism. The GATT Uruguay Round has to be a success. The Community has been geared to the world market since it was founded. As internal Community barriers fall, we must not erect any new barriers at our external frontiers. I therefore welcome the decisions of the ministerial meeting with the EFTA countries at the beginning of February and the new negotiations on the mutual dismantling of trade barriers. They are bringing us closer to the goal of a large European economic area.

The European Community is the centrepiece of the union of European democracies. It is progressing towards European union not in isolation from the outside, but in the widest possible community with Europe. We are aiming at a vast European economic area. We have stepped up the regular political dialogue between the Twelve and Norway, Austria and Malta — as well as with Canada — and placed it on a formal basis. Contacts with other countries of the Council of Europe as well as with the Council of Europe itself have been close and fruitful.

Encouraging changes in East–West relations are opening the way for fundamental improvements in the situation in Europe. Three days ago in Luxembourg, the Foreign Ministers of the Twelve emphasized that this process must maintain its impetus. The meeting of President Reagan and General-Secretary Gorbachev in Moscow represented a further step towards more permanent, closer East–West relations.

The INF Treaty opens the way to the elimination of a serious threat to Western Europe. Further significant progress in all the other arms control negotiations must follow. The Geneva Afghanistan Agreement is the first instalment in the repayment of a large outstanding debt in international relations. Other regional conflicts urgently require a negotiated solution. The Community trusts that the changes taking place in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe will lead to an opening-up of the political systems.

We are anxious to make constructive use of the resulting possibilities for lasting improvements in East–West relations. The joint declaration of the European Community and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, which has already been initialled and is to be signed in Luxembourg on 25 June, establishes reciprocal official relations after years of arduous negotiations. The Community trusts that the establishment in parallel of official relations as scheduled, as well as the conclusion of agreements between the Community and Member States of the CMEA, will soon become a reality.

Economic cooperation creates trust, common interests and stability. The Twelve have made every effort to advance the CSCE negotiations in Vienna. In Luxembourg we again confirmed the goal of our negotiations as being the conclusion of a substantial balanced final document. We want significant progress in all three Baskets, particularly with respect to the Human Dimension.

We appeal to all still hesitant participant States to take constructive negotiating steps. The Twelve have done substantial preparatory work to achieve progress on the central problem of European security as well: we want early negotiations to establish a stable balance of conventional forces at a reduced level in Europe and on further confidence- and security-building measures.

I had promised this House that I would continue with my colleagues the talks we began in January on improved coordination with respect to security policy, and that I would report on the progress made. In Constance the twelve Foreign Ministers confirmed their will to develop the security-policy dimension of the Community by exploiting all the possibilities under the Single European Act. The Presidency acted decisively on the basis of that consensus.

At the beginning of June, at the third United Nations Special Session on Disarmament, I stressed on behalf of the Twelve our determination to take advantage of the improved atmosphere in East–West

relations to make substantial progress in disarmament and arms control. Before the end of the year we hope for an agreement on the halving of the nuclear strategic offensive capability of the USA and the USSR.

A lasting consolidation of the strategic stability between the Great Powers is in the security interests of all States. We vigorously support the efforts of the Geneva Disarmament Conference to achieve agreement on a comprehensive, verifiable, world-wide ban on chemical weapons.

That is the only way of effectively putting an end to the proliferation of this atrocious type of weapon. 1988 must be the year of negotiations on conventional stability. The major obstacle to our security is conventional imbalance in Europe, the Eastern block's superiority in the conventional sphere. The German Presidency has also made progress on the economic aspects of security. In discussions on international non-proliferation arrangements and on the peaceful use of atomic energy, there was agreement on our proposal that the efforts of the Twelve to improve the international nuclear responsibility system should be harmonized. We have had open and critical discussions of bilateral nuclear relations with countries in sensitive regions of the world. A meeting of experts was held on the prevention of the illegal arms trade. The task remains to make progress with drawing up common guidelines on the part of the Twelve for arms exports. The Twelve have continued their efforts to agree on measures in the sphere of export controls to prevent the misuse of chemical substances and plants for the production of chemical agents.

These positive beginnings must be built on with determination. Security means defence capability but also disarmament and arms control, the elimination of causes of tension through dialogue and cooperation, a balancing of interests between North and South. A world-wide peace policy will, at the same time, give Europe additional security. In the last six months the Community has again demonstrated that it is aware of its responsibility for peace.

In crisis regions it has a stabilizing, peace-promoting influence. The Arab-Israeli conflict has entered a new critical phase as a result of the unrest in the occupied territories. The Twelve are using their best endeavours to contribute to a peaceful solution.

The conflict was a major issue at the Foreign Ministers' meetings in Bonn and Luxembourg. The principles already contained in our Venice Declaration of 1980 have proved correct: a just and lasting solution must reconcile Israel's right to existence and right to secure borders with the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination without the use of force. The Twelve call for the convening of an international peace conference under the aegis of the United Nations. That is the appropriate forum for negotiations between the parties concerned. Talks with the principal parties concerned have confirmed us in this view.

At the meeting of Foreign Ministers in Bonn on 8 February 1988, we held a wide-ranging exchange of views with King Hussein of Jordan in his capacity as President of the special Arab League summit in November 1987. At the end of March in Algiers I represented the Twelve in discussions with the Algerian Foreign Minister in his capacity as Chairman of the Arab League Ministerial Committee, and General-Secretary Klibi, on the urgency of a political solution and the situation in the occupied territories.

