

## EUROPEAN POLITICAL COOPERATION

### STATEMENTS OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS

1982

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The European Council issued other statements. See the conclusions of the Brussels (29-30 March 1982), Brussels (28-29 June 1982) and Copenhagen (3-4 December 1982) meetings.

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

## 4. The Community and Poland

1.4.1. Throughout 1981, considerable attention has been devoted to the development of the situation in Poland by the Community institutions and the political cooperation machinery. The main practical results over the past twelve months were the decision to supply foodstuffs at reduced prices adopted following the meeting of the European Council in Luxembourg in December 1980<sup>1</sup> and the decision adopted in the closing days of 1981 to supply emergency humanitarian aid and a Community gift of beef.

The sudden proclamation of martial law in Poland on 13 December prompted the Ten, meeting in London on 14 and 15 December, to voice their concern at the new developments. This initial reaction was followed by a second communiqué published at the conclusion of the informal meeting held in Brussels on 4 January 1982, in which the Ministers stressed their utter disapproval of what was happening in Poland. On 17 December Parliament adopted a resolution condemning the introduction of martial law.

### The reactions

1.4.2. The final communiqué issued at the end of the Foreign Ministers' meeting in Brussels on 4 January 1982 read as follows:

- '1. The Ten utterly disapprove of the development of the situation in Poland.
2. They have noted the declarations of the Polish leadership of its intention to maintain national independence and to re-establish in the near future liberty and the process of reform as well as resuming the dialogue with the various elements of the Polish nation. Unhappily the Ten must note today that, contrary to these declarations, what has taken place has not been dialogue but repression, bringing in its train violations of the most elementary human and citizens' rights, contrary to the Helsinki Final Act, the United Nations Charter, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
3. The Ten therefore appeal urgently to the Polish authorities to end as soon as possible the state of martial law, to release those arrested, and to restore a general dialogue with the Church and Solidarity.
4. The significance of these grave events extends beyond Poland itself. The inability of the system

in Eastern Europe to accept the modifications necessary to meet the legitimate aspirations of the people is such as to endanger public confidence in the possibility of cooperative links with the East, and thus seriously to affect international relations. In this context the Ten note with concern and disapproval the serious external pressure and the campaign directed by the USSR and other Eastern European countries against the efforts for renewal in Poland.

5. This already grave situation would be further aggravated if it led to an open intervention by the Warsaw Pact. For this reason the Ten wish to issue a solemn warning against any such intervention.

6. The Ten are totally in sympathy with the Polish people and are willing to continue the direct humanitarian aid to them.

7. The Ten have taken note of the economic measures taken by the United States Government with regard to the USSR. The Ten will undertake in this context close and positive consultations with the United States Government and with the governments of other Western States in order to define what decisions will best serve their common objectives and to avoid any step which could compromise their respective actions.

8. Developments in Poland constitute a grave violation of the principles of the Helsinki Final Act. The Ten therefore consider that the Madrid Conference should discuss them as soon as possible at ministerial level. The Ten will make approaches to the neutral and non-aligned States to propose an early resumption of the Madrid meeting.

9. The Ten will work in the United Nations and its specialized agencies for a denunciation of violations of human rights and acts of violence.

10. Other measures will be considered as the situation in Poland develops, in particular measures concerning credit and economic assistance to Poland, and measures concerning the Community's commercial policy with regard to the USSR. In addition the Ten will examine the question of further food aid to Poland.

11. The Ten have called on the Polish authorities both nationally and through the Presidency to lift the abnormal and unacceptable restrictions which have been placed on the work of embassies, representatives of the media, air services and other communications in Poland.

12. The Ten will study what can be done to alleviate the situation of Poles outside Poland who do not wish to return to their country under present circumstances.'

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<sup>1</sup> Bull. EC 12-1980, point 1.1.4.

93. Speech by Mr. Leo Tindemans, Foreign Minister of Belgium, on the occasion of the reopening of the Conference of Madrid  
(Madrid, 9 February 1982)

Mr President,

When it was signed, the Final Act of Helsinki seemed simultaneously to mark a point of consummation and a hope for the future. It was a consummation because it formed the final stage of an evolution which had characterized inter-European relations since the end of the Second World War. At that time, our torn and wounded continent settled down for better or worse—and more often for worse—in a situation whose components were, in essence, defined by the territorial positions held by the military forces facing each other. It was neither the force of law—since none of the agree-

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

ments signed during the War had envisaged this—nor the free expression of the will of its peoples which was destined to mould the face of Europe, but the brute force of repression which dropped the notorious iron curtain across the heart of the continent, thus brutally cutting it into two and ushering in the cold war.

It took years of groping efforts by one side or the other for a thaw to take place and for the curtain to open a little and then for peaceful co-existence and détente to take shape and to be confirmed.

To a certain extent, the Final Act of Helsinki constitutes the first concrete result of that détente.

It has profoundly changed the relations between the countries of Europe, shifting them from a position founded on fact to a state based on law by proclaiming the fundamental rights of their peoples where they stand and replacing confrontation by co-operation.

By early December last year after efforts stretching back over a year, the Madrid Meeting had reached a point which indicated the possibility of reaching agreement on a global and balanced final document designed to cover every chapter of the Final Act.

The ten member countries of the European Community, in whose name I am addressing you today, made a positive response to the draft final document presented by the non-aligned and neutral nations. Admittedly, this document posed a number of difficulties—some of them substantial—for the Ten. However, they recognized the value of the efforts undertaken by the non-aligned and neutral countries. The governments of the Ten viewed this draft as a possible basis for a final document after fresh negotiations during this fifth stage of the Conference the provided that Warsaw Pact countries would be disposed to approach the plan put forward by the neutral and non-aligned countries in the same spirit of constructive dialogue as that which inspired the Community of Ten.

In the troubled international situation, the possibility of reaching agreement in Madrid on a substantial and balanced final document had given rise to a fresh surge of hope among the peoples of our countries. Their confidence had been shaken by a series of grave events which have marked international life in the course of recent years. One

particularly grave and disquieting event was the Soviet Union's invasion of a non-aligned Third World State, Afghanistan—an invasion followed by a repressive military operation destined to install in Afghanistan a political régime which is completely alien to that country. The refusal by the Soviet Union to comply with the resolutions adopted by the UN General Assembly or the proposal submitted by the European Community regarding a negotiated political solution to the situation in Afghanistan continues to weigh heavily on relations between our countries.

One event which has an even more direct bearing for us, since it concerns a European signatory of the Final Act of Helsinki and a member of our Conference, unfortunately came to pass on 13 December 1981.

A nation which is very close to us—the Polish nation whose traditional courage in the face of adversity we admire so much and who has become, in a way, the symbol of the will of Europeans to live in dignity as sovereign and free nations—has once more been afflicted by harsh repression.

A great hope was born in 1975 when all European States, from East and West, mutually undertook the solemn pledge to respect the sovereignty of nations and the fundamental liberties of the people. We believe that the last quarter of a century beset by violence and oppression would finally open up the avenue of an advancing evolution which would permit the Europeans to renew the bonds of co-operation, of exchange and—at long last—of fraternity which correspond to their affinities and to their innermost desires.

The Polish people dared to cherish this hope. Confronted by a régime whose corruption and errors are now apparent to the whole world, they practised without violence and with admirable restraint a free trade-unionism which then led to formal pledges by their government. They negotiated patiently and rationally with the intention of rectifying the practices which had produced economic, social and political disaster. They called for recognition of workers' rights to participate in essential decisions concerning the organization and objectives of their work. Above all, they demanded the right of free expression in an uncensored press and through the election of its trade-union representatives. For a period of fifteen months, the Polish Government seemed to respond with a constructive dialogue to this immense move-

ment of a people united in peaceful determination. The whole of Europe—this old continent so often torn asunder and disappointed—began to believe that history was on the move again and that man was re-emerging over and above the systems and régimes by *raison d'état*.

We know what became of all that after the 13th December. The masks fell and, once more, an army crushed the dignity and fundamental rights of a nation. Soldiers suppressed workers. Thousands of men were thrown into prisons and camps simply for having believed in what they were told.

That all this is happening in Poland, and that some Poles themselves seem to desire what the Soviet Union has publicly demanded of them does not diminish our consternation. Indeed, we are well aware that all this was desired, prepared and supported by the Soviet Union—and the Polish leaders in their embarrassment, are looking to this as the sole external guarantee of their repressive measures—who is thus showing us how it views the efforts towards rapprochement commenced in Helsinki in 1975, pursued in Belgrade in 1978 and continued in Madrid since last year despite all obstacles and disappointments.

For over twelve months, the awakening and the attempts at renewal by the entire Polish Nation have been the object of threats, campaigns and pressure from the USSR who is bent on maintaining the rigid system as it now exists in Eastern Europe; this is a public fact as we all know. This artificial rigidity of the régimes of the Warsaw Pact countries and hence their inability to make the necessary adjustments to respond to the legitimate aspirations of their peoples to evolution and renewal cannot help but shake the confidence of our public opinion in the possibility of gradually developing confidence and co-operation among all European nations, as we have endeavoured to do since 1975 on the basis of the Final Act.

The serious external pressure brought to bear against the efforts at renewal in Poland is in flagrant contradiction to the obligations undertaken by the signatories of the agreements in question and, more specifically, the principles governing sovereignty, non-intervention, the threat or use of force, and the right of peoples to self-determination. No country has the right to determine the political and social course of another

country, and that applies particularly to the Soviet Union in regard to Poland.

The Ten unswervingly uphold the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries—the central rule and precondition for the peaceful co-existence of nations and the cornerstone of the UN Charter as well as of the Final Act of Helsinki.

However, loyalty to the principle of non-interference can never mean indifference to grave violations of international agreements. The Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact countries are revealing a disquieting conception of their international obligations when they designate the justified protests against the non-observance and violation of these obligations as interference or intervention in internal affairs. The first paragraph of the sixth principle of the Final Act concerning non-intervention in internal affairs is clear on this point: it does not prohibit bringing up issues which are the object of international commitments—such as the rights of man.

The current events in Poland transcend by far the boundaries of that country alone. It is an idle attempt to try and proclaim that they simply constitute an internal affair, since they are apt by their very nature to shake the confidence of our public opinion in East-West co-operation as established in the Final Act of Helsinki. Confidence is both the objective and the basis of the Final Act, the indispensable condition for its implementation and for the pursuit of a policy whose cornerstone lies in that Final Act.

The direct or indirect pressure exercised by the USSR in order to thwart the realization of the wish for renewal clearly expressed by the majority of the Polish people calls into question the observance of the third paragraph of the sixth principle of the Final Act; consequently, the USSR may legitimately be challenged on the subject of the situation in Poland. The Ten remind the USSR of the fundamental right of Poland to resolve its problems on its own. They also remind the USSR that the continuation of interference and, even more seriously, any armed intervention by a foreign country in Poland would engender the most serious consequences for East-West relations.

