

EUROPEAN POLITICAL COOPERATION

STATEMENTS OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS

1978

Statement by the Danish Delegate, Belgrade CSCE Meeting	9 March 1978
Statement on Namibia	8 April 1978
Statement Yuri Orlov	26 May 1978
Communication from the Danish Foreign Minister to the Head of the Greek Delegation at the Negotiating Session	26 June 1978
Statement on Namibia	25 July 1978
Statement on racism and racial discrimination	30 August 1978
Declaration on the Camp David Agreement	19 September 1978
Speech by the F.R. Germany Foreign Minister at the 33 rd General Assembly of the United Nations	26 September 1978
Annual report on political cooperation to the European Parliament	15 November 1978
Opening statement by the F.R. Germany Foreign Minister at the EC-ASEAN Foreign Ministers Conference	20 November 1978
Joint Declaration at the conclusion of the EC-ASEAN Foreign Ministers Conference	20-21 November 1978
Position of the Nine at the United Nations on the Cyprus question	7 December 1978
Declaration on the 30 th anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights	11 December 1978

The European Council issued other statements. See the conclusions of the Copenhagen (7-8 April 1978), Bremen (6-7 July 1978) and Brussels (4-5 December 1978) meetings.

Citation "Bull EC" is the Bulletin of the European Communities.

46. Statement by the Danish Delegate at the Belgrade CSCE Meeting (Belgrade, 9 March 1978, excerpt)

On January 1, 1978, Denmark assumed the Presidency of the Council of Ministers of the European Communities. As delegates will be aware the nine member States have created a community endowed with certain sovereign powers which were previously in national hands. Community powers and activities cover a wide range of subjects, certain of which are among those dealt with by the Helsinki Final Act.

The Community, as the world's largest trading entity, attaches particular importance to trade and to the harmonious progress year by year of our economic relations with all the signatories of the Final Act. Economic co-operation between countries with differing economic and social systems presents specific problems which demand unilateral, multilateral and bilateral solutions. Conditions for developing East/West economic co-operation still leave room for improvement. I wish to repeat here what has already been stated at the opening of this meeting that the Community has not spared and will not spare any effort to develop its economic relations with all participating States.

It is in this spirit that representatives of the Community have taken an active part in the various stages of this meeting. My delegation, which includes representatives of the European Communities, has since January spoken on behalf of the latter whenever appropriate. The Community intends to continue playing an active part in the process initiated by the CSCE including the Madrid Meeting.

I should like to recall that the Final Act was signed by Signor Moro in his capacity as president in office of the Council of the Communities, as well as in that of Prime Minister of Italy. By this signature, as explained in Signor

Moro's statement made at the time all participants in the Conference were given the assurance that those areas of the Final Act covered by present or future Community powers would be implemented by the Community in accordance with its internal rules and procedures. Consequently, as his statement pointed out, the expression "participating States" should be understood as applying to the European Communities in matters of their competence. Therefore, in giving my consensus to the Concluding Document of this Belgrade Meeting I did so in my dual capacity as representative of Denmark and as representing the Presidency in office of the Council of the Communities . . .

Political cooperation

2.2.8. At its meeting in Copenhagen on 7 and 8 April the European Council discussed—under the political cooperation head—East-West relations, the Middle East—in particular Lebanon—and Africa.

2.2.9. The 'Conclusions of the Presidency' on Namibia were as follows:

'The European Council took note of the proposal for a settlement in Namibia prepared by the Five Powers. The Council supports the action of the Five and considers the proposal to be a fair and reasonable settlement. It hopes that all the parties involved will feel able to accept this important opportunity for a negotiated peaceful solution in accordance with Security Council Resolution 385.'

¹ Points 1.1.1 to 1.1.7 and Supplement 1/78 — Bull. EC.

signed by their Heads of State or Government the participating States have committed themselves to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms and have confirmed the right of the individual to know and act upon his rights and duties in this field. This is why the Governments of the Nine find it incompatible with the Final Act and with détente that individuals should be prosecuted and sentenced for having demanded the implementation of the Final Act in their own country.'

Political cooperation

2.2.6. The Danish Government—Denmark at present occupying the Council chair—issued the following declaration on behalf of the nine Community countries on 26 May:

'Against the background of the recent sentencing of Soviet citizens who have been engaged in monitoring the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act by the Soviet Union, including the case against Mr Yuri Orlov, the Governments of the nine Member States of the European Community wish to state the following:

The Nine have consistently deployed their joint efforts in an endeavour to promote a policy of détente in Europe. They have demonstrated their determination in this respect, for instance by their active contributions to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and to the follow-up to that Conference.

The Nine, who consider that the Helsinki Final Act constitutes a programme of action for détente, recall that in this document

35. Communication from the President of the Council, Mr. Andersen, Danish Foreign Minister, to the Head of the Greek Delegation at the Negotiating Session at Ministerial Level (Copenhagen, June 26, 1978)

Mr. Minister,

In view of the progress achieved in the negotiations on the accession of Greece to the Community, the Foreign Ministers of the Nine have requested me officially to draw your Government's attention to the aims and modalities of political co-operation between the member States of the Community.

Since 1970 the member States have held the view that the will for political union, which has always been the basis for progress in the development of the European Communities, should be given shape and that therefore the means of harmonizing their points of view in the field of foreign policy should be created in an initial phase.

European Political Co-operation, which has an intergovernmental character, goes hand in hand with the Community's activities which are based on the legal obligations assumed by the member States in the Treaty of Rome. Like the Community's activities, its object is to further the process of European unification. The Nine have commenced their political co-operation in order to co-ordinate their views and, where possible and desirable, to agree on common actions. In this way they have established a number of common attitudes and positions. The Nine wish to continue their efforts to intensify and widen this co-operation. It will also be gradually extended to other areas.

In view of the fact that membership of the European Communities is inseparably linked with participation in the work of European Political Co-operation, the Nine have agreed that Greece should already be regularly informed about the content of political co-operation.

To this end, the Foreign Ministers of the member States

have requested me to transmit to you the enclosed basic documents on political co-operation.

The Nine expect Greece, upon signing the treaty of accession, to assume the obligation to participate in European Political Co-operation with all the rights and obligations involved.

Accept, Mr. Minister, the assurances of my high consideration.

Statement of the Foreign Ministers

Brussels, July 25, 1978

Namibia

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ATTN. MR. ANDREW MULLIGAN

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FROM EMBASSY OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY
WASHINGTON, D.C., PRESS COUNSELOR

TO: WASHINGTON COREU PARTICIPANTS

MESSAGE PRESS NR 9

DEAR COLLEAGUES:

FOLLOWING IS THE OFFICIAL TEXT OF THE DECLARATION ON
NAMIBIA MADE ON JULY 25 BY THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE EEC:
"HAVING FREQUENTLY EXPRESSED THEIR SUPPORT FOR A PEACE-
FUL SOLUTION OF THE NAMIBIAN SITUATION BASED ON
SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION NO. 385, THE FOREIGN
MINISTERS OF THE NINE COUNTRIES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY,
MEETING IN BRUSSELS, NOTED WITH SATISFACTION THAT THE
PROPOSAL OF THE FIVE WESTERN SECURITY COUNCIL
MEMBERS FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF THE NAMIBIAN SITUATION HAS
BEEN ACCEPTED BY ALL PARTIES CONCERNED. THE WAY HAS THUS
BEEN OPENED TO AN EARLY INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLU-
TION OF ONE OF THE MAJOR PROBLEMS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.
THIS IS A PROOF THAT PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS TO SUCH PROBLEMS
ARE POSSIBLE. IT HAS BEEN DONE IN CLOSE
COOPERATION AND WITH THE ACTIVE SUPPORT OF FRONTLINE
STATES.