The talks with the Israeli Foreign Minister in Jerusalem and Brussels addressed the question of an international conference. The Twelve are supporting all efforts towards a peaceful solution. The Twelve deplore the repressive measures Israel is employing in the occupied territories as an infringement of international law and human rights. We have made this very clear in our public pronouncements.

At the Cooperation Council meeting with Israel on 24 May, the situation was seriously discussed with Foreign Minister Peres. The Community is determined to work towards improved living conditions for the population of the occupied territories through direct imports and the encouragement of development projects. I appeal once again to this House to approve the Additional Protocol to the Cooperation Agreement with Israel and thus contribute towards constructive developments in the Middle East. [...]

The war in Lebanon is causing growing hardship and senseless bloodshed. Nationals of our States are still held hostage. A political solution is more urgent than ever. A precondition of such a solution is the

restoration of constitutional order and unity within Lebanon and a just balance of interests between the various groups making up the population. In Luxembourg, the Foreign Ministers of the Twelve appealed to all concerned to guarantee the orderly holding of the coming presidential elections.

The Iran–Iraq war, which has lasted for almost eight years, must end. The Twelve have again appealed to both sides to end the fighting, observe international law and cease disrupting international shipping. We urge early implementation of Resolution 598 of the Security Council in its entirety. We have condemned in the strongest possible terms the renewed use of gas in warfare. The unambiguous position adopted by the Security Council in Resolution 612 is a further move to halt the use of chemical weapons.

Vis-à-vis the Arab States too, the Community has been pursuing its successful policy of regional cooperation. On 15 June 1988 in Luxembourg, with the signing of the Cooperation Agreement, the European Community and the Gulf Cooperation Council laid the foundations for even closer economic cooperation and regular political dialogue. After years of stagnation, it proved possible during our presidency to give new impetus to the Euro–Arab Dialogue. A joint Euro–Arab Foreign Ministers meeting in the Troika format will be held for the first time on 24 June in Bonn.

In South Africa, the main objective of the Twelve's policy is to defeat apartheid by peaceful means. The latest steps taken by the South African Government to outlaw the anti-apartheid organizations show that retortia is still shirking the inevitable political dialogue. The Twelve have emphatically condemned these acts and have demanded their withdrawal.

In addition, we have made a number of vigorous representations against the plans to exclude anti-apartheid organizations from foreign assistance. In that way positive measures to help the black majority, which constitute a central feature of our South African policy, would be made more difficult or impossible. Apartheid is a constant infringement of human rights. The Twelve have intervened in a whole range of individual cases to safeguard human rights in South Africa. Only two days ago we appealed to the President in South Africa to pardon the Sharpeville Six on humanitarian grounds.

The destabilizing policy South Africa adopts towards the front-line States, particularly Angola and Mozambique, must cease and Namibia must be given its independence on the basis of Security Council Resolution 435. We trust that the talks which have taken place in recent weeks on Angola and Namibia, and between South Africa and Mozambique too, will help this process.

The Twelve continued the political dialogue with the ACP States on 25 April 1988 in Luxembourg with a wide-ranging exchange of views on the situation in South Africa and southern Africa. The meeting of the ACP–EEC Council of Ministers in Mauritius took place against the background of the need to further develop relations with the ACP States in the light of new world economic circumstances. Hunger and economic need in Africa remain a challenge to Europe. The Community has pressed on with its aid programme for Ethiopia, the Sudan and other countries, particularly in the Sahel region.

Central America is a focal point of the Community's peace efforts. At the San José IV Conference in Hamburg, we encouraged the Central American States to continue along the path outlined in the Siquipilas-II Agreement in August 1987. Our Central American partners stressed the importance of such support for their efforts.

We hope that it will be possible for the process initiated by President Arias to be brought to a successful conclusion. The Community wishes to give its intellectual and material support to the Central American Parliament, a future regional forum for political debate. It is prepared for long-term economic cooperation and will step up its assistance with the reintegration of refugees and with food aid. It also outlined its readiness in principle to support the Central American plan of action for the economic reconstruction of the region.

The meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Twelve in Hamburg on 1 March 1988 with the eight Latin American democracies of the Rio Group added a further political dimension to relations with Latin America.

Active shaping of the partnership with Asia was a fundamental preoccupation of our presidency. Asia's importance is increasing significantly and at a rapid rate. It is moving closer to us in political and economic terms. An illustration thereof was the successful 7th EEC–ASEAN Foreign Ministers' meeting in Düsseldorf, the visits to Europe by the Japanese and Indian Prime Ministers, and the Troika consultations with Japan and India.

The Geneva Afghanistan Agreement is an important step towards the restoration of peace within and outside an independent non-aligned Afghanistan. But lasting peace will come to Afghanistan only if the departure of Soviet troops goes hand in hand with the voluntary repatriation of refugees and the formation of a government which unites the entire Afghan people rather than divides it. Eight years of war have left deep wounds. The Twelve are ready to help with the repatriation of refugees and the rebuilding of Afghanistan.

