

EUROPEAN POLITICAL COOPERATION

STATEMENTS OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS

1979

Statement on the Sino-Vietnamese conflict	19 February 1979
Statement on the peace treaty between Israel and Egypt	26 March 1979
Message from the French Presidency to the Heads of State and Member Countries of the Andean Pact on its 10 th Anniversary	26 May 1979
Statement during the Namibia Debate, 33 rd General Assembly of the United Nations	29 May 1979
Statement on refugees in Indochina	18 June 1979
Statement on the Middle East	18 June 1979
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Press conference statement on the Euro-Arab Dialogue	11 September 1979
Speech by the Irish Foreign Minister, 34 th General Assembly of the United Nations	25 September 1979
Annual report on political cooperation to the European Parliament	24 October 1979
Statement on Rhodesia	20 November 1979
Statement on Iran	20 November 1979
Statement on the French proposal on a conference on disarmament in Europe (CSCE)	20 November 1979
Press statement on the Euro-Arab Dialogue	20 November 1979

The European Council issued other statements. See the conclusions of the Paris (12-13 March 1979), Strasbourg (21-22 June 1979) and Dublin (29-30 November 1979) meetings.

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

Political cooperation

2.2.61. On 19 February the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued the following statement by the nine Member States on the Sino-Vietnamese conflict:

'The nine Community Member States view with concern current developments in south-east Asia, which they consider to be a potential threat to international relations. They deplore the growing unrest in this part of the world and call for a solution safeguarding the independence, territorial integrity and freedom of action of all States concerned, in particular Kampuchea and Vietnam.'

Political cooperation

Ministerial meeting

2.2.73. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Nine, who were in Paris for the European Council, held a political cooperation meeting on 12 March.

Statement on the Middle East

2.2.74. On 26 March the nine countries of the Community issued the following statement on the peace treaty between Israel and Egypt:

'The nine Member States of the European Community have followed with the greatest attention the negotiations which have resulted in the signature of the agreements between Egypt and Israel. They are fully appreciative of the will for peace which has led President Carter to engage himself personally in these negotiations, as well as of the efforts made by President Sadat and Prime Minister Begin. While a difficult road remains to be trodden before Security Council Resolution 242 is implemented in all its aspects and on all fronts, the Nine consider that the Treaty constitutes a correct application of the principles of that Resolution to Egyptian/Israeli relations.

They recall, however, that as they indicated in their declaration of 29 June 1977, the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East can only take place within the framework of a comprehensive settlement. Such a settlement must be based on Security Council Resolution 242 and 338 and must translate into fact the right of the Palestinian people to a homeland.

In this context they take due note of the will expressed by the signatories to the treaty to consider this not as a separate peace but as a first step in the direction of a comprehensive settlement designed to bring to an end thirty years of hostility and mistrust.

They hope that this will, to which they attach particular importance, can be given practical form soon in a comprehensive agreement in which all the parties concerned, including the representatives of the Palestinian people, would participate and to which the international community could give its endorsement.

The Nine express the hope that all the parties concerned will avoid any statement or action which will impede the search for peace, such as the Israeli policy of settlements in the occupied territories.'

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¹ Point 2.3.21 and OJ C 93 of 9.4.1979.

² Points 2.3.22 and 2.3.23 and OJ C 93 of 9.4.1979.

46. Message from the French Presidency of the European Council to the Heads of State and Member Countries of the Andean Pact on its 10th Anniversary (Paris, 26 May 1979)

On the tenth anniversary of the signing of the Cartagena Agreement I extend to you the best wishes of the European Council for the continuation and success of your efforts to improve relations between nations. The members of the European Community witness with particular gratification the progress already achieved by the members of the Andean Pact towards the balanced and harmonious development of their economies. They will gladly continue to cooperate with them on the road to integration and develop mutual relations which can be but conducive to the goal of international peace, justice and progress.

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

47. Statement on behalf of the Nine during the Namibia Debate at the 33rd General Assembly of the United Nations (New York, 29 May 1979)

In their joint statement in the General Assembly on 8 December 1978 the nine members of the European Community stressed that, as resolution 385 (1976) requests, the people of Namibia must be allowed, without further delay, to determine their own future by means of free elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations in accordance with the settlement plan adopted by the Security Council in resolution 435 (1978). Today we are bound to note that the implementation of the plan has not yet begun. We regret this particularly because many efforts have been made to overcome the few remaining objections or differences of interpretation. After thorough consultations with the parties concerned, directly or through his Special Represen-

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

tative, the Secretary-General, in his report to the Security Council of 26 February 1979, proposed solutions making it possible to resolve the outstanding difficulties, particularly in connexion with the restriction to base during the transitional period of armed elements of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) in Namibia or outside the Territory at the time of the cease-fire.

The five Western countries, which took the initiative in promoting negotiations on Namibia, considered that the recommendations of the Secretary-General were in line with the proposed settlement accepted by South Africa and SWAPO. That judgement is shared by the delegations of the nine countries without any reservations. In the course of the ministerial talks which took place in New York on 19 and 20 March last the five Western Ministers received from the Front Line States and from SWAPO the assurances that they would respect scrupulously the cease-fire provisions. The five, moreover, worked out a series of practical suggestions to guarantee tranquillity in the Territory and along the borders during the transitional period. However, the South African Government, for its part, has thus far maintained its objections to the arrangements envisaged by the Secretary-General for SWAPO forces, thus delaying the sending of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) to Namibia.

The Governments of the Nine are extremely concerned by this situation and wish to point out to the South African Government the consequences which could ensue, for any further delay in the implementation of a peaceful and internationally acceptable settlement might increase tension in the area and give free rein to the inevitable course of violence and oppression in Namibia.

The nine countries members of the European Community vigorously condemn the arbitrary arrests of which the members of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) in Namibia have recently been the victims. Those measures, which are designed to stifle the voice of an important political party, endanger the objective pursued by the United Nations—namely, the participation of all Namibians in a free and democratic political process.

We also condemn the attacks on neighbouring countries and the acts of intimidation and violence which are taking

place in the Territory. It is essential that all the parties concerned refrain from recourse to violence and show restraint in order to create an atmosphere suitable for the implementation of the United Nations plan.

The Governments of the Nine reaffirm their support for the efforts being made by the five Western countries, the front-line States and the Secretary-General to carry out the United Nations plan. There is no other way to lead Namibia to independence in peaceful conditions which are acceptable to all and put an end to the illegal occupation of the Territory.

The Nine reject any attempt to impose an internal settlement on Namibia. They have refused to recognize as valid the elections organized unilaterally in the Territory in December 1978. The Security Council, for its part, has declared those elections null and void. The decision of the South African Government to transform the body which resulted from the consultations in December into a national assembly and possibly to enlarge its membership cannot make it in any way legitimate. It is simply one more measure which is incompatible with an internationally acceptable settlement.

Once again South Africa is faced with a decisive choice. The South African Government maintains that it accepts the settlement proposed by the Five. Thus it can no longer delay the arrival of UNTAG in Namibia without increasing the doubts about its intentions. The international solution advocated by the United Nations has the support of a broad segment of public opinion in Namibia. The Front Line States and other African countries support the plan. The international community as a whole calls for its implementation.

The Nine remain firmly opposed to any settlement plan which is not internationally acceptable and which would condemn Namibia to isolation. We do not believe that the differences which remain are enough to justify the risks which would be involved in any further delay in implementing the United Nations plan. We urge the South African Government to agree to the immediate implementation of resolution 435 (1978) and to the installation of UNTAG in Namibia. It is high time the Namibians were allowed to exercise freely their right to self-determination and to rejoin the community of independent nations.

Political cooperation

Ministerial meeting

2.2.57. At a political cooperation meeting held in Paris on 18 June the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Nine adopted two statements.

Refugees in Indochina

2.2.58. The Ministers expressed their grave concern at the increasingly tragic problems presented by the mass exodus of refugees from the Indochinese peninsula.

The decided to make immediate contact with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees with a view to convening an emergency international conference under the aegis of the United Nations to examine possible practical solutions to this situation with the parties concerned.

They stressed the importance of stepping up action to assist the refugees and of sharing more equally among the international community the burden of responsibility which was at present being shouldered by a small number of countries. Their approach to the projected conference would be one of willingness to do their utmost to find a solution to this humanitarian problem, which concerned the international community as a whole.

They also agreed to raise with the Government of Vietnam all the aspects of this matter and to convey their concern to the countries in the area, particularly the ASEAN States, with which they had initiated a political dialogue in November 1978.¹

¹ This matter was also examined by the European Council at its meeting in Strasbourg on 21 and 22 June:

Middle East

2.2.59. The Nine examined the situation in the Middle East. As they indicated in their previous statements of 29 June 1977² and 26 March this year³ the establishment of a just and lasting peace can only take place within the framework of a comprehensive settlement based on Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and on:

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

The Nine deplore any action or statement which could constitute an obstacle to the pursuit of peace. In particular they consider that certain

policies and statements of the Israeli Government are likely to impede the pursuit of a comprehensive settlement. This is notably the case with regard to the following:

- (i) Israel's claim to eventual sovereignty over the occupied territories, which is incompatible with Resolution 242 establishing the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force;
- (ii) the Israeli Government's policy of establishing settlements in the occupied territories in violation of international law.

With regard to the Lebanon, they support the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country and deplore any acts that jeopardize the population's safety or impede the re-establishment of the Lebanese Government's authority over all its territory, notably the southern part of the country. They are deeply concerned over the difficulties that Unifil—which includes contingents from certain countries of the Nine—is experiencing in carrying out its task, and call on all parties to comply with the Security Council's decisions.

These are the views which the Nine feel impelled to express at the present juncture. They reserve the right to make further statements in due course on all the matters dealt with above.

² Bull. EC 6-1977, point 2.2.3.

³ Bull. EC 3-1979, point 2.2.74.

