

## EUROPEAN POLITICAL COOPERATION

### STATEMENTS OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS

1983

Statement by the German Presidency in the debate of the European Parliament on the report "EPC and European Security"	13 January 1983
Statement on events at the Thai-Kampuchean border	25 April 1983
Third analysis on the EC code of conduct for companies operating in South Africa and press statement	25 April 1983
Statement on persons missing in Argentina (and press statement on the meeting of 14-15 May 1983)	6 May 1983
Statement on Argentina	21 June 1983
Statement by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, F.G. Germany, at the EC-ASEAN Dialogue Conference	28 June 1983
Statement by the German Foreign Minister to the European Parliament on political cooperation	29 June 1983
Statement by the Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs to the European Parliament on political cooperation	18 July 1983
Statement on events in Chile	26 August 1983
Statement by the Foreign Minister of Greece at CSCE meeting	7 September 1983
Statement on the situation in Lebanon	12 September 1983
Statement by the Greek Presidency at the 38 <sup>th</sup> General Assembly of the United Nations	27 September 1983
Statement on events in the north of Lebanon	9 November 1983
Statement on the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus	16 November 1983
Statement on Afghanistan	27 December 1983

The European Council issued other statements. See the conclusions of the Brussels (21-22 March 1983), Stuttgart (17-19 June 1983) and Athens (4-6 December 1983) meetings.

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

41. Statement by Herr Alois Mertes,  
Minister of State, on behalf of the  
German Presidency in the debate  
of the European Parliament on the  
report "EPC and European Security"  
(Strasbourg, 13 January 1983, ex-  
cerpt)

All our thinking on a European peace and security concept must be based on the political and military realities obtaining in Europe. In view of the tremendous military potential of the Soviet Union—a potential which is steadily increasing as the arms build-up continues unchecked—and given the unabating virulence of the political factors behind this build-up, Western Europe has no alternative but to co-operate closely with the United States and Canada in bringing about the military balance of power which is essential to our common security. The continued presence of American troops and the United States' nuclear guarantee for Europe—and no one else can give us this guarantee—remain indispensable. Transatlantic co-operation in the interests of our joint security remains a matter for the Atlantic Alliance, which is the basic ele-

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

ment in the West's security system. Any security policy co-operation on the part of the Ten must likewise build on this foundation. Arms control and disarmament are integral elements of our security policy. At no time since the Second World War have negotiations on the question of disarmament and arms control been conducted in so many places at once as is the case at present.

As regards conventional arms control in Europe, the aim of the negotiations in Vienna on a mutual and balanced reduction in forces is to ensure that both sides reduce the strength of their military forces in the central European theatre. Clearly, therefore the central element is the data problem. The significance of these negotiations is further restricted by the fact that the terms of reference are confined to central Europe. There would be more chance of including the whole of Europe—from the Atlantic to the Urals—in the East-West disarmament in Europe, and that is why the Ten support the French proposal for the convening of such a conference and are in favour of the formulation of a precise negotiating mandate as part and parcel of a balanced and substantive document at the Madrid review session on the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

We have taken note with interest of the willingness expressed by Secretary-General Andropov in his speech on 21 December 1982 to seek reasonable and mutually acceptable solutions to the question of conventional arms limitation. If the Soviet Union were prepared to enter into negotiations on conventional arms control in the whole of Europe—including the European part of the Soviet Union—it would give a great boost to the current negotiations on both conventional and nuclear arms limitation. As far as nuclear weapons are concerned, we welcome the fact that the United States and the Soviet Union have commenced START negotiations in Geneva on drastic cuts in the number of intercontinental missiles. Mr. Andropov's professed willingness to reduce strategic systems by 25% is a step in the right direction, although the American START proposals go a good deal further.

I feel I must sound a warning regarding the Soviet demand that British and French missiles be taken into account in the negotiations on medium-range missiles.

The fact is that third countries' system are not covered by the NATO double decision. Their inclusion would violate the principle of equality in that it would be tantamount to recognition of Soviet superiority over the USA. The Federal Government, along with its allies, will be subjecting the Prague Declaration of the Warsaw Pact of the beginning of January this year to careful and detailed scrutiny with a view to substantive proposals in the interests of maintaining and securing peaceful relations. The same goes for the proposal for a treaty of non-aggression on the part of the two Alliance systems.

Non-aggression has always been the policy pursued by the Federal Republic of Germany and the West as a whole. Indeed, it features in the Helsinki Final Act and more particularly is enshrined as current international law in the UN Charter. A renewed public declaration on the subject would take humanity a step further if it were coupled with the cessation of the use of force on the part of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan and the disavowal by the Soviet Union of the right of intervention laid down in the doctrine of proletarian internationalism. In this instance, it is up to the Soviet Union to match words with deeds.

Let me now move on from my introductory remarks to the central theme of this report. Virtually ever since its inception in 1969/70, European Political Co-operation has concerned itself—sometimes highly energetically—with security issues. Most of the EPC working parties have to do with security policy issues or have at least some connections with security policy. Allow me to cite as an example the co-operation on the part of the Ten in the CSCE process, which has undoubtedly been one of the most remarkable successes of EPC and which is again today—with the review conference going on in Madrid—in the forefront of foreign policy efforts.

As I mentioned earlier, in the statement of 20 November 1979 the Foreign Ministers gave their support to the French proposals for the convening of a disarmament conference in Europe. Co-operation on security policy is therefore of a long-standing practical nature, and has proved its worth. In the London report of October 1981, the Foreign Ministers formalized the existing practice in

that, for the first time in an official political document, they expressly stated that security issues were also the subject of European Political Co-operation.

Over recent years, there has been a tendency among the Ten to widen the scope of their interest in security matters. The negotiations on the European Act are evidently going beyond the terms of the London report, and there is already agreement among the Member States of the Community on the fact that European Political Co-operation should embrace political and certain economic aspects of the security issue. However, despite this progress, the Ten continue to insist that military and defence policy aspects of security are not a matter for EPC. For those Member States which are also members of the Atlantic Alliance, these aspects remain a NATO matter. So much for the basic aspects.

I should now like to move on to deal briefly with the report itself, whose main point—that European Political Co-operation is at present the only forum in Western Europe which can play an increasingly important part in the development of a European security concept—I fully endorse. I, too, see no alternative to this policy. The reasons set out in the report carry conviction. Allow me in particular to advance two major arguments in favour of EPC. For one thing, if the Ten are to develop in the direction of European Union we cannot ignore security issues. Secondly, the co-operation among the Member States aimed at European Union must include all the Member States, which is only possible in an EPC context. Anything that applies to the Ten as a whole must of necessity apply to security policy co-operation too. We cannot afford an à-la-carte Europe in this respect.

I feel bound to deny the claim made in the report that EPC consultations have tended to devalue consultations within the Alliance. The Alliance is concerned primarily with security policy in the transatlantic context, and there already exists within NATO a European consultation forum in the shape of the Euro Group. As far as security policy is concerned, EPC is given a more specific flavour by the fact that it is restricted to Europeans and does not extend to military issues. In other words, EPC and NATO should not be in competition with each other, but should

instead complement and strengthen each other. The important thing is that the members of NATO and EPC should share common convictions and security interests.

There is therefore just as little likelihood of rivalry between EPC and NATO as there is of a division of work, whereby EPC would deal with the politically more attractive issues, including arms control and disarmament, leaving the more controversial and more unpleasant issues to NATO. A strong and united Europe is a welcome factor in the Alliance by virtue of its political predictability, and there is general acknowledgement of the important role we play vis-à-vis political stability in Europe and hence for peace in the world. The fact that we are discussing security policy issues can have no effect on the close and trusting co-operation which characterizes the relations of the Ten to other friendly and allied States.

A second critical comment I have to make relates to the differences of opinion between the Europeans and the Americans, dealt with in the chapter entitled "EPC versus NATO consultations", which to my mind is excessively pessimistic. It is perfectly normal for differences of opinion to arise among equal partners in the Alliance, just as in the Community. In the Alliance, any differences of opinion often result from the more global view of problems taken by the USA compared with the more regional outlook of the Europeans. We shall simply have to learn to live with this fact, which is caused by a variety of geographical, historical and other factors.

So far the Atlantic Alliance has always managed to agree on a common approach as a result of its close consultations in a spirit of mutual confidence. The latest instance we have of the phenomenon is the gradual concurrence of views on East-West economic relations, which resulted in the lifting of American sanctions against European firms. In this respect, the report could be a little more up-to-date.

I should like to follow up these comments on the report itself by pointing out that the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany has always attached very great importance to security policy co-operation within the framework of EPC, and we shall continue to do so during our tenure of the Presidency.

## European political cooperation

2.4.1. The Foreign Ministers attending the Council meeting of 25 April adopted the following statement on recent events at the Thai-Kampuchean border:

'The Ten are following with great concern recent developments along the Thai-Kampuchean border.

They deplore the attacks of Vietnamese armed forces on camps of refugees and displaced persons, which constitute a blatant violation of fundamental humanitarian principles and of the UN Charter. Violations of the Thai border involve the risk of the conflict spreading.

The Ten note with regret that the sorely tested Kampuchean civilian population and the refugees are the first to suffer from the military operations.

The Ten appeal to Viet Nam to end its attacks and to refrain from any incursion into Thai territory. They firmly reiterate the demand contained in the joint declaration of the Community-Asean ministerial meeting of 24-25 March that Viet Nam should withdraw all of its troops from Kampuchea and that the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination should be put into practice in the framework of the relevant resolutions of the UN.'

2.4.2. The Ministers also adopted the latest report on the application of the Code of

Conduct for European companies in South Africa and issued a press communiqué to this effect. The report was sent to the President of Parliament.

COMMISSION  
OF THE  
EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES

Brussels ..... 22 March 1984 .....  
LC/dvdm

Directorate-General for  
External Relations

I.A.2.

Note for the attention of Mrs Mary MINCH  
(Washington Delegation)

Further to our telephone conversation of today,  
please find hereafter:

- 1) Text of the third Community analysis on the EC code of conduct for companies operating in South Africa transmitted by the Presidency of the E.P.C. to the Presidency of the European Parliament on 25 April 1983 (Annex I).
- 2) Text of the statement issued by the Ten on the same subject on 25 April 1983 (Annex II).

The text of the evaluation for the 1st and 2nd year of implementation of the Code have not been circulated and are not available.

L. Cao



Annex: I

Draft

EC CODE OF CONDUCT FOR COMPANIES OPERATING IN SOUTH AFRICA: THIRD COMMUNITY ANALYSIS.

Introduction.

During the period under review the conditions for the participation of blacks in the South African labour market continued to improve. The Code of Conduct remained an important factor in assisting that process by setting down fundamental principles accepted internationally.

During the period trade union membership continued to increase. Industrial unrest remained a distinctive feature of the labour market in some sectors. An increasing number of employers appeared willing to recognize and negotiate with trade unions, including - in some cases - unions outside <sup>the</sup> industrial council system. The influence of non-registered trade unions on negotiations with individual companies increased considerably.

Important legislative changes were implemented during the period, removing further racial features from some parts of the legislation on labour and industrial relations. In particular, the phasing out of statutory job reservation on racial basis continued.

Freedom of association was extended to all black workers, and the autonomy of trade unions regarding

membership increased. However, there are still restrictions concerning the registration of multi-racial unions.