The Community Foreign Ministers with their colleagues from the ASEAN countries confirmed their meeting in Düsseldorf their will to encourage a political solution to the Kampuchean question. An essential prerequisite is the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea. The Twelve and ASEAN will support the efforts of Prince Sihanouk. They trust that the talks sought by the ASEAN States between all parties, including Vietnam, will soon take place.

The defence of human rights world-wide is one of the fundamental tasks to which this House and the Community have devoted all their energies. The German Presidency has forwarded to you a memorandum on our activities in this area. Wherever necessary, we intervened to help those concerned.

The terrorist attacks in the first half of 1988 strengthened the determination of the Twelve to intensify close cooperation within the European political cooperation framework on combating terrorism.

The Community of Twelve's presence world-wide is attested to by its united front in international institutions and at international conferences, in its common representations abroad and common solutions to the multifarious, frequently complex problems abroad. Here, too, we have made progress and have shown encouraging signs of increased European solidarity.

On 27 and 28 June, the 39th meeting of the European Council will take place in Hanover. The German Presidency would like this European Council to be a European Council in the traditional sense again. The Heads of State and Government will have no unresolved details to discuss. They will be able to give their full attention to the priorities and prospects for European integration.

Their discussions should focus on a stocktaking of and prospects for the internal market, the social dimension of the Community, monetary questions and foreign policy questions. [...]

Finally, we will use the European Council as a forum for an exchange of views of fundamental foreign policy questions. We need to clarify the new prospects for East–West relations. We want to address the central questions of the Twelve's regional responsibility for peace.

Let no one underestimate the new Europe, with its inner dynamism and its invigorating creative power.

¹ Cf. *OJ Annex* No 2-366 of 16 June 1988, pp. 257–283.

² *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 86/090.

88/169. Political Declaration, Released at the Toronto Meeting of Industrialized Countries, Held 19–21 June 1988

Date of Issue: 21 June 1988

Place of Issue: Toronto, Canada

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency (with other actors)

Status of Document: Joint Declaration

East–West

We, the leaders of our seven countries, and the representatives of the European Community, uphold common principles of freedom, respect for individual rights, and the desire of all men to live in peace under the rule of law. Our peoples stand in solidarity within the framework of our existing alliances in the cause of freedom, to safeguard democracy and the prosperity which it has produced. In our discussions we considered how these goals and values could be pursued in the field of Foreign Affairs, particularly with regard to East–West relations.

We discussed a wide range of regional questions and these discussions are continuing throughout the Summit.

We confirmed our belief in constructive and realistic dialogue and cooperation, including arms control, human rights and regional issues, as the way to build stability between East and West and [to] enhance security at lower levels of arms. We also reaffirmed that for the foreseeable future nuclear deterrence and adequate conventional strength are the guarantees of peace in freedom.

In several important respects, changes have taken place in relations between Western countries and the Soviet Union since we last met. For our part, this evolution has come about because the industrialized democracies have been strong and united. In the Soviet Union, greater freedom and openness will offer opportunities to reduce mistrust and build confidence. Each of us will respond positively to any such developments.

We welcome the beginning of the Soviet withdrawal of its occupation troops from Afghanistan. It must be total and apply to the entire country. The Afghan people must be able to choose their government freely. Each of us confirms our willingness to make our full contribution to the efforts of the international community to ensure the return of the refugees to their homeland, their resettlement, and the reconstruction of their country. We now look to the Soviet Union to make a constructive contribution to resolving other regional conflicts as well.

Since our last meeting, progress has been made between the United States and the Soviet Union in agreeing to reduce nuclear weapons in a manner which accords fully with the security interests of each of our countries. The INF Treaty, the direct result of Western firmness and unity, is the first treaty ever actually to reduce nuclear arms. It sets vitally important precedents for future arms control agreements: asymmetrical reductions and intrusive verification arrangements. We now look for deep cuts in US and Soviet strategic offensive arms. We congratulate President Reagan on what he has already accomplished, along with General Secretary Gorbachev, towards this goal.

Nonetheless, the massive presence of Soviet conventional forces in Eastern Europe, the ensuing conventional superiority of the Warsaw Pact, and its capacity to launch surprise attacks and large-scale offensive operations, lie at the core of the security problem in Europe. The Soviet military build-up in the Far East is equally a major source of instability in Asia. These threats must be reduced. Our goal is enhanced security and stability at lower levels of forces, after having eliminated the present imbalances. We seek the early establishment of a comprehensive, effectively verifiable and truly global ban on chemical weapons.

Genuine peace cannot be established solely by arms control. It must be firmly based on respect for fundamental human rights. We urge the Soviet Union to move forward in ensuring human dignity and freedoms and to implement fully and strengthen substantially its commitments under the Helsinki process. Recent progress must be enshrined in law and practice, the painful barriers that divide people must come down, and the obstacles to emigration must be removed.

We pay special attention to the countries in Eastern Europe. We encourage them to open up their economies and societies, and to improve respect for human rights. In this context, we support the continuation and strengthening of the Helsinki process.

We take positive note of Eastern countries' growing interest in ending their economic isolation, for example in the establishment and development of relations with the European Community. East-West relations can be expanded and serve our common interests so long as the commercial basis is sound, they are conducted within the framework of the basic principles and the rules of the international trade and payments system, and are consistent with the security interests of each of our countries.