Declaration on Nicaragua

2.2.60. At the meeting of the Political Cooperation Committee on 29 June the Nine adopted the following statement:

The Nine express their very grave concern over the disturbing developments in Nicaragua and the steadily worsening sufferings being inflicted upon the Nicaraguan people. They call for an immediate halt to the conflict and for the establishment of political structures representative of the population as a whole so that free elections can be held without delay.

Political cooperation

Ministerial meeting

2.2.54. The Foreign Ministers of the Nine met in Dublin on 11 September to discuss political cooperation. The meeting was chaired by Mr Michael O'Kennedy, Foreign Minister of Ireland and currently presiding over the Council and European political cooperation; the Commission was represented by Mr Haferkamp, Vice-President.

At the close of their discussions the Ministers adopted and made public two statements, one on Lebanon, the other on Rhodesia. At a press conference Mr O'Kennedy also commented on two other subjects discussed at the ministerial meeting, namely the situation in Kampuchea and the Euro-Arab Dialogue.

Lebanon

2.2.55. The Ministers adopted the following statement:

'On repeated occasions in the past few years, in particular in their statement of 18 June,' the Nine have expressed deep concern over the continuous deterioration of the situation in Lebanon. Aware as they are of the courageous efforts being made by the Government of President Sarkis to promote the security of its people and restore its authority over the whole of its territory, they have constantly reiterated their support for Lebanon's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. They have therefore given their backing to the operations of Unifil²—which includes contingents from certain Community Member States. The Nine calls on all parties to do their utmost to assist Unifil in its task and to respect the Security Council's decisions.

In the light of recent developments which caused the Lebanese Government to request a meeting of the Security Council, the Nine wish to confirm their full and unqualified solidarity with a fellow country whose people are exposed to such intense physical and material suffering, thus seriously endangering its precarious balance.

Taking note of the improvement in the situation since the last Security Council debate, the Nine hope that a decisive end will be put to all acts of violence in Lebanon, including the harassment of Unifil.

The Nine formally address an urgent appeal to every single country and party concerned to refrain from any action that might jeopardize Lebanese territorial integrity or the authority of the Lebanese Government. They also call on all Lebanese, regardless of their religion or political sympathies, to give full support to the efforts of their Government to achieve a true political dialogue, which is a prerequisite for the restoration of internal peace and security.

The Nine are willing to back, for instance the United Nations, any action or move that might help to restore peace and stability in Lebanon, which is still a key factor in maintaining balance in the region.³

Rhodesia

2.2.56. On Rhodesia, the Ministers adopted the statement set out below:

'The Foreign Ministers of the Nine welcome the understanding reached by the Commonwealth Heads of Government in Lusaka on the question of Rhodesia. This includes notably the principles that independence on the basis of majority rule requires the adoption of a democratic constitution including appropriate safeguards for minorities; and a Government formed under such an independence constitution must be chosen through free and fair elections properly supervised under British Government authority and with Commonwealth observers.

Noting that the Lusaka statement acknowledged that it is the constitutional responsibility of the British Government to grant legal independence to Rhodesia on the basis of majority rule, they welcome the action the United Kingdom Government has taken in circulating constitutional proposals within the Lusaka framework, and in inviting the parties to attend a constitutional conference which opened at Lancaster House on 10 September.

They are encouraged by the agreement of all parties to attend the conference and urge them to seize this opportunity to achieve a political solution on the basis of genuine majority rule.'

Kampuchea

2.2.57. At the press conference he gave at the close of the ministerial meeting, Mr O'Kennedy stated in connection with the situation in Kampuchea:

'The Ministers discussed the situation in Kampuchea and the question of relief assistance for that country.'

¹ Bull. EC 6-1979, point 2.2.59.

² United Nations intervention force in Lebanon.

³ Non-official translation.

It is a matter of utmost urgency that humanitarian relief be given to Kampuchea. The Nine are willing to support in appropriate ways relief efforts already under way, or which may be launched in the future, to bring effective help to the people of Kampuchea. They believe that the distribution of aid should be subject to effective on-the-spot supervision, independent of the parties involved in the conflict, and should be available to all the people of Kampuchea.

The Nine believe that the problems of Kampuchea can only be resolved in the context of the wider political situation in the Indo-China peninsula. A solution should be based on an independent Kampuchea with a genuinely representative Government, free from any foreign military presence, maintaining friendly relations with all the countries of the region, and having the benefit of international assistance for reconstruction.

The Nine also believe that a resolution of the problem of Kampuchea is essential to the peace and stability of South-East Asia as a whole, and express their hope that such a solution can be found quickly.'

Euro-Arab Dialogue

2.2.58. Again at the press conference, Mr O'Kennedy had the following to say on the Ministers' discussion of political cooperation:

'The Nine consider the Euro-Arab Dialogue, which has been under way since 1974, to be of the greatest importance, based as it is on the affinities and common interests between the two regional groups.

In the view of the Nine the unity and cohesion of the Arab world is desirable just as the increasing unity between the countries of the Community as exhibited in the work of the Dialogue can be helpful from the Arab viewpoint.

The Nine have always felt that the Dialogue should help to improve the internal solidarity of the two regions as well as increasing cooperation between them. For this reason, they think it important that the Dialogue should be developed with the group of the Arab countries as a whole.

The Nine consider too that while particular projects may be of greater interest to individual countries, the work of the Dialogue should, in principle, be applicable to all of the countries on each side and that accordingly the activities of the Dialogue should be brought to the attention of all.

The Nine also believe that while each side should be sympathetic to any problems of an internal character which may arise for the other, neither of the two sides to the Dialogue could intervene actively in such issues without prejudice to the further development of the Dialogue and what it has achieved to date.

The Nine Ministers in their discussions today were agreed in confirming these principles which have always guided them in their approach to the Dialogue. Their discussions confirmed their strong support for the Dialogue and their wish to develop it further when this proves possible. They hope strongly that conditions will soon exist which could allow the Dialogue to be resumed on the basis which I have outlined, which is that on which it has developed to date.'

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¹ Point 3.4.1.



UNITED NATIONS
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY



PROVISIONAL

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25 September 1979

ENGLISH

Thirty-fourth Session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE EIGHTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday 25 September 1979, at 3 p.m.

<u>President:</u>	Mr. SALIM	(United Republic of Tanzania)
<u>later:</u>	Mr. KOH	(Singapore)
<u>later:</u>	Mr. GURINOVICH	(Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic)

- General debate [9] (continued)

Statements were made by:

✕ Mr. O'Kennedy (Ireland)
Miss MacDonald (Canada)
Mr. Sonoda (Japan)
Mr. Rallis (Greece)
Lord Carrington (United Kingdom)
Mr. Gröndal (Iceland)
Mr. Martinez (Uruguay)
Mr. Olewale (Papua New Guinea)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.05 p.m.

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

Mr. O'KENNEDY (Ireland): Mr. President, I wish to congratulate you on your election as President of this session of the Assembly. This marks the Assembly's recognition of your unique contribution to its work over the years and the regard of the international community for Tanzania's constructive role in world affairs.

I am honoured to have the opportunity today of addressing this Assembly as President-in-Office of the European Community and of European Political Co-operation.

A world-wide political system of independent nations has come into being since this Organization was founded, and each year the Member States come together in this universal forum to debate the problems of our global society; for mankind now sees itself increasingly as one.

Our task now is to order our affairs globally in a manner that measures up to the economic and political objectives of a global society. This requires that we come to grips both with the problems of inequity within the world economy and with the need to resolve conflict and tension without resort to war.

Injustices of which we may have previously been only partly aware must, in a global society, be redressed, if dangerous division and dissension are to be avoided. Conflicts which in the past could be seen as local and limited now have an impact on all of us.

The need for wisdom and understanding in the management of human affairs is clear, as we face these dangers and come to see the limits of our resources and our environment. We have the framework in which to apply this wisdom. The United Nations and its family of organizations provide a forum in which interests can be accommodated and reconciled if we accept the implications of our interdependence.

What is needed is a determination to make a full use of the opportunities thus provided to act together in the interests of the human family. This means seeking to resolve actual or potential conflict, to organize the world

(Mr. O'Kennedy, Ireland)

economy more equitably, to relieve human suffering and to promote respect for human rights. On behalf of the nine countries for which I speak, I repeat that we are actively committed to the United Nations as the "centre for harmonizing the actions of nations" envisaged by the Charter.

(Mr. O'Kennedy, Ireland)

We nine countries, as member States of the European Community, feel that we exemplify in a particular way the aim of "harmonizing the actions of nations" because our Community grew out of the determination to make a new beginning in a continent so often torn by war. In building that Community we do not seek to impose a static and rigid order on our diversity, but rather, by a slow and patient process of growth, to move towards a closer union between our peoples.

Two developments in the past year illustrate this process. First, our peoples have voted together in the first direct elections to send representatives to a common parliament. This was, I believe, the first such international election in history. It is important to us because it is evidence of our commitment to democracy and because it involves the citizens of the Community in a new and more direct way in shaping its future. Secondly, a decision was taken to enlarge our Community further. Greece signed the treaty by which it will become the tenth member in 1981; negotiations are continuing for the accession of Portugal and Spain; and we are of course continuing to develop our relations as a community with other associated States in our region.

It is on behalf of this growing community and its member States - a community where old enemies have become friends and partners in a movement towards closer integration - that I speak to you today in this wider world forum. We accept fully the responsibilities that go with our economic weight and we seek to develop with the rest of the world a relationship of friendship and co-operation that will take full account of the interdependent nature of our global society.

The world economic situation is extremely difficult. For 1979, the Community is likely to register a reduced economic growth rate of 3 per cent and in 1980 this may fall to 2 per cent. We have been less successful than we hoped in dealing with inflation and unemployment. In facing up to this state of affairs, the Community looks not only to its own interests but also to international economic well-being.

Last December the European Council agreed to establish the European Monetary System (EMS). This was a means of bringing about a greater measure of monetary stability within the Community. But it was also intended to have a stabilizing effect on international economic and monetary relations in the interests of industrial and developing countries alike. The adjustments, made during the past weekend, took place within the rules of the system and proved that the system works effectively.

