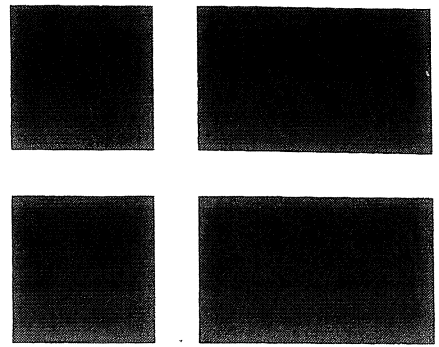


# Factsheet Denmark



## The European Political Co-operation

### *II. Substance and results*

In 1970 the Member States of the EC initiated a political co-operation aiming at a harmonisation of views and an alignment of positions in foreign political affairs.

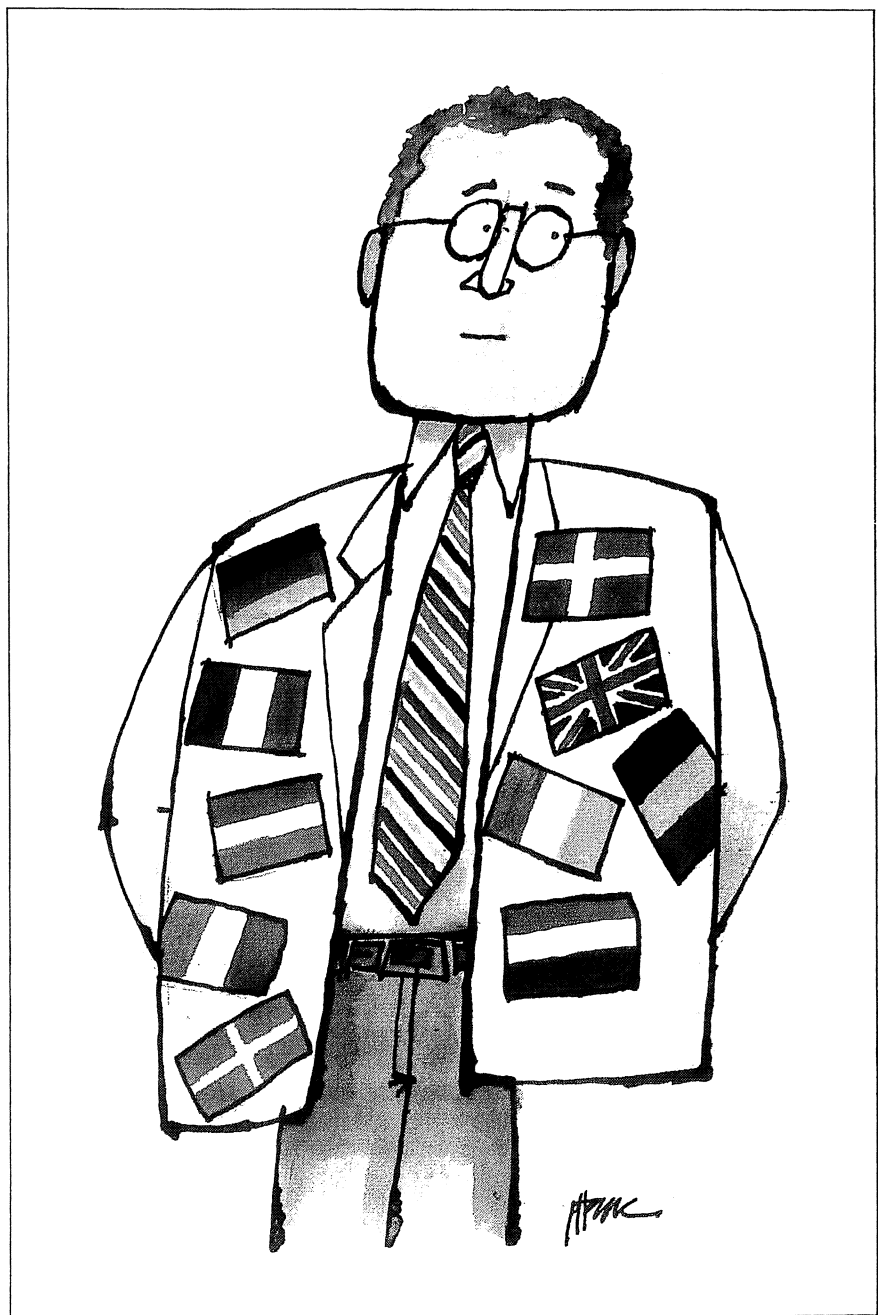
A delineation of the structure of the European Political Co-operation (EPC) and its background will be found in another factsheet in this series. Here follows a description of the substance of EPC and a review of the foreign political issues in which EC Member States have succeeded in co-ordinating their positions since 1970.