Terrorism

We strongly reaffirm our condemnation of terrorism in all its forms, including the taking of hostages. We renew our commitment to policies and measures agreed at previous summits, in particular those against State-sponsored terrorism.

We strongly condemn recent threats to air security, in particular the destruction of a Korean airliner and the hijacking of a Kuwaiti airliner. We recall the principle affirmed in previous declarations that terrorists must not go unpunished. We appeal to all countries who are not party to the international conventions on civil aviation security – in particular the Hague Convention – to accede to those conventions.

We express support for [the] work currently under way in the International Civil Aviation Organization aimed at strengthening international protection against hijackings. We welcome the most recent declaration adopted by the ICAO Council which endorses the principle that hijacked aircraft should not be allowed to take off once they have landed, except in circumstances as specified in the ICAO declaration.

We welcome the adoption this year in Montreal and Rome of two international agreements on aviation and maritime security to enhance the safety of travellers.

We reaffirm our determination to continue the fight against terrorism through the application of rule of law, the policy of no concessions to terrorists and their sponsors, and international cooperation.

Narcotics

The illegal use of drugs and the illicit trafficking in them pose grave risks to the peoples of Summit countries as well as the peoples of source and transit countries. There is an urgent need for improved international cooperation in all appropriate forums on programmes to counter all facets of the illicit drug problem, in particular production, trafficking, and financing of the drug trade. The complexity of the problem requires additional international cooperation, in particular to trace, freeze and confiscate the proceeds of drug traffickers, and to curb money laundering.

We look forward to the successful negotiation in Vienna in November of a United Nations convention on illicit trafficking.

We supported the initiative of the Government of the United States for a special task force to be convened to propose methods of improving cooperation in all areas, including national, bilateral and multilateral efforts in the fight against narcotics.

88/170. Summary of Certain Political Issues Discussed at the Toronto Meeting of Industrialized Countries, Held 19–20 June 1988¹

Date of Issue: 21 June 1988

Place of Issue: Toronto, Canada

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency (with other actors)

Status of Document: Joint Declaration

The following represents an agreed summary of the discussions on the Middle East, South Africa and Cambodia.

Middle East

We express our deep concern at the increasing instability in the Near East. The current violence in the Occupied Territories is a clear sign that the *status quo* is not sustainable. An early negotiated settlement to the underlying Arab–Israeli dispute is essential. We declare our support for the convening of a properly structured international conference as the appropriate framework for the necessary negotiations between the parties directly concerned. In this perspective, we salute current efforts aimed at achieving a settlement, particularly the initiative pursued by Mr Shultz since February. We urge the parties to cooperate fully in the search for a solution.

We have pursued our consultations about the continuing war between Iran and Iraq, which remains a source of profound concern to us. We reaffirm our support for Security Council Resolution 598, which was adopted unanimously. We express our warm appreciation for the efforts of the Secretary-General to work for a settlement on this basis and reiterate our firm determination to ensure implementation of this mandatory resolution by a follow-up resolution. We condemn the use of chemical weapons by either party, deplore proliferation of ballistic missiles in the region, and renew our commitment to uphold the principle of freedom of navigation in the Gulf.

South Africa

We declare our abhorrence of apartheid, which must be replaced through a process of genuine national negotiations by a non-racial democracy.

We expressed our urgent opinion on three particular matters:

1. All legal options available in South Africa should be used to secure clemency for the Sharpeville Six;
2. The enactment of legislation designed to deprive anti-apartheid organizations of overseas aid would place severe strain on the relations each of us has with South Africa;
3. We strongly support the current negotiations seeking national reconciliation within Angola, an end to the Angola–Namibia conflict, and early implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435.

Cambodia

As the recent message from Prince Sihanouk has reminded us, the continuing Cambodian conflict and the suffering of the Cambodian people is of deep concern. We join the vast majority of nations of the world in calling for the prompt withdrawal of all Vietnamese troops. We support a political settlement in Cambodia which will provide for Cambodian self-determination and lead to the re-emergence of a free and independent Cambodia.

The present document is the summary of political issues as prepared by the Chairman of the Toronto Meeting; it represents an agreed summary of the discussions.

88/171. Statement Concerning the Situation in Haiti

Date of Issue: 22 June 1988

Place of Issue: Bonn

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: The Twelve

Status of Document: Declaration

The Twelve deeply deplore the events of 19 and 20 June 1988. These events have severely damaged the process of restoring democracy in Haiti. After decades of dictatorship, the legitimate aspirations of the people of Haiti for freedom, progress and peace have again been frustrated.

The Twelve call for national reconciliation, strict observance of human rights, the consolidation of democracy and the early restoration of civilian government according to the principles laid down in the constitution of Haiti.

88/172. Statement Concerning the Euro–Arab Dialogue

Date of Issue: 24 June 1988

Place of Issue: Bonn

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Foreign Ministers

Status of Document: Press Statement

In order to revitalize the Euro–Arab Dialogue, the Troikas from both sides met in Bonn at the level of Foreign Ministers on 24 June 1988.

The European Troika consisted of Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher in his capacity as President of the EC Council of Ministers, State Secretary Benny Kimberg representing the previous Presidency (Denmark), Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias representing the following Presidency (Greece). The EC Commission was represented by Commissioner Claude Cheysson.