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The European Council's determination in Strasbourg to frame new energy guidelines for the Community to deal with present and future needs made a significant contribution to the outcome of the Tokyo meeting in June and more particularly to the adoption of energy-saving measures and plans for developing new forms of energy. At the same time, the Community is looking forward with particular interest to the forthcoming United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy. The Community has also noted with great interest Mr. Waldheim's proposal for a world energy institute.

On trade questions we have opposed protectionist tendencies and we have confirmed our commitment to an open system of international trade. I would recall that, despite the recession, the Community has consistently increased its imports from developing countries, especially imports of manufactured goods.

In the view of the Community, the recent successful conclusion of the multilateral trade negotiations, held under the auspices of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), is a decisive step towards the greater liberalization of international trade. The substantial tariff and non-tariff concessions made by the Community and its partners, which were directed to the developing countries to a significant extent, should encourage those countries to participate more fully in the GATT system. The Community has always supported legal recognition of the right of developing countries, and especially of the least developed, to "special and differential treatment". Moreover, in the post-multilateral trade negotiations phase, the Community will participate actively in the dialogue with the developing countries on trade matters.

The Community's relations with the developing countries have intensified considerably in recent years, reflecting the growing interdependence of the world economy. Through its own development co-operation programmes and through its involvement in the global dialogue on international co-operation for development, the Community has committed itself to the goal of establishing a more just and equitable international economic order. We are determined to continue the promotion of close and harmonious relations with the developing countries, taking fully into account their urgent need for economic and social development. We attach great importance to the work towards a new international development strategy for the 1980s. In the same spirit, at the recent session of the Committee of the Whole, the Community undertook to be ready to consider

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constructively any proposals which may be made with a view to promoting a more effective and fruitful dialogue.

It is in this context that the Community and its member States are studying the proposal of the Group of 77 concerning global negotiations relating to international economic co-operation for development. Numerous questions on the precise implications of this initiative remain to be clarified. The answers to these questions would considerably assist us in our consideration of this important initiative.

It is understandable perhaps that developing countries should express dissatisfaction at what must seem to them to be the slow pace of developments in the North-South dialogue. The widespread conditions of hunger and deprivation which still prevail among large sections of the population in many developing countries are a particular source of concern and must continue to receive urgent and priority attention from the entire international community. Following the Ottawa Conference, the Community reaffirms its commitment to fight the dramatic problem posed by world hunger by facilitating and encouraging food production in developing countries and by taking the necessary measures to accelerate the implementation of the various food aid programmes adopted by the Community.

None of the issues of the dialogue, however, lends itself to easy solution, while many which are structural in nature can only be gradually pursued. Nevertheless, the Community does not feel that the achievements in the dialogue to date can be lightly dismissed. For example, we welcome the March 1979 compromise on the fundamental elements of the Common Fund. It is also our sincere belief that the results of the fifth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the multilateral trade negotiations contain wcth-while advances for developing countries.*

The Community is also pursuing its own development co-operation in favour of all developing countries, particularly the least developed. Recently, the Community concluded negotiations with the African, Caribbean and Pacific States on a successor agreement to the First Lome Convention. Its provisions particularly

* Mr. Koh (Singapore), took the Chair.

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on trade, STABEX and financial and technical co-operation, contain appreciable improvements on the old one. We in the Community believe that this is a worthy successor. It retains and consolidates the progressive features of the first Convention and introduces a number of new elements based on the experience we have gained and designed to respond to the specific needs of our partners the African, Caribbean and Pacific States.

The future holds great promise. In the immediate term, however, the entire international community faces an immense challenge and each of us must shoulder a fair share of the burden. The Community is ready to assume its responsibilities, confident that all others will do the same.

The nine members of the European Community believe that this Assembly is an important instrument for facilitating agreement in the field of disarmament and arms control. The first substantive meetings of the reformed and reactivated disarmament bodies, agreed upon in the final document of the tenth special session, took place this year. The Nine participated actively in the first substantive meeting of the Disarmament Commission. This meeting agreed by consensus on the elements of a comprehensive programme of disarmament and this will now be referred to the Committee on Disarmament. A number of the Nine are members of the new Committee on Disarmament and they took an active part in its work. We welcome the intensive work which has taken place in the Committee, for example on questions relating to chemical weapons and to so-called negative security assurances.

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We also welcome the signature at Vienna by President Carter and President Brezhnev of the recent agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union on the limitation of strategic arms. We strongly hope that this will give a new impetus to the détente process and make a positive contribution to the atmosphere in which international disarmament negotiations are pursued. We look forward to the early entry into force of the agreement and the prospects for further reductions of nuclear weapons afforded by the continuation of the SALT process between these countries.

The Nine are deeply committed to the continuation and expansion of international détente and we have played our full part in the process of relaxation of tensions and the development of co-operation in Europe initiated by the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. The Final Act is a unique document in that it covers not only relations between States but also those between individuals and between Governments and individuals. As its provisions are put into effect an improvement in these relations becomes apparent, which in turn reduces tensions in Europe.

The 1977 Belgrade meeting afforded the signatory States an opportunity to review progress made in this respect. The Nine are preparing for the Madrid meeting next year in a constructive spirit and in the hope that the meeting will be able to record an improved level of implementation of the provisions of the Final Act in all the signatory States.

The Nine continue to hope that it will be possible to achieve in the Middle East the just, lasting and comprehensive settlement to which this Assembly is overwhelmingly committed. They believe that such a settlement must be based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), applied in all their parts and on all fronts. It must also be based on the principles set out by the Nine in their statement on 29 June 1977 and on several occasions subsequently.

These principles are as follows: first, the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force; secondly, the need for Israel to end the territorial occupation which it has maintained since the conflict of 1967; thirdly, respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of all States in the area and their right to live in peace within secure

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and recognized boundaries; and fourthly, recognition that, in the establishment of a just and lasting peace, account must be taken of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians.

The Nine emphasize that it is essential that all parties to the negotiation accept the right of all States in the area to live within secure and recognized boundaries with adequate guarantees. Equally, of course, it is essential that there be respect for the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. These include the right to a homeland and the right, through its representatives, to play its full part in the negotiation of a comprehensive settlement.

Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), together with the principles I have mentioned, taken as a whole, set the essential framework for a peace settlement. In the view of the Nine it is necessary that they be accepted by all those involved - including the Palestine Liberation Organization - as the basis for negotiation of a comprehensive settlement in which all the parties will play their full part.

Such a settlement would win the endorsement and support of the international community and would meet the legitimate rights and interests of all parties. This includes Israel, which is entitled to exist at peace within secure boundaries that are accepted and adequately guaranteed; and the Palestinian people, who are entitled, within the framework set by a peace settlement, to exercise their right to determine their own future as a people.

The Nine recognize of course that such a settlement is not easy to achieve. But they believe it must be the continuing aim of the international community to promote it. They are convinced that such a comprehensive settlement would bring peace at last to the region; and they recall that they have already expressed their readiness to consider participating in guarantees in the framework of the United Nations.

The past year has seen some major developments to which the Nine, in view of their close connexions with the region, are particularly sensitive. One of these was the signature last March of agreements between Egypt and Israel. In their declaration of 26 March last, the Nine stated their position on these agreements.

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Since the signature of these agreements, which the Nine see as a correct application of the principles of resolution 242 (1967) as far as Egyptian-Israeli relations are concerned, there has been progress towards improved relations between Egypt and Israel and there have been withdrawals of Israeli forces in Sinai. The Nine note these recent developments and recall that one of the basic requirements of a comprehensive settlement is an end to the territorial occupation which Israel has maintained since the conflict of 1967. The Nine will continue to follow the situation closely and will seek in every way they can to advance the aim of a comprehensive and lasting peace settlement involving all parties and dealing with all of the fundamental issues I have mentioned.

It follows that the Nine must view with the greatest regret any action or statement which aggravates the present situation or places an obstacle in the way of a peace settlement. Accordingly, they strongly deplore continued acts of violence by any of those involved. The Nine are opposed to the Israeli Government's policy of establishing settlements in occupied territories in contravention of international law; and they cannot accept claims by Israel to sovereignty over occupied territories, since this would be incompatible with resolution 242 (1967). The security of Israel, which the Nine consider essential, can be guaranteed, and the legitimate rights of the Palestinians given effect, within the framework of a comprehensive settlement.

The Nine are fully aware, too, of the importance of the question of Jerusalem to all parties. They know that an acceptable solution to this problem will be vital to an over-all settlement on the basis I have indicated. They consider, in particular, that any agreement on the future status of Jerusalem should guarantee free access by all to the Holy Places; and they do not accept any unilateral moves which claim to change the status of the city.

The problem of Lebanon is clearly related to the larger problem of the Middle East as a whole. The Nine have frequently reaffirmed their support for its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. They did so most recently in a statement issued by the nine Foreign Ministers at their meeting in Dublin on 11 September. This statement also recognized the

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courageous efforts made by the Lebanese Government to promote the security of its people and the restoration of its authority over the whole of its territory.

Violence has none the less continued in several parts of Lebanon as is clear from current news reports. The Nine recognize that there has been some improvement in the situation particularly in the south of the country since the recent meeting of the Security Council requested by the Government of Lebanon. They are concerned however about the constant harassment of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), of which certain members of the Nine form part, and about the difficulties which have been placed in its way as it attempts to fulfil its mandate. They are particularly disturbed about the military and financial aid from outside Lebanon to those who have made it difficult for the United Nations Force to carry out its mandate. They call on all parties to give full support to UNIFIL and to respect the decisions of the Security Council.

The Nine remain convinced that the United Nations peace-keeping operations can play a particularly useful role in helping to prevent violence between parties to a conflict, thus facilitating a peaceful settlement. They are ready to contribute to such operations in the future, as they have done in the past.