The imposition of martial law in Poland, which continues to be marked by a massive violation of human rights, by

systematic repression and by the suppression of fundamental freedoms constitutes a series of grave infringements of the seventh principle of the Final Act of Helsinki and of the chapters on human contacts and information.

At no time have the Ten accepted nor will they accept that the chapters relating to principles and to the human dimension are subordinate to other parts of the Final Act. The sombre list of flagrant infringements of these chapters of the Final Act committed by the military régime in Poland since the imposition of martial law is unfortunately a long one—too long in fact for me to make an exhaustive analysis here. I shall confine myself to quoting some examples.

The most flagrant violation was the use of force against Polish workers with the grievous concomitant of arrests and internment, severe prison sentences, and the death of some who had the courage to protest against this armed repression. Such outrages committed against the freedom of the trade unions in spite of agreements such as that concluded at Gdansk between the workers and the Polish leaders have profoundly shocked our peoples.

Those in power in Poland have committed another grave and odious infringement of the Final Act by demanding and obtaining oaths of loyalty by force and by the threat of serious consequences for the persons affected. Through such acts, the rulers of Poland have displayed their contempt for the obligations undertaken pursuant to the seventh principle of the Final Act on encouragement for the effective exercise of civil, political, economic and social rights.

Whether this refers to fundamental rights, freedom of expression, human contacts, the dissemination of information, working conditions for journalists, access to diplomatic missions (and I shall confine my remarks to a few examples), I could cite a whole series of articles and paragraphs in the Final Act which have been flagrantly infringed upon in Poland.

The signatories have the right and the duty to stigmatize these infringements by virtue of the very provisions of the agreement. To those who tell us that we are endangering the CSCE process by exercising this right of criticism and condemnation, our firm response is that this process—to which we are and remain dedicated—is not endangered by our criticism, but that it would clearly be endangered by our



indifference or timidity in the face of a manifest and public infringement of the spirit and letter of the Final Act.

Mr President,

The Final Act cannot be interpreted as a sort of convenient screen with panels that may be opened by cynical diplomacy as it sees fit, panels called "détente", "security" or "technological co-operation", whilst carefully leaving closed off the fundamental human rights, communications, and true and free co-operation between equal and sovereign peoples.

The Ten have let the world know that the situation in Poland meets with their complete disapproval; and by virtue of the provisions of the Final Act on implementing the obligations undertaken by the signatories, we shall continue to express our disapproval as long as the present situation in Poland persists.

At the conclusion of their meeting in Brussels on 4 January, the Foreign Ministers of the Ten took note of the declarations by the Polish leaders on their intention of re-establishing freedoms and reforms as well as resuming the dialogue with the various components of the Polish nation in the near future.

Regrettably, the Ten must state today (as they did over a month ago) that, contrary to these declarations, martial law has not been lifted and the dialogue has not been resumed. Instead, repression is continuing despite the provisions not only of the Final Act of Helsinki but also of the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The Ten again urgently appeal to the Polish authorities to end martial law, to release the detainees and to resume a genuine dialogue with the Church and Solidarity as soon as possible.

This appeal constitutes not only a political act. It also expresses the profound feeling experienced by all our peoples towards the people of Poland. Beyond the legitimate considerations of balance and security, beyond our wish to defend respect for international obligations, beyond our real concern for restoring the credibility and the future of the CSCE, we are conscious of a human tragedy. Men and women are enduring physical suffering; they are deprived of their liberty; they are being deeply humiliated; they are being deprived of hope; and these men and women are Europeans: they are

our neighbours with whom we are united by numerous personal bonds. Mr President, you know the immense surge of sympathy, emotion and sadness which filled all sections of our nations following the repression in Poland. You also know that this surge of spontaneous solidarity has found expression in the dispatch of substantial quantities of food and medicaments to the Polish people by private citizens in each of our countries. We are not dealing here solely with official matters based on law and treaties. We are talking of a profoundly human tragedy which deeply affects every European.

Mr President,

The Ten are profoundly dedicated to the CSCE process. They are conscious of the importance of the work of the Madrid Meeting. The events to which I have just referred demonstrate the wisdom of the initiators of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and of the authors of the Final Act. They have clearly recognized that relations between the peoples of Europe form a whole which is cemented together by history and culture and that it is only possible to develop among them new relations of détente, co-operation and confidence through respect for the fundamental values to which they are dedicated, namely sovereignty and mutual respect, the dignity of man in his fundamental rights, respect for his legitimate aspirations to free expression and communication, a continuous search for a dialogue and rejection of the use of force.

The Ten are fully aware of the importance and gravity of what must unfortunately be designated as a turning-point in the CSCE process. It is the whole weight of the Final Act as an agreement governing relations between the signatories which is at stake.

We shall not cease to point out here that no confidence is possible in Europe if peoples are oppressed and that the avenue opened up at Helsinki—that of co-operation in mutual respect and recognition of everyone's legitimate security needs—constitutes an alternative to and in no way a disguise for repression. That is the significance of the message which the ten members of the Community formulated in their joint communiqué of 4 January. We are not trying to pass a final judgement on those responsible for the icy darkness that has descended on Poland. We refuse to believe that

they have irrevocably closed their minds to the currents of history which carry all of us, in East and West alike. Our actions are intended, without illusions but also without the weakness of resignation, to persuade them to resume the difficult but necessary course of conducting a dialogue based on tolerance and good sense. We know that under these circumstances a repressive power may remain obstinate beneath the guise of illusory concessions. We have no wish to be duped into forgetting the obligations undertaken and abandoning the Polish people to their oppressors in order to be able to enter into new obligations which turn out to be devoid of any credibility and which would call into question, in the eyes of our peoples, the very probity of the policy pursued by us since 1975. However, we shall continue to indicate to the Soviet Union and the Polish Government that we are willing to resume co-operation as soon as the obstacles resulting from their own policy are removed.

It is really conceivable that an agreement reached at our Conference would appear serious and acceptable to our peoples if the contradictions between the facts and the text adopted remain so flagrant?

What is needed above all is to end these contradictions, re-establishing the credibility of our obligations and our work, and re-establishing the confidence of our public opinion which can only rest upon observance of the principles and provisions of the Final Act by all signatories.

In order to achieve that, it is necessary to act. It will not be by words, however eloquent, but by a change of attitude towards the Polish people that the responsible governments will be able to convince us of their dedication to the CSCE process and of their will to carry on the Conference in the spirit of a true desire to contribute to a better understanding among all the countries and the peoples of our continent.

We are convinced that the use of force represents a dead end in Poland, as indeed elsewhere in Europe, and that the way of détente, of contacts between nations, of mutual understanding and rapprochement will finally prevail because it corresponds to the profound interest of nations as well as to fundamental morality. We also know that there will be no true security in Europe and in the world without the conclusion of balanced agreements which limit the armaments of both sides to comparable levels. Despite the

obstacles, setbacks and immense difficulties, we know that this is where the future of Europe really lies. Even though we have to condemn their present policy, we shall continue to direct our efforts towards persuading the Soviet and Polish governments to return to the path of dialogue and moderation which alone can lead to an acceptable future for Europe. Thank you, Mr President.

# 1. Community solidarity in the Falklands conflict

Statements of 2 April, 10 April, and 20 April, 1982

1.1.1. The invasion of the Falkland Islands, a United Kingdom dependency which is also associated with the Community, by Argentine armed forces on 1 April was a subject of concern to the Community throughout the month.

The Foreign Ministers of the Ten, the Commission and Parliament urged Argentina to comply with United Nations Security Council Resolution 502, which demanded an immediate cessation of hostilities and an immediate withdrawal of all Argentine forces from the Falkland Islands and called on the governments of the two countries to seek a diplomatic solution to their differences.

To back up its various statements, the Community imposed an embargo on imports from Argentina,<sup>1</sup> and the governments of the Ten placed a total ban on exports of arms and military equipment to Argentina.<sup>2</sup>

Mr Davignon told Parliament on 21 April that Europe's display of solidarity was the expression of the Community's attachment to compliance with international law and its wish to safeguard peace. There could be no question of interpreting it as a move directed against Latin America or the developing nations or as a manifestation of protectionism.

## Measures taken

1.1.2. On 16 April, following the statement made by the Ten on 10 April,<sup>3</sup> the Council adopted a Regulation suspending imports of all products originating in Argentina for the purpose of putting them into free circulation in the Community.<sup>4</sup> However, this Regulation did not apply to products accompanied by import documents issued before the date of its entry into force, products to be imported in execution of contracts concluded before that date, or products in course of shipment. The embargo was initially imposed for a month, by which time the Regulation would have to be extended, amended or repealed.

1.1.3. The governments of the Ten decided at the beginning of the month to apply a total

ban on exports of arms and military equipment to Argentina.

## Statements made

### *Declarations by the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation*

1.1.4. The following declaration was made on 2 April:

'The Foreign Ministers of the Ten condemn the armed intervention in the Falkland Islands by the Government of Argentina in defiance of the statement issued on 1 April by the President of the Security Council of the United Nations, which remains seized of the question.

They urgently appeal to the Government of Argentina to withdraw its forces immediately and to adhere to the appeal of the United Nations Security Council to refrain from the use of force and to continue the search for a diplomatic solution.'

1.1.5. The Ministers reaffirmed their position in the following statement put out by the Belgian Presidency on 10 April:

'The Ten discussed the serious situation resulting from Argentina's invasion of the Falkland Islands.

The Ten recall that, in their declaration of 2 April, they already condemned the flagrant violation of international law represented by Argentina's actions.

The Ten remain deeply concerned about the further development of this crisis, which jeopardizes international peace and security. They thus attach the greatest importance to effective and immediate application of all points of Security Council Resolution 502, i.e. the cessation of hostilities, the immediate withdrawal of all Argentine forces from the Falkland Islands and the search for a diplomatic solution by the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom.

With this in mind, and in a spirit of solidarity among the Member States of the Community, the Ten have decided to adopt a series of measures against Argentina which should be implemented as soon as possible.

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<sup>1</sup> Point 1.1.2.

<sup>2</sup> Point 1.1.3.

<sup>3</sup> Point 1.1.5.

<sup>4</sup> OJ L 102, 16.4.1982.

The governments of the Ten have already decided to apply a total ban on exports of arms and military equipment to Argentina.

They will also take the measures needed to prohibit all imports into the Community from Argentina.

Since these are economic measures, they will be taken in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Community Treaties.

Since the situation resulting from the invasion of the Falkland Islands by Argentine armed forces is a matter of serious concern for the whole of the international community, the Ten call on other governments to support their decisions so that Security Council Resolution 502 can be fully implemented as soon as possible.'

1.1.6. At an informal meeting of the Foreign Ministers on 20 April the following statement was made to the press:

'The Ten reaffirm their full solidarity with the United Kingdom in the Falklands crisis. They confirm their desire for full implementation of Security Council Resolution 502.