The consultations, which have taken place within the framework of the political co-operation at ministerial as well as official level, have not been in the nature of general discussions about the political situation of the world in a broader sense, but have been focused on a number of central foreign political issues to which the Ten have attributed special importance and to which it has seemed natural for the Ten to seek an alignment of positions. Here follows an account of the work devoted to the major issues which have been treated up till now.

#### **East-West relations**

Since the beginning of EPC the ten EC countries have attached special importance to East-West relations. This is, above all, due to the fact that the security of Europe, and hence that of the Ten, is closely connected with developments in East-West relations. Another important aspect is the many historical and human ties between the EC countries and the countries of Eastern Europe.

In the Ten's dealings with East-West relations the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) holds a prominent place. CSCE constituted the first major international issue in which the European political co-operation was to play an active part. From the preparatory talks in 1971 to the conclusion of the Helsinki Conference in 1975 intensive consultations took place among the delegations of the EC countries, which significantly influenced the course of the Conference as well as the result: The Final Act on Security and Co-operation in Europe. Thus, it is mainly due to the Nine EC countries, as they then were, that the Final Act attributed central importance to the human dimension of détente, such as the development of human



contacts, improved dissemination of information and respect for human rights.

These topics have also played an important part in the close co-operation which since the CSCE has existed among the Nine – with the entry of Greece in 1981 the Ten – concerning the follow-up of the Final Act. This co-operation has especially turned on the follow-up meetings among representatives of the countries which participated in the CSCE, and has as its purpose an exchange of views on the state of the implementation of the Final Act as well as the formulation of new proposals for improved implementation of the Final Act in future.

The first of these follow-up meetings took place in Belgrade in 1977 and 1978. The next meeting was begun in Madrid in 1980. Seeing that the international situation has grown more tense in recent years the Ten have been in agreement about the importance of maintaining and, if possible, strengthening the framework of contact, dialogue, and negotiations which was created by the Helsinki Final Act. The Ten have thus played an active part in the Madrid meeting and have submitted a number of proposals for better implementation of the Final Act. Due to disagreements between East and West the Madrid meeting has, however, had a lengthy course and the imposition of martial law in Poland has created new and complex problems for the meeting.

Parallel with the talks among the Ten, the EC countries have participated in consultations on the follow-up of the Helsinki Final

Act in NATO and in the Council of Europe in Strasbourg.

The Ten are fully aware that the Helsinki Final Act and its follow-up are only part of a long-term process to improve East-West relations. As a consequence, consultations concerning the relations of the Ten to Eastern Europe are also taking place within the framework of the Political Co-operation. These efforts, which are mainly analytical in nature, consist of evaluations of topical questions concerning the Soviet Union and the East-European countries, with the aim of providing the requisite background for the Ten's policy in this field.

#### The Middle East

The historical, cultural, and economic ties linking the EC countries to those of the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean made it natural for the Nine to open continuous consultations on the situation in the Middle East within the framework of EPC. These consultations were intensified after the Arab-Israeli conflict erupted once more in war in October 1973.

In the wake of deliberations on how the Nine might contribute to the efforts to establish a lasting solution to the Middle East question the Foreign Ministers of the Nine issued a statement on November 6, 1973 (during the first Danish Presidency). In their Declaration the Nine expressed the hope that, following adoption by the Security Council of Resolution 338 of October 22, 1973, negotiations will at last begin for the restoration in the

Middle East of a just and durable peace through implementation of Security Council Resolution 242 of November 22, 1967, in its entirety.

In the Nine's opinion a peace agreement should primarily rest on the following principles:

- inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by force;
- the need for Israel to end the territorial occupation which it has maintained since the conflict of 1967;
- respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognised boundaries;
- recognition that in the establishment of a just and lasting peace account must be taken of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians.

These principles have since guided the EC countries in their dealings with the Arab-Israeli conflict; they have since been further elaborated and formulated more precisely. The most salient case in point is the Venice Declaration, adopted by the European Council on June 13, 1980. This essentially balanced approach to the problem contains two fundamental elements, namely Israel's right to exist within secure, recognised and guaranteed borders and the right of the Palestinians to self-determination.