A problem which is particularly close to us in the Community is that of the intercommunal conflict on the island of Cyprus. When the 10-point communiqué agreed to between President Kyprianou and Mr. Denktash was published, following their meeting with the United Nations Secretary-General on 18 and 19 May last, the Nine were hopeful that this heralded a breakthrough in the stalemate in the intercommunal talks which has existed for so long. In particular, we welcomed the commitment by the two parties to carrying out intercommunal talks in a continuous and sustained manner, while avoiding any delay, and to abstaining from any action which might jeopardize the outcome of the talks. It was with considerable regret that we noted the suspension of the talks within such a short time of the resumption on 15 June. The Nine continue to believe that the best means for achieving a solution to the question is to be found within the framework of the intercommunal talks under the auspices of the Secretary-General, whose efforts to further the progress between the parties concerned have been consistently supported by the Nine.

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Africa has witnessed in the past year a number of developments which have been the focus of world concern. We should not underestimate the dangers arising from political tensions and from the economic difficulties that confront many African States.

The Charter recognizes the possibilities for action at the regional level. The countries of Africa have come together in a number of forums to co-operate and to seek a common approach to African problems. In this context, the Organization of African Unity has a pre-eminent role. The Nine, for their part, share the view that African problems can best be resolved through African solutions. They reject the concept of the establishment of spheres of influence in Africa by outside Powers. The Nine do not themselves seek to impose their political and social system on Africa; rather they reaffirm their desire to co-operate to the fullest extent possible with Africa in promoting its economic development in a spirit of partnership.

The situation in southern Africa remains a source of deep concern.

The oppressive apartheid system in South Africa is of particular concern. The Nine condemn and reject this system of institutionalized racism, which is an insult to human dignity and which denies to the majority of the people the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms. They reaffirm that the purported independence of so-called "homelands" such as Transkei, Bophutatswana and Venda is a false solution to the problems of apartheid. The Nine have repeatedly stated their belief that a peaceful future for South Africa necessitates the creation of a society which permits the full participation of all the inhabitants of South Africa in the political, social and economic life of their country. They believe that change in South Africa is as inevitable as it is essential. The Nine note and welcome the internal debate on this subject within South Africa, and they hope that this debate may lead to concrete and positive results. The Nine have sought to encourage this process of change in a number of ways, including the adoption of a code of conduct for subsidiaries of companies doing business in South Africa. They will continue their efforts to promote the process of peaceful change in order to bring about the ending of the system of apartheid and the establishment of a society with freedom and justice for all. They reaffirm their commitment to use the

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collective weight of the European Community to influence South Africa to this end.

On Namibia, one cannot help but feel disappointed at the very slow progress in resolving the remaining difficulties in the way of a peaceful settlement. The Nine have supported the efforts made by the Secretary-General, the five Western States and the front-line States to implement the plan adopted by the United Nations and they have rejected unreservedly all efforts to impose an "internal settlement" in Namibia. Such a settlement would not gain international recognition and would merely delay the day when the people of Namibia achieve genuine self-determination. In May this year, in this Assembly, the Nine again expressed their grave concern at the lack of progress and drew the attention of the South African Government to the consequences that could result. They urgently requested the South African Government to accept without delay the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and to permit the deployment of the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group. This remains the view of the Nine.

Since the resumed session, efforts to reach agreement have been renewed. The outcome will depend on the political will of the parties involved - particularly South Africa which has a responsibility in this regard - to overcome the points of difficulty which do not justify the failure to implement the United Nations plan. Accordingly, the Nine express the earnest hope that all concerned will now agree to the very early implementation of the plan in the light of the arrangements now being discussed. This will avoid the very grave consequences of failure and secure great benefits for the people of Namibia and for all the people of Southern Africa.

The Nine, in their statement on Rhodesia of 11 September, welcomed the understanding reached by the Commonwealth Heads of Government in Lusaka and the action of the United Kingdom Government in inviting the parties to attend the constitutional conference in London. They trust that this will make possible a solution to the conflict on the basis of genuine majority rule. Continued bloodshed will only serve to prolong the suffering of all the people of Zimbabwe. The Nine therefore reaffirm their support for a peaceful settlement acceptable to all the parties involved. Once such a settlement has been achieved

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the Community is ready to play its part in assisting the development of independent Zimbabwe.

The attention of the world has been focussed during the past year on the suffering and death caused by large-scale movements of refugees in South-East Asia.

This problem does not exist in isolation - it is a consequence of the instability and widespread unrest in the region. I have already outlined, in Geneva on 20 July, the views of the Nine on the refugee problem. We believe that everyone should enjoy the right to leave his country freely and re-enter freely, but should not be obliged to leave because of fear or because conditions have been made intolerable. We note with satisfaction the measures agreed at the Geneva meeting and the proposed expansion of the programme previously established by the Government of Viet Nam and the High Commissioner for Refugees. We hope that all concerned will honour the understandings given there. Our Governments await with interest the report of the Secretary-General on the situation and on the implementation of the action plan agreed at Geneva. We are well aware, however, that the measures already agreed are only partial remedies. The problem of refugees can best be resolved if there is a settlement of the wider problems of the region.

The Nine are also gravely concerned about the situation in Cambodia. It is a matter of utmost urgency that effective humanitarian relief be given to the people of that country. We are ready to support in appropriate ways relief efforts which are already under way, or which may be launched in the future. If such relief efforts are to be effective and to benefit the Cambodian population, they should be properly supervised, independently administered, and directed to help all those in need.

A solution of the political problem of Cambodia is essential to the peace and stability of South-East Asia as a whole. Any such solution must, in our view, be based on an independent Cambodia with a genuinely representative Government, free from any foreign military presence, maintaining friendly relations with all the countries of the region, and having the benefit of international assistance for reconstruction.

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Our Charter reaffirms faith in "the dignity and worth of the human person". To fulfil this we must continue our efforts to promote respect for and observance of human rights. Since the adoption in 1948 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the effort to promote these rights has had mixed results.

On the one hand, human rights have been defined in an extensive, if not yet complete, series of international instruments. An ever-increasing awareness of these concepts has developed. No State can now hope to avoid criticism where gross and consistent violations occur.

On the other hand, the gap between ideal and reality is, too often, distressingly large. Millions suffer from hunger and oppression. Torture, though few admit responsibility, is still practised. Individuals are still imprisoned or exiled because of their political views. Others disappear without trace. Executions take place, apparently without full respect for judicial process.

We, in the Nine, see all human rights and fundamental freedoms as interdependent. Political and economic rights are not in contradiction. They reinforce and complement each other. Freedom from want without freedom from torture and ill-treatment is not enough. Likewise, the right to participate as a citizen in the political process cannot be easily exercised by the starving. The realization of each category of rights needs to be vigorously pursued.

While human rights have been defined, it has not so far proved easy to devise means by which they may be safeguarded. The Nine believe that agreed procedures accepted by States under existing instruments should be fully and effectively used. A continued international dialogue is needed on ways and means of securing greater respect for human rights. Further progress can be made in regional organizations. The Nine will continue to contribute actively to the debate and to seek support for proposals to promote respect for human rights and for their implementation.

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I should now like, as Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ireland, to touch on a number of issues of particular concern to us in Ireland.

We in Ireland have fully supported the development by the United Nations of peace-keeping forces as a practical means of defusing tension. Peace-keeping operations are by their nature of a temporary character. If they are to be successful in reducing tension, they require, as the Secretary-General has pointed out in his report, the co-operation of the parties concerned. Peace-keeping operations are no substitute for a political solution; the need remains to seek political solutions actively.

As a small nation, Ireland has never had any ambition to involve itself directly in local or regional conflicts elsewhere in the world. We have recognized the value of international involvement in peace-keeping and have contributed actively to it for over 20 years. We have participated in the effort to improve the peace-keeping capacity of the United Nations and to ensure the equitable sharing of the cost.

Ireland at present has a contingent with the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), and some men with the United Nations Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) and the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO). I have already indicated the concern of the Nine about developments in the Lebanon and the difficulties faced there by UNIFIL. These difficulties have been the subject of frequent consideration by the Security Council over the past year, and on two occasions Ireland felt obliged to express its concern in statements to the Council.

A particular concern to my Government has been the harassment of UNIFIL by the de facto forces, which have been assisted by Israel. They prevented the full deployment of the Force in the first instance, and they continue to encroach on the territory held by UNIFIL. The situation thus created has been compounded by the efforts of armed elements to infiltrate and to establish themselves in the UNIFIL area. This has led to serious incidents and casualties. Even as I speak these difficulties continue. I hope that all concerned will respect the cease-fire and assist the Force in achieving its objectives. They should reflect carefully on the possible consequences of any failure to do so.

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I would wish to express my appreciation for the courage and restraint shown by the men who participate, under the expert direction of the Force Commander and the Secretary-General, in a Force which, as the Secretary-General has pointed out, "is performing an absolutely essential task of conflict control in one of the most sensitive and explosive parts of the world". (A/34/1, pp. 8 and 9)

I would endorse the appeal of the Secretary-General to Member-States that have not paid their contributions to reconsider their position, and I hope that ways may be found to improve the financial position in the coming months. My country is naturally concerned that those contributing to this difficult operation are not fully reimbursed for the extra costs they incur.

But a commitment to peace is not enough. It must be paralleled by co-operation which helps the developing countries to provide for their peoples the basic conditions for enjoyment of peace. The Irish Government is committed to co-operation with some of the least developed countries and to sharing the knowledge we have acquired in our own process of development.

Although we are still short of the target set by the United Nations, we have doubled our allocation to development co-operation in the last two years and hope to maintain this momentum. In our co-operation programmes we hope we can help to meet some of the fundamental needs of our partner countries, particularly in areas where we may have specific skills and experience to offer.

The United Nations is an act of faith in mankind's ability to resolve even the most intractable conflicts through dialogue and negotiation, respect for the rule of law and a common dedication to peace. It is in this spirit also, with an overriding commitment to peaceful processes, that my Government approaches the Northern Ireland conflict, a problem of the deepest and most urgent concern to us.