In spite of these improvements the participation of blacks in the labour market continued to be restricted by discretionary administrative procedures and by basic elements of the apartheid system. The closed shop, the mechanics of trade union registration and the industrial council system remained barriers to the achievement of equality of opportunity and reward for blacks. The system of migrant labour, the lack of training and educational facilities, and - to a lesser extent - segregation at the work-place are still serious handicaps for the blacks. The lack of mobility resulting from the influx control system is also an impediment to black advancement.

During the period under review the considerable unemployment amongst mainly the non-white population increased. The sections of the Code covering minimum wage levels therefore may have assumed a greater importance for the well being of unskilled black South Africans during the period under review, when the availability of jobs was reduced as a result of economic decline.

Analysis.

The national analysis rests on an examination of 205 company reports made up as follows:

UK: An overall <sup>of</sup> total 190 company reports were received for the reporting period from 1st July 1980 to 30th June 1981. A total of 141 reports came from companies holding 50 % or more of the equity of the South African company, employing 20 or more black Africans. The government's analysis covers 127 of these reports (covering 129,000 black employees) which were received in time for detailed assessment. The government's analysis and summary and the individual companies' reports are publicly available.

Federal Republic of Germany: 47 companies employing 19,200 black workers and covering the period from 1 July 1980 - 30 June 1981. The government's analysis is publicly available.

Netherlands: 15 companies employing 4,471 black workers and covering the period from 1st July 1980 to 30th June 1981. The government's analysis and the companies' reports are publicly available.

France: 12 companies employing 1884 black workers and covering 1981.

Italy: 2 companies employing 1100 black workers and covering the period 1 July 1980 - 30 June 1982.

Denmark: 2 companies employing 215 black workers and covering the period 1 July 1981 - 30 June 1982. The government's analysis has been published and the companies' reports are publicly available.

Greece: 2 companies employing 33 black workers.

Belgium: The number of firms reporting under the Code, has been reduced to three. It seemed therefore necessary to examine the situation and to inquire whether all firms, liable to do so, were reporting. The results of this inquiry are not yet known.

Ireland and Luxembourg do not have companies reporting under the Code.

#### Relations within the company.

As in the previous reporting period liaison committees and similar consultative systems within each company were still the predominant form of representation for black workers. However, there is a growing tendency towards recognition of trade unions representative of black workers. Formal recognition was reported by 8 British, 7 German and 1 French company whereas a further 15 companies including four from the Netherlands reported de facto recognition of or negotiations with such unions. A considerable number of companies,

including the Italian, Danish, 37 of the British companies most of the German and several Dutch companies stated their willingness to negotiate with unions representative of black employees, in some cases subject to certain pre-conditions being met. It is not always apparent, however, whether they are also willing to deal with non-registered trade unions.

In the period under review the role played by the black trade union movement appears to have increased. It may be expected that this development will continue, and wider acceptance of these unions by European companies might contribute to this.

#### Migrant labour.

Employment of migrant labour was reported by 38 British, 13 German, 3 Dutch and 1 French company. The majority of companies employing migrant labour now treats them as permanent employees enjoying the same benefits as the established work force. Most of the companies provide special benefits to alleviate the social and family problems of migrants. Additional paid leave, help in obtaining accommodation and advisory services are widely provided.

#### Pay.

The wages for most employees still appear to show an upward trend. To a certain degree, the firms seem to put special emphasis on improvement of wages

for the lowest paid groups as well as on improving promotion opportunities through education programmes.

Africans

99 % of the black employed in British firms are paid above the lower datum level and 92 % above the higher datum level. In German firms 73 % are paid in accordance with the level stipulated by the code of conduct while additionally 12% are clearly placed above the lower datum level. The French firms in no case appear to pay their black workers below the lower datum level. Wages are often at or above the Code level.

Approximately 80% of the 4471 black employees in Dutch firms are paid above - and approximately half of the workers considerably above - the Code level. Among the rest of the employees all except 75 persons (compared to 126 in the former reporting period) are paid above the lower datum level. The number of black employees in the lowest wage bracket has fallen from 1.030 to 300 persons. All employees in the two Danish firms are paid above the lower datum level. The majority is payed at or considerably above the Code level.

Wage structure and black African advancement.

All reports show that the principle of equal pay for equal work is widely followed. The complementary principle of equality of job opportunity is, however, far from being adhered to. The prime reason remains that despite the growing shortage of skilled labour,

the absence of adequate education and training for black workers means that they are unable to compete on equal terms with white workers for skilled jobs. In this connection it should be noted that some companies have introduced numeracy and literacy classes for their employees in order to help overcome this problem. Increased efforts have also been reported to provide skills training programmes and additional instruction in order to help overcome the lack of skilled labour and enhance the career prospects for black workers.

Many of the reporting firms in particular from the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands and Great Britain have strengthened the educational possibilities comprising training schools, external courses, technical training programmes, apprenticeships etc. Almost all the firms have during the reporting period as a minimum implemented on-the-job or in-house training.

The reports seem to show a tendency to a further widening of the educational possibilities for black workers including education of a more theoretical nature.

Fringe benefits for black workers.

The majority of the reporting firms provide supplementary pay primarily in the form of pensions and life insurance arrangements as well as medical

aid. A large number of firms contribute to a certain degree to transportation also in connection with vacations. Firms from the United Kingdom, of Germany, the Federal Republic, Italy and the Netherlands have reported about assistance to finding residential facilities. A number of firms from the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany have as part of their education system granted scholarships. For some of the Dutch firms the scholarships have also been applicable to the family of the employee. Beyond this fringe benefits such as legal assistance, leisure and sports facilities should be mentioned. It is not possible on the basis of the reports to assess whether fringe benefits have developed to the special advantage of the black employees.

Desegregation.

The tendency of the reports seem to show that the firms are increasingly aware of the need to eliminate segregation. Twenty-two British, fifteen German and eight Dutch firms have reported total desegregation at the work place and in related facilities. Ninety-seven British firms have reported plans for total desegregation. Twenty-four German firms have reported desegregation at the work place, but not yet in all the related social facilities. Nine British, two Danish and several Dutch and German companies have reported positive changes in their policy in



this area since the last reporting period. The reports from the other countries seem to show an equally positive attitude. Some French firms have indicated, however, that endeavours towards desegregation are hampered by resistance from white employees.

Conclusion.

Compared to the last reporting round positive developments can be noted in several of the areas covered by the Code. There is an increasing tendency to accept non-registered as well as registered unions as representatives of the black employees. It is also encouraging that the educational possibilities have improved both in quantity and in quality. Various kinds of fringe benefits seem to be increasingly offered as a natural supplement to the salary.

In spite of certain improvements, particularly in the manufacturing sector, minimum pay levels have, however, not in all cases developed satisfactorily. Increased cooperation between management and trade unions as well as sustained endeavours to improve training and educational facilities have proved and will continue to be important and effective in promoting black social interests and overcoming inequalities on racial lines. It is hoped that European companies will continue to make every effort to comply fully with the recommendations in the code.

CODE OF CONDUCT FOR COMPANIES  
OPERATING IN SOUTH AFRICA, THIRD ROUND REPORT

1. The Ten discussed the results of the third round of reports by companies with subsidiaries in South Africa on the implementation of the EC Code of Conduct adopted in the framework of European Political Co-operation in September 1977. The reports cover periods from mid-1980 to the beginning of 1982. There was agreement that this period was marked by further improvement in the working and living conditions of black Africans working in the South African subsidiaries of European companies and that the Code will continue to be an important factor in this process.
2. Some of the areas to which the Code applies have again shown positive developments. There is, for example, an increasing tendency among European subsidiaries to recognize trade unions which represent black African workers, including some so-called non-registered trade unions. An increase in the pay level is also to be noted, particularly in low wage groups, so that the minimum pay level recommended by the Code is achieved for a substantial majority of workers in the European subsidiaries. This development was complemented by further improvements in fringe benefits. Finally, it is encouraging that there has been a clear increase and qualitative improvement in the training and educational facilities provided by European subsidiaries in South Africa. However, the results so far achieved do not yet fully meet the guidelines set by the Code; further progress is needed.
3. The Ministers continue to attach great importance to improving the living and working conditions of black African workers in the European subsidiaries and to eliminating racial discrimination in this sphere. The analysis of the Ten confirms the great value of increased co-operation between management and trade unions as well as of sustained endeavors to upgrade training and educational facilities as effective means towards these objectives. The Ministers voiced the expectation that the European Companies will continue their efforts to fulfill the recommendations contained in the Code of Conduct.

## 4. Institutional and political matters

### European political cooperation

2.4.1. On 6 May the Ten issued the following statement on persons missing in Argentina:

'The Ten have noted with great sympathy the recent evolution within Argentina towards a return to constitutional rule.

They believe that in this context the question of human rights and the clarification of the fate of the missing people is of central importance.

The document issued by the military junta on 28 April cannot be accepted as a sufficient or final answer to the numerous representations to the Argentine Government made by the Ten asking for clarification of the fate of missing people. The Ten therefore continue to urge the Argentine Government to give satisfactory clarification.'

2.4.2. The Foreign Ministers held an informal meeting at Schloss Gymnich on 14 and 15 May. The political cooperation questions discussed were the CSCE, Afghanistan, Argentina and talks with China.

2.4.3. The Foreign Ministers also discussed political cooperation issues, including the situation in the Middle East and South Africa, after the 24 May Council meeting, when they expressed concern at escalation of violence in South Africa and Mozambique. They deplored the use of force as a means of achieving political ends and condemned any violation of a neighbouring country's sovereign and territorial rights in breach of international law.

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<sup>1</sup> Point 2.4.16; OJ C 161, 20.6.1983.

<sup>2</sup> Bull. EC 3-1983, points 1.4.1 to 1.4.13.

<sup>3</sup> OJ C 161, 20.6.1983.

## 4. Institutional and political matters

### European political cooperation

2.4.1. The European Council, meeting at Stuttgart, adopted 'conclusions' on international political questions including Poland, the CSCE, the Middle East and Central America.<sup>1</sup>

2.4.2. After a Council meeting on 21 June the Foreign Ministers adopted the following statement on Argentina:

'At their meeting on 21 June the Ten dealt again with the situation in Argentina after the declaration of the Argentine military junta of 28 April on the question of missing persons.

The Ten reaffirm the demand to the Argentine Government voiced already in their declaration of 6 May<sup>2</sup> and the press statement of 15 May after the informal Foreign Ministers' meeting in Gymnich<sup>3</sup> that the Argentine Government give satisfactory clarification of the fate of missing people.'

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<sup>1</sup> The conclusions are set out in full at point 1.5.1 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Bull. EC 5-1983, point 2.4.1.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, point 2.4.2.

<sup>4</sup> Point 2.4.17; OJ C 184, 11.7.1983.

<sup>5</sup> Point 1.6.1 *et seq.*

<sup>6</sup> OJ C 184, 11.7.1983.

<sup>7</sup> OJ C 205, 1.8.1983.

<sup>8</sup> Point 1.5.17.

<sup>9</sup> Bull. EC 6-1982, point 2.4.3.

<sup>10</sup> Point 2.4.12; OJ C 184, 11.7.1983.

<sup>11</sup> Bull. EC 5-1982, point 2.4.1.

<sup>12</sup> Bull. EC 5-1983, point 2.4.7.

<sup>13</sup> OJ L 155, 14.6.1983.

43. Statement by Herr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, President-in-Office of the Council and Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the EC-ASEAN Dialogue Conference (Bangkok, 28 June 1983, excerpts)

For the first time the European Community is attending this Dialogue Conference with the President-in-Office of the Council, his predecessor and the representative of the subsequent Presidency. The Commission too is represented today. The strong representation of the European Community at this meeting underscores once more the importance the Europeans attach to the relationship with ASEAN.