THE NINE FOREIGN MINISTERS DECLARE THAT, SHOULD AN
INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTED INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA SO REQUEST,
THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND ITS MEMBER STATES ARE PRE-
PARED TO RENDER THEIR SUPPORT AS FAR AS POSSIBLE TO
PROMOTE THE ECONOMIC WELL-BEING OF THE COUNTRY."

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STATEMENT BY THE NINE EC COUNTRIES:

European Community Condemns Racism

The nine member-countries of the European Community on August 15 issued a joint statement clearly condemning racism and racial discrimination worldwide. The declaration was made during the general debate of the world conference of the United Nations on coping with racism and racial discrimination. The world body was addressed by the head of the Federal Republic of Germany's Permanent Representation at the U.N. in Geneva, Ambassador Per Fischer. Dr. Fischer spoke as representative of the country that currently holds the Presidency of the EC.

The joint declaration of The Nine says in part:

"Prohibition of racism and racial discrimination is one of the most elementary of the rights to have respect for human dignity. This respect stems directly from the principle that all humans are equal.

EC Anti-Racist Measures

"The states of the European Community see in discrimination on the basis of belonging to a certain race a violation of human rights. Extended protection of those rights and their implementation the EC has championed and will continue to stand for.

THE BULLETIN, AUGUST 30, 1978

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The European Community permanently condemns any form of racism or racial discrimination, and the EC pursues a policy aimed at the realization of human equality. The nine EC states affirm without reservation the international agreement on overcoming all forms of racial discrimination...

"The problem is to awaken people's consciousness, making them receptive to the concept that the battle against racism must be fought everywhere: under every roof, in every country...

"Nor does this war on racism, if it is to be successful, permit of a dualistic approach; of two standards. Racial discrimination being an ancient plague of humanity, it will only vanish from this earth when countries that count in their population people of varying ethnic origin do this: grant equal rights as fellow-citizens not only legally—not only based on constitutional concepts—but also in day-by-day reality...

"Equal Treatment Indivisible"

The Nine reaffirmed their views on the future states of Namibia and Zimbabwe. They emphasized that the form in which these peoples live together must be determined, in all directions, by the spirit of non-discrimination.

36. Declaration by the Nine Member States of the European Community on the Camp David Agreement (Brussels, 19 September 1978)

The nine countries of the European Community congratulate President Carter on the great courage with which he initiated the Camp David meeting and brought it to a successful conclusion.

They also express their appreciation for the great efforts made by President Sadat and Prime Minister Begin.

The Nine have for years advocated a just, comprehensive and lasting peace settlement on the basis of resolutions 242 and 338 of the Security Council of the United Nations.

The position of the Nine was clearly set out in the declaration of the European Council of June 29th, 1977. This remains their position. On this basis the Nine welcomed the initiative of President Sadat in November 1977.

The nine Governments hope that the outcome of the Camp David Conference will be a further major step on the path to a just, comprehensive and lasting peace, and that all parties concerned will find it possible to join in the process to contribute to that end.

For their part the Nine will lend their strong support to all efforts to achieve such a peace.

Source: European Political Co-operation,
fourth edition, Press and Information
Office, Federal Republic of Germany,
Bonn, 1982

37. Speech by Herr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the 33rd General Assembly of the United Nations (New York, 26 September 1978, excerpts)

The Federal Republic of Germany at present holds the presidency in the European Community and in the European Political Co-operation...

The world today is in a state of transition, with two realities and philosophies in conflict with one another. The one reality is that of power politics. It finds expression in a gigantic arms build-up, which is constantly escalating and spreading to more and more regions, including regions of the Third World. Behind this is the obsolete idea that a State can best safeguard its interests by force and by striving for predominance.

The other, the new, reality is global interdependence. Today, all States need reliable access to the markets of others, to the technology of others, to the raw materials of others. They all need the growth of others to stimulate their own growth. They need co-operation in the fight against international terrorism. They need co-operation to protect the threatened ecological balance.

In our complex world, however, this cannot be achieved by means of power politics. Force means chaos and destruction, force means bondage and loss of freedom for all. But co-operation for everyone's benefit can result only from an order that is accepted by all nations because all nations consider it to be just and because it is in their own interest to contribute to it.

It is this perception that engenders a new international consciousness and awareness. It is nourished by respect for the independence and equality of States, by joint decisions and joint responsibilities of all, by the settlement of conflicts through negotiation and reconciliation of interests.

It is this consciousness that will determine the future. No one can turn back the wheel of history, however strong and powerful he may be. This world of ours, confronted as it is with huge common tasks, cannot but drift into self-destruc-

tion if countries still persist in trying to steer its fortunes by outmoded power politics.

This new consciousness, this awareness of interdependence, gave birth to the Europe of the Nine, which believes in a future of equality and partnership all over the world.

The Europe we are building aims to realize the great idea of the dignity and rights of man. It is by its very nature a democratic Europe. It is open to other European democracies, and we are looking forward to the accession of Greece, Portugal and Spain, making the Community of the Nine soon a Community of the Twelve. We feel ourselves linked with those European democracies which for reasons of historical tradition or other reasons have not, or not yet, become members of the Community.

However, the Europe of the Nine is not an inward-looking community. Indeed, it endeavours in the wider world as well to promote peace and the welfare of all. It is the biggest trading partner in the world, and especially of the Third World, and it is the biggest donor of development assistance.

This Europe of the Nine wants to be a centre of co-operation in the world, and it sees itself on the side of those who seek to create an order for that co-operation founded on equality and partnership.

We want one world in which the nations will meet the challenge of global interdependence through global co-operation. But we by no means want a uniform world—quite the contrary; we want a world in which all nations can themselves determine their political, economic and cultural ways of life. Mankind needs diversity if its creative forces are not to fade away.

The European Community is founded on respect for the equality of all its members and on the principle of joint decision-making. On the strength of these qualities and principles it can serve as an example for a global order giving all States, big and small, the same right and the same opportunity to play a part in the shaping of their common future. It can also serve as an example of the countries of a region forming an association and combining their efforts so as to accomplish the tasks at hand and to strengthen the independence, the political stability and the economic growth of that region.

We are glad to see that the idea of regional association among States with equal rights is gaining ground in all parts of the world, and we support this trend.

Under the Lomé Convention we are co-operating with 53 African, Pacific and Caribbean States. Another expression of the new form of interregional co-operation is the Euro-Arab dialogue, with which both sides are pursuing the common goal of placing the interdependence of the two regions on a stable basis of comprehensive and long-term co-operation. In Asia, the Europe of the Nine is establishing ever closer links with the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN).

We follow with great interest also the work of other regional organizations, in particular, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Organization of American States (OAS).

The Europe of the Nine welcomes the fact that the People's Republic of China is becoming more outward-looking as is in keeping with its size and its political weight. The trade agreement between the People's Republic of China and the Community expresses the desire of both sides constantly to expand their economic relations and exchanges.