The Northern Ireland conflict continues to exact an intolerable and mounting toll of innocent lives and to cause massive physical destruction. The indirect effects of the conflict are also severe. They are evident in the deterioration in the quality of life and in lost opportunities for economic development. Habits of lawlessness are becoming ingrained, and the outlook for young people in Northern Ireland is blighted because they cannot look forward to a future free from recurring violence. There is an urgent need to create the conditions for peace in Northern Ireland, and the Irish Government is ready to give the utmost co-operation in this task.

We recognize, as have all Irish Governments since the foundation of the State, that the only way in which this can be achieved is through peaceful means and by

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consent. Violence anywhere in Ireland is an act of aggression against the Irish people as a whole and must be dealt with as such. Throughout Ireland there is deep anger and outrage at the repeated atrocities of a callous few. Among their victims have been eminent statesmen and young children, and they have shown that they will shrink from no crime in their deliberate campaign of provoking polarization and confrontation. The Irish Government is committing its full resources to protect the basic human right of every person to life and security against terrorism and to defend the political process against the usurpation of a ruthless minority. We have passed and implemented stringent legislation to meet this threat and to provide that those who perpetrate violence in any part of Ireland may be made answerable before the courts for their crimes.

Our expenditure on security has been increased to the point where the direct cost of countering violence emanating from Northern Ireland now represents a heavier economic burden per head of all population than is the case in Great Britain. There is the closest co-operation between the Irish and British security forces in dealing with violence, and our two Governments consult constantly to enhance the effectiveness of the effort against this common threat.

But a common effort is also needed to eradicate the root cause of violence and the factors which prompt its growth and persistence in Northern Ireland. As in all such conflicts, the conquest of violence in Northern Ireland cannot be achieved by security means alone. Political failure, economic and social deprivation and the lack of respect and trust between the two communities are all factors which are exploited by the men of violence in a deliberate strategy of hatred and confrontation. The Irish Government believes that it is necessary to counter that strategy by a resourceful, consistent and imaginative strategy of reconciliation. The determination of the men of violence to impede progress and destroy each impulse for reconciliation must be met by an even stronger resolution on the part of Governments and constitutional parties to work out a political solution based on respect for the aspirations and concerns of both communities in Northern Ireland. If this can be accomplished the strategists of violence will face something they fear more than the most draconian security measures - the elimination of those political, economic and social factors which they so successfully exploit for their purposes.

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My Government does not underestimate the difficulties in the way of reaching such a political solution. But if there are difficulties in the way, so too there are resources that can be drawn upon. There is a close relationship and a fund of goodwill between the Irish and British peoples. This must be developed in both countries by informed policies of government. Stories of violence emanating from Northern Ireland have perhaps obscured the many activities on the non-political or personal level which down the years have made a great contribution to the growth of trust and good-neighbourliness between the two communities and between North and South. It is fitting that I should pay a tribute in this forum to the work of the Churches, of sporting and cultural organizations, of business and financial organizations and of the trade union movement. All these transcend political divisions, and they foster a wealth of personal links which have consistently contributed to mutual understanding. The challenge which must be taken up is to mobilize and use these resources of goodwill and solidarity. The deep yearning for peace and stable progress is overwhelmingly more representative of the feelings of the great majority of Irish people than are the actions of a violent few. It is a tragedy that these positive forces have not yet been focused through acceptable political structures in Northern Ireland.

The newly elected British Government has given repeated indications that it is aware of the need for a fresh political initiative in relation to Northern Ireland. Such an initiative is essential and urgent if constructive politics are to prevail there.

The absence of such politics in recent years has left a void which has all too clearly served the strategy of the men of violence. It goes without saying that a political initiative, to be fruitful, must take adequate account of the rights and aspirations of both communities and lead to partnership in political institutions acceptable to both communities. In face of the tragic history and cost of the Northern Ireland conflict, every move along the road that contributes, even to a small degree, to the growth of trust and reconciliation is an important gain and cannot be neglected.

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The Irish Government welcomes the recognition by the British Government of the need for political progress in Northern Ireland. We are at present engaged in extensive studies of ways in which such progress can be encouraged and enhanced and we are confident that the insights and conclusions emerging from our studies will make an important contribution to this objective. The interrelationship between the traditions in Ireland is a fact. What is at stake is the form it will take. There is a duty on all those concerned for peace in Northern Ireland to ensure that this interrelationship moves along the path of partnership and reconciliation.

There is an urgent need for an initiative on the part of the British Government to mobilize the constructive political energies of both communities in Northern Ireland. My Government, for its part, will be ready to respond to such a development. Our policy is clear and I would like to restate it here. We want to see partnership in Northern Ireland and reconciliation between the people of Ireland, and we will do everything open to us to help to bring this about. I believe that an effort now to promote this would have the support of all our friends, the friends of Britain and Ireland, in Europe and in North America - and indeed of all the nations represented in this Assembly.

Miss MACDONALD (Canada): May I join my colleagues in congratulating the President on his election to the high office he now holds. He is even newer to his job than I am to mine. But with his long experience in this Assembly we are confident that he will be able fully to fulfil the heavy responsibilities he has assumed.

Although I am a newcomer to this Assembly, I have been one of its close observers for many years. I have always been an unswerving supporter of the United Nations, of the ideals expressed in its Charter, and of the constructive role it has played in the development of the international community.

There are many successes of which all of us, as Members of the United Nations, may be justly proud. The timely intervention of United

4. Report on political cooperation

Annual report to Parliament on political cooperation presented on 24 October by Mr O'Kennedy, Chairman of the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Member States meeting in political cooperation

3.4.1. '... European political cooperation has a number of basic characteristics which give it its originality, differentiate it from the activities of the Community and determine the nature and scope of its content and achievements. First, political cooperation is a non-institutionalized intergovernmental arrangement. It flows not from obligations assumed under a treaty but from a political commitment by the nine Member governments to mutual information, consultation and, where possible and desirable, common action in foreign policy matters. Secondly, and precisely because it is an effort by the nine governments to coordinate their policies and work towards common positions, political cooperation must operate pragmatically and by consensus. It is a process which has grown and developed greatly, but the pace of its development cannot and should not be forced. Thirdly, it must be recognized that there are limitations to European political cooperation. Not every foreign policy issue is considered, and there are areas where the Nine have not taken common action.

Fourthly, the focus of political cooperation is outward and its field of application is essentially external. By this I mean that it is primarily directed to the relations which the Nine as such have collectively with the external world.

Fifthly, while its immediate and direct object is external in this sense, it is also true that the effort to work towards common positions on external issues has naturally had the effect over a period of time of promoting closer relations and better understanding between the Nine themselves. In this context it has worked to reinforce the internal instruments of liaison of the Member States, cooperation in the fields of protocol and communications and in creating a European judicial area.

Sixthly, the means available to the Nine, as they work towards common positions and common action in world events, are the normal instruments

of diplomacy. That is to say, their positions are made known through public declarations and representations to other governments, as well as through concerted negotiation, common statements and coordination of voting positions in international bodies ...

What are the achievements of European political cooperation over the last five years?

... First, and most concretely, there is the fact that over that period the Nine have adopted common positions and taken common action in relation to those world issues where they are able to identify a clear community of interest. In this way, over a range of international problems, they were able to bring their considerable influence to bear in a manner consistent with the ideals and principles shared by the Members of the Community.

Second, and perhaps less immediately obvious, is the fact that the Nine, in operating these procedures of political cooperation on external issues, have by now developed between themselves the habit of consultation and coordination to such an extent that it has become almost a reflex. This habit of consultation within the Nine on international issues, together with other important developments, such as the establishment of the European Council which deals with political cooperation as well as Community matters, has meant a significant development in practice of political cooperation procedures. In this way the Nine are increasingly developing a capacity in the political cooperation framework to respond to, and on occasion to influence, world events through coordination, mutual solidarity and common action.

As was recalled by the European Council, meeting in The Hague on 29 and 30 November 1976, this form of cooperation in the field of foreign policy must lead to the search for a common external policy.¹ In speaking first of what I have called the more concrete achievements of political cooperation, I think it would be better not to try to list exhaustively every *démarche*, public statement or whatever, made over the past 5 years, but rather to identify the major areas where the Nine have taken common action. In any event, as the hon-

¹ Bull. EC 11-1976, point 2501.

ourable Member is aware, successive Presidents-in-Office of the Council of Ministers, by means of the colloquies with the Political Affairs Committee of the European Parliament, provide detailed and regular accounts of developments in the foreign policy activities of the Nine. I will confine myself to outlining in broad terms what I consider to be the main areas of achievement.

In the field of multilateral diplomacy the Nine have been notably successful in coordinating their efforts in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and its follow-up. They have also increasingly adopted common positions at successive sessions of the United Nations General Assembly and at other international conferences organized within the United Nations system or under its auspices. It is not always, of course, possible for the Nine to achieve a common position on every question arising in these fora, but they have developed habits of consultation which do lead frequently to common positions on major international issues.

The Nine have taken a particular interest in Africa and adopted common positions with a view to helping to achieve rapidly and peacefully the emergence of an independent Zimbabwe, as well as independence in Namibia. Moreover, the Nine have continued to call upon the governments of South Africa to abandon the policy of apartheid which has earned universal condemnation.

The Nine have also been interested in the issue of Cyprus and have consistently supported the United Nations Secretary-General in his efforts to get sustained and meaningful intercommunal negotiations resumed. Recently, too, the Nine have expressed a united position in their efforts to alleviate the plight of Indo-Chinese refugees. These efforts included representations to the governments of the region, as well as concerted action at the United Nations meeting in Geneva on the refugee problem.¹

On the Middle East, the Nine have consistently supported, through a series of statements at the United Nations and elsewhere, the aim of a just, comprehensive and lasting settlement and they have sought to encourage progress towards it. In the Euro-Arab dialogue, the Nine have been pursuing with the countries of the Arab League

economic, technical and cultural cooperation with the major objectives of promoting the development of the Arab region through combining European technology and Arab capital resources and labour and thereby strengthening the links between the Nine and the Arab world. With regard to other political issues and other areas of the world such as Latin America, Asia, Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean, the Nine in political cooperation regularly exchange views and coordinate their positions and, where it seems appropriate and desirable, convey their views or make representations, as the Nine, to particular governments.