The Arab Troika consisted of Foreign Minister Farouk Shara'a (Syria) in his capacity as President of the Council of Ministers of the Arab League, State Minister Mohamed Ali Hamoud (Somalia) representing the incoming Arab League Presidency, and Foreign Minister Hussein Suleyman Abu Salih (Sudan) representing the previous Presidency, and Arab League Secretary-General Chedli Klibi.

This meeting offered the opportunity for a friendly and comprehensive exchange of views on Euro–Arab cooperation and the Euro–Arab Dialogue, which included all questions of mutual interest. There was a thorough discussion of the Arab–Israeli conflict and the serious situation in the occupied territories, the Lebanese problem and the danger of the continuation of the Iran–Iraq war.

Both Troikas expressed their hope that the General Committee, the central body of the Dialogue, would meet soon. They expressed their strong interest in a swift reactivation of all institutions and activities set up in the framework of the Euro–Arab Dialogue.

Both parties reaffirmed their determination to give a new impetus to the work of the various bodies of the Euro–Arab Dialogue, including the sixth meeting of the General Committee, while pursuing all efforts to create a positive atmosphere for the continuation of the Dialogue.

88/173. Question No 615/87 by Ms Lizin (S–B) Concerning the TREVI Group

Date of Issue: 24 June 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 22 June 1987

The answer to my Oral Question No H-60/87¹, on the work of the TREVI Group, mentioned the possibility of providing information on its activities after the meeting in April.

Is it now possible to give a synopsis of the TREVI Group's activities and provide information about its work?

Answer:

For information on the work of the TREVI Group, the Honourable Member should refer to the statements made by the Belgian and Danish Presidencies of the Group on 28 April and 9 December 1987 respectively.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 87/153.

88/174. Question No 1402/87 by Mr Pranchère (COM–F) Concerning the Conditions in Which an Israeli National, Mordechai Vanunu, is Being Held and his Case Heard

Date of Issue: 24 June 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 20 October 1987

Are the Foreign Ministers aware of the inhuman conditions in which Mr Vanunu has been held for almost three months: in solitary confinement, deprived of natural light, and with every move under surveillance from a video camera?

Do they know that the charges brought against Mr Vanunu by his country's legal authorities (passing on of information to unauthorized persons, aggravated espionage and assisting the enemy in time of war) are based solely on an interview that Mr Vanunu gave to the British newspaper, *The Sunday Times*?

Have the Ministers discussed the case and can they say what measures they intend to take to protect the defendant's right of defence?

Answer:

The case of Mr Vanunu has not been discussed in European political cooperation. Some Member States have raised the case bilaterally with the Israeli Government.

The Twelve take every opportunity to point out to the Israeli Government the importance they attach to full, universal respect for human rights.

88/175. Question No 1858/87 by Mr Herman (PPE-B) Concerning the Meeting of Missions in Third Countries

Date of Issue: 24 June 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 18 December 1987

Could the Foreign Ministers state on how many occasions and in how many countries meetings have been held pursuant to paragraph 2 of Title II of the decision¹ adopted by the Ministers meeting in European political cooperation on the occasion of the signing of the Single European Act?

Answer:

The Heads of Mission of the Twelve and the representatives of the Commission in third countries meet at least once a month to exchange information on political matters, coordinate their positions and, where appropriate, draw up joint reports. Regular meetings also take place between members of their staff, particularly to discuss consular and administrative problems of mutual interest.

This procedure is regularly applied in all third countries in which Member States have diplomatic posts.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 86/090.

88/176. Question No 1986/87 by Mr Mallet and Others (PPE-F) Concerning the Breach of COCOM Rules

Date of Issue: 24 June 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 10 January 1988

The Norwegian police appear to have identified at least six European companies which have been exporting high-technology material to the USSR and have thus been in breach of the rules of COCOM for some ten years.

Are the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation aware of this, and what corrective measures do they intend to take?

Answer:

The question raised by the Honourable Member concerning the rules of COCOM falls outside the scope of European political cooperation and has, consequently, not been discussed by the Foreign Ministers of the Twelve meeting in Political Cooperation.

88/177. Question No 2084/87 by Mr Zagari (S–I) Concerning the Ratification by Greece of the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism

Date of Issue: 24 June 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 18 January 1987

In view of the fact that Greece is the only Member State of the Community which has not yet ratified the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism (Strasbourg, 1977), could the Ministers explain why ratification has not yet taken place and what obstacles must be overcome?

Answer:

The Honourable Member's question refers to a matter which is the responsibility of a member country and cannot therefore be answered by European political cooperation.

Nevertheless, the Presidency has been informed that the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism has already been submitted to the Greek Parliament for ratification.

88/178. Question No 2193/87 by Mr Balfe (S–UK) Concerning the Case of Medhi Zana

Date of Issue: 24 June 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 1 February 1988

Will the Foreign Ministers please discuss the case of Medhi Zana, imprisoned in Turkey since 1980 and adopted as a prisoner of conscience by Amnesty International?

Answer:

The specific case of the former mayor of Diyarbakir has not been the subject of discussion in the framework of European political cooperation.