With the Venice Declaration the EC countries also demonstrated their willingness to resort to more active diplomatic efforts in or-

*The Final Act on Security and Co-operation in Europe is signed in Helsinki in 1975.*





*Israeli and Egyptian soldier shaking hands in the town of Ofira during the return of the Sinai to Egypt in 1982.*

der to contribute to a negotiated, comprehensive peace settlement in the Middle East. Its adoption was followed by two contact missions to the countries directly concerned.

These missions which took place in autumn 1980 and the first half of 1981, were headed by the then Foreign Ministers from Luxembourg (the Thorn Mission) and The Netherlands (the van der Klaauw Mission), respectively. The objective of the two contact missions was to demonstrate the political will of the EC Member States to contribute to the furthering of a comprehensive peace settlement in the Middle East by having a genuine dialogue with the parties on the essential aspects involved: withdrawal from occupied territories, self-determination for the Palestinians, Israel's security and the Jerusalem question. So far, however, the endeavours of the EC countries have not provided sufficient grounds for an actual initiative concerning this issue.

When adopting this more active diplomacy the Ten agreed that it should not undermine the continuous peace process established under the Camp David accords. EC efforts should moreover not be taken as an attempt to advocate specific solutions but rather work as a catalyst in the peace process in the Middle East. So far the Camp David accords of September 17, 1978, between Egypt, Israel and the United States on "a structure for peace in the Middle East" – and the ensuing Egyptian-Israeli peace agreement of March 1979 – have brought about peace between Egypt and Israel. On the other hand no real

progress has been made in the negotiations to achieve self-determination for the Palestinians on the West Bank and in Gaza.

Following the Israeli withdrawal from the last part of the Sinai in April 1982 a multilateral peace force was deployed at the border between Egypt and Israel. Four EC Member States: France, The Netherlands, Italy and United Kingdom, are represented on this force.

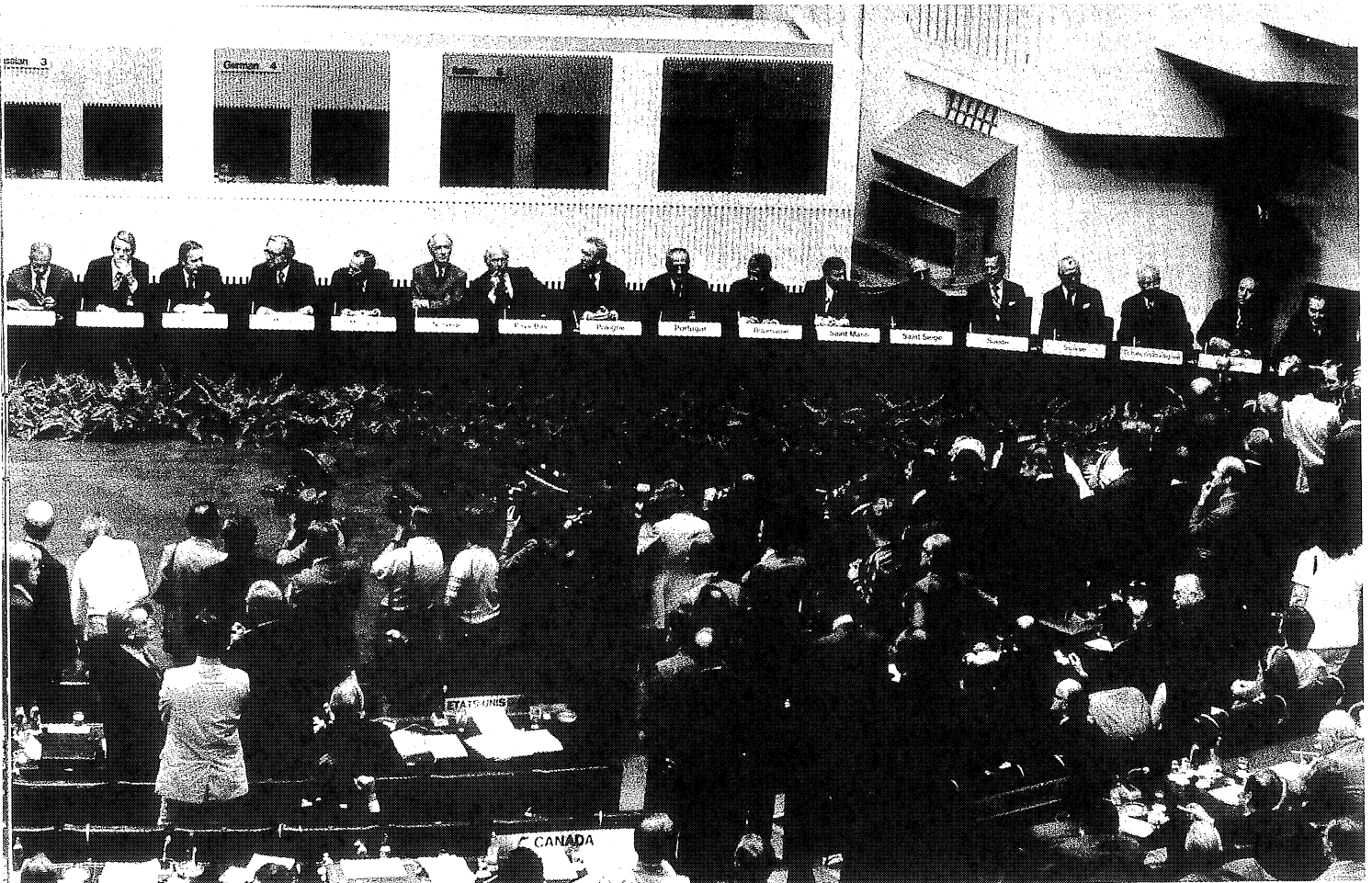
The close relationship between events in Lebanon and general developments in the region has often been pointed out. This explains why EC Member States have on several occasions expressed their profound concern about developments in Lebanon and expressed their support for maintenance of the integrity of the country and the authority of its government.