The second kind of achievement to which I have referred, the development to a high degree of the habit of consultation and coordination, is less easy to spell out in detail, but it is nonetheless very real. Indeed, it may in the long run be of greater significance than any specific common action or statement by the Nine on a particular issue, because it has the effect, steadily and over a period of time, of bringing the Nine into a closer relationship with each other.

... By its nature political cooperation is a continuing and evolving process, and its achievements are incremental. I believe that the basic characteristics of political cooperation, as I have described them, should be maintained and that, as it operates in practice, political cooperation has proved to be a flexible and adaptable instrument. The Ministers of the Nine are confident that the existing procedures and arrangements can be adapted to the impending enlargement of the Community and they remain ready to consider in a pragmatic way, from time to time, how far this or other future developments may entail refinements or modifications of the existing procedures.

As to the future foreign policy problems with which political cooperation may have to deal, it is difficult to point to specific issues which are likely to arise, precisely because the concern of the Nine in political cooperation is directed towards events in the wider world outside, and these, of their nature, are inherently difficult to predict. However, I believe it likely that the major issues confronting the Nine will continue to be those to which I have already referred...

¹ Bull. EC 7/8-1979, point 2.2.32.

Members of Parliament will recall that the Nine have already agreed on procedures to associate the European Parliament with the process of political cooperation. The Luxembourg report states that, and I quote: 'In order to give a democratic character to political unification it would be necessary to associate public opinion and their representatives with it'. Furthermore, the Heads of State and Government, at their Conference in Paris on 10 December 1974, agreed that: 'In view of the increasing role of political cooperation in the construction of Europe, it is important to associate the European Assembly more closely with this work, for example, through replies to questions on the activities of political cooperation addressed to the Presidency by the Members of the Parliament.'

These commitments have led to the establishment of existing mechanisms which provide for developments in European political cooperation to be reported regularly to Parliament in replies to parliamentary questions, in the annual report on political cooperation and in the colloquies conducted by the President-in-Office with the Political Affairs Committee of Parliament. The Nine view the colloquies as providing an opportunity for a dialogue between the Ministers meeting in political cooperation and Parliament. The colloquies represent an effective means for the President-in-Office to convey information on recent developments in a frank and confidential way and for the parliamentarians to express their views on political matters. For the moment, the Nine consider that the existing mechanisms are adequate to ensure constructive dialogue with the European Parliament. Since European political cooperation is an evolving process, the Nine remain ready to adapt existing mechanisms if this should be necessary...

... I felt it would be appropriate ... to turn now to my report on the main developments that have occurred in political cooperation since my colleague, Mr Genscher, spoke to the Parliament last year.²

The Middle East remains an area of tension that is of concern to the Nine. The past year has seen some major developments in the region.

The outcome of the Camp David Conference led to the peace treaty, signed on 26 March 1979 by Egypt and Israel. Subsequently, divisions emerged

among the Arab nations, and Egypt came under heavy criticism from the other Arab States. The Nine took the view that the Treaty constitute a correct application of the principles of UN Security Council Resolution 242, as far as Egyptian-Israeli relations are concerned. They took note of the will which the signatories of the Treaty had affirmed to consider it, not as a separate peace, but as a first step in the direction of a comprehensive settlement aimed at putting an end to 30 years of hostility and distrust. The Nine hoped that this will could be given practical effect through a comprehensive agreement in which all parties involved, including the representatives of the Palestinian people, would participate, and which the international community could endorse. In the aftermath of the peace treaty, there has been progress towards improved relations between Egypt and Israel, and there have been withdrawals of Israeli forces from Sinai.

Later when Israel stepped up attempts to establish settlements in the occupied territories, the Nine felt compelled, on 18 June 1979, to issue a statement³ deploring any action or statement which might constitute an obstacle to the search for peace. They expressed their opposition to the Israeli Government's policy of establishing the settlements in contravention of international law, and they rejected Israeli claims to sovereignty over occupied territories, since this would be incompatible with Resolution 242.

Most recently, during my address⁴ on behalf of the Nine to the UN General Assembly on 25 September last, I took the opportunity to repeat the general principles which the Nine have held for some time to be the essential basis for a comprehensive peace in the Middle East. I stressed in particular the right of all States in the area to live within secure and recognized boundaries, and spoke of the need to respect the legitimate rights of the Palestinians, including the rights to a homeland. I spoke of the necessity that these principles be accepted by all those involved—including the Palestine Liberation Organization—as the basis for negotiation of a comprehensive settlement in which all the parties will play their full part. In

¹ Bull. EC 12-1974, point 1104 (Final Communiqué, point 4).

² Bull. EC 11-1978, point 3.4.1.

³ Bull. EC 6-1979, point 2.2.59.

⁴ Bull. EC 9-1979, point 3.4.1.

addition I referred to the question of Jerusalem, which will be a vital element in any overall settlement.

The tragic events in the Lebanon were viewed with the greatest concern throughout the past year by the Nine. We expressed on a number of occasions our commitment to the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon, most notably in a statement¹ issued following our meeting in Dublin on 11 September last. We appealed to all countries and parties concerned to refrain from all acts likely to infringe the integrity of Lebanon and the authority of its Government. We also called upon all parties to give full assistance to the UNIFIL peacekeeping operation and to respect the decisions of the UN Security Council.

The Nine also considered other developments in the Middle East. I refer in particular to the February revolution in Iran and its aftermath, and the fighting between North and South Yemen.

I should now like to turn to developments in Asia, and particularly in South-East Asia, which have occupied the attention of the Nine in recent months.

The Nine have been greatly concerned at the deterioration in relations among the States in South-East Asia following the Vietnamese-supported overthrow of the Pol Pot regime in Cambodia and the subsequent Chinese retaliatory invasion of Vietnam. Early this year the Nine made known their position, and appealed for the independence, territorial integrity and self-determination of both Cambodia and Vietnam to be respected. At their meeting last July, the Foreign Ministers of the ASEAN countries underlined their deep concern at the growing instability in Indo-China—which has also given rise to human suffering on a massive scale. The Nine have expressed the view that the resolution of political problems in the area must be based on an independent Cambodia with a genuinely representative government, free from any foreign military presence. Such a government should be able to maintain friendly relations with all countries of the region and benefit from international aid for reconstruction.

The Nine have also had to deal with the direct consequences of the conflict and unrest in the area,

namely the large-scale inflow of Indo-Chinese refugees from Vietnam and Cambodia and the horrifying prospect of widespread starvation and famine in Cambodia.

As you will recall, I reported to you² during the July part-session of the Parliament on the results of my talks with the ASEAN Nations in Bali and on the initiative taken by the Nine to call for the convening of a conference under UN auspices to examine practical solutions to the refugee problem, particularly that of the 'boatpeople'. At the UN Conference in Geneva on July 1, I made known the widespread concern of public opinion in Europe, including the concern expressed by the European Parliament, on the issue. The Nine stressed their support for the basic principle of the right of people to leave their own countries and to return to them freely. No one should be obliged to leave his country through fear or compulsion.

The Community and the Member States have implemented programmes to relieve the refugee problem through financial aid to the UN High Commission for Refugees and acceptance of substantial numbers of refugees for resettlement. The effort made so far and the results of the Geneva Conference have had positive results, and there has been a marked decrease in the number of people leaving Vietnam by sea. The Nine continue to monitor the situation closely, including the follow-up action undertaken by the UNHCR and the UN Secretary-General on the efforts to implement the conclusions of the Geneva Conference.

However, even if the Vietnamese refugee problem has diminished, there remains the problem of famine and further tragedy in Cambodia. A high proportion of the population has already been killed as a result of the continuing conflict in Indo-China and the barbarous repression by the Pol Pot regime. Now the entire population of Cambodia faces widespread starvation while conflict between the competing Vietnamese-backed Heng Samrin regime and the remaining Pol Pot forces obstructs international humanitarian assistance. The Nine will support fully the urgent relief operations

¹ Bull. EC 9-1979, point 2.2.55.

² Bull. EC 7/8-1979, points 2.3.8, 2.2.28 and 2.2.32.

under way, and the Community is contributing to direct relief operations mounted by the Red Cross and UN agencies.

... I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the numerous voluntary, non-governmental organizations and groups which have already mounted a significant aid effort.

The problem is not so much the mustering of sufficient international aid, but of actually getting it to those who need it because of the physical destruction of Cambodia and the obstacles encountered from both sides in the war there. It is our intention that distribution of aid be carried out as speedily and effectively as possible, so that it reaches all sections of the people of Cambodia.

The situation in Cambodia is desperate. It demands action on a unprecedented scale and a response that is not constrained or circumscribed by political preconditions. The Nine for their part are willing to join in any efforts which will achieve the basic humanitarian aims of saving the people of Cambodia from the fate which the wars and upheavals of recent years have brought upon them. The sense of urgency with which we view the problem is demonstrated by the action we have already taken and which is now under way. The issue of aid to Cambodia was an essential item at the informal meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Nine in Ashford Castle in Ireland last weekend.¹ We decided to ask our experts, including those responsible for disaster relief in our respective governments, to supplement our existing efforts with a coordinated programme of further action. These experts are meeting in Dublin in the next few days with a view to preparing additional urgent proposals on the coordination of humanitarian relief and on the most effective way to supply it. In the Community framework, following yesterday's Development Council which I attended, and where we discussed the issue further, I understand that the Commission will be presenting new proposals for a supplementary aid programme that will be considered urgently by the Council early next week. There is no question that the governments of the Nine, supported by public opinion in all of our countries, are determined to spare no effort to avert the human tragedy in Cambodia.

The relations of the Nine with the ASEAN group of countries continue to develop, not only in relation to the refugee issue, but to other issues as well. During my attendance at the conference of ASEAN Foreign Ministers in July, keen interest was expressed on both sides in developing our relations further, and we are pursuing our efforts to lay a secure basis for our cooperation in the future.