It is now my privilege to describe the rôle of the Europe of the Nine in the world and thus our position on the central issues up for discussion at this thirty-third session of the General Assembly.

As in previous years the conflicts in Africa and the Middle East again figure prominently on the agenda. With both those regions the Europe of the Nine is most closely connected. We have a vital interest in the peaceful settlement of those conflicts.

In large parts of Africa peace has been seriously disrupted. Many African States are in the difficult process of nation-building. In southern Africa an end to racial discrimination and independence for Namibia are still to be achieved. Thus Africa is confronted with the difficult task of settling internal and external conflicts by peaceful means and at the same time promoting its economic development. The rest of the world must assist Africa in this task. But, instead, conflicts are being aggravated by outside Powers which use the opportunities provided by those conflicts to establish new spheres of influence in Africa. Africa needs peace and Africa needs economic development. It needs, as the Nigerian

Head of State said at the Organization of African Unity summit meeting in Khartoum: "... massive economic assistance... and not military hardware for self destruction and sterile ideological slogans."

We, the Nine, support the countries of Africa in their quest for peaceful development. We do not seek to impose our political and social system on Africa. We want to see an independent and united Africa whose nations will find African solutions and answers to African questions and problems. And with that Africa we want to co-operate on a basis of partnership, that is, on a basis of equality.

In Namibia—after a hopeful development had begun—we are now confronted with a serious situation. The Nine most deeply regret the decision taken by the South African Government to hold elections in Namibia without the United Nations being involved. We are disappointed at this unilateral step taken of the Government of South Africa. Its action brings forth great dangers for Namibia and beyond that for the whole of southern Africa. South Africa in this way is playing into the hands of those who advocate violent solutions in southern Africa.

Over the last 18 months efforts have been made in dogged and persevering negotiations within the framework of the United Nations to pave the way for Namibia to gain independence by peaceful means. Thanks to the understanding and good will of all parties concerned it has proved possible time and again to overcome deadlock, crises and setbacks. The South African Government has now conjured up a new serious crisis which calls into question all the efforts undertaken so far. Where the negotiations had helped so far to develop an atmosphere of confidence, understanding and readiness for compromise, the old differences are now re-emerging. The results achieved in laborious and complex negotiations involving African States as responsible participants—in particular the Front Line States—are in jeopardy.

The Europe of the Nine supports the appeal made by the Secretary-General to continue efforts to achieve a peaceful solution to the Namibia problem on the basis of Security Council resolution 431 (1978) and on the basis of the Waldheim report. We are convinced that the report by the Secretary-General is in line with the Western plan for Namibia.

The Nine urgently appeal to the South African Government to consider the far-reaching consequences of its action. The new South African Government to be formed in the next few days is faced with a historic responsibility. The five Western members of the Security Council—Canada, France, the United Kingdom, the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany—yesterday decided to ask for a meeting of the Security Council in the course of this week and they expect that at that meeting the Waldheim report will be accepted. Such a decision should give an opportunity to the new Government of South Africa to reconsider its position, as we have requested them to do. It then has an opportunity to put developments back on the right track, on a positive track. Without the participation of all political forces in Namibia and without the involvement of the United Nations, a peaceful, internationally recognized settlement is not possible.

The dangerous situation produced by South Africa constitutes a challenge to the people of Namibia, to the United Nations and to all those who struggle to achieve a peaceful and internationally recognized solution to the Namibia problem. Furthermore the opportunity—and nobody should overlook this—to set an example for the peaceful solution of other problems in southern Africa would be missed.

With regard to Zimbabwe the Nine hope that in spite of all difficulties it will still be possible at this late hour to arrive at a peaceful settlement with the participation of all parties involved. We are convinced that the British-American plan for Rhodesia still offers the most realistic possibility for peaceful transition to independence. The European Community is ready to offer its aid for development to a Zimbabwe which will substitute for the present minority régime an internationally accepted democratic majority Government.

The Nine are urgently pressing for peaceful and rapid change in the system of *apartheid* in South Africa itself. That system of racial discrimination is contrary to everything in which the Europe of the Nine believes. South Africa is a multiracial society. That society can find a peaceful future only in a State that guarantees the enjoyment of human rights to all and ensures that they can live together as equal citizens.

We appeal to the future Prime Minister who will be elected shortly to make a new beginning here too. The Nine are

using the influence they have to bring about a change in this direction. We are still waiting for others to follow the Code of Conduct for companies of the Nine in South Africa which is designed to ensure equal treatment for black and white employees. The Nine have furthermore supported the Security Council decision to impose an arms embargo on South Africa.

The eyes of the world are also on the Middle East.

The events that have occurred since the last session of the General Assembly, especially the courageous initiative of President Sadat and the Camp David conference, have renewed hope for a settlement to the bitter Middle East conflict which has threatened the security of the world for the past 30 years.

In view of the close ties between Europe and the Middle East, efforts to achieve a peace settlement in that region are of vital interest to us too. This is reflected in our determination to support all efforts to bring about such a settlement.

The nine member States of the European Community have therefore paid tribute to the achievements of the participants in the Camp David conference and its successful conclusion. They have expressed their hope that the results of that summit will represent another important step on the path to a just, comprehensive and therefore lasting peace settlement.

If such a peace settlement is to be achieved it is imperative that all parties concerned participate in its negotiation and completion. Meanwhile no obstacle should be placed in the way of this process, which should be kept open and should through further development and wider participation lead to a comprehensive settlement.

Proceeding from Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), which would have to be applied in all their parts and on all fronts, the Nine continue to believe that the settlement should be founded on the principles which they last set out in their declaration of 29 June 1977 in London, namely: the inadmissibility of the 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 its right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries; and recognition that in

the establishment of a just and lasting peace account must be taken of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians.

It remains our firm view that all these aspects must be taken as a whole.

We uphold the view that a peace settlement in the Middle East will be possible only if the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to give effective expression to its national identity is translated into fact. This would take into account the need for a homeland for the Palestinian people.

In this context it is important that Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) have been accepted by both Israel and its neighbours. This must be the starting-point for any progress in the peace-making process.

The situation in the Middle East is inseparably linked with the situation in Lebanon. After three years of crisis and conflict the restoration of peace and order and the rebuilding of that country still seem remote. The Nine are still deeply concerned about this situation, which threatens not only the existence of Lebanon but the stability of the entire region.

Once more they appeal urgently to all who have an influence on developments in that country to be fully conscious of their responsibility for peace, and they hope that all parties concerned will support efforts to strengthen the authority of the Lebanese Government in the whole territory, as called for in the Security Council resolutions on Lebanon. The Nine welcome the fact that the Security Council has renewed the mandate of the United Nations Interim Force (UNIFIL). They appeal to all parties to give that Force their full support in exercising its mandate.

On the Cyprus question there has still been no breakthrough. A solution to the conflict must be based on the principles of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus. It can be achieved only through direct negotiations between the two communities in Cyprus. The United Nations can facilitate such negotiations but can be no substitute for them. The Republic of Cyprus is linked with the European Community by an association agreement. The Nine will continue to give every support to the efforts of the Secretary-General to bring the parties together for constructive negotiations.

The efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement of the conflicts in Africa, the Middle East and Cyprus have demonstrated

time and again how indispensable is the rôle of the United Nations peace-keeping forces.