The Joint Declaration issued after the EC-ASEAN meet-

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

ing of 25 March 1983 has shown the large degree of agreement existing between our two communities on the assessment of political and economic issues. This close, trustful co-operation between two important regional groupings is a new and encouraging element in international affairs.

The European Community rated that ministerial meeting and its results as a great success. Addressing the European Parliament I stated:

'With the economic and political collaboration of our two communities we opened up a new dimension in co-operation. The results of the Meeting of Foreign Ministers in Bangkok shows that in a short space of time this new dimension has been imbued with life.'

From the joint communiqué of 25 June we learned with satisfaction that you share this positive assessment. With his remark 'A vibrant EURO-ASEAN Community has evolved', my colleague, Foreign Minister Romulo, also gave expression to our conviction.

Important conferences have been held since our meeting in March.

...

In Stuttgart, the European Council recently took trend-setting decisions on the future development of the European Community. They are designed to promote European unification. The signing by all member countries of the Solemn Declaration on European Union in Stuttgart underscores that they are committed to this political goal.

Despite the difficult world economic situation, the Community is resolved and able to give greater effect to its combined political potential in future. This also applies particularly to Asia, where we desire to be a reliable partner and friend for ASEAN.

...

Friendship with ASEAN is a valuable asset for the European Community. We regard our co-operation as a good example of how a dialogue can be conducted between two regional organizations and lead to practical results.

We demand, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter, the right of all nations to self-deter-

mination, non-interference in the internal affairs of States, and the renunciation of the threat or use of force against any country.

We condemn the unlawful occupation of Cambodia by Vietnamese forces. We demand, in conformity with the declaration of the International Cambodia Conference, the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia. The Cambodian people must be able to determine their own fate.

We welcome all efforts directed towards a peaceful settlement of the Cambodia conflict with due regard for the legitimate security interests of all States in the region.

We are deeply concerned at the continuing military occupation of Afghanistan by Soviet troops. We call upon the Soviet Union to respect the sovereignty of Afghanistan, its political independence and its non-aligned character and to allow the Afghan refugees to return to their native country safely and honourably.

We share these views on Cambodia and Afghanistan with you. In Stuttgart we resolved to enhance the weight of the Ten in international affairs. In the United Nations and other international organizations we want to co-ordinate with ASEAN our position on international issues in a pragmatic manner, thus lending greater force to the political will of our two regional associations.

Apart from the political relations between the European Community and ASEAN, we are today again dealing with the economic aspects of our close and wide-ranging co-operation, as we last did on a broad scale two months ago.

On that occasion I stressed the great importance attaching to the development of close and multi-faceted economic co-ordination and co-operation. Together we want free world trade. Together we are concerned that the free development of economic forces, and not dirigism and restriction, promote progress and prosperity in the world. The co-operation agreement signed in 1980 is a testimony to our readiness to do so. Comprehensive co-operation is beneficial for our economies, which complement one another by their very nature.

At our last meeting we noted that we have succeeded in the past few years in diversifying and intensifying this co-

operation, thus imbuing the co-operation agreement with life. The fact that our trade has developed in a gratifying manner despite continuing world economic problems is due in part to our constant efforts further to develop the generalized system of preferences, which assists ASEAN's exports to the Community in many ways. At our last meeting the Community affirmed its determination to keep its markets open for ASEAN's exports and expand bilateral trading relations.

To help achieve this goal, a whole package of measures for promoting trade have been agreed on. Of these, I should merely like to single out as an example the Joint Industrial Conference held in Kuala Lumpur in March. Closer co-ordination between regional groupings of banks and the future ASEAN business council enable us to create the conditions essential to increased European investment in the ASEAN region.

We were agreed at our last meeting that co-operation between our two groupings should be expanded still further. Our exchange today is evidence that we are serious in our commitment of intensifying relations between the EC and ASEAN.



Genscher

**Speech to the European Parliament by  
German Foreign Minister  
Hans-Dieter Genscher on European  
Political Cooperation (Excerpts)  
29 June 1983**

*Annex to the Official Journal of the  
European Communities No. 1-301*

... between the Ten. Both areas are necessary supplements to the cooperation between the Ten. A European Union without these elements would remain an unfinished structure. It is also of importance to Europe to strengthen the cooperation in security policy, which will extend to political and economic aspects. More cohesion and closer cooperation in security policy will give Europe more influence.

The section on the European Community sets out the main objectives for Community projects in the coming years. I note that deletions in the institutional part, which had to be made in the interests of reaching agreement, are offset by extra provisions on the substance of Community policy, on cooperation in external policy, on cultural cooperation and on the difficult question of the approximation of legislation. I entirely agree with those who complain that the institutional part of the Solemn Declaration does not go far enough.

*(Applause)*

If wishes had been the yardstick of the Italo-German proposal, my colleague Mr Colombo and I would have aimed higher. But we wanted to concentrate on what is feasible today.

Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, may I add a remark here. I want to make it quite clear that the future of the Community will depend on whether use is made of the possibilities for the further development of the Solemn Declaration. The future of the Community will depend on whether the restrictive reservations are dropped.

*(Applause)*

The future of the Community will depend on whether we decide on majority decisions in the framework of the Treaties.

*(Applause)*

In a future Europe of the Twelve, the observance by certain Member States of the so-called 'Luxembourg compromise' would mean that the Community was blockading itself.

*(Applause)*

Great efforts, such as those made in Stuttgart at the European Council, cannot simply be repeated at will. Such backlogs of problems as those facing us now cannot be tolerated by the Community for ever.

*(Applause)*

Everyone must realize that one cannot want to be a member of the Community while wanting at the same time to put a check on its further development.

*(Applause)*

Those who agreed to the direct election of the European Parliament must also be prepared to grant this Parliament the essential rights of a Parliament.

Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, European Political Cooperation has become the most important instrument of the Ten's foreign policy. Only if they act jointly can the Europeans obtain a hearing in international policy. If they act jointly, they will be strong enough to assert the interests of Europe.

The role of promoting stability and peaceful balance, which the Ten want to play is gaining increasing respect from other States and the major international organizations. Often, those outside Europe seem more aware of this than the Europeans themselves. The growing importance of European Political Cooperation is a positive development and one that is especially important to Europe's internal and external future. It was only thanks to intensive consultation and coordination of our positions that we managed to face up to the increasing tensions and uncertainties in the world and to assume our share of the responsibility for the solution of international crises and the maintenance of peace and stability throughout the world. Besides earlier documents, this cooperation was based on the foreign ministers' report on European Political Cooperation, the 'London report', adopted in London on 13 October 1981.

The provisions of the London report on strengthening and intensifying European Political Cooperation have proved their worth. A series of improvements was carried out. As a follow-up to a British initiative, agreement was reached on the objectives and procedures of closer cooperation between the consulates in third countries. So this project is actually being implemented. A planning group was created to improve the medium and long-term planning capacity. For replies to questions put by the European Parliament, a procedure was adopted that gives the presidency greater responsibility and more flexibility in answering Members' questions.

*(Applause)*

Among the international political issues which EPC considered, the development of East-West relations occupied a prime role during the period of the German presidency too. These relations were and still are hampered by the serious setbacks they suffered as

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a result of the Soviet Union's attitude towards Afghanistan and Poland. The Ten's position towards the Soviet Union is still one of firmness and cohesion as regards the protection of their own interests and principles and the resolve to achieve cooperation and détente. We want to continue the dialogue with the East wherever this is possible and to the benefit of both sides. One important scenario for this dialogue is the CSCE follow-up meeting in Madrid. Since the 'seventies,' the CSCE has led to a very intensive coordination of positions within the EPC, and the same now applies in Madrid. The Ten welcomed the mediation proposal made by the neutral and non-aligned countries in March 1983, since it contained much of what we set out and proposed. Together with other Western countries, the Ten have made a few moderate supplementary proposals.

In Stuttgart on 19 June, the European Council, referring to the initiative of the Spanish President, reaffirmed the view that the adoption of a substantial and balanced final document in Madrid would bring progress for the people, open the way for a conference on disarmament in Europe, give new impetus to the CSCE process and make a useful contribution to improving East-West relations in general. This was designed to bring the Madrid conference out of the dangerous impasse into which it has plunged only a few steps before achieving its aims. We are prepared to agree to the Spanish proposal to mediate, provided all other participants do the same. We must not miss an opportunity decisive to the success of this conference, which is so important to the whole network of the process of détente.

On the question of Poland, the European Council has referred to the strong ties of solidarity between our people and that country. In the view of the Ten, only a national reconciliation which takes full account of the wishes and aspirations of the Polish people can rescue this country situated in the heart of Europe from its deeprooted crisis.

*(Applause)*

The situation in the Middle East also played an important part in European Political Cooperation during the German presidency. Both the European Council in Brussels in March and the European Council in Stuttgart in June this year made statements on the Middle East in their concluding declarations. Both declarations emphasize the crucial aspects of the development of the situation in and around the Lebanon. Resolving the Lebanon problem is a precondition for finding any comprehensive solution to the conflict in the Middle East. As President-in-Office of the Council, I reaffirmed the position of the Ten before the Lebanese Foreign Minister, Mr Salem, in Bonn on 21 May and repeated that the Ten agreed to support the Lebanese Government. In Stuttgart the Ten reaffirmed their full support for the Lebanese President and his government and urged the withdrawal of

foreign troops from Lebanese sovereign territory. The Ten regard the signature of the Lebanese-Israeli agreement as a step which should be followed by the further steps wished for by the responsible authorities in Lebanon. Among the preconditions for a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East, the Ten referred in Stuttgart to the principles which they had repeatedly stated in the past, and in Venice in 1980.

The European Council in Brussels called for a just and honourable solution to end the conflict between Iraq and Iran.

During the European Parliament's debate on the situation in southern Africa on 8 February 1983, I said with regard to the Ten's position vis-à-vis Namibia that only free elections in which all the political forces can take part confident of fair and equal treatment, and which are therefore recognized by the international community as an expression of the Namibians' right to self-determination, can lead this country into a prosperous future as a sovereign state. That is why there is no realistic alternative to the solution proposed by the United Nations in Resolution 435. Regarding the situation in South Africa, I pointed out that the system of legally ordained apartheid and the exclusion of the black majority from any political say or co-responsibility is a source of the tensions in the entire region. The Ten see an open dialogue between the government and the authentic spokesmen of all the population groups as the only basis for a secure future for South Africa.

The Ten have repeatedly considered the developments in Argentina because of the human rights situation and with a view to discovering the fate of those who have disappeared. On several occasions they called on the Argentine Government to give a satisfactory account of the fate of those who have disappeared, and in particular of disappeared European nationals. We still adhere to that demand.

On Central America, the Ten expressed their support for the Contadora Initiative, through which Mexico, Colombia, Panama and Venezuela are endeavouring to establish peace and stability in that region on a regional basis. The progress in relations between the Ten meeting in EPC and third countries and organisations was particularly good during the German presidency.

The positive aspects include the more intensive talks between the Ten and the United States on major themes of international policy, such as the CSCE negotiations, the Middle East and the resumption of the dialogue with the two applicant countries Spain and Portugal and the associated State of Turkey. Moreover, the Ten arranged and held the first ever political consultations with the member countries of the Council of Europe which were not members of the Community.

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The presidency's contacts with other friendly countries such as Norway proceeded equally satisfactorily and were fruitful for both sides.