African issues continue to receive close attention in the discussions among the Nine in the political cooperation framework. The Nine have followed with interest and concern the many important developments which have taken place in the last twelve months; developments which have included renewed efforts to settle outstanding disputes, increased regional cooperation, and significant progress in human rights. The Nine have welcomed, in particular, the return to civilian rule in certain countries. They have reiterated their desire to cooperate to the fullest extent possible with Africa in promoting its economic development and their willingness to assist in any way they can in the common endeavour to reduce tensions and to assure the conditions for peaceful development.

The Nine remain particularly concerned with the situation in Southern Africa. It is evident that change in this part of the world, where racial discrimination is still applied, has become increasingly urgent.

The Nine have therefore emphasized their condemnation of the apartheid system in South Africa, which they totally reject. It is an affront to human dignity. By oppressing and exploiting the black majority, the South African Government is creating bitterness and tensions which jeopardize that very future which they seek to safeguard. If a dangerous situation is to be avoided, it is essential that all the people of South Africa be allowed to participate fully in the political, social and economic life of that country. In the past year, therefore, the Nine have continued to stress at the United Nations and elsewhere the need for change. The Nine are committed to using the collective weight of the Community to bring pressure to bear on South Africa for the ending of apartheid.

¹ Point 2.3.1.

The Nine are implementing the Code of Conduct which, in a practical way, can help to bring about change in the area of labour relations and the work environment generally. Considerable progress has been achieved in the implementation of the Code, and it is envisaged that, when all the national evaluations have been completed, the Nine will consider the question of a joint evaluation of the results.

It is wrong as well as foolish to imprison and otherwise punish those who are working peacefully for justice and dignity. The Nine made a *démarche* to the South African Government in December 1978 in which they urged that all those imprisoned or restricted because of their beliefs should be released. In a statement last week on the occasion of the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners, the Nine appealed to the Government of South Africa to release, immediately and unconditionally, all political prisoners.

The Nine have continued to support the efforts of the UN Secretary-General, the Five and the Front-Line States to implement the United Nations Plan for Namibia. On several occasions in the past year they have expressed their continuing concern about the situation. At the resumed 33rd session of the General Assembly in May, and on Namibia Day in August, the Nine expressed concern at the lack of progress and appealed to the South African Government to accept without delay the implementation of Security Council Resolution 435, and to permit the deployment of the UN Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG).

Following the renewed efforts to reach agreement, in my address on 25 September to the General Assembly,¹ I expressed the earnest hope that all concerned agree to the very early implementation of the UN plan. Failure to implement the provisions of Resolution 435 would undoubtedly have very grave consequences for all concerned, especially South Africa. The Nine have followed the developing situation with regard to Rhodesia with particular attention and concern, in view of the suffering being experienced by all the people of Zimbabwe and by the people of neighbouring countries. In April, the Nine expressed their sympathy to the Zambian Government and to the victims of raids by Rhodesian armed forces, which they condemned. The Nine have consistently advo-

cated a just and peaceful solution to the problem of Rhodesia. They therefore welcomed the understanding reached by the Commonwealth Heads of Government in Lusaka and the action of the UK Government in inviting the parties to attend the Constitutional Conference in London. The Nine are following closely developments at the Conference, and hope that it will be possible to reach a just settlement. In my speech at the General Assembly on behalf of the Nine, I reaffirmed the Nine's support for a peaceful settlement acceptable to all the parties involved on the basis of genuine majority rule.

In our preparation for the 34th Session of the UN General Assembly, which opened in New York on 19 September last, the Nine continued the practice of seeking to concert their views and of adopting common voting positions wherever possible. This process is of course continuing during the session which lasts usually until late December, and common statements on an increasing number of issues are being made by the Presidency on behalf of the Nine. The effectiveness of our cooperation in the United Nations has grown steadily over the years. Indeed, with each succeeding year, the scope of the Presidency's speech on behalf of the Nine is considerably expanded, illustrating the progressive development of European political cooperation.

The delegations of the Nine in New York have developed in recent years a practice of intensive cooperation at all levels of the work of the General Assembly to ensure the smooth coordination of our policies there. This has resulted in the Community being recognized by other countries as an influential entity on issues arising at the UN.

At the beginning of the Session I had the opportunity to address the General Assembly on behalf of the Community and to renew the commitment of the Nine to the United Nations as the 'centre for harmonizing the actions of nations' envisaged by the UN Charter, I emphasised that the Nine were conscious of the need to come to grips, both with the problems of inequity in the world economy and with the need to resolve conflict and tension without resort to war. I also affirmed our full acceptance of the responsibilities that go with

¹ Bull. EC 9-1979, point 3.4.1.

our economic weight, and our wish to develop with the rest of the world a relationship of friendship and cooperation that will take full account of the interdependent nature of our global society.

At the UN, the Nine also strongly supported respect for and observance of human rights. We believe that agreed procedures accepted by States under existing international instruments should be fully and effectively used. Further progress can be made, and the Nine will continue to seek support for proposals to promote respect for human rights and their implementation.

The process initiated by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe is one to which the Nine have made a significant contribution. Indeed, the fact that the Final Act adopted by the Conference now plays an important role in intra-European relations is due in no small measure to the efforts of the Nine.

During the past year the Nine continued to consult and coordinate in promoting the continued and progressive implementation of all the provisions of the Final Act. In this connection we devoted particular attention to the human rights and related humanitarian provisions, which are of particular concern to all of us.

In this context may I say that the continued repression of citizens, most recently with the trial of the Charter 77 dissidents in Czechoslovakia, simply because they insist on the rights to which they are constitutionally entitled, can only undermine, in the eyes of public opinion, the credibility of those governments who violate the pledges they have given to implement the Helsinki Final Act in all its parts.

We believe that this is an essential aspect of detente, and it is our earnest hope that at the next CSCE follow-up meeting, which is due to take place in Madrid in 1980, we shall be able to record further improvements in this, as well as in all the other areas covered by the Final Act.

Multilateral implementation of the Final Act was highlighted last year by the holding of two of the three expert meetings in the CSCE framework, which were agreed in the concluding document of the Belgrade follow-up meeting early in 1978. The Nine contributed actively to the work of both

meetings, which dealt with certain aspects of the Final Act. The Montreux meeting from October to December 1978 pursued the examination of a generally acceptable method of the peaceful settlement of disputes, while the meeting held in Valetta in February and March 1979 studied the possibilities for concrete measures for cooperation in the Mediterranean. The Nine consider that both of these meetings made a useful contribution to the improved implementation of the relevant provisions of the Final Act.

The Nine are currently engaged in preparations for the Madrid meeting, which will open in November next year. We consider that a successful outcome to the meeting will give a significant impetus to the CSCE process, and we intend to make every effort to achieve this aim. We hope that the review aspect of the meeting will be conducted in a frank and non-polemical manner, and that the meeting will also discuss and adopt proposals for some concrete new measures to improve and strengthen implementation. We consider it essential that all aspects of the Final Act should be discussed thoroughly and in a balanced manner, and that no topic should be excluded. In order to prepare the meeting as thoroughly as possible, members of the Nine have started a series of bilateral consultations with other participating States. It is hoped that these consultations will contribute to a greater understanding among the participating States of our objectives for the meeting. In the course of the discussion, the Nine will of course stress their belief that the success of the Madrid meeting will depend primarily on the extent to which the participating States will have put into effect the provisions of the Final Act before the meeting.

The problem of Cyprus continues to be a cause of concern for the Nine, especially in view of the close links which we have with the island and with the other States most directly involved.

When the 10-point communiqué agreed between President Kyprianou and Mr Denktash was published following their meeting with the UN Secretary General on 18 and 19 May last, the Nine were hopeful that this heralded a breakthrough in the stalemate on the intercommunal talks which had existed for so long. In particular, we welcomed the commitment by the two parties to carry out intercommunal talks in a continuous and sustained

manner, while avoiding any delay, and to abstain from any action which might jeopardize the outcome of the talks.

It was with considerable regret that we noted the suspension of the talks within such a short time of their resumption on 15 June. The Nine continue to believe that the best means for achieving a solution to the question are to be found within the framework of the intercommunal talks under the auspices of the Secretary-General, whose efforts to further progress between the parties concerned we have consistently supported.

Indeed, when the Secretary-General made a renewed effort to get the talks restarted in August last, the support of the Nine for such a resumption was communicated directly to all the parties concerned. We appreciate fully the difficulties facing those involved in this problem, but sooner or later a solution acceptable to both sides will have to be negotiated, if peace and stability are to be restored in Cyprus. The Nine hope that, in order to promote a resumption of the talks, both sides will adopt constructive and flexible attitudes.

The position of the Nine in relation to Cyprus will continue to be governed by an attitude of sympathy and impartiality, and I can only express publicly once more our hope that both parties will soon be able to find sufficient common ground to enable them to resume negotiations.

The promise manifested in the successful Fourth Session of the General Committee of the Euro-Arab Dialogue in Damascus in December last year has, unfortunately, not been fulfilled. At that session, after a frank and wide-ranging exchange of views on political and economic relations between the two regions, touching on all aspects of the present situation in the Middle East, and economic developments at both regional and international level, several proposals for joint cooperation activities, economic social and cultural, were approved.

Subsequent political developments, however, leading to a division among the Member States of the Arab League, have put a brake on the momentum gained in Damascus, and in fact have brought activities in the framework of the Dialogue to a stand-still in recent months. The position of the European side, however, in relation to the Dialogue remains as it has always been. This position,

which emphasizes the importance of the Dialogue for relations between the two regions, and our desire to see the Dialogue continued with the Arab region as a whole, was again made clear following the Foreign Ministers' meeting in Dublin 11 September. The Nine hope that the present difficulties will be merely temporary, and that in the near future we can look forward to progress in this unique relationship and cooperation with our partners in a region which is of great importance to Europe.