#### **The Euro-Arab Dialogue**

The Euro-Arab dialogue began in 1973 when an Arab summit in Algiers decided to apply to the Nine in order to open a dialogue aiming at a long-term co-operation in economy, culture and technology. The application was submitted during the Copenhagen Summit in December 1973.

The Nine responded favourably. It was agreed that a major aim of the Dialogue would be the development of the Arab region through a combination of European know-how and Arab capital, raw materials and manpower.

To promote the objectives of the Dialogue a General Committee was formed, seating





*Election poster in Salisbury being studied prior to the first election in Zimbabwe in February 1980.*

ambassadorial representatives of each Member State in both the EC and the Arab League as well as representatives of the Secretariat of the League and the EC Commission. The General Committee is the superior and co-ordinating body of the dialogue. Under the General Committee working groups were appointed for industrialisation, infrastructure, farming, financial co-operation, trade, technological-scientific co-operation, and co-operation in cultural and social affairs. To serve as subdivisions of these working groups, a number of specialised groups were formed to investigate special problems such as marine research, the exploitation of solar energy, petrochemistry, transport by air, land and sea, etc.

There is moreover an ad hoc-group for the financing of projects and other activities connected with the Dialogue. EC Member States have created a Co-ordinating Committee consisting of the European representatives on the General Committee.

In the years thereafter many projects were

identified and their launching planned. They were quite disparate and included a trade centre, the preparation of a convention on the promotion and protection of investment, cultural co-operation, social affairs (migrant labour), and much more.

When the Dialogue was established the parties agreed that political and energy-related questions would not be discussed within the framework of the Dialogue.

At their meeting in Venice on June 13, 1980, the Nine did, however, comply with a long-standing Arab wish that the Dialogue would cover not only economic topics but political issues as well. In a statement the Nine emphasised the importance they attached to the Dialogue at all levels as well as the necessity of enlarging its political dimension.

Since autumn 1980 the Dialogue has, in conformity with what the Arabs have described as a provisional goal, been oriented towards the holding of a meeting of Foreign Ministers of the Member States of the Arab League and the EC countries.

The meeting is envisaged to provide a forum for a balanced discussion of economic, cultural and political matters. The date of the meeting is expected to be set once both parties consider the preparations adequately advanced.

#### **Africa**

Developments in Africa since the Second World War have attracted steadily growing attention in the surrounding world in step with the emergence of a number of new, independent States on the African Continent and the removal of the last traces of colonialism. In recent years the tense and dangerous situation in Southern Africa has in particular given cause for concern and deliberations at international level. After the attainment of independence of the former Portuguese colonies and the transition of Zimbabwe to independent status on April 18, 1980, the focus of attention is now on Namibia and South Africa. But conflicts in other parts of Africa are also followed closely by the international community.

The African countries have an increasingly important role in international politics. The Ten have strong historical, cultural and economic ties with the African countries. This is manifested among other things in a fruitful co-operation in the spheres of development



*Demonstration in Capetown against the apartheid p*



assistance and commercial exchanges, bilaterally and under EC auspices, notably in the framework of the Lomé Conventions. It is only natural, therefore, that the Ten should also follow political developments in the African countries attentively. Consequently the situation in Africa is discussed on a continuous basis within the framework of the European Political Co-operation. In the course of their deliberations on African issues the Ten have achieved a large measure of alignment of their views. In several cases they have therefore found it correct and appropriate to publish joint statements and make joint representations on issues of immediate concern. They have done so in an attempt to influence developments and to utilise the weight of speaking with one voice.