The Twelve continue to follow the human rights situation in Turkey with due attention, including the question of the right to freely establish political organizations. In their declaration of 21 July 1986 on human rights¹, they have underlined that respect for human rights is an important element in relations between third countries and the Europe of the Twelve.

The Turkish authorities are fully aware of the Twelve's views.

¹ *EPC Bulletin*, Doc. 86/230.

88/179. Question No 2412/87 by Ms Crawley (S–UK) Concerning South Africa

Date of Issue: 24 June 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 24 February 1988

In his speech of 17 December 1987, the Foreign Minister Mr Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, closing the Danish Presidency of the European Communities, reiterated the European Communities' opposition to

apartheid in South Africa and stated that the Foreign Ministers had instituted investigations during the Danish Presidency, with a view to establishing that there is no undermining of the restrictive measures implemented by the EEC against the South African regime. Would the Foreign Ministers explain further the nature of the investigations and give an assurance to the European Parliament that the results of this investigation will be made public?

Answer:

The restrictive measures adopted in September 1985 and September 1986 are a key element of the Twelve's policy of political and diplomatic action aimed at contributing to the early and complete dismantlement of apartheid. Consequently, the Twelve attach great importance to these measures producing the desired effects and, to this purpose, they monitor their application carefully along the following lines:

- (a) The Twelve undertake constant consultations so as to ensure that the measures are being properly and fully implemented.
- (b) The Twelve endeavour to avoid any action which impairs the effectiveness of the measures.
- (c) It is the policy of the Twelve to avoid undermining measures taken by other countries.
- (d) The enforcement of measures, and the penalties applied for breaching them, are the responsibility of individual governments that have already taken the necessary steps.

Against this background, the Twelve have undertaken a thorough exercise to assess the impact of the restrictive measures and to determine their effectiveness.

On the basis of the information so far available the Twelve have noted that their measures are having the expected impact.

The Presidency will keep the European Parliament informed.

88/180. Question No 2482/87 by Mr Mizzau (PPE-I) Concerning the Persecution of the Popa Brothers in Albania

Date of Issue: 24 June 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 24 February 1988

What steps have the Foreign Ministers taken to secure the freedom of the Popa brothers who have spent two years as refugees in the Italian embassy in Tirana and to whom the Albanian Government has refused a safe conduct to enable them to leave the country?

The Popa brothers are unable to seek refuge in a free country because, in flagrant violation of human rights, the Albanian Government regards them as opponents of that country's Stalinist regime.

The questioner feels that the Ministers should intervene, using all available diplomatic measures and sanctions, to secure the release of the Popa brothers, both because the defence of human rights demands it, and because they have taken refuge in an embassy (in this case the Italian embassy) of a Member State of the EEC.

Answer:

The Twelve are aware of the case mentioned by the Honourable Member and of the efforts undertaken in order to solve the matter by the Government of the Member State most directly concerned.

They consider that it is this Member State's primary responsibility to choose the most appropriate ways to bring about a satisfactory solution to this serious and difficult case.

88/181. Statement Concerning East–West Relations

Date of Issue: 28 June 1988

Place of Issue: Hanover

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: European Council

Status of Document: Conclusions of the European Council

The European Council noted that East–West relations had moved into a more dynamic phase. In this process the Twelve are determined to continue to play an active role. They welcomed the evidence of the Moscow summit that a climate of increased confidence and cooperation has now been established in US–Soviet relations.

The Twelve are encouraged by the recent progress in arms control and disarmament. They stress their willingness to work for further progress in the current and future negotiations with a view to achieving stability at a lower level of arms. The principle of asymmetrical reductions and stringent verification provisions laid down in the INF Treaty establishes a valuable precedent.

The Twelve also look for continuing progress towards the peaceful resolution of regional conflicts, universal respect for fundamental human rights, and the free exchange of people and ideas.

The European Council welcomes the more outward-looking attitude now being shown by Eastern European countries in their economic contacts with the West, as witnessed by the establishment and development of relations with the Community. This should be encouraged as contributing to the wider opening up of their economies and societies. The East–West economic conference proposed by the Twelve at the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting will also serve that purpose.

The European Council calls upon other CSCE participating States to join in an effort to conclude the Vienna meeting with a substantive and balanced document permitting significant progress in all areas, in particular in the Human Dimension. The draft concluding document proposed by the neutral and non-aligned States on 13 May offers a suitable basis to elaborate such a document. A successful conclusion of the Vienna meeting will make possible an early start of negotiations on conventional stability in Europe, the key issue of European security, aiming at the establishment of a stable and secure balance of conventional forces in Europe at a lower level, and on a further set of security- and confidence-building measures, as well as other follow-up proposals supported by the Twelve.

88/182. Statement Concerning Afghanistan

Date of Issue: 28 June 1988

Place of Issue: Hanover

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: European Council

Status of Document: Conclusions of the European Council

The European Council calls upon all concerned to implement fully the peace process set out by the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan. It expects the Soviet Union to complete the withdrawal of its troops in accordance with these agreements. It supports all efforts to establish a representative government formed in a process of self-determination in which the resistance have a full part to play.

The European Council declares the readiness of the Community and its Member States to provide humanitarian assistance under the programme to be carried out by the United Nations coordinator, non-governmental organizations and the ICRC in favour of the voluntary repatriation and resettlement of the refugees and displaced persons.