The members of the European Community as well as other responsible Members of the World Organization have consistently contributed to the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations by providing troops, logistic support and financial assistance. They regard it as an urgent task to appeal to the sense of responsibility of all Members of the United Nations and ask them to increase their readiness to support peace-keeping measures. They are for this reason preparing a proposal to that effect for submission to the General Assembly.

The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe has provided us with a broad basis on which to shape relations between the Governments and peoples of Eastern and Western Europe. What is important now is to work for the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act in all its parts. The Belgrade follow-up meeting has shown the shortcomings in its implementation, and the Nine will call persistently for these to be made good.

The Helsinki Final Act is not important for Europe alone, for détente in Europe and in East-West relations can and should release new political and economic energy to master the great challenge of our times the elimination of hunger and want from the third world. The developing countries need the support of the Western and of the Eastern industrialized countries. There is nothing they need less than a transfer of the East-West confrontation to their regions.

This year's special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament was an expression of the awareness that all nations of the world have a vital interest in the success of the efforts to achieve arms limitation and disarmament.

The Nine participated in that session with joint statements and contributions and attach great importance to its results. It has strengthened by means of institutional reforms worldwide co-operation in pursuit of disarmament, and the Declaration and Programme of Action have established a broad framework for that co-operation. The task now is to develop further what has been achieved so far and use it to establish concrete arrangements. The Nine will be playing an active rôle in these efforts...

4. Report on political cooperation

Annual report to Parliament on political cooperation presented on 15 November by Mr Genscher, Chairman of the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Member States meeting in political cooperation

3.4.1. 'I should like to say how glad I am to have this opportunity of reporting to the European Parliament on the progress of European political cooperation over the last year.

Parliament is about to be transformed. Next year 180 million European voters are to elect their own Parliament. The people in our countries will thus be involved in the process of European union and will be aware of their own collective responsibility for its progress. For these reasons I already consider that our relations with Parliament in the field of political cooperation are of the utmost importance.

In the report¹ which he presented to this House a year ago to the day in his capacity as President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation, Mr Simonet spoke of further progress in political cooperation.

This positive development has continued. A year is, however, a relatively short period in the ongoing process of European union.

My report therefore touches on problems which we have previously dealt with and which all of us will also have to work to solve in the future and as we know, possibly for some considerable time. In the speech I made when the Federal Republic of Germany took over the Presidency in the European Community, I spoke of Europe's growing involvement in a world of partnership in which the Nine, since the beginning of European political cooperation, have regularly opened up new areas in which to act jointly. In doing so they have participated in a policy of the fair balance of interest and international partnership.

In performing this task the Nine have grown in stature and they will continue to perform it in the future.

Since the last report presented to this House on the work of political cooperation, there have been many meetings between the nine, which at all levels and at every suitable opportunity have harmonized their position on questions of external policy.

¹ Bull. EC 11-1977, points 3.2.1 to 3.2.10.

In doing so the Nine have taken every opportunity of extending their cooperation in terms of the subjects covered.

In the period covered by the Belgian Presidency in 1977, the Danish Presidency in the first half of 1978 and the Presidency of the Federal Republic of Germany since 1 July 1978, four official meetings of Ministers have taken place, as well as a number of other discussions on subjects connected with European political cooperation. The second official meeting under the German Presidency is due to take place in Bonn next week.

In Hesselet (Denmark) in May and in Gymnich at the end of October the Foreign Ministers met for their regular informal exchange of ideas to which they have been invited by each Presidency since 1974. These meetings, which began at the initiative of the then German Foreign Minister Walter Scheel, have become more and more successful.

The Political Committee has met every month, and its work has been prepared by its working parties in over 100 sittings.

Since November 1977 there have been three meetings of the European Council, which has also dealt regularly with important questions of external policy. After each of the four Ministers' meetings the current Presidency invited the Political Affairs Committee of this Parliament to a detailed colloquy which I am sure both sides found informative and satisfactory, on all questions of political cooperation.

In our answers to Parliamentary questions we have made every effort to provide comprehensive information, that is if the subject of the question had actually been dealt with in political cooperation meetings. Besides the meetings arranged as part of political cooperation, there have been many other opportunities at all levels for the Nine to meet and to extend existing cooperation. In this context I should first of all like to mention cooperation at the United Nations, which is the most important basis for our joint representation in this international body.

Mr President, the European Community is about to be enlarged from nine to twelve Member States. The negotiations with Greece on accession to the Treaty of Rome have progressed well, and we hope to conclude the main part of them before the end of this year.

Negotiations with Portugal were formally opened on 17 October this year. It is to be hoped that the Community will soon take a basic policy decision on Spain's

application for membership; I would like this to be before the end of the year.

Political cooperation has taken account of this development in the question of the applicant countries. It is gearing itself to full participation by the applicant countries in political cooperation as soon as they become Member States of the Community. Since by its very nature political cooperation cannot be the subject of formal negotiations, the Nine have agreed in painstaking discussions on other informal methods of acquainting the new Member States with the common external policy of the Nine.

Greece and Portugal were accordingly given formal notification on 26 June and 17 October respectively of the existence of political cooperation. At the same time they were given basic documents relating to European political cooperation. In addition, in accordance with the agreed procedure, Greece has been kept constantly informed since September of the work carried out as part of European political cooperation and at the beginning of this month received all the important documents and other material resulting from it.

Political cooperation meetings have also dealt with questions concerning relations with Turkey, which after the enlargement of the Community will, as you know, be the only country to have an association agreement with the Community with the prospect of accession. As part of their political cooperation, the Nine also intend to take account of this fact. On 23 September they offered Turkey, through the Presidency special procedures of increased mutual information. This offer is still being examined by the Turkish Government. With regard to cooperation in the United Nations, I consider this particular part of cooperation to be especially important. European political cooperation in the United Nations has steadily improved and increased during the most recent General Assemblies. Our common position has been prepared by analyzing the results of each General Assembly and, since 1977, by advance planning for the next General Assembly.

The most important events this year with regard to the United Nations were:

- special session on disarmament from 24 May to 30 June 1978;
- the conference against racism in Geneva from 14 to 25 August 1978;
- the 33rd General Assembly, which was on 19 September 1978.

Both at the beginning and at the end of the special session on disarmament, the Nine made joint statements expressing their conviction that alternatives to the international arms race can and must be found. This must go hand in hand with efforts to eliminate the causes of tension and injustice in the world. In its statement of 7 July in Bremen, the European Council made specific mention of the final document of the special session on disarmament and expressed the hope that this theoretical framework would provide the basis for practical progress at future negotiations.

Attention was also paid to what the Nine had to say at the 33rd General Assembly of the United Nations. At the very beginning of the session on 26 September, I had honour, as President-in-Office of the Council, of presenting a comprehensive Community statement setting out the basic position of the Nine on important international questions. Both in their preparations for this session and during it, the Member States increased the coordination of their positions in all areas and strengthened their cooperation across the board in the search for universally acceptable solutions. In this context their special efforts are directed towards passing a joint policy resolution to reinforce UN peacekeeping measures and at international efforts for the protection of human rights. In a statement marking the 30th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on 10 December, they will put forward their position on human rights.

Political questions which may require coordination with the Nine are also dealt with in the special bodies of the United Nations. At the moment there is just such an instance in Unesco where the draft of a declaration on the mass media raises fundamental questions of the freedom of thought and expression.