Wishing for a peaceful settlement to this crisis in accordance with the Security Council resolution, they welcome and support the efforts made by Mr Haig, the American Secretary of State, to encourage a peaceful settlement.'

#### *Statement by the Commission on 6 April*

'The Commission of the European Communities condemns the armed intervention of Argentina against a British territory linked to the Community, an intervention committed in violation of international law and the rights of the inhabitants of the Falkland Islands. The Commission expresses its solidarity with the United Kingdom. It makes an urgent appeal to the Argentine Government to implement the resolution of the Security Council, calling on it to withdraw its troops from the Islands and to continue seeking a diplomatic solution. It expresses the hope that the Organization of American States will join its efforts to those of the United Nations in order to ensure, by diplomatic means, that a solution based on law prevails.'

#### *Resolution by Parliament*

1.1.7. In a resolution passed on 22 April following a debate,<sup>1</sup> the European Parliament:

'1. condemns unreservedly the invasion of the Falkland Islands;

2. notes and supports Resolution 502 of the Security Council of the United Nations on Argentina which demanded an immediate cessation of hostilities, and an immediate withdrawal of all Argentinian forces from the Falkland Islands and called on the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom to seek a diplomatic solution to their differences and to respect fully the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations;

3. underlines the importance of Community solidarity which has been shown in the actions of the Council of Ministers;

4. records its agreement with the embargo on imports from Argentina and the ban on arms exports to Argentina and requires that these be maintained until the Security Council Resolution 502 has been implemented;

5. encourages the Commission and the Council to continue to review the possibility of taking further measures;

6. insists that in any solution it is necessary to take fully into account the wishes of the Falkland Islanders;

7. recognizes that Argentinian compliance with Resolution 502 by withdrawing its armed forces would lead to the halting of United Kingdom naval operations and so to the negotiation of a peaceful agreement...'

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<sup>1</sup> Point 2.4.5.

2.2.66. On Sunday 25 April the Ten issued the following statement on the Israeli bombing of Lebanon:

'The Ten strongly condemn all acts of violence, notably the bombing by the Israeli air force of various parts of Lebanon on 21 April 1982, which has caused further casualties among the civilian population.

This escalation is a further serious attack on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon.

The Ten urgently call upon Israel and the other parties not to resort to force of arms and appeal to them not to return violence for violence, but to leave the way open for a peaceful settlement.'

2.2.67. Bull. EC 4-1982, p. 11.

2.2.67. Following the discussions which took place on the same occasion as the Council meeting on 27 April, the Foreign Ministers issued two statements, the first on the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Sinai and the second on the refusal of the Pakistan authorities to allow a member of a European Parliament delegation, Mr Israel, to enter Pakistan.

### *Withdrawal from Sinai*

2.2.68. 'The Ten welcome the complete withdrawal of Israel from Sinai, which took place on 25 April.

They consider this an important step forward—not only for the development of peaceful relations between Israel and Egypt but also for efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement in the Middle East in accordance with Security Council Resolution 242.

The Ten hope that this event, which is the fruit of negotiations, may be followed by further negotiations leading to a comprehensive, just and lasting peace on the basis of the two principles on which they have repeatedly insisted, namely the right to existence and security for all the countries in the region and justice for all peoples, which implies the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination.

The Ten stress their concern regarding the situation in Lebanon, as expressed in their statement of 25 April.'

### *Parliamentary visit to Pakistan*

2.2.69. 'The President reported to his colleagues on the special debate which the European Parliament held on 21 April concerning Pakistan's refusal to admit a member of the parliamentary delegation that was to visit that country.

The Ministers deplore all racial and religious discrimination. They consider this to be a serious attack on the dignity of the European Parliament and consequently on the European Community.

They have decided to protest strongly to the Pakistan authorities through diplomatic channels.'

2.2.70. On 22 April Parliament adopted a resolution on the situation in Lebanon, following the assassination of an official of the French Embassy in Beirut, and a resolution on the peaceful and non-violent demonstrations by young Europeans in the capitals of several Warsaw Pact countries.<sup>2</sup>



## European political cooperation

2.2.66. In May the main political cooperation issue was again Argentina's occupation of the Falkland Islands.<sup>1</sup>

2.2.67. On 24 May the Ten issued the following statement on the conflict between Iran and Iraq:

'The Ten are concerned at the continuation of the conflict between Iraq and Iran which has been going on for almost two years and has already claimed a large number of victims, caused widespread destruction and suffering to the civilian population and severely drained resources which the two countries would have devoted to economic and human development.

While reaffirming their belief in national independence and sovereignty and the principle of non-interference in internal affairs, the Ten wish to express their grave concern at the continued fighting, which they particularly regret in view of their long-standing close ties with both of the belligerents and the other countries of the region. They would point out that on 23 September 1980 they called for a halt to the fighting and a negotiated settlement.

The Ten applaud the consistent efforts of the representatives of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the non-aligned movement and the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

The Ten look forward to a peaceful solution in accordance with the principles accepted by the international community and defined by the United Nations Security Council in resolution 479 of 28 September 1980. They are convinced that an equitable and lasting political settlement providing for the security of both countries and upholding their sovereignty, territorial integrity and political and cultural identity is more urgently needed than ever to allow the economic and social development desired by the inhabitants of the region to take place.

The Ten are prepared to play a part in any moves for peace at the request of both parties and to seek opportunities, after the cessation of hostilities, to cooperate in the reconstruction of the two countries.'

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<sup>1</sup> Point 1.1.5.

<sup>2</sup> Point 2.4.17; OJ C 149, 14.6.1982.

## European political cooperation

### Middle East

2.2.74. On 9 June the Ten, at a special meeting in Bonn following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, adopted the following statement on the situation in Lebanon:

'The Member States of the European Community vigorously condemn the new Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Like the bombardments which preceded it and which caused intolerably high loss of human life, this action cannot be justified. It constitutes a flagrant violation of international law and of the most basic humanitarian principles. Furthermore it compromises the efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement of the problems of the Middle East and creates the imminent danger of a generalized conflict. The Ten reaffirm the importance they attach to the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and national unity of Lebanon, which are indispensable for peace in the region. The Ten strongly support the appeals made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations. They urgently call on all the parties concerned to act in accordance with Security Council Resolutions 508 and 509, and in particular on Israel to withdraw all its forces immediately and unconditionally from the Lebanon and to place the United Nations Interim Forces in Lebanon (UNIFIL) in a position to accomplish its mission without hindrance.

Should Israel continue to refuse compliance with the above resolutions the Ten will examine the possibilities for future action.

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The objective of the Ten is to work for a Lebanon free from the cycle of violence which they have repeatedly condemned in the past. This cannot be dissociated from the establishment of a global, just and lasting peace in the region. They are ready to assist in bringing the parties concerned to accept measures intended to lower the level of tension, re-establish confidence and facilitate a negotiated solution.

The Ten will urgently examine within the institutions of the Community the use of the means at the disposal of the Community to give aid to the victims of these events.'

2.2.75. The Ministers again reviewed the situation in Lebanon during a meeting held

at the time of the Council meeting in Luxembourg on 21 June. Following this meeting, the President of the Council, Mr Tindemans, reported to the press, on behalf of the Ten, on the deterioration in the situation since the Bonn statement, the terms of which he summarized, and of the willingness of the Ten and the Community to continue providing Lebanon with humanitarian aid. Mr Tindemans also confirmed the decision not to sign, at present, the second EEC-Israel Financial Protocol. Lastly, the Ten made public the representations they had made to the Israeli Government the previous week in an attempt to obtain assurances regarding Israel's immediate intentions in the region; these had failed to elicit a satisfactory reply.

2.2.76. The European Council included in its conclusions on the meeting of 28 and 29 June<sup>1</sup> a passage relating to Lebanon and the conflict in the Middle East. Further to this, Mr Martens informed the press that the Heads of State or Government had agreed that it was appropriate, under the present circumstances, to confirm the deferment of the signature of the second EEC-Israel Financial Protocol and to postpone the next meeting of the Cooperation Council. They also took note that no military equipment was currently being sold to Israel.

38. Speech by Mr. Leo Tindemans,  
President-in-Office of the Council  
and Foreign Minister of Belgium, to  
the European Parliament  
(Strasbourg, 15 June 1982,  
excerpts)

These have been eventful months. Before a start could be made on a real programme or the Community's continuing problems could be tackled, we were overtaken by

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

tragic international events: Poland, the Falkland Islands, Lebanon.

The crisis over the mandate, which had been on the agenda since 1980, threatened to grow into a Community crisis. This resulted in endless negotiations in various capitals.

...

A crisis can also serve as a catalyst, and this has been true of political co-operation. Particularly close attention has been paid to the dialogue between the Ten and the European Parliament, both in the Political Affairs Committee and during urgent debates on topical problems. The Council asked me to go to Turkey to convey the Ten's feelings on developments in that country and to receive answers expected to a number of questions. As President, I have also been in contact with such candidate Member States as Portugal and Spain and also with Norway. The Presidency also gathered information during visits to Washington and Tokyo.

In view of the situation in the Middle East, invitations from Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Israel were accepted. Other visits were on the agenda, but there was simply not enough time for them to be undertaken. The plan is to forward a report to the Ten on the situation in the Middle East so that there may be a debate leading ultimately to a more accurate definition of the European position. Events in Lebanon have delayed this plan to some extent. The Ten's appraisal of the situation and their condemnation of the attack on Lebanon followed immediately upon these events. Again, where oppression in Poland and the occupation of the Falkland Islands were concerned, there was no delay in condemning the violation of the Helsinki Final Act and of international law. Aid to the Polish people was quickly set in motion. Early expression was also given to practical solidarity with the United Kingdom.

Meeting in Bonn on 9 June, the Ten strongly condemned the invasion of Lebanon by the Israeli armed forces as a violation of international law, involving the danger of escalation into a general conflict. The political leaders and the ambassadors of the Ten had previously considered the situation at the United Nations. The Community in-

tends to use all the resources at its disposal to help to alleviate the suffering of the victims.

We are living in dangerous times. There are major challenges to our safety, and we are rightly concerned about world peace. The failures that have recently emerged are untenable in the longer term and therefore unacceptable. They also reveal the urgent need for an in-depth and cohesive view of the Community's external relations.

The Community has been through a few difficult phases. But there is a continuing need for further progress towards integration.

...

Recent months have shown that some progress can always be made. The essential problem, however, is whether the results obtained correspond to the needs of the hour and on this point I cannot conceal my anxiety.

It is true that the Community's past record has been extremely good. However, I am concerned about projects that have been started but never finished and in very many areas the Community has adopted rather a dilettante approach.