The Ten's close cooperation with the countries of the South-East Asian ASEAN group continued. It was consolidated at a meeting of foreign ministers in late March this year in Bangkok. Together with my Danish and Greek colleagues, I have just returned today from the so-called dialogue meeting in Bangkok of the foreign ministers of the ASEAN states with the foreign ministers of Australia, Japan, Canada, New Zealand, the USA and the Community.

It was confirmed once again that relations between the two most successful regional groupings of States in the world — the EEC and ASEAN — were of an exemplary close and trusting nature.

On the sidelines of the OECD ministerial meeting on 9 May, we also held political consultations at foreign minister level with Japan, as a troika.

We had the first EPC consultations with China at senior official level. Those talks also underline the international political weight the Ten have jointly acquired.

The troika formula has proved useful and ensures the continuity of EPC proceedings, in which foreign policy cooperation and the Community's external relations must always be seen in their overall context. The Community's external relations encompass the whole world. This explains why the Council considered relations with third countries so intensively.

The Community's enlargement southwards occupied a prime place. It was one of the presidency's priorities. The European Council in Stuttgart, by deciding to present the accession treaties for ratification together with the outcome of the negotiations on the future financing of the Community, created a link between the two issues which should hasten the achievement of both aims.

Immediately after the end of the European Council, I explained this procedure to my Spanish and Portuguese foreign minister colleagues. We agreed that the accession negotiations must now be resumed in a resolute and prompt manner.

The associations with Malta and Cyprus continue to be of special interest to the Community. It looks as though agreement will be reached on a negotiating mandate for Malta in the foreseeable future. It was decided to give the Commission a negotiating brief to renew the financial protocol with Cyprus.

On several occasions the Council has deliberated in depth on the Community's relations with Israel. It found that the agreement between Israel and the Lebanon on ending the state of war and the withdrawal of troops had created a new situation. This

enabled the European Council in Stuttgart to suspend its decision of June 1982. Meanwhile the second EEC-Israel financial protocol was signed on 24 June; this also complies with the requests made in the resolution of this House on 9 June.

The Community has on several occasions expressed its intention to help in the reconstruction of the Lebanon, as also requested repeatedly by this House. On 14 March the Council decided to grant the Lebanon Community emergency aid of 20 million ECU for water supplies for the city of Beirut.

Cooperation with the industrialized States was dominated by the Williamsburg economic summit. President Thorn has given you an account of the proceedings of the summit and the representation of the Community. The Council has good reason to regard Williamsburg as encouraging but also to watch the implementation of the decisions taken there.

Relations with the USA give some cause for concern about protectionist trends and barriers to trade. The issues here are the revision of the US Export Administration Act, special steel exports to the USA and agricultural trade, both bilaterally and on third markets. The Community has constantly sought to hold talks with the USA on this, which has led to better understanding and a more sober viewpoint, but not to any lasting attenuation of the problems.

Relations with Japan remain characterized by the efforts to achieve more balanced trade relations, both by obtaining greater access to the Japanese market and by the Japanese moderating their exports in sensitive sectors. Meanwhile Japan has taken major steps to open its market wider. I expressly welcome this and expect it will soon lead to tangible and practical results. The Council also sees the consultation with Japan in GATT in the same context.

There were two focal points in the association with the 63 African, Caribbean and Pacific States: cooperation in the framework of the current Convention and preparations for the future Convention. The ACP-EEC Council of Ministers meeting on 20 May in Brussels made us aware of the difficulties facing the ACP States as a result of the weak world economic situation. Accordingly the special Council of 19 May on the Stabex system concentrated its attention on the resources allocated to the Fund for use in the years 1980 and 1981. The Community was unable to compensate the ACP States in full for their losses of revenue. But it is likely that for the 1982 application year, the Stabex Fund will once again be adequate to satisfy demands.

During the preliminary work for Lomé III the Council already spoke in favour of continuing the close and exemplary relations with the ACP States. As regards its formulation, the majority of member coun-

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tries tends to prefer continuing the Convention along the well-proven lines of Lomé II, although with slightly different emphases, to strengthen the dialogue and concentrate the development areas.

The Community is persuaded that North-South relations must be regarded as a basic factor in the revival of the world economy. It is largely thanks to the Community's initiative that special stress was laid on this in the Williamsburg Communiqué. What we are concerned with here is the opening of markets, development aid, the problem of debts and the opening of a dialogue which will be a reply to the message of the non-aligned conference in New Delhi and the meeting of the 77 in Buenos Aires. In this context, the Community is also making its contribution to ensuring that UNCTAD VI produces positive and balanced results. The Community is taking part in the Belgrade negotiations in this spirit. At present that conference has reached a decisive phase. In Bangkok we decided to endeavour jointly with the ASEAN States to ensure the success of that conference.

The Council decided by a qualified majority on 21 June on the implementation of the Community's food aid programme. I have once again requested Parliament to give its opinion by urgent procedure, so that the regulations can enter into force. I have tried to give you a sober account of the focal points of Community activity. Naturally, the picture is not a complete one. To fill in the details, I have presented a written report of the German term of presidency, from which you can obtain further information which may be of special interest to one or other of you.

The day after tomorrow, we will hand over the presidency to Greece. The endeavours to resolve the problems facing the Community will continue. We now look ahead with high hopes to the European Council in Athens. Before this House, I would like to wish our Greek friends luck and success in their task.

The Community needs this success. Whether it fulfils the tasks set out in Stuttgart will be a crucial test for our Community. Scepticism and pessimism are just as poor advisers as national egoism. Scepticism, pessimism and national egoism ignore the fact that European integration is the most epoch-making and positive idea of European and international post-war history. Egoism, scepticism and pessimism ignore the fact that the European Community and European cooperation have brought us all great economic and political progress.

The policy of European integration is a policy of peace. It is in all our interests to strengthen Europe, to further develop Europe; it is not a gift that can simply be given by one to the others — and certainly not something already achieved. To adapt what J.F. Kennedy once said, the motto for our activities should

be: 'Do not ask what Europe can do for you but ask what you can do for Europe'.

*(Applause)*

We must all realize that to further develop Europe in truth means that we must all invest in the free and peaceful future of our people. That is our European contribution to peace in the world.

*(Loud applause)*

**President.** — Thank you very much, Mr President-in-Office. You yourself pointed out that during the German presidency you strongly promoted cooperation with Parliament. You referred to the many debates we had on the Genscher-Colombo initiative. I myself should like to say that the German presidency of the Council has given a strong impulse to the further development of contacts between the Council and Parliament. I regard this as something very valuable and I should like to thank you for your personal efforts in this respect.

*(Applause)*

## 4. European Council

**President.** — The next item is the statement by the President of the Commission on the meeting of the European Council from 17 to 19 June 1983 in Stuttgart.

**Mr Thorn, President of the Commission.** — *(FR)* Mr President, Mr President of the Council, ladies and gentlemen, rather than make a second speech on the presidential term of office, I would prefer to tell you what conclusions I, as President of the Commission, have drawn from taking part in the European Council of Stuttgart. But first of all, I should like to take this opportunity of paying tribute to the German presidency for the effort it has put in throughout the term in what, as you know, were particularly trying circumstances.

Ladies and gentlemen, one might well have thought that, with the international problems and particularly with their election campaign and the formation of a new government, Dr Kohl, the Chancellor, and Mr Genscher, the Vice-Chancellor, would not have had as much time for Europe as they would have liked. Nothing of the sort. They, and the whole of the Federal Government with them, have been deeply involved in all the difficult topics the Council has had to deal with. In spite of the call of domestic politics, and thanks, no doubt, to a true commitment to Europe, the result is a positive one. Ladies and gentlemen, you have heard the account of the President of the Council. It is a considerable achievement, even if it does not fulfil all the hopes that he, we and you were entitled to have.

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**Speech to the European Parliament by  
Yannis Charalambopoulos, Greek  
Minister of Foreign Affairs on European  
Political Cooperation (Excerpts)  
18 July 1983**

*Annex to the Official Journal of the  
European Communities No. 1-302*

... respect the European elections because they represent the further democratization of the institutions of the Community and thus lend essential democratic backing to the European Economic Community as a whole. Inspired by the principles of democracy, we shall make every effort to give favourable consideration to the European Parliament's views.

It would also be remiss of me, ladies and gentlemen, if I did not mention the important role of the Commission and the commendable efforts it makes to maintain the cohesion of the Community and to find solutions to the Community's problems. The Greek Presidency looks forward with interest to receiving the Commission's proposals and hopes to have fruitful cooperation with it. I believe that in close cooperation with yourselves we shall be able to give our peoples greater hopes of a more humane and more equitable Europe.

I come now, ladies and gentlemen, to European political cooperation, the importance of which is recognized by all the member countries.

All the same, political cooperation carries with it certain limitations and peculiarities. In the first place we should not ignore the fact that the political leverage of the Europe of Ten is not always proportionate to its economic strength. In critical areas of the world where international peace is often at risk we are not able to influence developments in the same decisive way as the two nuclear superpowers and this naturally has a limiting effect on our initiatives and actions in each particular instance. Aside from this, the peculiarity of which I have spoken lies in the fact that, despite their absolute commitment to democratic institutions, our countries frequently have differing perceptions of international developments and situations, due either to their geographical positions or the political orientation of their governments or the traditional links they have with countries outside the

Community. As we see it, this pluralism is an additional strength because it means that the joint positions we arrive at, when we do arrive at them, are the genuine product of our common political will. It is not possible, nor even desirable, for the Ten to display a monolithic unity in international affairs.

My country faces an additional problem, however. Not only is it the last member of the Community, chronologically speaking, but it joined when the procedures for political cooperation and the positions of the Community on many international problems had already taken final shape. Consequently, acceptance of the Community's political alignment in its entirety entails for us a higher political price, a price that in some cases we cannot pay. Naturally, we do have an awareness of the added responsibility which goes with the exercise of the Presidency.

I would like now to set out our position on the main international problems and the aspirations of the Greek Presidency for the second half of 1983. And I begin with the Middle East crisis, which has a claim to the sad distinction of being perhaps the most enduring, intractable and dangerous international problem. I will not tire you by listing the dangers inherent in the prolongation of this crisis. The positions of the Community on solving the Middle East problem are known. They have been set out in a series of documents from the Venice declaration to the findings of the last European Council, and including the ministerial statement of 20 September 1982. We believe that a lasting peace in this highly sensitive region on our own doorstep is not possible without the implementation of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, without the withdrawal of Israel from all the Arab lands it has occupied since 1967, without the Palestinian people being allowed to exercise the right to self-determination, with all that this entails, and without the recognition of the right of all the countries in the region, including Israel, to security within internationally recognized borders. We also believe that the Palestine Liberation Organization must play a part in negotiations for an overall settlement.

Unfortunately, to the already complex Middle East problem was added, in June 1982, the problem of the Lebanon, when that country was invaded by Israel with the result that a substantial part of its territory is still occupied by Israeli forces. The Ten have unequivocally condemned this invasion and have repeatedly called for the withdrawal from the Lebanon of all the foreign forces which are there without the consent of the country's legitimate government and also for the independence and national integrity of the Lebanon to be safeguarded, along with the right of the Lebanese Government to exercise sovereignty over the whole of Lebanese territory. The agreement of last May between the Lebanon and Israel will help in so far as it can be linked to an accommodation which is

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acceptable to all parties, which takes account of their legitimate interests and which safeguards the security of all the states and peoples of the region.