On 30 October before the Unesco General Conference, I stated our point of view on behalf of my country, namely that any draft which subject the mass media to State supervision or seeks to establish State responsibility for them is unacceptable to us. As the country currently assuming the Presidency, we have therefore played a significant role in the drawing up by the Nine of certain amendments.

It is important to us that in a question of this kind, which touches on the fundamental values of our conception of liberty, the Nine should defend their convictions jointly. It is especially within the United Nations that the Nine are aware of the growing interdependence in today's world.

In my Unesco speech I was able to draw attention to the basic commitment of the Nine to the principle of international partnership. The Europe of the Nine is not a merely inward-looking Community. It is the world's, and especially the Third World's longest trading partner and the largest donor of development aid.

We can see today that our example has helped the idea of regional groupings of countries with equal rights to gain ground all over the world. The Nine support this development. Their common stance before the United Nations helps to propagate this idea.

The Member States of the Community have always followed most closely and actively supported the struggle against racism and for human rights all over the world. They delivered joint statements at the International Day against Racial Discrimination on 21 March and at the opening of the United Nations World Conference Against Racial Discrimination on 15 August. On these occasions they unequivocally condemned all forms of racism and racial discrimination.

The Nine have also tried to exert their influence bilaterally in order to promote the cause of human rights. In joint representations a number of governments they expressed their concern at the human rights situation in various countries.

My predecessor in office referred in the report presented a year ago to the increasing importance of Africa for cooperation between the Nine on external policy. This tendency has become even more marked. The Nine have followed events in Southern Africa in particular most closely and with great concern. What is happening there, and also in Zaire and in the Horn of Africa has constantly been at the centre of discussions at all levels of political cooperation.

On several occasions the Nine have jointly stated their position on the problems of Africa. In doing so they have always made it clear to all involved that they support peaceful solutions, i.e. solutions achieved through negotiation. They have repeatedly said that they are willing to help to bring about these solutions by means of increased economic aid.

With regard to the situation in Zaire, at the European Council in Bremen the Nine expressed their support for the humanitarian actions of certain Member States. They assured that country of their continued support, not least in the economic field.

The Nine continue to hope that for Zimbabwe it will prove possible, despite all the difficulties, to arrive at a

peaceful solution with the participation of all the parties involved. They remain convinced that the British-American Rhodesia plan offers the most realistic chance of ensuring that country's peaceful transition to independence. To this end they make use of every opportunity to convince those directly and indirectly involved of the need for a speedy, mutually agreed solution to the conflict and to persuade them to take part in a multilateral conference.

With regard to Namibia, the Nine have from the outset supported the initiative of the Western members of the Security Council for a peaceful transition. This position was unequivocally stated both at the meeting of the European Council in Bremen on 6 and 7 July and in a statement by the Foreign Ministers on 25 July. I also expressed this position of the Nine in a letter to Secretary-General of the UN on the occasion of the Namibia conference in August. All these statements were based on the hope that the initiative of the Western Members of the Security Council would be successful. When these proposals were accepted by all the parties involved in July, there was every reason to be hopeful. We are therefore all the more shocked to hear of the South African Government's decision to hold elections in Namibia without the participation of the United Nations. The Nine supported the appeal by the United Nations Secretary-General for continued efforts to reach a peaceful solution to the Namibia conflict on the basis of the Waldheim report.

They have also made an urgent appeal to the South African Government to consider the wide-ranging consequences of a rejection of the West's Namibia plan. The Nine will therefore continue to bring their joint influence to bear in opening the way, even at this stage, to a peaceful transition in Namibia.

The Member States of the Community will not cease to urge South Africa to change its system of apartheid peacefully and rapidly. This system, like any other kind of racial discrimination, contradicts in all its aspects the basic convictions of Europeans. Only if South Africa guarantees human rights for all its citizens and enables them to live together as equals can the country look forward to a peaceful future.

The Nine are bringing all their influence to bear to bring about this change.

The code of conduct for firms with subsidiaries, branches or agencies in South Africa, which was adopted on 20 September last year, is an important step towards this goal. We must now wait for the first reports by the

firms concerned on the progress made in the application of this code of conduct, which are due to be submitted and examined before the end of this year. The Nine will continue their efforts to persuade other countries to follow their example. For this purpose a meeting with representatives of the other OECD member countries has been called on 17 November in Bonn with a view to these countries' adopting the code of conduct.

With regard to the decision by the United Nations Security Council on an arms embargo on South Africa, the Member States of the Community have supported this decision from the outset and are strictly complying with it.

Over the past year. Mr President, the attention of the Nine, like that of the whole world, has also been fixed on the Middle East. President Sadat's courageous initiative gave the Nine special grounds for hoping that the way was open for practical, peaceful solutions, and in their statement of 22 November last year they expressly welcomed his journey to Jerusalem and the resulting dialogue between Egypt and Israel. Similarly, they also paid tribute to the outcome of the Camp David Conference in a statement by the Foreign Ministers in September this year and congratulated those involved on the courage which had made this outcome possible. These joint statements reflect the continuing validity of the basic principles on which their attitude towards a peaceful solution of the Middle East conflict is based as laid down in the European Council statement of 29 June 1977.

The Member States of the Community have followed the situation in the Lebanon with great concern. As early as April this year the European Council expressed its deep concern at the tragic events in that country. In this statement the Nine stressed their support for the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Lebanon. Later, in their statement of 6 July, the Foreign Ministers of the Nine demanded the immediate cessation of hostilities and called on all parties involved to support President Sarkis. The Member States of the Community continued to be deeply concerned at the current situation, which threatens not only the existence of the Lebanon but also the stability of the whole region. They particularly emphasized this in their recent statement of 23 October. They appeal to all those with any influence on the events in the Lebanon to be mindful of their responsibility for peace and express the hope that all the parties involved will actively help to strengthen the authority of the Lebanese Government throughout the country as demanded in the UN Security Council resolutions on the

Lebanon. Any party which breaks the cease-fire must be aware of its responsibility for the consequences before the eyes of the whole world.

With regard to the Euro-Arab dialogue, the third sitting of the General Committee in October last year gave grounds for optimism with regard to the future of the dialogue.

However, the Euro-Arab dialogue was affected by certain delays which were the result of developments in the internal relations between the Arab partners. Technical work is nevertheless being continued. Another meeting of the General Committee, planned for February this year, did not take place, and so hopes for the impetus needed to revive the dialogue came to nothing. Since then the Nine have repeatedly stated their view that it is very important for the continued existence of the Euro-Arab dialogue that there should soon be a meeting of the General Committee. They therefore welcomed the recent invitation from the Arab side to attend a meeting of the General Committee in Damascus, to be held in December of this year. This strengthens our hope that in the coming year the Euro-Arab dialogue will devote itself more intensively to its tasks.

Last year political cooperation also dealt more thoroughly with the political situation in Asia and the relations of the Nine with Asian countries than had previously been the case.

The fact that in Brussels next week the first conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Member States of the Community and the ASEAN countries is due to take place is a practical example of these efforts. This conference has been prepared with great care by both sides, and on the European side the institutions both of the Community itself and of political cooperation have been involved in it. We knew from the outset that the ASEAN countries were also very interested in a political dialogue. This is in keeping with the view on the European side that this important meeting should not be confined to economic questions only. This weighting of the subjects to be covered by this meeting demonstrates the interest which the nine Community countries and the ASEAN countries, as regional groupings, have in each other. On the European side we wish in this way to pay tribute to the role of the ASEAN as a stabilizing factor in South East Asia.