In the past, the relations of the Nine with the countries of the Latin American continent have not perhaps received the attention that they might have deserved. We Europeans have many traditional affinities with the area, and the prospective accession of Spain and Portugal to the Community will undoubtedly increase our links with this area of the world. We will continue to do what we can to strengthen those links in the future. In the context of our desire to develop further our relations with Latin America, the Nine sent a message of congratulation on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Andean Pact.

In recent months the Nine have given some attention to the situation in Central America, particularly in Nicaragua. During the recent conflict there, the Nine supported the establishment of political structures representative of the entire people. Since then, the Nine have expressed to the new authorities in Managua their desire to maintain friendly relations. The Community also has decided to contribute to immediate humanitarian relief and to provide aid towards reconstruction.

We also continue to follow closely human rights issues in Latin America.

The cause of international peace continues to be one of the most pressing concerns of the Nine. We consider that disarmament and arms control can make a very significant contribution in this connection. Disarmament is, of course, discussed in many fora. There are also important bilateral discussions, such as those which led recently to the signing of the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty. The Nine welcome this agreement and look forward to its early ratification. We strongly hope that this will give a new impetus to the detente process, and that future SALT discussions will provide prospects for a further reduction of nuclear

weapons. This is not, of course, a discussion in which the Nine have participated, but it is worth recording that we have, at this year's United Nations General Assembly, stated our welcome for the agreement.

The General Assembly is a forum where the Nine have a particular opportunity to express their views on disarmament. In my address to the Assembly on 25 September I set forth the Nine's views on this important subject. Throughout the 34th Session of the General Assembly the Nine will continue to consult closely together on all disarmament issues in order to pursue the objective of arms reduction.

As you are aware, the European Council decided in 1977 that the Nine should study proposals for the creation of a European judicial area. These proposals are being pursued in the intergovernmental context of political cooperation. As a first step, the Nine are studying a draft convention concerned mainly with extradition, with broad application to cover criminal offences generally. The draft also aims to establish simplified procedures. Substantial progress has been made in the drafting of this Convention, and some outstanding issues are due to be examined by the Ministers of Justice in the near future.

At a second step, it is intended to study other matters in the criminal field which relate to the concept of the European judicial area. In addition, at your September session, my colleague, Mr Andrews, reported fully on the efforts of the Nine to open for signature as speedily as possible the agreement on the application among the Member States of the Community of the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism.

Last year Mr Genscher informed the Parliament of the specific procedures to associate gradually the candidate countries (Greece, Spain and Portugal) with Nine coordination, with a view to their full participation in political cooperation once they become members of the Communities.

Both Portugal and Spain have been formally notified of the commitment to political cooperation undertaken by the Nine in parallel with the legal commitments arising from the Treaties. In the case of Spain, following the second Ministerial meeting in the framework of Spanish accession

negotiations, which was held on 18 September last in Brussels, the Nine are to keep Spain informed of developments within Nine cooperation.

In the case of Greece, this process was taken a step further on 28 May last when Greece signed the Treaties of Accession to the European Communities. The Nine had agreed that signature of the Treaties should be marked by moving from an information to a consultation process in regard to political cooperation. In practical terms, this means that the Presidency has the task of ensuring that Greece is kept informed of the decisions reached by the Nine in political cooperation, and also of conveying Greek views on the issues currently under discussion in the Nine. In addition, Greece is also kept abreast of Nine coordination, both at the UN and other international organizations, and at meetings of the Ambassadors of the Nine in third countries... I have reported on the principal themes that have been developed in political cooperation over the past year. You will have noted, I hope, that the Nine have intensified their cooperation in various areas and taken up new themes. This is the reality of how political cooperation develops. And while some of us may from time to time be impatient and seek evidence of more dramatic progress on major political issues, we must recognize that it would be a mistake to force a pace that, in the end, could not be sustained. Our method is to develop the scope for common action by a patient process of interaction and growth.

This is not to suggest that political cooperation lacks ambition. Indeed, its achievements taken as a whole are quite impressive. It is only when we look back along the path by which political cooperation has developed that we can appreciate fully the ground that we have covered since the process began in 1970. Neither is political cooperation prevented from developing further. Given the right set of conditions and when a common interest has been clearly identified, the Nine are ready to increase the scope of political cooperation.

Our generation faces a great challenge. History will show the day-to-day construction of Europe to be an event of enormous consequence. But it is not being accomplished with sudden giant strides, but rather through a steady series of measured realistic steps. From time to time, we will be able

to consolidate our progress and announce major developments that can capture the imagination of our publics, but before this can happen a lot of groundwork is necessary. The message I would leave you with is this: all the time the evolutionary process is going ahead. Our publics increasingly expect the voice of Europe to be heard in international discussions, and the external world seeks in the Nine a coherent partner speaking with one collective voice. Thus, our work in political cooperation responds to a major imperative of our time, namely, the construction of Europe and its role in the interdependent world of today.'

Political cooperation

Ministerial meeting

2.2.57. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Nine met in Brussels on 20 November to discuss political cooperation. The meeting was chaired by Mr Michael O'Kennedy, Irish Minister of Foreign Affairs, currently President of the Council and of European political cooperation; the Commission was represented by Mr Jenkins and Mr Cheysson.

At the end of the meeting the Ministers adopted and made public three statements, one on Rhodesia, one on Iran and one on the French proposal to call a conference on disarmament in Europe in the framework of the CSCE. At his press conference the same day Mr O'Kennedy also commented on the state of the Euro-Arab Dialogue.

Rhodesia

2.2.58. The Ministers adopted the following statement:

'The Foreign Ministers of the Nine warmly welcome the progress made at the Constitutional Conference at Lancaster House. They commend the parties to the negotiations for the spirit of compromise they have shown and they recognize the role played by other African leaders who have encouraged the efforts to achieve a settlement.

The ministers note the agreement reached on an independence constitution providing for genuine majority rule, and on arrangements for the holding of free and fair elections and for the administration of Rhodesia until these take place.

The Conference has now moved to its final stage—the effort to agree on proposals for a ceasefire. The Foreign Ministers of the Nine note that

¹ OJ C 303 of 4.12.1979.

the British Government has put forward proposals to this end. They hope that agreement will quickly be negotiated on the basis of these proposals so that the present destructive conflict will be brought to a speedy end.

This would clear the way for elections and bring about the emergence of a free and independent Zimbabwe to take its rightful place as an accepted member of the world community.'

Iran

2.2.59. The following statement was issued:

'The Foreign Ministers of the Nine meeting in Brussels on 20 November considered the latest developments in Iran. They expressed their deep concern at the fact that the Iranian authorities have not fulfilled their obligations under the Vienna Convention to give appropriate protection to both the staff and the premises of the American Embassy in Tehran. They have already made this concern known to the Iranian authorities on several occasions through diplomatic channels.

At their meeting today, the Ministers recalled that in 1976 the European Council expressly condemned any attempt to exert pressure on governments by the taking of hostages.¹ They considered that whatever the nature of the dispute between Iran and the United States the continued holding of diplomatic personnel of the Embassy of a foreign State as hostages and the threat to put them on trial is a breach of international law and as such must be rejected by the governments of the Nine and by the international community as a whole. The Ministers reject this violation of international law and call upon the Iranian government to release all the hostages.'

CSCE

2.2.60. On the French proposal to call a conference on disarmament in Europe the following statement was adopted by the Ministers:

'1. In accordance with their global concept of détente the Nine do not intend to favour any one

of its aspects at the expense of others. Consequently, they reject the idea of a détente reduced to its military dimension alone. The Nine wish to take advantage of all the possibilities of the Final Act of Helsinki, and they want to maintain its balance.

2. The Nine are aware of the importance which the debate among the thirty-five participating States on the military aspects of security in Europe will have at the Madrid meeting. In this area they are anxious to arrive at concrete results of a nature which will contribute in an effective manner to the development of security in Europe as a whole.

3. These considerations lead the Nine to declare themselves willing to examine with particular attention all initiatives which would allow the participants on an equal footing to engage in a discussion capable of leading to the realization of these objectives.

4. The Nine therefore support an approach aiming at the adoption at Madrid of a mandate establishing the conditions for negotiations with the objective of agreeing by common accord on meaningful confidence-building measures in the military field. These should be verifiable, applicable to the European continent as a whole and such that, by contributing to the improvement of the security of States, they will create conditions leading later to a process of arms control and reduction within the same geographical framework. This process should take account both of the different aspects of the existing security situation and current negotiations on other aspects of disarmament relating to the European continent.

5. The Nine are agreed to take account of the various considerations which inspired the proposals made by France in May 1978 to the thirty-five signatory States of the Final Act of Helsinki.'

Euro-Arab Dialogue

2.2.61. At the press conference he gave after the ministerial meeting, Mr O'Kennedy commented on the situation with regard to the Euro-Arab Dialogue.

¹ Bull. EC 7/8-1976, point 2504, and 11-1976, point 2427.

3. Institutional and political matters

Political cooperation

Referring to the basic principles of the policy of the Nine as set out in his press statement of 11 September in Dublin,¹ he indicated that certain practical measures should now be taken and contacts made with a view to pursuing the work already undertaken in particular areas of the Dialogue. He said that the Nine proposed to arrange a meeting with the Secretary-General of the Arab League in Tunis to examine the practical possibilities in this regard. Steps would be taken subsequently in order to ensure that the results of the Dialogue are applied as appropriate to all the countries concerned and that all are kept duly informed. Lastly, the Nine expressed the hope that conditions would soon be such as to allow all the countries concerned to take part in a comprehensive dialogue.

European Council meeting in Dublin

2.2.62. The European Council held in Dublin on 29 and 30 November adopted and published statements on Iran and Kampuchea.²

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¹ Bull. EC 9-1979, point 2.2.58.

² Point 1.1.4 and 1.1.5.

³ OJ C 302 of 3.12.1979 and C 309 of 10.12.1979.

¹ Supplement 9/79 — Bull. EC.

² Point 1.1.10.

³ Point 1.1.7.

⁴ Points 1.1.16 to 1.1.20.