With the benefit of a common history and close traditional ties linking it with the Arabs, my country is prepared for its part — in discussion, of course, with its partners — to undertake any initiative which could, in the first instance, help to defuse the present critical situation, something which is essential prior to any more general peace initiative. I would also like to take this opportunity to stress just how committed Greece is to the further development of political, economic, cultural and every other form of cooperation with the Arab countries. To this end we shall endeavour to promote European-Arab dialogue and to make the content of this more substantive.

If the Middle East holds within it the danger of world conflagration — and this should command our undivided attention — relations between East and West, by virtue of their nature, complexity and wider implications, are, and will continue to be, the touchstone for the peaceful survival of humanity. In recent years, following a period of détente, these relations have gone down the road towards confrontation, with unforeseeable consequences for world peace.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the Polish crisis, but also the way in which the West has reacted to these events, have led to a build-up of tension between the two power blocs which, if we do not try to take the heat out of the situation, may lead us into the deadlock of an arms race and into the creation of a potential for crisis which will not always be under sure control. I do not need to dramatize the situation. It is dramatic enough in itself. However, I think I speak for all of you when I say that we must take advantage of every opportunity for discussion and of every negotiating avenue which can lead us back to détente and mutual understanding. Of course, the two great nuclear powers have a logic of their own and aspirations which we are not always in a position to influence.

On the other hand, the Europe of the Ten has sufficient political maturity and moral standing to make its voice heard. Our peoples want to ensure peace for many generations, and exactly the same thing is sought by all the peoples of our planet. Consequently, our efforts to uphold common sense will have the support of international public opinion. The disarmament negotiations being conducted, at various levels and within various bodies, between the United States and the Soviet Union must produce firm and tangible results. Let us not forget how much in the way of invaluable resources could be freed for combating the world economic crisis, which for many peoples in the Third World is threatening to assume tragic proportions, if the various processes of negotiations were to bring substantive results. Here I would like to add that

our efforts must be aimed at achieving parallel progress in nuclear and conventional arms limitation negotiations. The spectre of nuclear annihilation must not make us overlook the terrible losses and material destruction that modern conventional weapons can cause.

Afghanistan is unquestionably a problem which must be settled within the framework of respect for the independence, integrity and right to self-determination of the people of that country. Moreover, these principles are embraced in a series of United Nations resolutions which the Ten have voted in favour of and continue to support.

The Polish crisis is one of the most acute that Europe has ever faced. The Ten have unanimously condemned the imposition of martial law, the arbitrary arrests, the dissolution of Solidarity and every attempt at foreign interference in that proud country. However, when there was a call for sanctions to be imposed, my country stood against this because it believed that they would have the opposite effect to that desired and would, in the final analysis, inflict harm on the Polish people as a whole. I do not think we should seek to give the Polish people lessons as to how they should ultimately find a way out of their present crisis. Our line should be one of firmness, exhortation and encouragement of dialogue between the political and social groups in Poland, and of steadfastly indicating to the Polish regime that when it is able to return to the path of national reconciliation, the Ten will be ready to stand at its side and to help it overcome the economic difficulties and social turmoil it is currently facing. And because our position on the Polish crisis has been dictated by commitment to certain fundamental principles, such as respect for the independence of other states, non-interference in their affairs and the safeguarding of individual and political liberties in every state, I do not consider it amiss to add that if we wish to retain our credibility, it is essential that we be consistent and condemn violations of these principles and liberties wherever they occur.

The whole gamut of East-West relations will be substantially affected by the outcome of the Madrid Security Conference. The prospects look favourable. We hope that the latest compromise proposals put forward by the Spanish Prime Minister — to whom I would like to express our thanks for his efforts — will permit the signing of a final document which will give equal place to the human contacts dimension and to the convening of a European disarmament conference. It may be claimed that the outline results from Madrid do not match up to all the expectations placed in the conference, but along the road to lasting peaceful co-existence for all the peoples of Europe even the relatively small steps must be welcomed. What is of particular importance now is that all the countries taking part in the CSCE should show evidence of a sincere willingness to implement what

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is agreed upon in the fields of both human contacts and disarmament. Europe, which is the cradle of modern civilization, can, and must, become the setting for a *rapprochement* of the two great politico-social systems which dominate the world today.

Ladies and gentlemen, Africa is a continent which in a marvellously short space of time was able to cast off the shackles of colonial rule and take the road of national independence. Nonetheless there is one corner of Africa which has not yet managed to throw off these shackles. The West has an obligation to help Namibia take its place amongst the free peoples of our planet without further delay. The Ten have added responsibilities in this matter. Three Community countries are members of the liaison group which worked out the Namibian independence plan adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1975. Unfortunately, the implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 has run up against systematic opposition from South Africa, which has administered the territory of Namibia illegally since 1967. The members of the liaison group, whose contribution to the progress made so far is commendable, have a duty to exert all their influence and to make use of all the means at their disposal to persuade the government in Pretoria to comply with Resolution 435, which it has, in any case, accepted. The independence of Namibia must not be linked to other problems in the region. It is unjust, and criminal I would say, for the people of Namibia to be asked to pay for ostensible difficulties in neighbouring countries with deprivation of their independence.

I should like to take this opportunity once again to condemn the armed incursions carried out by South African forces, profiting from their great superiority, into the territories of neighbouring countries and causing great loss of human life and material damage. If Namibia is the last remnant of colonial rule, there are millions of other Africans living under a system which denies and tramples on the most elementary rights of the individual. I refer, of course, to the system of apartheid. Unfortunately, in this matter as well the South African Government is provocatively ignoring the exhortations of the international community, without reflecting on the consequences of its intransigence.

In concluding my reference to the African continent, I want to stress the constructive role played in promoting cooperation among the African countries, and in settling differences between them, by the Organization of African Unity, which this year completes 20 years since it was founded. If the Organization is to continue with its work, which makes a significant contribution to world peace, it is essential that its cohesion be maintained.

Ladies and gentlemen, in Asia there are two hotbeds of potential crisis which, if allowed to ferment,

threaten not only the peoples directly involved but also the peace of the whole region. The war between Iraq and Iran can and must be ended through a settlement of their differences by peaceful means. The Ten support all attempts at mediation in this respect, and are prepared to help in bringing about a termination of the hostilities which have cost so many human lives. I also address a plea to the warring parties to respect the terms of the Geneva Convention as regards the treatment of civilian populations and prisoners of war.

The problem of Kampuchea is another one which involves the invasion of a small and defenceless country. It is sad that the peace-loving people of Kampuchea have been living for years under foreign occupation. The Ten wish to see the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces and recognition of the Kampuchean people's fundamental right to the independence, freedom and self-determination which all the peoples of the world should enjoy.

I would be happy if I had come to the end of this already very long list of international crises and confrontations. Unfortunately, yet another region has of late been added to the problem areas of our planet. The present situation in Central America, with ramifications which threaten to extend beyond its boundaries, is due primarily to the conditions of social oppression and injustice which for many generations have been the scourge of nearly all of its peoples. Violence is assuming dimensions which threaten to get beyond all control, and disregard for human rights has become almost a rule of life. Things are complicated by the fact that Central America is showing signs of turning into an arena of East-West confrontation.

Recently, in Stuttgart, the Ten set out clearly the principles which could lead to the restoration of peace in the region: non-resort to military means, non-violation of frontiers, respect for human rights. If all the sides espouse these principles, the peoples of Central America will be able to find peace again and to devote themselves to tackling the acute economic and social crisis which bedevils them.

Ladies and gentlemen, I would now like to refer to the relations between the countries of the Community and the outside world.

Without question the United States of America is an important political and economic factor in these relations, and for this reason we must see to it jointly that relations between us are placed on an equal footing, with respect for the rights and obligations of each other, and ensure that our differences are settled through dialogue. Certain of these differences have already been resolved, and we hope that the same will apply with those that remain. I refer in particular to the Export Administration Act, during the renewal of which we expect account to be taken of our views, and

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to the question of special high technology steels where we believe that the Community has a very strong case.

The political consultations entered into by the Ten in the framework of European political cooperation are constantly widening in scope. We shall sustain the pace of these, because experience up to now has demonstrated their usefulness. This applies especially to the consultations with the remaining members of the Council of Europe which were inaugurated last April.

Speaking specifically of Japan, we note its desire to move closer to the Ten and to engage in fruitful dialogue, which will, of course, help in solving the economic problems that exist between us.

As you know, a procedure for liaison and cooperation with the ASEAN countries has been set up, despite the great geographical distance which separates us. We believe that this cooperation will be of benefit to all of us. Of particular importance for the Ten are the countries of the Mediterranean from the Maghreb to Cyprus. The centuries-old friendship that links us Mediterranean peoples with these countries makes it imperative that we strive harder to put our relations with them on a closer footing and to develop our cooperation with them to a higher level. This, also, will be one of the objectives of our Presidency.

At this point let me be allowed to dwell a little more on the Republic of Cyprus, not only because this small, independent and non-aligned country has for years now been living through a tragedy without, unfortunately, there seeming to be any glint of light on the horizon, but also because there are matters outstanding in its relations with the Community which should have been settled long ago. The Greek Presidency considers it a sacred duty to promote a solution of these outstanding issues, and likewise of the political aspects of the problem, as best it can, and we hope that in this we shall have the understanding of our partners.

The non-aligned movement, with the constant addition of new members, represents and speaks for about half the population of our planet. Despite its occasional internal rifts, the movement constitutes an important stabilizing factor in international life and carries a political weight much greater than that of the sum of its members. The Ten have every interest therefore in further developing their already good relations with the movement which, under the Indian Presidency, is expected to acquire a new impetus and greater homogeneity. One of the main objectives of the non-aligned countries is the creation of a new and fairer economic order. Global negotiations, which have been inordinately delayed in starting, constitute the best way of realizing the expectations of the developing peoples for a better future. The economic capacity of Greece does not permit it to offer wide financial and

technical aid to third countries. However, I would like to put stress on the political dimension of the problem, and to say that in respect of this my country feels a particular awareness. We live in a world of constantly increasing interdependence, where even the strongest has need of the most weak and the richest has need of the poorest. Negotiation between North and South is the only way in which the gulf separating the two can begin to be bridged. If this does not happen, humanity will face perhaps its greatest crisis since history began.

Ladies and gentlemen, allow me to round off these general thoughts and observations with a brief reference to the recent European Council meeting.

Following the Stuttgart meeting we can be cautiously optimistic. The decisions taken there in no way solved the problems. However, the Community can emerge from the crisis if it pursues a new course capable of bridging the gulf between its members and of making convergence of the economies and development of the most backward regions of each country into a reality.

Putting the Stuttgart decisions to good account will be among the objectives of the Greek Presidency.

*(Loud applause)*

**Mr Glinne (S).** — *(FR)* Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the press statements made recently by Prime Minister Papandreu and by the President-in-Office of the Council, as well as your speech this morning, Mr President-in-Office, give the Socialist group reason for feeling confident about the new presidency. Of course, we know full well that the functions of the presidency are to propose and instigate but not necessarily to find solutions. With you we hope that the Greek presidency will be supported by the other governments in its efforts. The task will be difficult, culminating in the summit on 6 December by which time the numerous specialist Councils should have succeeded in their specific duties. Mr President-in-Office of the Council, you can count on the support of our group in this House every time real progress can be made on specific points of the speech you have just made.