We also regard this conference with the ASEAN countries as a contribution to the widening of mutual relations. I am convinced that the conference will also provide an opportunity to put forward European views on

problems involving refugees in Indochina. All in all I am sure that this conference will do a great deal to strengthen mutual relations and, in the context of political cooperation, will be the starting point for giving increased attention to political developments in Asia and relations with ASEAN.

Mr President, in March this year the follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe came to an end in Belgrade. In a joint declaration at the end of the meeting the Nine stressed their intention to continue playing an active role in the process begun in Helsinki. Joint work on the subject—also with a view to the next follow-up meeting planned for 1980 in Madrid—is already under way. There was a meeting of experts in Bonn from 20 June to 28 July to do the preparatory work for the Scientific Forum to be held in Hamburg on 18 February 1980.

On 31 October in Montreux the meeting of experts on the peaceful settlement of disputes began. In February next year a meeting of experts on the Mediterranean region is to be held in Valletta. To a very great extent the Nine coordinate their approach in all these areas in joint preliminary work.

In May and June the Member States of the Community expressed in a joint statement their deep concern that the process begun by the CSCE was being jeopardized by the conviction of human rights supporters in the Soviet Union and other East European countries. As signatories to the Final Act they claim the right to urge that human rights, basic freedoms and all the other basic principles laid down in the Final Act be respected by all their fellow signatories. The Nine will continue to strive for a balanced implementation of the Final Act and will not lose sight of this aim during their intensive preparations for the Madrid meeting.

As part of political cooperation the Member States of the Community have continued their efforts to combat terrorism.

On the basis of a draft agreement, drawn up by a group of senior officials from the Ministers of Justice, on the implementation of the European Anti-Terrorist Convention between the Member States of the Community, the Ministers of Justice of the Nine decided at their meeting on 10 October to initial the agreement and to recommend its ratification in the Member States.

At the same time further attention was given to the French proposal for the creation of a European judicial area for criminal prosecution, and as a first step in this

Political cooperation

direction work was continued on a general extradition agreement for all serious criminal offences. The Ministers of the Interior of the Member States continued their cooperation in all areas of internal security. Their meeting on 30 November in Bonn will deal with the results obtained by the working party of senior officials commissioned by them.

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Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, it is becoming increasingly important for the Nine to have a coordinated external policy. In the years to come it will be our task to increase the scope and effectiveness of this joint approach.

When the Nine speak with one voice, it is a daily reminder to the world that European union is coming closer. The international political influence of each Member State is increased by this common approach. In this strife-torn world the interests of Europeans are clear: the ideal of a liberal, democratic order. Europe must be determined to stand up for these ideals together. The same applies to the ideal of peace. For all Europeans war has ceased to be an instrument of policy. The more unified they are, the more effectively will Europeans cope with the task of preserving peace. At the same time we wish to hold political cooperation in Europe up as an example of how countries in a particular region can work together in partnership, equality and solidarity.

The basic principle of Europe is the participation of all Member States in the formulation of common policy by accommodating—and not subordinating—the interests of each one in a broad whole. By virtue of its guiding idea and its basic structure, the Europe of the Nine is thus designed to lead the way to a world of universal partnership.

21. Opening Statement by Herr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the EC-ASEAN* Foreign Ministers Conference
(Brussels, 20 November 1978, excerpts)

In my address to the United Nations in September, I said on behalf of the Community that
"Europe wants to be a centre of co-operation in the world. And it sees itself on the side of those who seek to create an order for that co-operation founded on equality and partnership.

* Association of South-East Asian Nations (Thailand, Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei, Singapore)

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Source: European Political Co-operation, fifth edition, Press and Information Office, Federal Republic of Germany, Bonn, 1988.

We want the *one world* in which the nations will meet the challenge of global interdependence through global co-operation. But we do not want a uniform world.”

And I also said:

“We are glad to see that the idea of regional association among States with equal rights is gaining ground in all parts of the world, and we support this trend.”

Today the Ministers of the European Communities and of the Association of South East Asian Nations are gathering for their first joint meeting. We see in this an event of great political significance. Both of them, the Community and ASEAN, are voluntary groupings that have formed themselves on the basis of equality. Both have set themselves the aim of furthering the economic and social well-being of their member States. Both are, in their respective regions, major and recognized factors of stability and peace. With this conference we are adding to the regional an interregional dimension. The first meeting at ministerial level is a testimony to the firm will of both organizations to join each other as partners in the work of building the one world whose main characteristics are interdependence and co-operation.

ASEAN and the Community have many basic convictions and many interests in common. Both see in regional integration an effective instrument for ensuring independence, peace, and progress, a barrier to the hegemonic aspirations of big powers. In the economic sphere there are many areas for co-operation to our mutual advantage. This, as we see it, is a strong motive for forward-looking co-operation. The traditional relations existing between individual nations of the two regions will be very helpful in this respect.

Last year the European Community celebrated its 20th anniversary. Since its inception it has proved itself to be a close-knit organization linking the destinies of the European democracies, especially in the recent difficult years of world economic crisis. We are now in the process of consolidating what has already been achieved, and carrying on from there. A common monetary system is in preparation. Its purpose is to create the necessary monetary basis for further economic integration. The Community is also to be enlarged from nine to twelve members. This

will increase democratic Europe's weight in international affairs and strengthen its ability to assert its own values in the world. With the first direct elections for the European Parliament which are to be held next year we aim to advance the internal development of our Community. Our increasing co-operation on foreign policy matters has made the Nine an important partner for debate on international issues.

The European Community has never concentrated on itself. From the very beginning it has regarded itself as part of an independent community of States. Its policy is outward-looking. In Asia we have in your Association of States both a suitable and an interested partner. In the Lomé Convention we are co-operating with 53 African, Caribbean and Pacific States. Other examples of co-operation based on partnership with other groups of States are the Euro-Arab Dialogue and our Mediterranean policy.

ASEAN is ten years younger than the European Community. And yet this regional association has already become a factor of stability which is acquiring increasing importance within the political constellation of South East Asia. The closer co-operation it is developing with its Pacific neighbours, Australia and New Zealand, as well as with Japan and the United States, is a demonstration of this, as are the Association's contacts with the People's Republic of China and the growing readiness of the Soviet Union and the nations of Indochina to recognize ASEAN as a political reality.

The members of ASEAN are pursuing a threefold objective:

They are making every effort to advance economic and social development in their own countries and in their region. They wish, through regional co-operation, to help maintain the balance of power in South East Asia. They are determined to promote a policy aimed at the independence and self-determination of all States in the region.

In this way ASEAN is helping to increase the stability of the entire region and to improve the conditions for lasting peace. We Europeans, too, have a vital interest in both. We know that tension and armed conflicts in other regions of the world can impair our own security interests.

The European Community is therefore willing to support the political aims of the ASEAN nations. It wants closer economic co-operation between the two organizations and continuing political dialogue between their member States.

Dear colleagues,

With this meeting we are demonstrating not only to our own peoples but to the whole world that our Governments are serious about co-operation. In the course of our work we shall be examining our political and economic relations and endeavouring to reach positive results. Our purpose is to develop the basic lines of future co-operation. That co-operation will build bridges between two geographically distant regions. Thus our conference can produce a signal effect in the political field which will have an impact far beyond our two regions.