As cases in point can be mentioned the Foreign Ministers' statements of February 23, 1976, and April 18, 1977, on the situation in Africa. In these statements the Foreign Ministers confirm, among other things, the willingness of the Nine to develop relations in accordance with the wish of the African States for respect for the independence of all African States, the right of self-determination and independence of the Namibian people, and the condemnation of the Nine of the policy of apartheid in South Africa. Moreover, the Nine declare that, individually and jointly,

they will consider the possibility of making further efforts to improve the economic situation in Africa. Since the appearance of these statements the EC countries have every year at the General Assemblies of the United Nations reaffirmed their general attitudes as set out in the aforementioned statements and commented specifically on the situation in South Africa and Namibia, respectively.

#### South Africa

As regards the situation in South Africa the EC countries have, e.g. in direct representations to the Government of South Africa, openly condemned the measures which have been taken against African organisations and their leaders. Furthermore, they have on repeated occasions publicly denounced and condemned the apartheid policy of the Government of South Africa. In July 1977 the Foreign Ministers of the Nine decided to initiate a study of how the EC countries by taking collective measures against South Africa could use their weight to influence the South African Government's policy of apartheid. A first result was the adoption in September 1977 of a code of conduct for the enterprises of EC Member States in South Africa. The main points of the code are that these enterprises should ensure freedom for all their employees to organise and consent to collective

bargaining in conformity with internationally accepted principles. Furthermore, the enterprises are called upon to ensure equal pay for equal work, higher minimum wages, to promote the vocational training of a greater number of black South Africans, etc. Each enterprise should publish annually a detailed and carefully documented report on the progress it has made in implementing the code. On the basis of these reports the EC countries publish a joint assessment of the extent to which enterprises have observed the code. The latest appraisal was published on December 17, 1981. Therein the Ten note that progress has been made in several respects within the various domains covered by the code of conduct. Furthermore, they express the hope that enterprises will proceed with their efforts to implement the code. The Ten continue their deliberations on how they can contribute to the elimination of South Africa's policy of apartheid.

#### Namibia

Concerning Namibia the EC countries have on several occasions confirmed the right of self-determination of the Namibian people. During the debates on Namibia at the General Assemblies of the United Nations and on other occasions the EC countries have in joint statements expressed the need to reach an internationally acceptable solution based on Security Council resolution 435 of September 29, 1978. Moreover, they have emphasised that free elections should be held throughout Namibia with participation of all political groups - in particular SWAPO - and that South Africa should withdraw from Namibia at an early date.

The position of the Ten on the question of Namibia has also been followed up, e.g. in joint statements emanating from the meetings of the European Council, most recently on June 29 and 30, 1981.

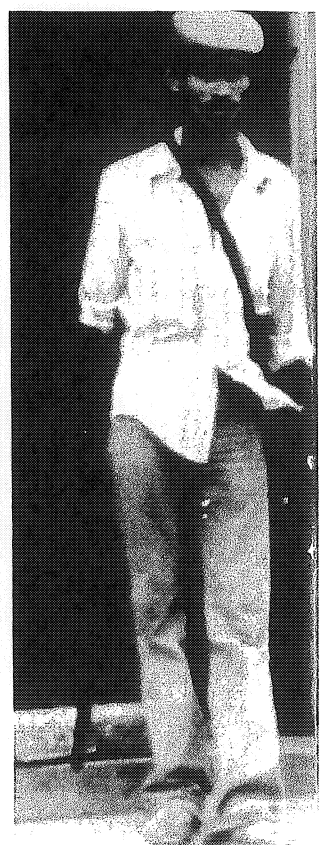
#### Asia

The steadily growing significance of the political and economic role of the Asian continent has in recent years induced the Ten to take an increasing interest in this continent and within the framework of EPC to seek a mutual exchange of information and views and a genuine co-ordination of positions on specific political issues. In the light of these consultations the Ten have thus issued joint statements on the situation in Kampuchea following the Vietnamese invasion in 1978 and they have, e.g. in the United Nations, co-ordinated their positions on developments in Indochina, such as the installation of the Vietnamese-supported Heng Samrin regime in Phnom Penh, and the international humanitarian relief work for the benefit of the distressed people of Indochina.