Firstly, there is the financial crisis of the Community. In a press statement you said: 'We agree with increasing our own resources on condition that it helps to promote new social and regional policies in such a way as to strengthen European union.' We support you totally here. Last week this House, with the active support of our group, adopted a resolution calling for 'the problems of the Community's new resources, the development of new policies, the reform of the common agricultural policy under Article 39 of the Treaty, and fairness and solidarity in the financing of Community policies, to be solved jointly in keeping with the planned timetable of 5 and 6 December 1983.'



## 4. Political and institutional matters

### European political cooperation

2.4.1. On 26 August the Ten issued the following statement on events in Chile:

'The ten member countries of the Community express their deep concern at the suppression in Chile, on 11 and 12 August, of the protest demonstrations demanding freedom and the restoration of democracy and human rights, in which many civilians, including children, were killed or injured.

They express the hope that Chile will restore democracy and a respect for human rights, which together are an essential pre-condition of peace and social progress.'

2.4.2. On 7 and 8 July Parliament adopted

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44. Statement by Mr. Yiannis Haralambopoulos, President-in-Office of the Council and Foreign Minister of Greece, on the conclusion of the CSCE Follow-up Meeting (Madrid, 7 September 1983)

On behalf of the ten countries of the European Community, I would like to express our satisfaction at the successful conclusion of the Madrid Conference which, we trust, will give a new impulse to the CSCE process initiated in Helsinki in 1975. At the same time I would like to extend to our host nation, Spain, our warm thanks and

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gratitude for its hospitality and the excellent facilities put at our disposal during the long duration of our work, as well as for the efforts deployed by Prime Minister Gonzalez for ensuring the success of the Conference. Our appreciation goes also to the neutral and non-aligned States for their consistent and constructive endeavour, throughout the Conference, to bridge the gap between East and West.

Mr. Chairman,

Our gathering was clouded by events which resulted in the deterioration of the climate of the Conference and at times cast serious doubts as to its outcome. The most recent of such events is the destruction of the Korean airliner. If I say no more on this specific subject, it is because I know that my colleagues in the Ten will wish to present their views in greater detail in their statements.

The Concluding Document certainly does not represent the maximum that could have been achieved. Nonetheless, it can be regarded as a positive contribution to a better understanding among our peoples, by adding to and improving on the existing provisions of the Final Act of Helsinki.

I would like now to comment in greater detail on certain specific aspects of the Conference and the Concluding Document:

The Ten have, throughout the Madrid meeting, attached special importance to improvements in the human dimension. This corresponds to our most fundamental values and reflects the common position that progress in this area is at least of equal importance for security and co-operation in Europe as agreements in other fields such as economic co-operation and military security.

We therefore note with satisfaction that the Concluding Document, as well as the Chairman's statement on the Experts' Meeting on Human Contacts, contain several new commitments, based on Western proposals, which specify conditions of the application of the Final Act principles in areas not explicitly covered by it.

In the related field of human contacts, i. e. family reunifications, family meetings, binational marriages, etc., it was also possible to achieve a number of important improvements.

The new provisions on trade union rights are also noteworthy. All participating states undertake to ensure the right of workers freely to establish and join trade unions and the right of trade unions freely to exercise their activities.

Further areas in which significant progress was made include:

- Religious freedom, where the participating States commit themselves not only to respect but also to take the necessary action to ensure religious freedom and to consult, whenever necessary, the religious faiths and organizations.
- The free flow of information.
- Free access of visitors to diplomatic and consular missions.
- The working conditions of journalists.

The Concluding Document also contains, for the first time in the CSCE framework, a clear condemnation of terrorism and commitments not only to refrain from supporting but also to take resolute measures to combat terrorist acts which threaten democratic institutions as well as international relations.

Finally, the economic provisions deserve our attention. At this point, and since I speak also in my capacity as President-in-Office of the Council of Ministers of the European Communities, I should recall that through the signature of the Final Act in 1975 by the then President-in-Office of the Council, all participating States were given the assurance that the provisions of the Final Act covered by Community powers would be implemented by the Community in accordance with its own rules and procedures.

The Community and its Member States welcome the texts on economic questions included in the final document. These texts represent modest but concrete improvements of the Final Act.

In the interval before the next follow-up meeting in 1986, two expert meetings, one on human rights and one on human contacts will keep up the dialogue in these two central areas of the human dimension. They will present an opportunity to continue stressing the importance of human rights and human contacts for the CSCE process

and search for new ways towards progress in these fields.

All participating states have agreed to publish and to make known as widely as possible the text of the Concluding Document in their respective countries. Thus millions of people in Europe will be acquainted with the commitments assumed by their governments and will be able to base their search for human rights and fundamental freedoms on an internationally agreed document.

Mr Chairman, a joint Western concept initiated by France has resulted in a precise mandate for a Conference on Confidence Building and Disarmament in Europe. This forum is to complement ongoing arms control negotiations between the two military alliances and the United States and the Soviet Union respectively. Participation of all States directly involved in European security, including the United States and Canada, is assured. The CDE extends the arms control dialogue in the conventional field to the whole of Europe. With regard to the adjoining sea area and air space, the mandate follows the so-called "Functional Approach": naval and air activities in the adjoining sea area and air space directly linked to land force activities will also be dealt with at the Conference.

Confidence and security building measures to be agreed upon in the first stage of the Conference could constitute an important step towards increasing transparency and thereby enhancing stability in the whole of Europe. Concrete and qualitatively new CSBMs will be applicable to all areas covered by the relevant provisions of the Final Act. They will be militarily significant and politically binding and as genuine arms control measures they will be verifiable. Thus by increasing transparency, these measures would also reduce the danger of a surprise attack.

Apart from being genuine measures of arms control, CSBMs will also contribute to creating a better basis for progress in disarmament. Thus, already from its beginning, the CDE would contribute substantially to our long-term objective: to achieve a more stable balance of forces in the conventional field at the lowest level possible. We have set ourselves a far-reaching, challenging target. We are convinced that we can reach this target, if we con-

tinue to co-operate closely and if we do not miss any opportunity for making progress. Because of the inherent difficulties and the far-reaching nature of our goals the CDE is designed as a dynamic, step by step process.

Mr Chariman, in the case of all international acts what imports is the way they are implemented. Thus the Ten will closely monitor the full implementation of the provisions of both the Final Act and the Madrid concluding document, convinced that their application would be of particular importance for developing a more constructive East-West relationship.

We hope and trust that the Madrid document, together with renewed efforts by all, will give full effect to the Final Act, responding thus to the legitimate aspirations of all the European peoples for the pursuit, in a peaceful, democratic and trustworthy environment, of their political, economic, social and cultural development in full respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

## 4. Institutional and political matters

### European political cooperation

2.4.1. At their meeting in Athens on 12 September the Foreign Ministers of the Ten adopted the following statement on the situation in Lebanon:

'The situation in Lebanon is more critical than at any other time in the last 16 months. The number of innocent victims increases every day.

The international community must do all it can to help put an end to this tragedy before it leads to the disintegration of Lebanon.

The Ten appeal for an immediate ceasefire leading to the cessation of violence and pressure in Lebanon, and to national reconciliation.

They call upon all parties to respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon and the authority of its government.

They stress the need for early progress towards the complete withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon, except as the Lebanese Government may request otherwise.

They are ready to work for these objectives, jointly and individually.

They are convinced that the abnormal situation in Lebanon, so long as it continues, is a further obstacle to the achievement of a just and lasting settlement in the Middle East as a whole.'

At the same meeting, the Ministers discussed the situation in Poland, the Korean airliner incident, the Middle East and Central America.

2.4.2. At the closing session of the CSCE review meeting in Madrid on 7 September<sup>1</sup> the Greek Foreign Minister, Mr Kharalabopoulos, made a speech in his capacity as President of the Council on behalf of the 10 Member States in which he observed that the concluding document adopted by the meeting could be seen as a contribution to greater understanding between the peoples of the countries participating in the CSCE as it supplemented and improved on the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act. These improvements related in particular to the recognition of the right of workers to form trade unions, freedom of religion, the free flow of information, visitors' freedom of access to diplomatic and consular missions and the working conditions of journalists.

Mr Kharalabopoulos also stressed the importance to the Ten of the decision taken in Madrid to hold a conference on confidence- and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe to be attended by the 35 CSCE countries in Stockholm beginning on 17 January 1984.

2.4.3. Parliament adopted resolutions on the situation in Lebanon, the situation in Chad, the situation in Chile, the South Korean airliner shot down by a Soviet military aircraft and the death sentence passed on Mr Yermak Loukianov.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Point 2.2.60.

<sup>2</sup> OJ C 277, 22.10.1983.

<sup>3</sup> Bull. EC 7/8-1983, point 2.4.2.

<sup>4</sup> Point 1.3.1.

<sup>5</sup> Points 1.1.1 and 1.1.2; 2.4.8 and 2.4.9.

## 4. The Community at the United Nations

**Extracts from the address given on behalf of the Community and the Member States by Mr Ioannis Kharalabopoulos, President of the Council, to the United Nations General Assembly on 27 September**

3.4.1. ...The European Community was born of the desire of several States cherishing the same democratic values to base their relationship on new forms of solidarity, in order to face challenges which it would have been difficult to take up in isolation. This is why the 10 countries for which I speak today are fully committed to respect for the Charter and view the United Nations as a vehicle for creating a better and safer world. Through regular concertation on international problems and constant efforts to define a common policy, the Ten as individual States and as a Community intend to continue and strengthen the cooperation with the United Nations and its Secretary General.

Last year, speaking from this rostrum on behalf of the Ten, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Denmark described the situation prevailing in the world in "sombre colours", as he said.

At the start of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly it must be admitted that this assessment remains unfortunately valid. How, it, might be asked, could the situation basically improve as long as Member States continue to violate the most fundamental principles of the Charter and to ignore the repeated appeals addressed to them by this Organization to refrain from the use or threat of use of force and to put an immediate end to the conflict in which they are engaged? It should not come as a surprise, therefore, that none of the old conflicts has been

resolved and that ominous signs of new tensions are looming on the horizon.

Relations between East and West have been gravely affected these last years by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the situation in Poland, as well as by the continued Soviet military build-up. A further cause of aggravation has been the shooting down of the Korean airliner by a Soviet fighter. The Ten deeply deplore this act, which resulted in the loss of many innocent human lives. They have asked that the appropriate international instances undertake a thorough investigation of the circumstances of the incident. They welcome the decisions of the ICAO Council adopted in Montreal on 16 September. They support the proposals submitted to ICAO for ensuring greater safety of civilian aircraft in future, including the prohibition of the use of armed force.

Our countries, peoples and governments are ready to improve relations with the Soviet Union and her allies, provided they abide by the internationally accepted standards of behaviour, so that international confidence can be restored. Only then could there be a better understanding among the European peoples and an atmosphere conducive to the consolidation of peace and stability on our continent.

It is in this light that we have viewed and continue to view the situation in Poland. The Ten have taken note of the measures adopted by the Polish Government on 22 July 1983, some of which go in the right direction while others provide the authorities with the legal means to repress more effectively possible dissident activities. In a spirit of friendship towards the Polish people, the Ten hope that these steps will be followed by further



measures leading to reconciliation, dialogue and reform, in accordance with the aspirations of all the national and social elements of the population.

The successful conclusion of the CSCE negotiations in Madrid is a cause of satisfaction to the Ten. Our approach at the Conference was guided by the endeavour to promote respect for the Helsinki Final Act, to ensure its full implementation and to pursue the aims of the CSCE process through dialogue and cooperation. The presence of all our Foreign Ministers in Madrid bore testimony to this commitment. Although the concluding document does not represent the maximum that could have been achieved, it was substantial and balanced. We attach as great an importance to the human dimension of that document as to its provisions concerning the convening of a conference on disarmament in Europe. Which brings me to the wider issue of disarmament.