Let us therefore set about our work with the high sense of responsibility that is commensurate with the political significance of this conference. Let us make it a landmark on the road to a new world order of partnership based on equality and partnership on which the solution of the major and complex tasks of safeguarding peace and securing economic and social progress – and hence the future of mankind – depend.

40. Joint Declaration at the Conclusion of the EC-ASEAN Foreign Ministers Conference (Brussels, 20/21 November 1978, excerpts)

...

7.

The ASEAN Foreign Ministers and the Foreign Ministers of the Member States of the European Community exchanged views on current regional and international issues and developments. They reaffirmed their commitment to world peace, international co-operation and understanding, economic development and social justice. The discussions took place in a spirit of friendliness and understanding.

8.

The Foreign Ministers of the Member States of the European Community welcomed the favourable development of ASEAN as a regional organization committed to economic growth, social progress and cultural development. They recognized ASEAN as a factor of stability and balance which contributes to the maintenance of peace in South East Asia.

9.

The Foreign Ministers of the Member States of the European Community reaffirmed their support for ASEAN's efforts to achieve self-reliance, progress and stability on the basis of economic, social and cultural co-operation.

10.

The Foreign Ministers of the Member States of ASEAN recognized the work of European integration and the rôle played by the Europe of the Nine as a factor of economic and political stability and as an element of balance in international relations. They welcomed the outward-looking character of this integration exemplified by the desire of the Member States to co-operate with ASEAN.

11.

The Foreign Ministers of the Member States of the European Community and ASEAN underlined the importance which they attach to the pursuance and development of relations and reaffirmed their common will to broaden the scope of their co-operation on the basis of equality, respect and mutual benefit. They also agreed that this co-operation should serve their people by promoting greater prosperity, social justice and human rights.

12.

The Foreign Ministers of the Member States of the European Community expressed their support for ASEAN's efforts to establish co-operation and peaceful relations among all countries of South East Asia. They also welcomed the endeavours of the Member States of ASEAN to develop their relations beyond the South East Asian region.

13.

The Foreign Ministers of ASEAN and of the Member States of the European Community viewed with serious concern the unabated flow of Indochinese refugees to the ASEAN countries. Conscious of the international implications of the problem as well as its humanitarian aspects, the Foreign Ministers of the Member States of ASEAN and the European Community which have already taken steps to resolve this problem, held the view that international efforts for the expeditious resettlement of the refugees require further international consideration and deserve wider support.

14.

The Foreign Ministers of the Member States of the European Community and ASEAN expressed their desire to promote, by appropriate measures, mutual understanding between the peoples of ASEAN and the European Community in the context of their concern to bring them closer to one another.

15.

The Community welcomed the positive steps taken by ASEAN towards strengthening regional co-operation. The Community expressed its readiness to assist ASEAN re-

gional co-operation programmes and to participate with ASEAN in regional development co-operation.

International Relations

16.

ASEAN and the Community reaffirmed their determined support for international action leading to a new international economic order. They underlined the importance of achieving solutions to the outstanding problems and agreed to co-operate constructively in the coming international meetings on the outstanding issues in the North-South Dialogue, including UNCTAD V in Manila in May 1979.

17.

They agreed on the need to arrive urgently at decisions to implement agreements reached during the Conference on International Economic Co-operation in May 1977 in particular insofar as commodity policy was concerned. The Ministers placed particular emphasis on the Integrated Programme for Commodities (IPC) and the early establishment of a Common Fund. They also agreed to co-operate closely in efforts to establish appropriate individual commodity agreements or arrangements.

18.

ASEAN and the Community agreed on the necessity to maintain free trade conditions in order to promote a recovery in the world economy through expanding international trade. They confirmed their readiness to co-operate constructively to achieve satisfactory results in the MTN negotiations. The Community expressed its awareness of the special needs of the developing countries and particularly of ASEAN and reaffirmed its intention to seek provisions which would satisfy these needs.

Regional Integration and Co-operation

19.

ASEAN and the Community explained and assessed current developments in their respective regions. The Community emphasized moves to bring about a European Monetary System, the importance of the direct elections to the Euro-

pean Parliament in June 1979, and the progress of negotiations on the enlargement of the Community. ASEAN pointed out that they had recently made significant progress in their regional co-operation. The Community indicated its willingness to offer all possible assistance in this respect.

41. Written Question No. 868/78 by Mr. Bordu, Member of the European Parliament, on the Position of the Nine at the United Nations on the Cyprus Question, and Answer
(Strasbourg, 7 December 1978)

1. Question

On 9 November 1978 the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution on Cyprus calling for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from the island, reaffirming the full support of the Assembly for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus and calling for the renewal of negotiations between the two communities as a matter of urgency.

Can the Council explain why the Community countries saw fit not to support this resolution?

Can it state whether a joint position of the Nine had been defined?

2. Answer

(6 April 1979)

The nine Member States of the European Community are of the unanimous opinion that the only means of arriving at a just and lasting solution to the problem of Cyprus is through direct negotiations between the parties concerned. In this respect they support all the efforts aimed at a resumption of the intercommunity negotiations and in particular those with the United Nations Secretary-General.

As far as the resolution examined by the United Nations General Assembly on 9 November 1978 is concerned, several Member States felt that this text, which was drafted without any consultation of the Nine, was an insufficient response to the problems involved.

However, the Nine were unanimous in abstaining in the separate vote on paragraph 8 of the resolution, which recommended the Security Council to examine and adopt 'all the practical measures provided for by the Charter' to ensure application of the UN's resolutions concerning Cyprus. This passage may be interpreted as referring to the adoption of sanctions, whereas the Nine, as pointed out earlier on, consider direct negotiations the best way of resolving the problem on Cyprus.

22. Declaration by the Nine on the
30th anniversary of the adoption of
the Universal Declaration of Hu-
man Rights
(New York, 11 December 1978, ex-
cerpts)

I.

"All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and
rights."

This ringing affirmation opens the Universal Declaration

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Source: European Political Co-operation, fifth edition, Press and Information
Office, Federal Republic of Germany, Bonn, 1988.

of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly thirty years ago in Paris and declared by it to be the "common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations."

The fundamental concept of the inalienable dignity of man reflects the ideals and basic values cherished by many cultures. Now as in the past they constitute a beacon of hope and expectation for many peoples. Peoples in all parts of the world have become aware of the persuasive force of the concept of human rights.

The United Nations, established in order to save future generations from the scourge of war, has made the concept of the dignity of man its guiding principle. According to the Charter, one of the objectives pursued by this organization is to achieve international co-operation in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms. This is also a reflection of the experience that the denial of human rights and fundamental freedoms during the years preceding the foundation of the United Nations had brought untold suffering to mankind.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was the first international document to define and enshrine human rights and claim universal validity. Hence it constituted a break-through of historic dimensions. As a result, the observance of the rights of the individual human being has become the yardstick for the policies of all States and a point of reference in international policies as well.

The Europe of the Nine is based on a common outlook: respect for the dignity of man, his freedom and his inalienable rights. For the Nine, just as for the other European States, today's anniversary has a special European meaning as well. Twenty-five years ago, the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms entered into force, setting up a regional system for the protection of human rights.