The Community and its Member States are also prepared to provide reconstruction assistance for Afghanistan after the formation of a representative government and the establishment of internal peace.

88/183. Statement Concerning the Middle East

Date of Issue: 28 June 1988
 Place of Issue: Hanover
 Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
 Source of Document: European Council
 Status of Document: Conclusions of the European Council

The European Council expressed its concern at the increase in tension in the Middle East. The *status quo* in the occupied territories cannot be sustained. On the basis of their established positions, the Twelve will continue to work towards the early convening, under United Nations auspices, of an international peace conference, which is the suitable framework for the necessary negotiations between the parties directly concerned, and is essential to bring about a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the region. The Twelve will support all initiatives to this end.

The continuation of the war between Iraq and Iran endangers the security and stability of the entire region. The Twelve deplore that, nearly one year after its unanimous adoption by the UN Security Council, Resolution 598 has not yet been implemented. They will continue to support the efforts of the UN Secretary-General to secure its early and full implementation. The Twelve condemn the use of chemical weapons, and renew their commitment to uphold the principle of freedom of navigation in the Gulf.

The Twelve remain deeply preoccupied by the situation in Lebanon. They confirmed the importance they attach to the orderly and legal conduct of the forthcoming presidential election. They also recalled their support for UNIFIL and reiterated their strong appeal for the immediate release of all hostages still being held in Lebanon.

The European Council welcomed the recent signature of the cooperation agreement with the Gulf Cooperation Council and the intensification of relations with its members. It also welcomed the recent Troika meeting in the Euro–Arab Dialogue and hoped this would lead to increased productive cooperation.

88/184. Statement Concerning South Africa

Date of Issue: 28 June 1988
 Place of Issue: Hanover
 Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
 Source of Document: European Council
 Status of Document: Conclusions of the European Council

The European Council noted with great concern that relations between the Twelve and South Africa run the risk of being worsened even further. In this respect it urged that all legal options available in South Africa, including if necessary the grant of clemency by President Botha, should be used to prevent the death penalty from being carried out against the Sharpeville Six.

On 18 July, Nelson Mandela will mark his 70th birthday. The European Council strongly appeals to the South African authorities to free him and all other political prisoners.

The European Council confirmed that the enactment of the proposed bill designed to deprive anti-apartheid organizations, striving for peaceful change, of financial support from abroad would place additional strain on the relations of the Twelve with South Africa.

88/185. Statement Concerning Southern Africa

Date of Issue: 28 June 1988
 Place of Issue: Hanover
 Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
 Source of Document: European Council
 Status of Document: Conclusions of the European Council

The Twelve recalled their established position concerning Namibia and supported the current efforts to secure peace for Angola and independence for Namibia on the basis of UN Security Council Resolution 435.

88/186. Statement Concerning Latin America

Date of Issue: 28 June 1988
Place of Issue: Hanover
Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
Source of Document: European Council
Status of Document: Conclusions of the European Council

The European Council discussed the situation in Latin America and underlined the fundamental importance of the rule of democracy and the normal functioning of democratic institutions as a key factor for stability in the subcontinent. The continuity of the peace process in Central America is essential for achieving peace, justice and the observance of human rights in the whole region. The Twelve remain determined to provide continued support for this process.

88/187. Question No 1462/87 by Mr Perinat Elio (ED-E) Concerning the Paris–Madrid–Bonn Military Axis

Date of Issue: 30 June 1988
Place of Issue: Strasbourg
Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany
Source of Document: Presidency
Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 19 October 1987

Recent reports of a possible Madrid–Paris–Bonn military axis (the expression used by the principal Franco–Spanish political leaders in preference to the goal of strengthening the European pillar of NATO), and the interest displayed by the Spanish Prime Minister, Felipe González, in taking part in discussions of his possible collaboration in the plan to set up a joint Franco–German brigade, have provoked numerous comments from sources close to the European security establishment.

Clearly, such bilateral contacts between politicians of Community countries are bound to give rise to these and other ideas and frequently overshadow the genuine Community spirit which ought to inspire thinking at all levels between the Member States.

Do the Ministers therefore not think that it would be appropriate to encourage Community meetings on the subject of security, with the participation of all the Member States, which should be involved in a common security plan that would transcend bi- or even tri-lateral alliances within the Community?

Answer:

As the Honourable Member is aware of, defence matters fall outside the scope of European political cooperation as envisaged in the Single European Act. They are the object of cooperation among certain Member States in other contexts, to which reference is made in Article 30, paragraph 6 (c) of the Single Act.

The same article states, however, that close cooperation on questions of European security would contribute in an essential way to the development of a European identity in external policy matters. According to Article 30, the Twelve will coordinate their positions on political and economic aspects of security more closely. These aspects are regularly discussed by the Twelve.

**88/188. Question No 2569/87 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S–E)
Concerning the Disappearance of Three Greek Cypriots**

Date of Issue: 30 June 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 9 March 1988

Have the Ministers made any recent attempts to ascertain the fate of the three Greek Cypriots, Andreas Hatjiloizou, Andreas Costas Kassapis and Leontios Leontius, who were taken prisoner by the Turkish forces in the 1974 hostilities in Cyprus and whose whereabouts have remained unknown ever since?

Answer:

The fate of the persons, specifically mentioned by the Honourable Member in his question, has not been discussed by the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation.