In relation to the situation which arose in Afghanistan following the Soviet invasion at the end of 1979 the Foreign Ministers of the Nine presented in February 1980 their first proposal for a peaceful, political solution which would allow Afghanistan to return to its traditional status as an independent and non-aligned nation. The proposal was followed up in a number of European Council statements on Afghanistan. In June 1981, the Council put forward a plan for a two-stage international conference with the aim of bringing the foreign intervention to an end and establishing guarantees to prevent the repetition of such an intervention in future,



Policy of South Africa.



*Members of the Namibian National Front demonstrating in Windhoek.*

thereby providing conditions which would ensure independence and nonalignment for Afghanistan. Furthermore, the Ten have supported initiatives for a peaceful settlement put forward in the United Nations by the Islamic countries and others.

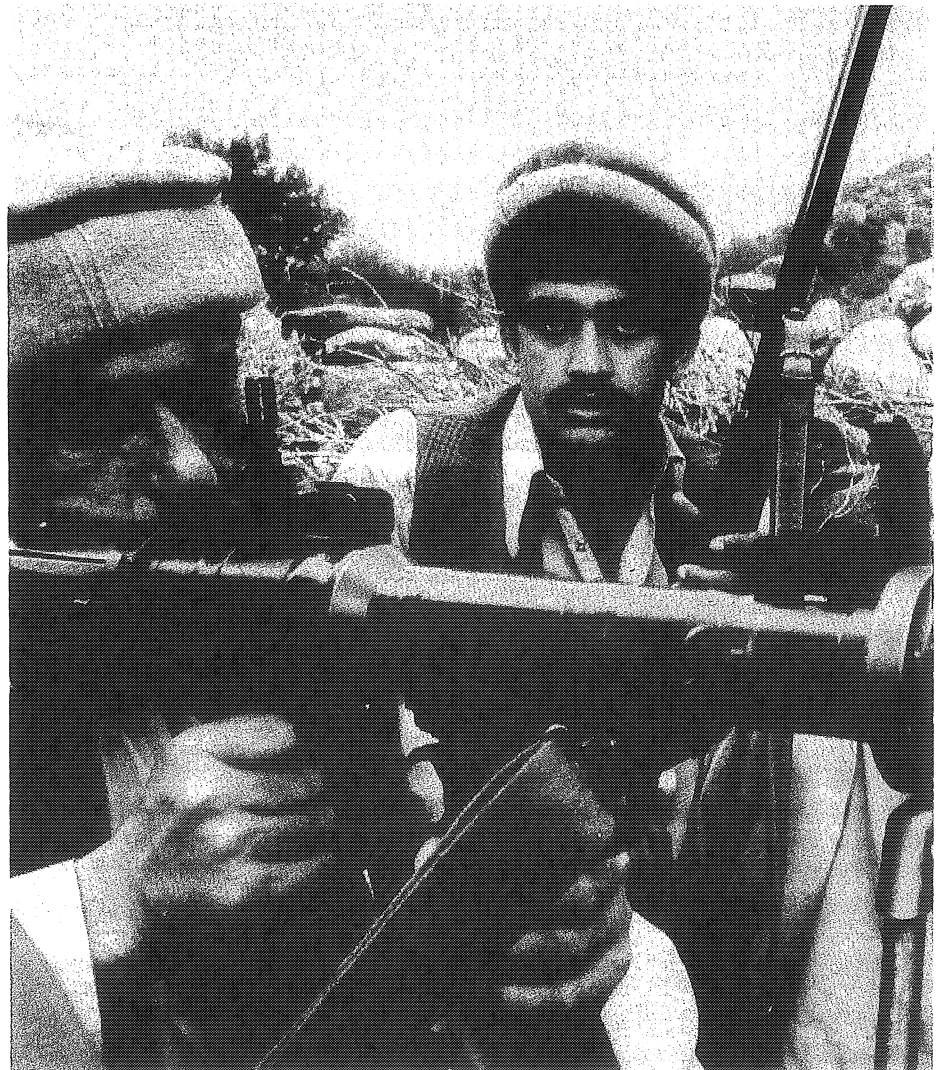
The meetings at the level of foreign ministers held between the Ten and the five countries constituting the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) have added a special dimension to the European Political Co-operation. One of the results of these meetings is that the Ten and the members of ASEAN, parallel to the economic co-operation between them based on a co-operation agreement which they have reached, are now regularly holding political consultations at the level of foreign ministers. A communiqué issued after the most recent meeting, held in London in October 1981, expressed to a large extent a concurrence of the views of the two groups of countries on many issues, e.g. on Kampuchea and Afghanistan.