To contribute to the universal realization of human rights is one of the priorities which the Nine have set themselves in co-operating with the United Nations. We are resolved to do everything in our power to help strengthen human rights in all parts of the world.

II.

Thirty years after the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights there is no reason to be complacent.

On the basis of the 1948 Declaration, the United Nations has in recent decades succeeded in codifying human rights in a number of important conventions, a major achievement in itself, among them the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and, in particular, the two International Covenants of 1966 which entered into force ten years later and constitute yet another milestone. All these international instruments represent a qualitative change from a declaration to an internationally legal norm. We have thus been provided with an internationally recognized framework for human rights.

However, this has also sharpened our awareness today of the gap which continues to exist between international norms on the one hand and their fulfilment on the other, between aspiration and reality. Unfortunately, violations of human rights continue to be all too common in many parts of the world. Racial discrimination, through which the dignity of man is violated in a particularly humiliating fashion, is a characteristic feature of the situation above all in southern Africa and has become one of the most urgent international problems.

On the other hand, we can also note that a new approach to human rights is asserting itself in international relations:

- No State can any longer stay aloof from the issue of human rights. In their constitutions the majority of States commit themselves to the realization of these rights.
- Human rights are no longer considered a privilege to be enjoyed only in specific States or regions, but require concern in all States and regions.
- The realization of human rights, whether civil, political, economic, social or cultural, has become a theme of legitimate international concern. National sovereignty as well as international co-operation and responsibility have become the pillars of our interdependent world.

While the States thus retain full responsibility for the realization of these rights, the community of States cannot remain indifferent in the face of violations of human rights in the world. No State can escape the critical attention of the international community especially where gross and consistent violations of human rights are concerned.

- A country's standing within the community of nations today also depends on the extent to which the human rights of its citizens are guaranteed and translated in real terms.

This new and deeper consciousness of human rights, this awareness of a worldwide solidarity, is, as in the past, being enhanced by the struggle for political emancipation by the peoples still under colonial rule and by the struggle against racial discrimination, especially apartheid.

The right of self-determination of peoples is part of the international bill of human rights and constitutes the collective form of the rights of the individual. It therefore is generally and universally applicable and inalienable with respect to all peoples of this globe.

III.

The economic, social and cultural rights constitute an important dimension of human rights and have received increasing emphasis by the world community. The fundamental freedoms designed to protect the individual against arbitrary action and abuse of power by the State are complemented by economic and social rights which establish their claims on the State and society.

We hold up the principle that all human rights and fundamental freedoms are indivisible and interdependent. By this we mean that the realization of political and economic rights should be pursued with the same vigour, we mean that the effective enjoyment of civil and political rights is assisted by the progressive realization of economic, social and cultural rights, and we mean that economic rights are barren without civil and political rights, without freedom from torture or ill-treatment, without the right of free speech, of freedom of movement. Political and economic rights do not contradict

each other, they rather reinforce and complement each other. The free development of the individual personality is a driving force capable of improving living conditions.

We do not shirk the international task of creating also the material conditions for the full enjoyment of those human rights which are related to such conditions. Here, too, lies a link between human rights and development co-operation. While there can be no room for compromise and relativity when confronted with gross and persistent violations of human rights which destroy the core of human dignity itself, economic backwardness, mass poverty and misery equally have a direct effect on human dignity. Development co-operation and assistance can and must therefore contribute to the promotion of human rights. The Europe of the Nine is doing everything in its power in order to ensure that the world as a whole becomes free from hunger and want. This is why we advocate a development strategy in the context of which the satisfaction of basic human needs plays a crucial role. To us this means that participation of the population as a whole in the development process be achieved. In that process the participation of the poorest strata of the population must be increased.

We appeal to all States to help ensure materially and effectively the realization of economic rights by making an increased contribution of their own towards worldwide development.

IV.

As the international instruments covering human rights continue to be further developed, the issue of the realization of human rights on a worldwide scale is moving into the foreground.

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights we must state the sober fact that while human rights have been extensively codified, the instruments of implementation continue to be very limited.

Most progress has been achieved at the regional level and this will remain a major area. Thus the European Human Rights Convention provides for the possibility of in-

dividuals appealing to neutral bodies of a judicial nature.

At the universal level, the debate continues on how international responsibility for human rights can be given a more concrete form by assigning responsibility for their implementation to international institutions.

The Covenants and the CERD Convention, under which States report to international bodies on the human rights situation in their countries, the mechanisms instituted by a number of specialized agencies, and the procedure of the Human Rights Commission under ECOSOC resolution 1503, represent an important beginning. The sending of a UN commission of inquiry to a country with its voluntary consent constitutes an important step forward. We have thus been provided with a model for the international investigation of allegations of gross and consistent violations of human rights.

We must tenaciously pursue the international debate on the implementation of human rights. The international community does not accept that human rights are just a matter of internal responsibility alone. Even if the discussion of these subjects may give rise to controversies, the very obligations of international co-operation themselves require that these matters be addressed. We welcome the spirit of co-operation among all regional groups on the overall analysis which has been evident at this General Assembly. We hope that it will be continued and broadened at the Human Rights Commission. We hope that proposals on alternative approaches and ways and means of improving enjoyment of human rights, including the creation of a United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, will be considered on their merits.

V.

The insistence on respect for the dignity of man and his inalienable rights cannot stop at any frontiers. This unique universal organization is called upon to ensure the realization of human rights in all parts of the world.

In making this mandate the aim of our political action as well we do so in a spirit of non-partisanship and openness. We are ready to face any international criticism of

our system and of conditions in our States which deserve to be criticized.

We object to every attempt to misuse the demand for human rights as a political instrument applied selectively against countries viewed with disfavour. No double standard should be used in the application of human rights. International criticism of human rights violations should not depend on the region in which, or on the political or social system under which, they were committed.

The Nine believe in the principle of self-determination, independence and equality for all nations. We acknowledge the pluralistic character of today's world and view other cultures and ways of life with respect. Through large-scale co-operation we are striving to create in this world of global interdependence a stable order characterized by co-operation among equals.

Such a situation will not be an end in itself. Its purpose will be to serve man. The realization of his rights, the assurances of his dignity, will give international co-operation its meaning and its legitimation. An order of peace and co-operation must therefore aim at universal respect for, and acceptance of, human rights. Only thus can we give that order the necessary inner stability.

The Human Rights Conventions have set the standards. We are called upon to achieve them. This is first of all the responsibility of individual states, but then it is also the responsibility of the United Nations community of States. We shall have to approach this task from different aspects at the same time:

- We should win the struggle for human rights while pursuing our efforts with a view to safeguarding man's material existence. The purpose of the manifold efforts of the United Nations to promote economic and social development—efforts to which the Europe of the Nine renders a major contribution—is to translate into reality man's claim to live a life free from hunger and want.
- We must staunchly uphold our plea for the basic rights and fundamental freedoms to be granted to every individual, and we must strengthen, and make better use of, the United Nations instruments for their protection.
- An essential prerequisite for achieving further pro-

gress will be the continuation of the present frank international dialogue in the United Nations and elsewhere concerning ways and means of improving the human rights situation in all parts of the world.

We are aware that there is still a long way to go before the human rights will acquire full validity. But we are also aware that history is moving in this direction. History has borne out the power of the idea of human rights. Let us do our best to ensure that it remains the idea that puts its stamp on our age.