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**Speech to the European Parliament by  
Danish Foreign Minister Kjeld Olesen  
on European Political Cooperation  
(Excerpts)  
7 July 1982**

*Annex to the Official Journal of the  
European Communities No. 1-287*

that I have not so far made any specific mention of agricultural policy is no judgment on its importance to cooperation. It is because the main questions concerning agricultural policy over the next six months will relate to Mediterranean products and relations with the outside world, which I referred to when I spoke about the accession negotiations and relations with the outside world.

Foreign policy cooperation between the Ten is an important factor in efforts towards European unity. The very positive development of such cooperation is not attributable simply to a firm resolve to speak with a single voice wherever possible. The pragmatic cooperation machinery confirmed with the adoption of the London report has been very largely instrumental in achieving the progress made towards common positions and common action.

There is a need for European contribution to the international debate, not least in this period of serious political crises and threats to détente.

By the very nature of things it is possible to indicate precisely which questions will come to the fore over the next six months. However, it is already possible to make out a number of sectors in which developments may be of essential importance for European political cooperation.

East-West relations have occupied a very important place in EPC since its inception. Europe's, and hence the ten Community countries', security is directly linked to East-West developments. In the view of the many historical, commercial, cultural and human links between the Ten and East European countries, it is only natural that political cooperation should deal with relations with those countries.

After an encouraging period in the 1970s, East-West relations have seriously deteriorated over the last few years. We must contribute towards imparting new impetus to the process of détente. In dangerous times such as those we have now moved into, it is doubly important that the dialogue be kept alive and all means of communication kept open.

In recent times we have witnessed certain signs of a possibly more positive development in East-West rela-

tions. One of the more distinct indications of such a development is the idea of a United States-Soviet summit and the round of negotiations now in progress in the field of disarmament and arms control.

But despite these signs of a slightly more favourable development in East-West relations the importance of the setbacks which have unfortunately already occurred should obviously not be underestimated.

The Presidency views the situation in Poland with concern since the process of innovation was interrupted under pressure from the Soviet Union and other East European countries by the introduction of martial law. The situation in Poland is in clear conflict with the spirit and the letter of the Final Act of the Helsinki Agreement. We deplore the fact that there has been no real progress in Poland. The three demands which the ten Foreign Ministers put forward at their meeting in Brussels on 4 January 1982, namely the abolition of martial law, the release of detainees and the resumption of a genuine dialogue with Solidarity and the Catholic church are absolutely central issues. It must be admitted that the Polish authorities have recently somewhat eased martial law and released some detainees. However, they have suppressed public demonstrations and reintroduced restrictions affecting the population. In broad terms, it is my opinion that the situation in Poland is one of immobility. However, it is important that in the context of political cooperation we follow developments closely to ascertain whether there are signs that the Polish authorities are ready to push developments in the direction indicated in the Foreign Ministers' declaration of 4 January 1982.

Another issue in East-West relations which will require careful consideration in political cooperation in the coming months is the meeting in Madrid following up the Helsinki Final Act on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which is to be resumed on 9 November 1982. It is our hope that the signs over the last few months of a more positive development in East-West relations will enable real progress to be made in Madrid.

The state of East-West relations has naturally led to discussions within western cooperation organizations on such things as trade policy relations. It was our impression that, like the West European countries, the United States showed a positive desire during these talks for joint guidelines for East-West trade. Against this background, we deplore the fact that the United States has now unilaterally introduced new restrictions on the natural gas pipeline linking the Soviet Union with western Europe. East-West trade has a quite special significance for us Europeans and we ought to make this consistently clear to the United States.

The outcome of the UN's second extraordinary General Assembly on Disarmament will obviously have a decisive bearing on political cooperation under the

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Danish Presidency, especially in the field of disarmament. We trust that, in the light of the outcome of that meeting and in cooperation with like-minded countries, the Ten will continue, and if possible further develop, a constructive dialogue on disarmament with both East European and non-aligned countries.

The serious situation in the Middle East must be a top priority issue for European political cooperation during the Danish Presidency.

Since political cooperation came into being, the Ten have devoted their attention to the situation in the Middle East with a view to finding the comprehensive, just and lasting peace which this badly afflicted area is entitled to.

The Ten's potential for making a constructive contribution depend here perhaps more than in any other context on their ability to adopt common positions and to act in unison.

Developments in Lebanon in the last month show only too clearly how easily the situation in that area can give rise to violent incidents producing a sequence of action and reprisal. The consequences for people living in that area are tragic and the threat of further consequences both in and outside the Middle East region are incalculable.

The Ten have clearly expressed their strong condemnation of Israel's invasion of Lebanon and have requested all parties concerned to act in accordance with the Security Council's Resolutions. The Ten's position with regard to terrorism is clearcut: we condemn it wherever it occurs. However, Israel's armed intervention in Lebanese territory has reached such proportions that it cannot be justified by the threat to Israel emanating from that territory.

Now that the situation in Lebanon continues to be totally unstable and its inhabitants have sustained such enormous and cruel losses, the international community has to meet the challenge of helping the Lebanese people overcome the immediate needs resulting from the war and restore lasting peace in that country. This presupposes that a broadly representative and legitimate Lebanese Government is allowed to establish its authority without interference from foreign military powers.

Even before the latest dramatic events in the Lebanon, the situation in the Middle East was characterized by tensions and hostilities.

The principles set out in the European Council's Venice Declaration of 13 June 1980 remain the basis for the Ten's efforts to find an overall solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. The European Council has just restated the Ten's desire for negotiations between all parties concerned on the basis of the principles of security for all states and justice for all nations. The

Ten recognize and support Israel's right to security. It must, however, be made clear to Israel that it cannot achieve such security by use of military strength but only within the framework of a negotiated solution which takes account of the Palestinian people's legitimate aspirations. The Palestinian people should be allowed to exercise its right of self-determination and pursue its objectives through political means.

The Danish Presidency will continue to work on that basis and will carry on the intensive dialogue with the parties in the area and with the US, whose fundamental role in the Middle East the Ten recognize and appreciate. The Ten must seek to contribute to a comprehensive, equitable and lasting peace by strengthening the negotiating will and opportunities of the parties concerned, to whom it falls — and whose duty it is — to negotiate a comprehensive peace settlement.

Events in Central America have over the past few years been of increasing significance in international politics. The current political revolutionary process in the area must be seen against the background of the considerable economic and social inequalities in these societies which, if they are not remedied, may entail a series of international tensions and conflicts. In the fight for political, economic and social justice, it is the obvious task of the European countries to side with the oppressed. At its meeting last week, the European Council emphasized the major importance attached by the Ten to the consolidation of their links and cooperation with peoples in that part of the world.

The Danish Presidency will consider it an essential task so to work that the policy of the Ten is directed at contributing to peaceful and socially just solutions to the considerable problems facing this area. The follow-up to the decision taken at the meeting of the European Council on 29 and 30 March, to the effect that the support which the Ten and the Community as such have given to the development of Central America and the Caribbean should be coordinated and increased as far as possible, will be of particular importance in that respect.

The situation in several areas of the African continent continues to be marked by serious crises, unrest and profound economic difficulties. Relations between the Ten and the African countries are, however, developing fruitfully in a climate of growing cooperation and increasing mutual trust.

The principles laid down in the Nine's statement of 18 April 1977 on relations with Africa continue to provide guidelines for the African policy of the Ten. The Ten will aim at further development of African-European cooperation, to the extent that the African States themselves wish, and will also support the OAU's endeavours to promote African cooperation. They will maintain the right to self-determination and independence of all the African peoples, particularly the peo-

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ple of Namibia, who are still the victims of South Africa's unlawful occupation.

The Ten stand by their condemnation of the policy of apartheid pursued in South Africa, and will continue to oppose any form of racial discrimination. They will do all in their power to further democratic majority rule and a non-racist form of government for the people of Namibia and South Africa. Their policy also involves support for the principles of territorial integrity and non-interference in internal affairs which have always been upheld by the OAU.

One of the Member States of the European Community is taking part with the USA and Canada in the special contact group which is trying to achieve a peaceful solution to the Namibia problem on the basis of the Security Council Resolution 435. These efforts are entirely in accordance with the Ten's African policy, as I described just now. It is to be hoped that, if we do not see an independent Namibia in 1982, we shall surely see it in 1983.

The world community must maintain the pressure for an end to the loathsome system of apartheid. The Ten must make an especially strong contribution to this pressure if they are to be true to the principles on which their own society is based and which determine their political contribution in the world.

The right to self-determination must of course also hold good for the Asian countries. Unfortunately it is being violated at present in both Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

The Ten will extend the fruitful cooperation that already exists with the ASEAN Group, which is playing a significant role in favour of stability and progress in southeast Asia.

In addition, the friendly relations between the Ten and Japan and the Ten's good relationship with the People's Republic of China and with India should be further developed.

It is a general aim of the Community of Ten to develop its relations with all third world countries on the basis of mutual respect and cooperation to the benefit of both sides.

Many third world countries harbour continuing mistrust for the Western countries, and this has given the Soviet Union and its allies an influence extending beyond what would be warranted by mutual interest and constructive aid. Neither West nor East should seek other influence in the third world than that which can be gained by legitimate means, that is the kind of aid to and cooperation with these countries that will aid their development on their own terms.

In this connection we must show the third world nations that we fully respect their uncommittedness as

a factor influencing stability in the world, and that on the basis of this respect we wish to involve them in international cooperation to the benefit of all concerned — politically as well as economically. This basic position is also expressed in the line taken by the Ten at the UN.

As a link in the Ten's responsiveness to the outside world, the Danish Presidency will have a special role to play in maintaining close contact between European political cooperation and third countries, including in particular friends and allies in the Western hemisphere. Close consultations with the US are essential if political cooperation is to be effective and realistic. In addition, of course, regular consultations will continue to be held as before with the applicant countries Portugal and Spain on foreign policy issues, and close contacts maintained with countries such as Canada, Japan and Norway.

The fact that all these countries set great store by regular links with the EPC Presidency is a striking reminder of the great significance which European political cooperation has come to have. The Danish Presidency will work to extend these links, which are of great value to all sides. In conclusion, let me just say that Europe is faced with a number of difficult problems. Only through cooperation can we hope to reach a satisfactory solution. Such cooperation requires a political will amongst the member countries to hold on to the results achieved and extend cooperation in a situation in which the economic climate is chillier than it has been for many years. The difficulties are considerable, but one thing at least is certain: if we forsake cooperation in favour of a national, egotistical and shortsighted attitude, we shall not only all become poorer but we run the risk of undermining a process of European cooperation that is vitally important for all the Member States. The Danish Presidency is convinced that the Member State's association with European cooperation will persist and continue to provide the foundations on which, during the next six months, concrete results can be achieved to the benefit of the peoples of Europe.

*(Applause)*

**President.** — I thank the President-in-Office of the Council for his declaration on what the Danish Presidency intends to do in the coming six months.