It is an issue of the utmost importance to the Ten and of increasing concern to public opinion, since it affects the survival of mankind. It also is a very complex problem. Experience has shown how difficult it is to achieve disarmament in an atmosphere of distrust, fear and prejudice. To preserve peace it is necessary not only to reduce armaments but to remove the causes of conflict as well.

This applies as much to Europe as to other parts of the world. The 10 countries of the European Community are making every effort to reduce the level of military forces in Europe while maintaining undiminished security for all States. Hence the importance they attach to the full range of ongoing or scheduled negotiations, particularly the talks between the United States and the Soviet Union in Geneva on strategic and intermediate nuclear forces. Given the size of the nuclear arsenal of these two countries, it is generally recognized that progress on nuclear disarmament is closely related to their agreeing on substantial and verifiable reductions.

The Ten, therefore, give full support to both the START and INF negotiations. It is our sincere wish that it will prove possible for the two major nuclear powers to come to an agreement in the near future. The objective of such an agreement should be to strike a balance at the lowest possible level.

While nuclear arms control negotiations are taking place in order to halt the vertical proliferation, the maintenance and strengthening of the present non-proliferation regime, which so far has been successful in halting the further spreading of nuclear weapons, is a very significant element in the disarmament equation.

However, we should not lose sight of the fact that the control of nuclear forces is only one side of the

coin. It is of the utmost importance to reduce the level of conventional armaments. The spectre of nuclear annihilation should not lead us to underestimate the terrible casualties and material destruction which these weapons can cause. Since 1945, this has been borne out by more than one hundred conventional wars.

This is one of the reasons why we look forward to the Conference on Disarmament in Europe, soon to be convened in Stockholm. Its first stage will be devoted to the negotiation and adoption of confidence- and security-building measures which will be militarily significant, binding, verifiable and applicable to the whole of Europe. The Ten reiterate their conviction that the building of confidence among States not only in Europe but worldwide plays a significant role in facilitating progress in arms control and disarmament.

At the same time, those members of the Ten participating in the negotiations on mutual and balanced force reductions, held in Vienna, remain firmly committed to reaching an effective agreement which would genuinely enhance stability and strengthen security in Europe and pave the way to other important developments in the field of disarmament.

The Ten also stand fully behind every substantial and realistic effort of the sole multilateral negotiating body, the Geneva Committee on Disarmament. They therefore strongly plead for intensifying current negotiations in the Committee. They underline the importance of early progress towards a comprehensive and reliably verifiable ban on all chemical weapons, in order to eliminate this whole category of weapons. The Ten also support the examination, at the Committee on Disarmament, of questions related to the prevention of an arms race in outer space.

Finally, the Ten consider the United Nations as an essential and most valuable forum for the worldwide discussion of disarmament and arms control matters. They believe that the dialogue aiming at security and peace for all peoples must be pursued vigorously.

Before concluding my remarks on this vital issue, I would like to stress our firm conviction that, in parallel with disarmament efforts, all States, big and small, powerful and weak, nuclear and non-nuclear, should adhere to the provisions of the Charter and international law in general, for the renunciation of force and the threat of force and for the settlement of disputes by peaceful means.

In this context we consider the adoption, last year, of the Manila Declaration by the United Nations General Assembly as a positive step. The Ten express the wish that the goals of the Declaration, which are of vital importance to international

peace, may be achieved through the joint efforts of all members of our Organization.

In the Middle East the consequences of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, which the Ten have vigorously condemned, are still with us. The country has found itself in the throes of a conflict which could have led to its disintegration. The civilian population has suffered greatly in the crossfire of the warring factions and by the intervention of foreign elements. The Ten, who have always supported the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon and the authority of its Government, welcome the ceasefire which was put into effect yesterday. They express the hope that the dialogue about to be initiated will lead to national reconciliation and ensure the unity of the country. They also stress the need for early progress towards the complete withdrawal of all foreign forces, with the exception of those whose presence would be required by the Lebanese Government. They themselves are ready to work for these objectives, jointly and individually.

A direct consequence of the stalemate in Lebanon is that no progress has been made towards the solution of the broader Arab-Israeli conflict. It is the view of the Ten that peace will not prevail unless the security and legitimate interests of all States and peoples are taken into account. To be more specific, a lasting peace can only be built on the right of all States in the region, including Israel, to a secure existence and on justice for all peoples, including the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination with all that this implies.

A way to peace was indicated by President Reagan's initiative of 1 September 1982, and the Arab Summit Meeting at Fez demonstrated a readiness for it. The Ten appeal to all the parties in the conflict to move forward from a readiness for peace, which all of them have expressed in the past, towards mutual recognition as partners in genuine negotiations on the basis, *inter alia*, of Security Council resolutions 242 and 338. These negotiations will have to embrace all the parties concerned, including the Palestinian people, and the PIO will have to be associated with them. The threat or use of force must be renounced by all.

In the interest of the search for peace, the Ten ask Israel to abandon its policy of gradual annexation and of unilaterally creating new facts in the occupied territories, in particular its settlement policy which is contrary to international law and a major and growing obstacle to peace efforts.

For their part, the Ten are closely associated with such efforts as demonstrated, among other things, by their continuing support of the peace-keeping role of the UN and the multinational forces.

Having a deep interest in the future of the area, they intend to maintain their contacts with all parties and to use their influence to encourage movements towards compromise and negotiated solutions.

Another aggravating factor in the Middle East is the continuing war between Iran and Iraq. The Ten strongly deplore the lack of progress towards the solution of this conflict, which constitutes a serious threat to the stability of the region and international security and entails heavy suffering for the two peoples involved. They urgently appeal to the two belligerents to spare the civilian population and to abide by all international conventions applicable in time of war. In this respect they welcome the report of the UN mission which visited areas subjected to attacks. On the other hand, the Ten deeply regret that none of the peace initiatives undertaken hitherto has succeeded in bringing the fighting to an end. They take this opportunity to call once more for a cease-fire, the cessation of all military operations and the withdrawal of forces to internationally recognized frontiers and for a just and honourable settlement, negotiated in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations Security Council and acceptable to both parties. The Ten confirm their readiness, if requested by both parties, to participate in the efforts aiming at restoring peace in the area.

If in the Middle East the situation has deteriorated over the last 12 months, in a number of other international problems little or no progress has been registered.

In Afghanistan the Soviet occupation continues in spite of successive resolutions adopted by an overwhelming majority of the United Nations. The Ten remain deeply concerned by this continuing violation of the independence of a traditionally neutral and non-aligned country. They condemn the attacks committed against Afghan civilians by the Soviet forces, and remain gravely concerned at the plight of the Afghan refugees who have been driven from their homeland as a direct result of these actions. These persons represent the largest concentration of refugees in the world, and their suffering must not be forgotten.

The Ten stress the urgent need for the withdrawal of Soviet troops and a negotiated settlement which will permit Afghanistan's independence and non-aligned status to be restored, allow the Afghan people to exercise fully their right to self-determination and enable the Afghan refugees to return home in safety and honour. They follow with great interest the indirect contacts between Pakistan and Afghanistan held under the auspices of the United Nations with a view to finding a solution in accordance with the resolutions adopted by this Assembly. While recalling their

proposal of June 1981, the Ten are prepared to support any constructive initiative aimed at a satisfactory political solution. But the key requirement of any such solution remains the withdrawal of Soviet forces.

Kampuchea was invaded five years ago and is still occupied by Vietnamese troops, who not only suppress all resistance but also attack the camps of refugees and displaced persons in increasing frequency and intensity. All efforts to end this occupation with all its consequences for the present and the future have foundered on the refusal of Vietnam to comply with the relevant United Nations resolutions. The Ten wish to congratulate the ASEAN countries for their initiative to convene the International Conference on Kampuchea. They consider that the declaration adopted by the Conference, with whose principles they agree, constitutes a very good basis for a genuine political settlement. It calls, as we all know, for the total withdrawal of Vietnamese forces, the right of the Kampucheans to determine their own destiny through free elections supervised by the United Nations, the respect of the independence, neutrality and non-alignment of Kampuchea and the commitment of all States not to interfere in its internal affairs. The Ten regard the establishment of the coalition of Democratic Kampuchea, under the Presidency of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, as a significant step.

In Korea the stalemate persists, 30 years after the armistice agreement was signed. The Ten believe that the peaceful reunification of Korea should be pursued by means of dialogue and negotiations, based on the communiqué of 1972 between the South and the North.

The situation in Cyprus constitutes a potential danger for the peace and stability of the whole area. The Ten reaffirm their position as reflected in General Assembly resolutions 3212/74 and 3395/75, which call for the respect of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. They hope that no action will be undertaken which would run counter to these principles. They have consistently supported the efforts of the Secretary-General, under whose auspices intercommunal talks were established on a regular basis. They welcome his renewed personal involvement in the search for a just and viable solution.

In southern Africa, Namibia continues to be illegally occupied by South Africa in defiance of international law and United Nations resolutions. The Ten have firmly and repeatedly expressed their conviction that the people of Namibia must be allowed to determine their own future through free and fair elections held under the supervision and control of the United Nations in accordance with Security Council resolution 435. We reiterate

this conviction today and express our full support for the efforts of the Contact Group, thanks to which a settlement has been within reach for some time now. We also wish to express appreciation for the efforts of the front-line States.

The Ten also thank the Secretary-General for his efforts in fulfilling his mandate under Security Council resolution 532, and will continue supporting his contacts with the parties. They urge all parties concerned to facilitate the conclusion of the negotiations without further delay and to refrain from any action which could endanger an agreement.

I may add that the problem of Namibia should be viewed strictly as a problem of decolonization—in fact, the last remaining vestige of colonialism in Africa. The people of Namibia must be given an opportunity to exercise their right to self-determination without delay. Their independence has been denied them for far too long and should not be delayed further because of extraneous problems.

In South Africa itself, the country's black majority unfortunately continues to be the victim of blatant oppression. The Ten wish to reiterate their unequivocal and vigorous condemnation and rejection of the system of institutionalized racial discrimination known as "apartheid" and their determination to use, as in the past, their collective weight to influence South Africa, in order to help put an end to such an inhuman system and establish a society in which everybody without exception will enjoy equality, freedom and justice.

The Ten remain concerned with many aspects of the South African policies. In particular, they have condemned the homeland policy and the violation of human rights resulting from bannings and other similar measures.

In other parts of Africa, internal strife is sometimes an obstacle in the long and difficult road to economic and social development. Such strife is too often exacerbated by outside factors.

One such case is Chad. The Ten are gravely concerned by the external intervention to which this country fell victim and its consequences. They firmly support its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and are against any kind of interference in its internal affairs.

The Ten believe that this problem is an African affair and should consequently be settled by the Africans themselves, in order to avoid the escalation of the conflict into an international crisis. They underline the role which the Organization of African Unity could play in restoring peace. This, of course, should not preclude similar action by the competent organs of the United Nations, including the Security Council and the Secretary-General.

As I mentioned the OAU, I should like to pay tribute to that Organization, which is celebrating this year its 20th anniversary.

In the course of the past 20 years, it has proven a very important factor for political stability and progress in Africa and for world peace.