In relation also to other countries, including China and Japan, and conflicts in that part of the world, e.g. the question of Korea, the Ten have earlier, like in the past few years, constructively demonstrated their co-ordinated positions.

#### **Latin America**

Within the EPC, discussions are furthermore held on long-term problems between the EC countries and Latin America and on specific issues of immediate concern, particularly with a view to strengthening EC relations with this region. An example of this co-operation was the joint meeting in Brussels in May 1980 of the EC countries and the Andean Pact countries (Venezuela, Colombia, Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador), which resulted in a lengthy statement of economic as well as political content.

This should be seen not least against the background of Latin America's growing economic and political importance. Attention





*Salvadoran guerillas in the town of San Lorenzo.*



is also drawn to a declaration adopted at a meeting of the European Council on March 29 and 30, 1982. In the declaration the EC countries stated i.a. that the aid which the Member States and the Community as such provide to promote the development of countries in Central America and the Caribbean region should be co-ordinated and increased as much as possible. This should be seen in conjunction with another passage in the declaration in which the Ten stated that they were seriously concerned about the continuously mounting tension in the region and that they would therefore take a positive stand on any initiative which would bring the acts of violence to an end and which, through dialogue and observance of democratic principles and respect for human rights could lead to a restoration of peace in the region, while securing the national sovereignty of the States and in compliance with the wishes of their peoples.

The best example of a common position on the part of the Ten was seen in April 1982 in connection with Argentina's invasion of the Falkland Islands. The Ten condemned the invasion and called for a diplomatic settlement of the conflict. In addition, they instituted a number of specific measures against Argentina, e.g. an embargo on exports to Argentina of weapons and military equipment, and an embargo on imports to the Community of commodities of Argentine origin. The chief purpose of this approach was to prevent an armed conflict between the United Kingdom and Argentina.

And finally, the Ten have often addressed joint representations to the governments of various Latin American countries concerning their violations of human rights.

*Afghan guerillas, armed with anti-tank weapons, at the Afghanistan/Pakistan frontier.*

#### **EPC and the United Nations**

In recent years the political co-operation of the Ten in the United Nations has held an increasingly prominent place. The object of this co-operation is to support the World Organisation by promoting respect for the United Nations Charter and to defend the principles of the universality of the Organisation.

Moreover, the Ten seek to help avoid confrontation and to develop a constructive dialogue between industrialised and developing countries.

With a view to attaining these goals the Ten seek to harmonise their positions and actions to the widest possible extent. Prior to the General Assemblies of the United Nations they co-ordinate their positions on major issues with the aim of defining the guidelines for co-ordination to be followed during the General Assemblies by the permanent missions of the EC countries to the United Nations.

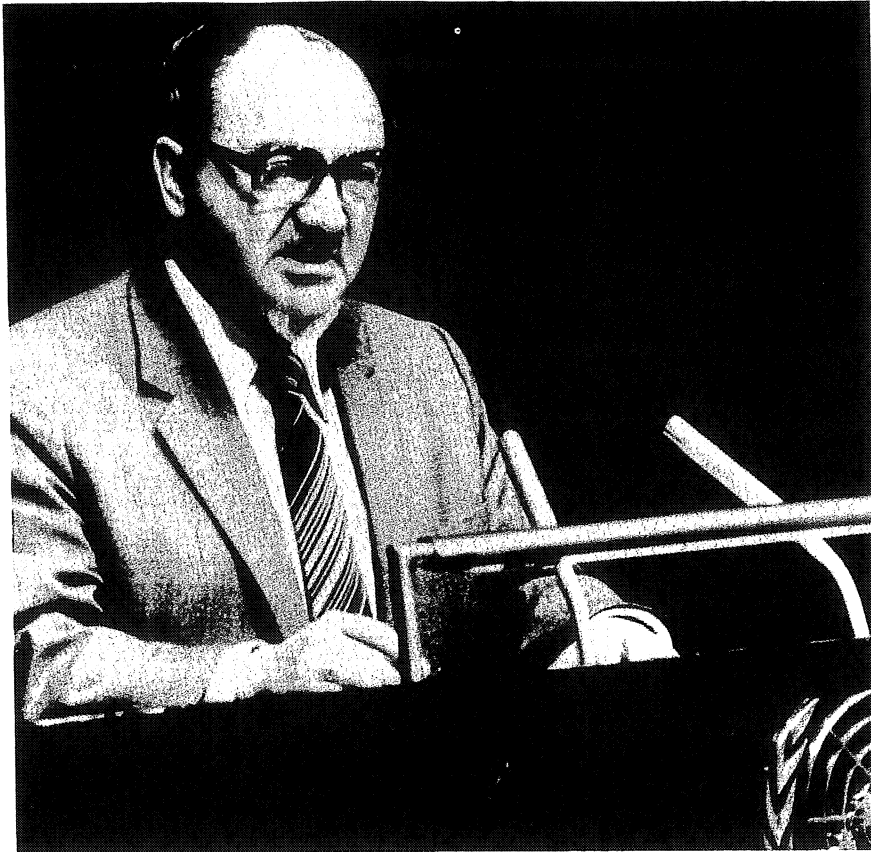
Common positions of the EC countries are most clearly reflected in the joint statement in the general debate of the General Assembly of the United Nations which traditionally is delivered by the Foreign Minister of the country holding the EC presidency. During each session a number of common interventions, explanations of vote, declarations, etc. are worked out.