*(Applause)*

I hope that they will succeed because experience shows that the programmes sometimes are ambitious and the Community slower.

I call the rapporteur.

**Mr Delorozoy, rapporteur.** — *(FR)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the report on economic trends



## European political cooperation

### Middle East situation

2.2.55. At a political cooperation meeting held on the occasion of the Council meeting on 20 September, the Foreign Ministers issued the following statement to the press:

'The Ten express their profound shock and revulsion at the massacre of Palestinian civilians in Beirut. They strongly condemn this criminal act and call for the necessary measures to be taken to ensure the safety of the civilian population. They welcome UN Security Council Resolution 521 and are ready to support, up to the limit of their capabilities, appropriate additional steps, including the strengthening of the UN observers team in Beirut and the possible deployment of UN or multinational forces.

They strongly deplore the violation of the Habib plan and demand the immediate withdrawal of the Israeli forces from West Beirut. They are convinced that the interests of Lebanon and of the region require the earliest possible withdrawal of all foreign forces except those authorized by the government of Lebanon, whose authority should be fully re-established over all its national territory.

The Member States of the European Community remain greatly concerned about the situation in Lebanon as a whole. They strongly condemn the assassination of the President-elect of Lebanon. They appeal to all parties to show moderation and prevent further violence in that country.

The Ten reaffirm their solidarity with a friendly country whose population has suffered so cruelly and whose fragile stability is dangerously threatened. They are confident that the Lebanese people will be able to elect a new president in accordance with their constitution and to bring about national reconciliation. They renew their offer to assist in the relief and reconstruction of the country.

The tragic events in Lebanon have once again demonstrated that the Middle East can enjoy true peace and lasting stability only through a comprehensive settlement to be concluded with the participation of all parties, which means that the PLO will have to be associated with negotiations. Such a settlement should be based on the principles of security for all States in the region, including Israel's right to exist, justice for all peoples, including the right of self-determination for the Palestinians with all that this implies, and mutual recognition by all the parties involved.

The Ten note that the abovementioned principles are commanding increasing acceptance.

They therefore welcome the new American initiative contained in President Reagan's speech on 1 September 1982. In the view of the Ten it offers an important opportunity for peaceful progress on the Palestinian question and a step towards the reconciliation of the parties' conflicting aspirations.

The Ten appeal to all parties to seize the present opportunity to initiate a process of mutual *rapprochement* leading towards a comprehensive peace settlement.

In this connection they underline the importance of the statement adopted by Arab Heads of State or Government at Fez on 9 September, which they see as an expression of the unanimous will of the participants, including the PLO, to work for the achievement of a just peace in the Middle East encompassing all States in the area, including Israel.

They call now for a similar expression of a will to peace on the part of Israel.

They believe that discussions of the Franco-Egyptian draft resolution by the Security Council could play a useful part in establishing a common basis for a solution of the problems of the area.

The Ten continue to believe that a basic element for progress towards a negotiated comprehensive peace settlement in the region is the creation of a climate of confidence between the parties. Consequently, they consider that the Israeli decision to establish eight new settlements in the occupied territories is a serious obstacle to peace efforts as well as illegal under international law.

The Ten confirm that they will continue to be active in pursuing their efforts to promote a comprehensive, just and lasting peace settlement. In this context they will maintain and expand their contacts with all parties.'

2.2.56. On 28 September the Danish Foreign Minister, Mr Ellemann-Jensen, addressed the 37th session of the UN General Assembly in New York on behalf of the Community and its Member States.<sup>1</sup>

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2.2.57. On 16 September Parliament adopted resolutions on the assassination of President Gemayel of Lebanon and on terrorism and anti-terrorist measures.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Point 3.4.1.

<sup>2</sup> Point 2.4.12; OJ C 267, 11.10.1982.

## 4. The Community at the United Nations

Extracts from the address given  
on behalf of the Community  
and the Member States  
by Mr Uffe Ellemann-Jensen,  
President of the Council,  
to the United Nations General  
Assembly on 28 September

3.4.1. The world today presents a bleak picture. It is becoming increasingly difficult to remain optimistic about the future.

Grave conflicts have continued to take place in many parts of the world in the period that has elapsed since the last session of the General Assembly. The threat remains that local and regional conflicts will escalate to the global level.

The world is in the grip of the worst economic recession in decades. All nations, and in particular the development countries, risk jeopardizing the hard-won achievements made through international cooperation. Fundamental human rights are being increasingly violated in many parts of the world.

This combination of challenges which the international community is facing today calls for determined action and constructive cooperation. The situation requires something more—and something else—than each nation working to solve its own problems.

Wisdom and statesmanship are required if we are to meet these challenges. We must realize the inescapable interdependence which characterizes the world today. We must learn—as the Secretary-General so rightly puts it in his annual report—‘to differentiate between short-term advantages and long-term progress, between politically expedient positions and the indispensable objective of creating a civilized and peaceful world order’.

The United Nations provides the framework and the forum for accommodating and reconciling our interests if we accept the implications of our interdependence. We must make a determined effort to use the opportunities available to us. We must seek peaceful settlement of the disputes that divide us. We must employ the available international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples. And we must devote ourselves to the promotion and protection of human rights throughout the world.

The European Community and its ten Member States pledge their full cooperation in achieving these fundamental goals. We believe strongly that we have a role to play and a contribution to make in this great endeavour. We wish to make our contribution in fruitful partnership and col-

laboration with the other nations of the world. We understand and support their desire to defend their sovereignty and territorial integrity. We also recognize that genuine non-alignment is an important factor in maintaining international stability and can make an important contribution to bringing about political settlements to the conflicts which threaten the world.

The European Community also strongly believes that through cooperation and partnership we can come to grips with the problems of inequity which plague the world economy. We will pursue our efforts in these fields with vigour and look forward to building the partnership based on mutual trust which is necessary to achieve these important goals.

### *East-West relations*

Serious setbacks in East-West relations have been a major element in the deteriorating international situation during recent years. The past years have brought new and disturbing violations of the principles on which the United Nations is based. The continued occupation of Afghanistan with the evident willingness of the Soviet Union to pursue its aims by use of its massive military potential have contributed to create a climate of distrust and tension. The tragic events in Poland since last December which took place under pressure have also had a major negative impact on overall East-West relations. These events, taking place in the heart of Europe, cause deep concern among the Ten.

The Ten have repeatedly called for the lifting of martial law, the release of those arrested and the restoration of a genuine dialogue with the Church and Solidarity. The Ten will continue to urge the Polish authorities to live up to their declared intentions of re-establishing civil liberties and the process of reform in Poland as rapidly as possible.

To halt the present negative trend and to develop substantial and balanced East-West relations aimed at genuine *détente*, the causes underlying the negative developments in East-West relations should be removed in order to restore respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Helsinki Final Act and to ensure mutually advantageous cooperation through dialogue and negotiations. We have already shown our readiness to contribute to a positive development of East-West relations and we urge the Soviet Union to demonstrate a similar inclination.

### *Arms control and disarmament*

There is at present much popular concern about world tension, use of force by some countries in

contravention of the United Nations Charter, and the imbalance of both nuclear and conventional weapons.

This situation creates international mistrust and public anxiety. The latter manifests itself in many ways in States where freedom of expression is guaranteed. The governments of the Ten recognize and understand these concerns. We have no doubt that similar concern is felt by the peoples of States where, regrettably, open expressions of popular feeling about the build-up of armaments and the consequent burden on already faltering economies have so far been suppressed.

A few months ago the member countries of this organization met for the Second Special Session devoted to disarmament. Governments and peoples all over the globe had looked forward to this event in the hope that it would lead to fresh impetus in the process of disarmament and thereby to the reduction of armaments and the huge military expenditures. The results of the session were disappointing. However, the Ten consider it very important that the consensus principle was upheld. Furthermore, the Session unconditionally confirmed the Final Document of the First Special Session in 1978. The views presented at that Session will form a useful basis for future discussions and negotiations. It is also noteworthy that the Second Special Session devoted to disarmament agreed to continue the process initiated by the First Special Session.

The Member States of the European Community will make every endeavour to help accomplish this important task. They will continue to support all constructive proposals which lead to reductions in armaments and to bans on certain types of weapons. This would enhance confidence and contribute to assuring the security of all nations. In this respect the Ten strongly support efforts of a constructive and realistic nature that are made in the sole negotiating body, the Geneva Committee on Disarmament, and in other forums.

The Ten welcome the negotiations initiated this summer between the United States and the Soviet Union on mutual reductions of nuclear strategic arms. These negotiations will undoubtedly be difficult. We hope, however, that they will result in an early agreement on substantial reductions of these weapons.

We also welcome the negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on intermediate-range nuclear forces which take place within the framework of the START talks. It is well known that these weapons are of special concern to us. We hope that the negotiations will lead to concrete results in the near future.

Parallel to arms control and disarmament in the nuclear field substantial reductions in the conventional field must be pursued vigorously.

As regards Central Europe, efforts to establish a real balance at a lower level of forces between East and West have been pursued in Vienna since 1973, but progress has been slow. However, the Ten note that in the view of Western participants prospects for an agreement have increased following the presentation of new and concrete proposals in Vienna. Their implementation would lead to significant reductions and thereby contribute to a more stable relationship between East and West and to the strengthening of peace and security in Europe.

Furthermore, the Ten have declared themselves in favour of a Conference on Disarmament in Europe on the basis of a precise mandate to negotiate in a first stage militarily significant, binding and verifiable confidence and security-building measures applicable to the whole of Europe.

Efforts at improving East-West relations should not be restricted to arms control. There is an equally great need for a comprehensive East-West dialogue on other, both political and economic, subjects. The process initiated by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) is a most important channel for this dialogue. The Ten sincerely hope that it will be possible, when the Madrid follow-up meeting within the CSCE process reconvenes in November of this year, to reach agreement on a balanced and substantial concluding document. Such a document should mark tangible progress within the human dimension of the CSCE and contain a precise mandate for a Conference on Disarmament in Europe. In the opinion of the Ten the draft submitted by the neutral and non-aligned countries remains a good starting point for the negotiating process in Madrid.

Since the last regular session of the General Assembly and following events in Lebanon, which are just the latest element in a chain of violence and counterviolence in the area, the situation in the Middle East has deteriorated further. During the last few months problems relating to that situation have occupied the Security Council repeatedly, as well as the General Assembly. The dangers to international peace must be evident to us all.

The Ten recall their vigorous condemnation of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. We are horrified by the terrible suffering and damage which were inflicted upon Lebanon and its civil population. A large number of innocent men, women and children were killed or wounded. Many thousands have been made homeless. We are especially

shocked and revolted by the massacre of Palestinian civilians in Beirut. The Ten have strongly condemned this criminal act. An authoritative inquiry into the circumstances of this incident is clearly necessary.