The Twelve have been following with concern the humanitarian question of missing persons in Cyprus, which is being dealt with by the Committee of Missing Persons, which was established under the aegis of the United Nations with the consent of both communities in Cyprus. This committee comprises the representatives of the two communities and an ICRC representative, as appointed by the United Nations Secretary-General.

The Twelve have welcomed the decision of Greece and Turkey to make a recommendation to the parties concerned that this committee be reactivated. They believe that this should happen soon.

**88/189. Question No 2571/87 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S–E)
Concerning the Convictions of Police Officers on Torture Charges in
the European Economic Community**

Date of Issue: 30 June 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 9 March 1988

Do the Ministers know how many police officers have been found guilty in each Member State of torture, ill treatment, or injury of political or common prisoners in 1986 and 1987?

Answer:

The Honourable Member's question relates to a matter under the national jurisdiction of each Member State and cannot as a result be answered within the framework of European political cooperation.

**88/190. Question No 2631/87 by Ms Ewing (RDE–UK) Concerning
the Case of Professor Vjenceslav Cizek**

Date of Issue: 30 June 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 9 March 1988

Will the Ministers again make representations to the Yugoslav Government about the case of Professor Vjenceslav Cizek, imprisoned in Yugoslavia?

The Ministers will recall that representations were made in 1986, as a reply sent to the Honourable Member on 28 July 1986 indicated. On that occasion, the President of the Council of Ministers said that, in the interests of all concerned, the Presidency preferred to give no further details at that stage.

However, it now appears that Professor Cizek is still in prison and that his health, particularly his eyesight, has drastically deteriorated and that he is virtually blind.

Will the Ministers therefore take urgent action in this particularly distressing case, before Professor Cizek, who cannot possibly represent any threat to the security of the Yugoslav State, even if this was ever the case, suffers further irreparable damage to his health?

Answer:

The Yugoslav authorities are fully aware of the interest which the Twelve are taking in this case, including the state of health of Professor Vjenceslav Cizek. His case, including the medical treatment he receives in prison, has also been raised bilaterally which the Yugoslav authorities on several occasions by one partner.

88/191. Question No 2741/87 by Mr Pordea (DR-F) Concerning Judicial Procedures Derogating from the General Law

Date of Issue: 30 June 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 25 March 1988

Since libels have led to the award of large sums in damages against three French newspapers, is it right for judicial procedures derogating from the general law to be used under British law to prevent a Member of the European Parliament of French nationality from bringing proceedings for libel in Great Britain to defend his reputation?

Answer:

The question raised by the Honourable Member is a matter of national jurisdiction and not, therefore, the province of European political cooperation.

88/192. Question No 2751/87 by Mr Arbeloa Muru (S-E) Concerning Alleged Human Rights Violations in Carinthia (Austria)

Date of Issue: 30 June 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 25 March 1988

Have the Ministers of Foreign Affairs meeting in European political cooperation received any complaints from those affected about alleged human rights violations arising from 'discrimination' in the region of Karnten (Austria)? And if they have, what was their reply?

Answer:

The Twelve have not received any complaints from those affected about the alleged situation mentioned by the Honourable Member.

88/193. Question No 2920/87 by Mr Pordea (DR-F) Concerning the Extension by the European Parliament of Selective Protection Towards the Victims of Soviet Imperialism

Date of Issue: 30 June 1988

Place of Issue: Strasbourg

Country of Presidency: Federal Republic of Germany

Source of Document: Presidency

Status of Document: Answer to Written Parliamentary Question of 8 April 1988

At its part-session in February 1988, the European Parliament adopted a resolution expressing its concern at the fate of the four million Jews living in the Soviet Union¹.

In a number of similar initiatives over the last few years, Parliament has also voiced concern at the fate of the peoples of Eastern Europe who have been subjected to Soviet domination for forty years.

Can the Foreign Ministers say why in most cases there has been no follow-up to this latter series of initiatives, when:

- (a) the state of East–West relations in no way precludes a firmer stand by the free world on the issue of Soviet imperialism;
- (b) such imperialism needs to be condemned constantly;
- (c) the fate of 120 million people in Eastern Europe is at stake?

Answer:

In accordance with the declaration by the Foreign Ministers of the Twelve of 21 July 1986 on human rights², they continuously pursue in all parts of the world, including the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries, a policy of promoting observance of human rights, the coherence and firmness of which the Honourable Member cannot ignore.

The policy followed by the Twelve to overcome the human consequences of the division of Europe is also well known and has been clearly and repeatedly spelled out to the European Parliament. The Honourable Member is requested to refer – among others – to the answers given to his own Questions Nos 326/87, 327/87 and 2136/87 on the same subject³.

The CSCE process is most important in this regard. At the ongoing CSCE follow-up meeting in Vienna, the Twelve, together with other Western countries, have consistently striven to ensure better implementation of the commitments, freely undertaken by all CSCE participating States in Helsinki, to respect human rights and individual freedoms. They have made important proposals with this aim which they are presently trying to get adequately reflected in the concluding document of the Vienna meeting.

¹ OJ C 68 of 14 March 1988, p. 74.

² EPC Bulletin, Doc. 86/230.

³ EPC Bulletin, Docs. 87/438, 87/278 and 88/098.

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