In the same manner the Ten seek to co-ordinate their positions on the political questions which arise in the Specialised Agencies of the United Nations and at international conferences under the auspices of the United Nations.

The range of topics for co-operation at the United Nations is wide: it covers not only the United Nations aspects of the questions dealt with in this Article but also a number of individual questions, for instance concerning human rights.

To Denmark it is an objective of the co-operation at the United Nations to seek co-ordi-





*Danish Prime Minister Anker Jørgensen addressing the second United Nations Special Session on Disarmament in New York in June 1982.*

nation of the United Nations policy of the Nordic as well as that of the EC countries.

#### **Disarmament**

Since 1976, a practice has developed of regular consultations in the EPC framework on international questions of disarmament.

The aim of these discussions is to exchange information and views and, whenever possible, to co-ordinate the positions of the individual countries. Admittedly, it does happen at times that opinion differs among the EC countries.

The said co-operation concerning the problems of disarmament helps to bring about better understanding of the political and technical aspects of disarmament. This improves the basis for national deliberations, and it has opened up the possibility of a useful co-ordination of views in the United Nations.

At the General Assemblies of the United Nations the Ten have in many cases been able to speak with one voice. On that score they have attained considerable influence.

The need to halt the arms race, the rising interest in the cause of disarmament as well as the preparation of the Second Special Session of the United Nations devoted to Disarmament (June-July 1982) has already provoked and will continue to entail a rising need for consultations in this field.

#### **The European Identity**

As will appear from the above the European political co-operation can be viewed from two angles: external relations, i.e. with third countries, and internal relations, i.e. among the Ten.

Externally, the co-operation is manifested in concerted action to a steadily increasing

degree. Since 1970, the EC Member States have time and again co-ordinated their positions on important international issues and put forward joint statements. A review of the texts on which agreement has been reached among the Ten shows that in numerous areas the Ten have formulated a common policy by which their leverage on political developments is much greater when they act jointly than when they act individually.

This foreign political role is described in the Declaration on the European Identity which the Foreign Ministers of the Nine adopted at their meeting in Copenhagen in December 1973.

The document emphasises that the Nine "intend to play an active role in world affairs and thus to contribute, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, to ensuring that international relations have a more just basis; that the independence and equality of States are better preserved; that prosperity is more equitably shared; and that the security of each country is more effectively guaranteed. In pursuit of these objectives the Nine should progressively define common positions in the sphere of foreign policy".

Internally, too, the political co-operation has a significant role. Only one generation ago the European countries were at war with one another. The decision to co-operate, not only in economic affairs within the framework of the EC Treaties, but also in matters of foreign policy, must therefore be seen to have sprung from the wish of Member States, as expressed in the Declaration on Identity, "to ensure the survival of the civilisation which they have in common". The principles of social justice, respect for human rights, and

representative democracy are thus fundamental elements of the European Identity.

The declaration furthermore states that the Nine propose progressively to undertake the definition of their identity in relation to other political entities, and that they believe that "in so doing they will strengthen their own cohesion and contribute to the framing of a genuinely European foreign policy".

A characteristic feature of the European political co-operation is that it develops gradually and pragmatically. This means that new tasks will be taken up only when it appears that they can better be tackled by a common approach than by isolated efforts on the part of each country. In this manner it is also ensured that the co-operation of the Ten in the sphere of foreign policy enjoys confidence in public opinion and is not pushed forward at a higher speed than warrantable.

*Prepared by the Political Affairs Department of the Royal Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.*



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