The Ten reaffirm their solidarity with a friendly country whose population has suffered so cruelly and whose fragile stability is dangerously threatened. They are confident that the Lebanese people will be able to bring about national reconciliation. The presence of certain of their number in the multinational forces established at the request of the Lebanese Government in line with the objectives of relevant Security Council resolutions bears witness to the attachment of the Ten to the restoration of the authority of the Lebanese Government. They renew their offer to assist in the relief and reconstruction of the country.

The Ten reaffirm their attachment to the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and national unity of Lebanon, which are indispensable for peace in the region.

In the view of the Ten, establishment of a durable peace in Lebanon requires the complete and prompt withdrawal of Israeli forces from that country, as well as the departure of all foreign forces, except those which may be authorized by the government of Lebanon. They will support any efforts to this end.

The events in Lebanon confirm that the need for a negotiated, comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict is more pressing than ever. They furthermore confirm that there can be no real peace or stability in the region unless also the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people are recognized. Thus we do not believe it is either wise or just for Israel to seek to deny another people the right it claims for itself.

The Ten remain convinced that two essential principles must be accepted and reconciled: the right to existence and security of all the States and justice for all the peoples. Our commitment to the right of Israel to live in security and peace is absolute and unwavering. So also is our commitment to the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination with all that this implies. This approach is well reflected in the draft Franco-Egyptian initiative which is now before the Security Council.

The Ten are encouraged that these principles and the need to reconcile them are commanding increasing acceptance as the basis for a comprehensive, just and durable settlement.

We welcome the new American initiative contained in President Reagan's speech on 1 September 1982. It offers an important opportunity for peaceful progress on the Palestinian question

and a step towards the reconciliation of the parties' conflicting aspirations.

All parties should seize the present opportunity to initiate a process of mutual *rapprochement* leading towards a comprehensive peace settlement.

In this connection we emphasize the importance of the statement adopted by Arab Heads of State or Government at Fez on 9 September, which we see as an expression of the unanimous will of the participants, including the PLO, to work for the achievement of a just peace in the Middle East encompassing all States in the area, including Israel.

We call now for a similar expression of a will to peace on the part of Israel.

The Ten underline their continuing concern at Israeli policies in the occupied territories. We reiterate that the Israeli decisions concerning East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights are contrary to international law and therefore invalid in our eyes. Similarly, we regard the continuing programme of Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza as illegal and a major obstacle to peace efforts and to the creation of a climate of confidence between the parties.

The Ten wish to see the Palestinian people in a position to pursue their demands by political means and by negotiation. For negotiations to succeed, the Ten believe that the Palestinian people must be able to commit themselves to them and thus to be represented at them. Consequently, the position of the Ten remains that the PLO must be associated with the negotiations.

The Ten will continue to be active in pursuing their efforts to promote a peace settlement along these lines. We clearly recognize that it must be for the parties directly concerned to negotiate a lasting settlement themselves. The Ten will maintain and expand their contacts with all parties to help improve conditions for such negotiations.

The Ten, as stated in their previous declarations, continue to be gravely concerned at the conflict between Iraq and Iran which has now lasted for two years and caused a large number of casualties as well as considerable material destruction. We call urgently for a peaceful solution to the conflict in accordance with the principles adopted by the international community, such as those defined by the United Nations Security Council in its Resolutions 479 of 28 September 1980 and 514 of 12 July 1982.

The Ten have stated their policy on the Cyprus problem on many occasions. We have consistently supported the efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to bring about a lasting solution. Under his auspices the intercommunal talks have been established on a regular basis. As

stated by the Secretary-General, this does not mean that the well-known major substantive elements of the Cyprus problem are about to be resolved. It is our sincere wish that the necessary goodwill will be shown so that progress can be made towards a just and lasting solution to this grave problem, a solution that will effectively maintain the unity, territorial integrity and independence of the Republic of Cyprus.

The countries on the African continent are still faced with the difficult task of settling internal and external conflicts by peaceful means.

The Ten support Africa's quest for peaceful development. Confident that the difficulties presently confronting the Organization of African Unity will be overcome, we hope that the Organization will be able to continue to fulfil its unique role as a forum for concerted action to secure peace on the African continent.

The Ten express their deep concern for the renewed tension prevailing since early July at the Ethiopian-Somali border. The Ten, who are committed to the respect of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all the countries of the region, make an urgent appeal to the interested governments to refrain from any actions contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and to work for the restoration of peace within the Horn of Africa.

In southern Africa independence for Namibia and an end to racial discrimination are still to be achieved.

The Ten have repeatedly and firmly expressed their conviction that the people of Namibia must be permitted to determine their own future through free and fair elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations in accordance with Security Council Resolution 435.

We reiterate this conviction today with a feeling that prospects for a settlement are now better than ever before. Encouraged by recent progress in the negotiations we now believe that implementation of the United Nations plan is within reach.

The Ten reaffirm their support for all parties who have striven in recent months to bring about the achievement of independence, peace and prosperity for Namibia. They commend the Western five for their untiring efforts to seek a speedy solution in accordance with Security Council Resolution 435.

The Ten urge all parties concerned to facilitate the conclusion of the negotiations without further delay and to refrain from any action which could endanger the agreement reached. The recent South African incursions into Angola cannot but complicate the ongoing negotiations. The Ten

have condemned these violations of Angola's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Now is the time for statesmanship and courage. Namibia remains the primary responsibility of the United Nations, and the world community would react strongly to attempts to delay Namibia's independence.

Within South Africa itself the situation continues to be marked by increased restrictions on and oppression of the country's black majority. The Ten deeply deplore this. They reiterate their unequivocal condemnation and rejection of this system of institutionalized racial discrimination.

Noting recent developments within South Africa, the Ten remain convinced of the urgent need for meeting the political as well as the social and economic aspirations of all South Africans. An early abolition of the apartheid system is essential. The Ten will continue a critical dialogue with South Africa to encourage peaceful change in the country. They will also continue to use the collective weight of the European Community to influence South Africa to end the system of apartheid and establish a society with freedom and justice for all.

The Soviet military occupation in 1979 of Afghanistan, a formerly non-aligned and independent country, remains a source of grave concern to the whole world and continues seriously to affect the stability of the region.

More than 20% of the Afghan population have had to flee their home country. This exodus continues, and tens of thousands of additional refugees are reaching the camps each month. Unbroken resistance in Afghanistan clearly shows that the Afghan people reject the political system forced upon them and vigorously refuse to be governed by a regime imposed by a foreign power.

The Ten strongly urge consideration of the European Council proposal of 30 June 1981 for a comprehensive political settlement of the conflict. They continue to believe that only a settlement which is ultimately endorsed by the Afghan people and which takes fully into account their fundamental right to self-determination will be able to bring lasting peace and stability to the area. The European Council proposal seeks to bring about the cessation of external intervention and the establishment of safeguards to prevent such interventions in the future, and takes into full account the legitimate interests of the countries of the area.

The Ten take note with interest of the efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General and his personal representative aiming at a political solution. Any solution should be reached between all par-

ties concerned, should be based upon the principles of the United Nations resolutions adopted by an overwhelming majority of the General Assembly, and should include the withdrawal of foreign troops. The principles of equal rights and self-determination of peoples and of refraining from the threat or the use of force against the territorial integrity of any State are at the very basis of international relations.

Kampuchea has also been invaded and occupied by a foreign power. All efforts to bring about a solution to the Kampuchean problem have foundered so far on the refusal of Vietnam to accept the relevant United Nations resolutions as the basis for a genuine political settlement.

However, the Ten note with interest new developments which could contribute to a comprehensive political solution. Resistance forces have come together and announced the formation of a coalition. There have also been contacts recently between Vietnam and other governments of the region.

The Ten are prepared to support any initiative which aims at establishing a truly representative government in a neutral and independent Kampuchea. It is high time that the suffering of the Kampuchean people ceased and that they regained their right to self-determination without disruption, intimidation or coercion. It should not be impossible to find a solution which accommodates the legitimate concerns of all interested parties including Vietnam.

Almost 30 years after the armistice agreement the unresolved Korean question still constitutes an abnormal and potentially dangerous situation in the region. The Ten believe that a peaceful reunification of Korea should be pursued by means of dialogue and negotiations based on the communiqué of 1972 between South and North Korea.

The Ten wish to reaffirm the importance which they attach to the consolidation of good relations with all the countries of Latin America. Our histories have been closely interwoven over the centuries. We enjoy strong cultural, commercial and family ties. We share many of the same values. For all these reasons we intend both collectively and as individual States to develop and strengthen still further our relations with the States of both Central and South America.

We, therefore, deplore the recent grave events in the South Atlantic, in which force was used against a member of the Ten contrary to the principles of the United Nations Charter, especially that of the peaceful settlement of disputes, and in defiance of the Security Council. These events serve to underline the importance of and respect

for those principles and the dangers which flow from their violation or neglect.

With particular reference to Central America, the Ten have frequently expressed their serious concern about growing tension in that region. They are convinced that grave economic and social problems in the region have caused an unstable situation which is aggravated by foreign political interference and arms supply. The increasing use of violence and the recurring violations of human rights further jeopardize this already precarious situation. The Ten are convinced that only the implementation of a political dialogue and negotiations with the participation of all democratic forces will bring about a peaceful settlement. Necessary political solutions should be sought and found by the parties to the conflicts themselves. In this context the Ten have taken note with interest of the proposals made by a number of countries of the region. They are furthermore actively considering how to help to improve the economic situation of the countries in Central America.

### *Human rights*

On the threshold of the 34th anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights we must, unfortunately, face the fact that member countries are not living up to their obligations under the Charter to cooperate at the United Nations in the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms. On the contrary, human rights are being violated in many parts of the world, and the violations seem to increase, rather than diminish, in number. Often, it is the most fundamental of human rights—the integrity of the individual—which is being violated.

Arbitrary killings or politically motivated executions occur on a large scale in many countries. The minimal guarantees of due process of law are not respected. Disappearances and torture have become an appalling part of daily life in an increasing number of countries. Large numbers of political prisoners, including trade-union activists, still remain locked away. Human beings are persecuted solely on ideological and religious grounds. In certain countries individuals or groups are persecuted simply because they have the courage to defend the cause of human rights. Whenever such abuses occur the international community has a particular obligation to intervene actively.

To maintain its credibility the United Nations must react promptly and adequately to all serious violations of human rights, no matter where they occur. Countries of the European Community have taken concrete initiatives with this aim. Let

me draw your attention to the establishment of the Working Group on Disappeared Persons, the United Nations Voluntary Fund for Victims of Torture and the appointment of a special rapporteur on summary and arbitrary executions.

The Ten's firm commitment to ensure universal respect for human rights is rooted in our common democratic ideals and standards. The individual must be protected from possible infringement by the State on his or her rights. Political suppression is as incompatible with human dignity as are social discrimination, economic exploitation and sheer deprivation. Social and economic as well as civil and political rights need to be guaranteed as essential parts of an integral whole.

The Ten share a basic conviction that every human being is entitled to have his fundamental human rights recognized and respected in any country, irrespective of the social or political system. These rights must be safeguarded by the adherence of all States to common standards and legally binding instruments as well as by appropriate measures for their international monitoring.

The world economy is at present facing its deepest recession since World War II. The worldwide recession has affected almost all countries, developed as well as developing, especially the least developed. The annual growth rate has fallen to only 1% on a world basis.

Inflation, interest rates and unemployment are as heavy problems as ever. At the same time the world recession has once again clearly demonstrated the economic interdependence between all countries and all parts of the world. It has made it clear that economic growth in both developed and developing countries is the key to sustained progress in the world economy. Indeed, we are convinced that sustained growth in the developing countries will lead to stability and prosperity for the developing and developed countries alike. In order to achieve world growth, it is, however, necessary to work together and through increased international cooperation promote the recovery of the world economy.

The open world trade system embodied in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade has served the world economy well. It ought therefore to be preserved and further strengthened. It is the experience of the Community that the dismantling of trade barriers has been one of the most important engines of economic growth. We therefore hope that the GATT ministerial meeting in November will reaffirm the adherence to the international trade rules, strengthen the resistance to protectionist pressures, and promote an even better participation of developing countries in world trade and in the international trading system.

Increased trade is especially vital for the developing countries and improved conditions for North/South trade should be a priority item at the GATT ministerial meeting. In this context the Community recognizes the need for fair and stable prices for commodity producers. Implementation of the Agreement on the Common Fund on Commodities and extension of commodity agreements could constitute an important step forward in this direction. In this context we also look forward to having a constructive discussion of the overall perspectives in trade and development at Unctad VI next year.

Through the Second Lomé Convention the European Community has already for its part secured additional benefits for the trade of African, Caribbean and Pacific States with the Community. It has also contributed to the economic and social development of the ACP States through increased amounts of aid. Moreover, access to the Community markets for all developing countries has been improved through the Generalized System of Preferences and other EEC instruments.

It is of great importance that the goals set forth in the International Development Strategy for the 1980s be implemented. The targets regarding official development assistance and the endeavours to fulfil them despite economic difficulties are an integral part of this strategy.

Although faced with budgetary difficulties, the Member States of the Community remain committed to the target of 0.7% of GNP. We urge others to use their best endeavours to achieve this goal. The stagnation in the volume of, development assistance to the developing countries and to the multilateral financing institutions has given rise to growing concern within the Community. We feel that it is especially important to safeguard the multilateral institutions at a time when developing countries are faced with such enormous difficulties. We are willing—and appeal to others to do likewise—to participate in all efforts to that effect. We welcome the solution which has been found in Toronto to solve the problem of the financing of IDA VI; the countries of the Community have been instrumental in achieving this solution. We also regard the consensus to seek agreement by April on the eighth quota revision of the IMF as an important step forward. In this context, the Community believes that the IMF must play an increasing role as the world's primary monetary institution. Furthermore, we consider that non-concessional flows play their role in promoting economic development in developing countries.

The need for specific efforts to find solutions to the grave problem of hunger in the world has been recognized by a number of important international meetings. The Cancun Summit last Oc-

tober provided an important political impetus in this area. The Rome meeting of last April brought together the entire donor community for a thorough consideration of new lines of action in this field. The ministerial meeting of the World Food Council in June this year adopted a number of pertinent conclusions and recommendations, which we supported and fully subscribe to.

The Council rightly put particular emphasis on the urgent need to deal effectively with the food problems of many African countries. The Community and its Member States are particularly sensitive to the hunger problem. We have in the past year both as a community and individually taken a number of concrete steps. The Community approved last autumn a plan of action to combat hunger in the world which includes *inter alia* the allocation of exceptional food aid for the least developed countries which has enabled the international emergency food reserve to achieve its target for the first time. Another important field of action to which we are committed is our assistance to national food strategies in developing countries.

Last year's United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries in Paris made a valuable contribution to attract the attention of the international Community to the plight of these countries. The Community and its Member States took an active part in the elaboration and adoption of the Substantial New Programme of Action and remain committed to its goals, including the 0.15% target for official development assistance to the least developed countries as defined at the Paris Conference. This target has already been achieved by some EEC countries. At present, no less than 70% of all bilateral ODA commitments from industrialized countries towards the least developed countries come from the Community and its Member States.

The United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy in Nairobi last year was a major effort by the international community to find global solutions to the energy problems, notably the very severe problems of the developing countries. We support the Nairobi Programme of Action and will continue to make a constructive contribution to its implementation. The meeting in Rome of the interim committee in June this year made progress in this direction. We will participate constructively in the efforts of this session of the General Assembly to tackle the issues still outstanding, in particular those concerning the financial and institutional follow-up of the Nairobi Conference. Finally, the Community reiterates its call for early progress on the proposal to establish an energy affiliate in the World Bank which would contribute to increasing the financial resources available to developing countries at the multilateral level.

But in our concern for the state of the world economy we must bear in mind the problems raised by the continuing deterioration of the environment and the depletion of natural resources. The Community therefore associates itself with the concerns expressed at the Special Session of the Governing Council of the United Nations Environment Programme earlier this year on the need for the wise management and preservation of the global environment and natural resources as a prerequisite for sustainable development. It will continue its efforts in support of these essential objectives.

We must bring about—as the European Community has advocated for several years—a more action-oriented and concrete course for the North-South Dialogue. The Community welcomed the initial proposal of launching global negotiations covering all major issues in the world economic area. We have all worked hard ever since to establish the necessary basis for the negotiations. We therefore welcomed the developing countries' latest draft resolution and we support the response from the Versailles Summit thereto. The four proposed amendments from the Summit should be considered as clarifications which fully respect the equilibrium and the spirit of the developing countries' draft resolution. We appeal to all member countries to support these amendments in order to grasp this opportunity to reach agreement on the launching of the global negotiations at this session. If we fail to do so, the moment for decision—and perhaps a golden opportunity—could well slip through our hands.

The gloomy picture I have just described must not lead us to despair. On the contrary, we must find new strength and double our efforts to reverse these deplorable trends. The countries of the European Community are ready to bear their share of this heavy burden and pledge their full cooperation in all efforts to bring about a strong and sustained momentum towards the solution of these fundamental problems.

The forum for such efforts already exists here in the United Nations. Its universality is one of its most precious assets and should not be challenged. The principles we should set as goals for our efforts are already defined in Article I of the Charter of the United Nations.

Let us use the United Nations and the specialized agencies in accordance with the purposes for which they have been created. Let us not divert their functioning in pursuit of short-term propaganda gains.

Let us reaffirm in deed our commitment to the Charter. Let us not dilute it by initiatives that draw selectionally on its provisions.

Let us demonstrate that we have the will and the vision to be united against the challenges facing us.



## European political cooperation

### Ministerial meeting

2.2.84. The Foreign Ministers held a political cooperation meeting in Brussels on 23 November. At a press conference the President of the Council, Mr Ellemann-Jensen, gave the following report on the ministerial discussions.

### *Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe*

2.2.85. The Ministers noted with satisfaction that the moves by the Ten to obtain a substantive and balanced final document were supported by the Community's allies and friends. They had instructed their delegations in Madrid to work with this objective, acting in cooperation with other delegations and maintaining close contact with the neutral and non-aligned countries.

### *Poland*

2.2.86. The Ministers expressed the desire to develop relations with Poland and the Polish people. They took note of the release from detention of Lech Walesa, which could be a step towards normalization of the situation. However, the Ten considered that it was too soon to comment in this regard and they would be following developments closely.

### *USSR*

2.2.87. The Ministers noted with concern that the international climate remained tense. They expressed their interest in endeavouring to achieve a more positive state of affairs by stepping up the process of dialogue. In this context, they would give careful consideration to all pronouncements by the new Soviet leaders.

### *Middle East*

2.2.88. Referring to his recent visit to Lebanon and Jordan, Mr Ellemann-Jensen said that there were grounds for hope that the beginnings of a solution were emerging.

The Danish Foreign Minister was instructed by the Ten to travel to Israel, in the context of the continuing contacts with both Israel and the Arab countries, in order to inform the Israeli Government of the damaging effects of its policy in the occupied territories, in particular regarding the establishment of settlements. He would also draw to the attention of the Israeli authorities the fact that the political impetus provided by President Reagan's declaration and the Arab Summit in Fez could be weakened if Israel showed no sign of flexibility.

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Speech to the European Parliament by  
Danish Foreign Minister  
Uffe Ellemann-Jensen on European  
Political Cooperation (Excerpts)  
15 December 1982

*Annex to the Official Journal of the  
European Communities No. 1-292*

... in each individual case, this aid is given either as emergency food aid, emergency aid under Title 950 of the 'Commission' section of the budget or as disaster aid under Article 137 of the Lomé Convention. This emergency aid is primarily intended to alleviate the hardship of refugees and displaced persons in the developing countries. It is distributed amongst the peoples concerned by the governments of the countries in question, but also in many cases through humanitarian organizations such as the Red Cross, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees or certain non-governmental organizations. Every effort is made to get the aid measures underway as quickly as possible, to cut transport times as much as possible and to ensure that the aid really does get to those who are most in need of it.

During the Danish presidency the political cooperation among the Ten has been marked by international tension and conflicts. I refer not least to East-West relations, which must in particular be seen against the background of developments in Poland and the situation in Afghanistan, and to the situation in the Middle East. These problems, along with a number of other important international issues, are described in the 1982 annual report on European political cooperation (EPC), which the Presidency has just distributed to the Honourable Members.

As time does not allow a detailed account of all the political questions which have been discussed by the Ten during the Danish presidency, I would refer you to the aforementioned report and confine myself here to some of the most essential international issues which have engaged the Ten's active interest during the last six months.

The adoption of the Foreign Ministers' report on political cooperation on 13 October 1981 in London (London Report) means a strengthening of the existing procedures and mechanisms for political cooperation through a number of innovations which have been

successfully introduced. Thus the 'crisis' procedure has been applied in several cases, and assistance to the sitting Presidency from the preceding and succeeding Presidencies has been of great value in ensuring continuity in political cooperation.

As pointed out in the London Report, the Ten have noticed increasing interest on the part of a number of third countries in establishing closer contact with the Ten. The Ten have reacted positively to such approaches. Moreover, within the framework of political cooperation regular contacts have been established with the applicants for membership of the Communities, Spain and Portugal. I can state here that on the occasion of the Foreign Ministers' political cooperation meeting in Brussels on 23 November the Foreign Ministers of the Ten met the Spanish and Portuguese Foreign Ministers, and in my capacity as chairman I reported on the latest developments in European political cooperation. Furthermore, two meetings took place with Spain and Portugal at political director level during the Danish presidency. This procedure should be seen as a preparation for these two countries' full participation in EPC on their accession to the Communities.

In addition, the Ten attach special importance to relations with the USA and have emphasized the need for continuing and thorough consultations.

Both my predecessor as Danish Foreign Minister and I myself have had talks with our US counterpart during the Danish presidency, and the first meeting of its kind between the political director of the Presidency assisted by the political directors of the previous and the subsequent Presidencies and senior officials from the United States took place in September 1982. Most recently, on 13 December, the President of the European Council had talks in the United States with President Reagan and other senior leaders in the American administration. A desire had been expressed on both sides to continue and extend these consultations, which are clearly of interest to both partners.

In this connection I should like to answer Mrs Macchiorochi's question on Franco-German cooperation within the framework of EPC (European Political Cooperation) and link it with the whole question of relations between Europe and the USA. I may say first of all that the Ten do not discuss defence problems within the framework of the EPC. As was mentioned in the London Report, it was agreed to retain the flexible and pragmatic procedure which enabled certain important foreign policy questions relating to security to be discussed. It is by now a well-established fact that the Ten exchanges views with the USA only on topics that have already been discussed in EPC. With regard to contacts between the Ten and third countries well-established procedures have already been laid down for dealing with such topics. With the USA, for example, close and frequent contacts are always maintained in advance. In this connection I should like

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Furthermore, the Community is taking an active part in the negotiations on the other products included in the UNCTAD integrated programme. As far as common funds are concerned, the Community and all its Member States have signed the agreement and the ratification procedure is either completed or about to be completed.

In the case of wheat, which is rightly regarded as the key product in the struggle against world hunger, an international agreement with effective economic provisions will also help greatly to stabilize the food situation. This is why the Community is making determined efforts to see that negotiations on the drawing up of such an agreement are continued.

The Community has at its disposal special resources for the purpose of giving immediate aid to peoples hit by natural disasters or other extraordinary circumstances with equally fateful consequences. According to the circumstances and needs in each individual case, this aid is given either as emergency food aid, emergency aid under Title 950 of the 'Commission' section of the budget or as disaster aid under Article 137 of the Lomé Convention. This emergency aid is primarily intended to alleviate the hardship of refugees and displaced persons in the developing countries. It is distributed amongst the peoples concerned by the governments of the countries in question, but also in many cases through humanitarian organizations such as the Red Cross, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees or certain non-governmental organizations. Every effort is made to get the aid measures underway as quickly as possible, to cut transport times as much as possible and to ensure that the aid really does get to those who are most in need of it.

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to refer to my remarks on the subject of consultations with the United States in the report which I have already given.

Relations between East and West have unfortunately suffered serious setbacks in recent years. This has led to a worsening of the international climate. The cause of this difficult situation must be sought *inter alia* in the massive Soviet military build-up, the Soviet Union's continued occupation of Afghanistan and the tragic events in Poland since December of last year. Nevertheless, the important thing now as before is to overcome the atmosphere of mistrust which surrounds relations between East and West. Respect for the principles of the UN Charter and the Helsinki Final Act must be restored. In our view, mutual trust between the parties can only be built up again through an open and genuine dialogue between East and West.

The Ten have already shown their readiness to work for a more positive development of East-West relations, and they urgently call on the Soviet Union to demonstrate a similar inclination. The attitude of the new Soviet leadership will therefore be crucial in determining how East-West relations develop.

Both before and after the resumption of the Madrid Conference on 9 November, the Ten sustained their efforts to secure agreement on a substantial and balanced concluding document. There should be no doubt that, now as in the past, we regard the CSCE process as an exceptionally useful instrument for promoting our objectives in the East-West dialogue.

In our view the draft concluding document submitted by the non-aligned countries is a good starting point for the negotiations. The Ten have submitted some essential and reasonable draft amendments to this document, which have found support from allied and friendly countries.

Since the introduction of martial law in December of last year the Ten have followed developments in Poland with deep concern. Inspired by a genuine sympathy with the Polish people, the Ten have several times repeated their request to the Polish authorities to lift martial law, release those under arrest and return to a genuine dialogue with the relevant groups in Polish society.

The release of Solidarity's leader, Lech Walesa, together with certain other indications, would appear to be a step in the right direction, but there are still a great many negative aspects in the situation in Poland. The Ten are agreed that they must continue to follow developments in Poland very closely.

At this point I should like to answer Mr Fergusson's question concerning the ban on the Polish trade union 'Solidarity'. As the honourable Member will already know, the Ten have been following developments in Poland since the imposition of martial law very

closely and have conveyed their views very clearly to the Polish authorities in a statement of 4 January 1982 and on subsequent occasions, the last of these being at the meeting of the European Council on 3/4 December. At this meeting the Ten noted with grave concern that the free trade union 'Solidarity' had been dissolved. The views of the Ten on the Soviet Union and on Eastern Europe in general were clearly set out in the final communiqué of the European Council of 3/4 December.

The Ten have continued their active diplomacy with a view to promoting a comprehensive peace settlement in the Middle East. As confirmed most recently by the European Council on 4 December 1982, such a settlement to be negotiated with the participation of all parties — meaning that the PLO will have to be involved in the negotiations — should be based on the principles of security for all States in the region, including Israel's right to exist, justice for all peoples, including the right of self-determination for the Palestinians with all that this implies, and mutual recognition by all the parties involved.

The development of the Arab-Israeli conflict took a dramatic turn with the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in June. The Ten vigorously condemned the invasion in their declarations of 9 and 29 June, and called for the complete and prompt withdrawal of Israeli forces as well as the departure of all foreign forces. There have, since the tragic events in Lebanon, been signs that the new situation could contain the seeds of a genuine peace process. In my speech to the UN General Assembly on 28 September 1982 I stressed that the Ten are encouraged that the essential principles on which a comprehensive, just and durable settlement must be based, are commanding increasing acceptance. I also took the opportunity of welcoming the new American initiative contained in President Reagan's speech on 1 September 1982. It offers an important opportunity for peaceful progress on the Palestinian question and a step towards the reconciliation of the parties' conflicting aspirations. In this connection, I emphasized the importance of the statement adopted by Arab Heads of State and Government at Fez on 9 September 1982.

In my capacity of President of the Ten, I met in New York Mr Farouk Khaddoumi, Head of the PLO's Political and International Affairs Department. On behalf of the Ten, I expressed the hope that the Palestinian people would pursue their demands by political means and that the achievement of these should take account of the need to recognize and respect the existence of all the parties and security for all.

I visited Beirut on 4-6 November 1982, to express the Ten's support of the Lebanese Government and the unity and independence of Lebanon and to discuss assistance for reconstruction. I also visited Amman on 6-8 November 1982, in view of the important role that

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Jordan can play in new peace negotiations on the basis of President Reagan's new initiative.

As a follow-up to this visit, it was decided at the political cooperation meeting of Foreign Ministers in Brussels on 23 November that I should take up an invitation from the Israelis to visit Israel in order to express the Ten's desire for further contact with both Israel and the Arab side. During my visit to Israel from 27-29 November I had a meeting with Prime Minister Begin and talks with Foreign Minister Shamir. As instructed by my Community colleagues, I asked the Israeli Government to show flexibility in its approach to the new diplomatic initiatives, as the opportunity to revive the peace process should not be wasted. I pointed in particular to the settlement policy as an obstacle to the development of the trust between partners which must exist before meaningful discussions can be held. Prime Minister Begin stressed that Israel wanted to preserve the Camp David agreement as the basis for the talks, as it not only gave the Palestinians the right to full self-determination but also kept all options open with regard to the final status of the area.

In summary, it could be said that on the face of it the talks were disappointing, but I nevertheless believe that they may be regarded as useful, in that they helped to further the dialogue with our Israeli friends. We should therefore continue to remain in contact with Israel as well as with all the other parties in the Middle East conflict.

To close, let me just mention the situation in Afghanistan, which remains a source of grave concern to the whole world. At the 37th UN General Assembly an overwhelming majority of the UN member countries dissociated themselves from the Soviet occupation of this erstwhile non-aligned and independent country. More than 20% of the Afghan population have had to flee their home country which is proof of the suffering to which the Afghan people are exposed.

In their joint statement at the opening of the 37th UN General Assembly the Ten strongly urged consideration of the European Council proposal of 30 June 1981 for a comprehensive political settlement. The governments of the Ten also supported the initiative by the European Parliament making 21 March 'Afghanistan Day'.

Finally, I should like to stress how important the Ten regard contacts with the European Parliament. I personally found my meetings here to be extremely useful as a step in what is I think a fruitful dialogue between the Ten and the European Parliament. However, I wonder if this dialogue could not be made more effective to the advantage of both parties involved — without the delicate balance between the institutions being disturbed. The abovementioned meeting with the Political Affairs Committee in Copenhagen — perhaps partly because of its informal nature — provided a splendid opportunity for a more thorough exchange of

views on vital international issues. It would be unnatural to expect us to be at one on all political matters, but it is immensely important that our consultations should give us — as the partners we are — the opportunity of informing each other of the background and reasons for our attitudes and actions. To close, I would emphasize that the Parliament's treatment of foreign policy questions are closely followed by the Ten and figure to a large degree in their discussions.

*(Applause)*

**Mr Haferkamp, Vice-President of the Commission.** — *(DE)* Mr President, I should like on behalf of the Commission to make a few additional comments on the oral questions contained in the footnote to the order of business.

First of all, Poland. The President-in-Office of the Council has spoken at length of the political implications. I shall only make a point on aid to Poland. This House had a lengthy debate in September on aid to Poland, and on that occasion I explained in detail how it worked in practical terms. I expressed our appreciation of the organizations which have done everything in their power to ensure that the aid actually reached its proper destination, namely the people who need it.

During that debate I said that the Commission would submit a proposal to make the finance available to continue this help. This proposal was forwarded to the Council on 20 October. It covers the period from December 1982 until May 1983. The aid is to be channelled through the organizations which have arranged assistance so far. The Commission has suggested a total amount of 9.5m ECU.

As regards the questions on the North-South relationships, the Commission can only reiterate what the President-in-Office has already said. We hope that the overall negotiations will get started in the UN General Assembly. We shall, of course, try to make specific progress, as we have done in the agreements on raw materials and basic foodstuffs. We shall do everything to help improve the situation of the developing countries.

We appreciate Mrs Macciocchi's highlighting the Community element in her oral question, in other words she stresses the need for the Community to act as one body in its relationships with the United States. The President-in-Office of Council has already referred to some events of this past year. There is a very close network of ongoing consultations between the administrations and politicians of the Community and the United States. Twice a year we have regular high-level technical talks in which we air all topics of mutual interest insofar as they come within the Community's competence. We also have regular political meetings, and additional ones when necessary. The Council President mentioned the meeting held last week.