The 10 countries of the European Community are historically linked by close human, economic and cultural ties with Latin America. I wish to stress the importance we attach to further promoting these ties. A few months ago we celebrated the 200th anniversary of the birth of Simon Bolivar. We pay tribute to that great man and his struggle for the independence and freedom of the Latin American peoples. We also welcome the growing trend towards democracy in the subcontinent, while deploring the continuing and grave abuses of human rights and restrictions of political freedom in certain countries.

I would like now to turn to the serious situation in Central America, which could have repercussions extending well beyond the region itself. The endemic social inequalities, injustice and economic underdevelopment are at the root of the present crisis, which is aggravated by outside interference. In some countries violence and the violation of human rights have become a fact of everyday life.

Last June in Stuttgart the 10 Heads of State and Government clearly stated the principles for remedying this situation. They include non-interference, the inviolability of frontiers, the establishing of democratic conditions and the strict observance of human rights. The Ten are convinced that the problems of Central America cannot be solved by military means but only through a political settlement springing from the region itself.

The Ten are prepared to contribute, in whatever way they can, to this end. They fully support the Contadora initiative. They note that the Cancún Declaration of 17 July contains many useful suggestions. They also recall the support of the efforts of the Contadora Group by Security Council resolution 530, which was adopted unanimously.

The protection of human rights is a cause to which the Ten are deeply committed. Because their observance lies at the very foundation of all truly democratic societies, which are the best guarantee for international peace and stability.

We must acknowledge that during the last decades nations with different traditions, ideologies, cultures and political systems moved towards the adoption of common standards as well as of appropriate—though not altogether adequate—procedures for putting these standards into effect.

It is, however, a matter of deep regret to the Ten that 35 years after the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights its implementation is far from satisfactory. A growing number of serious and massive violations of these rights occur in various parts of the world. Many countries seem to have made arbitrary arrests, imprisonment, torture, disappearances, killings and political executions an integral part of their political system. Human beings are persecuted solely on ideological, religious or racial grounds, or even simply because they have the courage to defend the cause of human rights. Large numbers of political prisoners, including trade union activists, remain under detention and are denied the respect of their status, as well as their right to defence. Others are denied the right to leave their country or return to it. Faced with such serious abuses, the United Nations has a duty to secure compliance with the obligations of the Universal Declaration and to react promptly to all violations of human rights. The Ten stand ready to approach the governments of the countries where violations of this kind occur in order to alleviate human suffering.

All States should adhere to and implement legally binding international instruments on human rights, as well as accept appropriate measures for their enforcement. The Ten are taking an active part in the elaboration of new such instruments and in particular the draft convention against torture.

Moreover, it is their view that, together with civil and political rights, social and economic rights also need to be guaranteed as essential elements of an integral system of protection of the individual.

A major event this year has been the Summit of the non-aligned countries held in New Delhi last March. The movement of the non-aligned nations, with some hundred members, has become a powerful influence in international affairs. This is fully recognized by the Ten, who appreciate the important role which the movement plays.

One of the main preoccupations of the Third World is the present economic crisis and the measures that should be urgently taken to help developing countries overcome the difficult—and in some cases desperate—situation they find themselves in.

The world economy finds itself at a critical juncture. It shows some signs of recovery in a number of major industrialized countries, most notably the USA and Japan, whereas in Europe the prospects are less certain.

More specifically:

- Unemployment remains high and is on the increase, its effects being mostly on young and urban workers.

- Uncertainty for the future and the prospects of high public deficits are among the elements which maintain real interest rates at high levels, thereby diverting resources from productive investment to financial management; this reduces the prospects for a synchronized upturn in economic activity and an investment-led and sustainable recovery.
- Exchange rates continue to be volatile and this increases uncertainty and limits the room for a consistent economic policy.
- The global recession has left its mark on developing countries. Their debt has increased sharply, their development efforts have been undermined and their capacity to participate fully in the international economic system impaired. They face a severe reduction of their imports and are confronted with sluggish markets for their exports, unfavourable terms of trade and sharply higher debt-servicing costs.

It is with a clear understanding of these realities and a sense of deep commitment to the need for coordination and cooperation that the Community has participated during the past year in international negotiations with all our partners.

The difficulties that we have been experiencing over the past few years have made clear to all of us the extent to which our economies are interdependent. The OECD ministerial meeting in May 1983 highlighted this point very clearly. It recognized the powerful economic links between all parts of the world, which imply a collective responsibility to shape policies so as to strengthen the international trading, monetary and financial systems and to recreate the conditions for sustainable non-inflationary growth. The Williamsburg Summit in June 1983 adopted the same approach in recognizing that 'we must act together and that we must pursue a balanced set of policies that take into account and exploit relationships between growth, trade and finance, in order that recovery may spread to all countries, developed and developing countries alike'.

The open world trading system embodied in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade has served the world economy well during more than three decades. It ought therefore to be preserved and further strengthened. At the GATT ministerial meeting in November 1982 the European Community reaffirmed its commitment to resist protectionist pressures in the formulation and implementation of trade policy, a commitment which was further reinforced by consensus at UNCTAD VI. In this context, it has always been a principle for the Community that differential and more favourable treatment should be extended to less-developed countries.

The major event in the North/South dialogue this year has been the sixth session of UNCTAD which

the Community approached with a positive, constructive and pragmatic attitude, recognizing that the economic crisis threatens the smooth and effective functioning of the multilateral economic system as well as world prosperity. At Belgrade the Community, aware of the fact that there is a growing interdependence between developing and developed countries, declared that "there can be no lasting recovery without resumption of the development process and that there can be no new impetus to the development process without real recovery".

In our view—and despite the occasional disappointments and frustrations—the outcome of this Conference was important. We agreed on quite a number of resolutions which were adopted by consensus and which cover substantial issues of common interest. We succeeded—which is politically most important—in keeping the lines of communication open and the international dialogue alive.

In the field of commodities, the Community throughout has supported the agreement on the Common Fund. We therefore welcome the recent increase in the number of signatures and ratifications which, we hope, will lead to its early entry into force. At UNCTAD VI we also took an active part in the important decision to start work on compensatory financing of export earnings shortfalls.

In the field of trade, the Community supported the adoption of resolution 159/VI, which highlighted the importance of the open trading system, and agreed to follow policies that would facilitate structural adjustment based on a dynamic pattern of comparative advantage. Increased trade is especially vital for the developing countries. The scheme of the Generalized System of Preferences has improved the access to the EEC markets for all of them. The Community will—as was stated at UNCTAD VI—maintain and further develop its GSP scheme at least until 1990.

In monetary and financial affairs, UNCTAD VI adopted several resolutions. The Community joined in the consensus on a resolution on the crucial issue of the external debt of the developing countries. We declared we were ready to consider appropriate measures to alleviate the servicing of the debts of developing countries on a case-by-case basis and within the existing institutions. The Community supported the renewed commitment on Official Development Assistance targets especially *vis-à-vis* the [less and] least developed countries. We advocated the rapid replenishment of the International Development Agency resources to a substantial level and considered that an adequate level of funding of the development financial institutions is essential. The Community

also recognizes the importance of an adequate supply of liquidity for world economic growth. We stressed at Belgrade that a financially strong International Monetary Fund is in the interest of all, in order that this institution can fulfil its role of meeting its members' financing and adjustment needs.

As I said before, UNCTAD VI was this year the major event in North/South relations, but the global dialogue between industrialized and developing countries is an ongoing process. It is based on the recognition of increasing links between the different economic sectors such as growth, trade, finance, development and fight against the hunger in the world. In this spirit we continue to support the launching of global negotiations to cover all major issues in the field of the world economy. We hope that it will be possible to reach an early agreement on the launching of such negotiations. In this respect we have noted with interest the declarations of the Non-aligned Summit in New Delhi and the Group of 77 in Buenos Aires earlier this year.

In this context I would recall that the Community has over a long period developed an active partnership with the ACP countries, and we will soon be entering into negotiations for a new Convention.

Another basic feature of the development policy of the Community is to pay special attention to the specific and urgent needs of the [less and] least developed countries.

Finally I would like to refer briefly to the Convention on the Law of the Sea, which was opened for signature in December last year. The Community and its Member States believe that this Convention constitutes a major effort in the codification and progressive development of international law in various fields.

This Convention has been signed up to now by five Member States of the Community. Some concern persists with respect to the deep sea-bed mining regime of the Convention and should be dealt with in such a manner as to make the Convention universally acceptable. In fact we attach great importance to the work of the Preparatory Commission for the International Sea-Bed Authority and for the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea.

I would like to express the hope that the Convention will become a useful instrument for the promotion of cooperation and stable relations between all countries in this field.

The international economic climate is still far from satisfactory but history teaches us that times of crises can be turned into times of fresh and

constructive initiatives. The economic crisis still confronting most of us presents a challenge:

- to promote international cooperation;
- to promote social welfare;
- to improve living conditions in the world;
- and to reestablish confidence in the workings of our international system by adapting to changing realities, accommodating diversity and promoting common aspirations.

We sincerely believe that despite the occasional disappointment and frustration at the lack of an emerging consensus, we have succeeded in keeping the lines of communications open and the international dialogue alive. There were clearly differences in experiences, in perceptions of the problems and in proposals for their effective solution. However, it is only through a process of continuous and frank exchange of views that we can better define and come to accept our common interests as well as our differences. We in the Community are hopeful that the international dialogue will lead to a better economic environment in the future.

In the midst of a world torn by discord and fraught with fear, the Secretary-General was led to sound the alarm with the report he submitted last year to this Assembly.

I wish to assure him that the members of the European Community have given both that report and the one of this year all the attention they deserve. They share his concern that the United Nations system of collective security often has not been used effectively and that frequent disregard has been shown for the provisions of the Charter.

At the same time the members of the European Community share the view that this weakness is not a result of institutional or structural deficiencies but a consequence of a lack of political will of the parties involved in disputes and confrontations.

While fully aware of the previous and ongoing discussions about the need to strengthen the United Nations, we believe that the political impulse of the report should be sustained. We share the view of the Secretary-General that his report should not be dealt with bureaucratically or as a matter of routine.

The large echo this report received, going far beyond the usual reaction, testifies to the soundness and correctness of its analyses and observations. As a partial remedy to this disquietening situation, the Secretary-General suggested a series of practical measures aimed at increasing the effectiveness of the Organization in preventing conflicts. It is encouraging that these suggestions have been thoroughly examined and discussed by the Security

Council, which is the organ primarily responsible for ensuring peace and security.

We, members of the European Community, believe that the principles of the Charter, which gives expression to the universality of our Organization, provide the framework for the peaceful settlement of disputes all over the world. It is in this positive spirit that the Ten have already initiated a dialogue with several third countries and some regional organizations or groups. They are ready to extend this dialogue so as to include any new partners who would wish it.

The principles which are the very *raison d'être* of the United Nations cannot continue to be violated

with impunity without leading to the further decline of our Organization, which would become totally irrelevant. Unchecked by the constraints of law, the world would become increasingly torn by violence and wars until the ultimate nuclear catastrophe becomes inevitable. It is our most pressing duty to do whatever lies in our power to prevent such an appalling development, by reversing the present trend.

We, therefore, appeal to all members of this Organization, without exception, to comply and ensure compliance with the obligations freely undertaken under the Charter. What is at stake is more than the survival of the United Nations. It is the survival of mankind itself...'

## European political cooperation

2.4.1. Following the unilateral decision by the Turkish community in Cyprus to establish a 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus', the Ten issued the following statement on 16 November:

'The ten Member States of the European Community are deeply concerned by the declaration purporting to establish a 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus' as an independent State. They reject this declaration, which is in disregard of successive resolutions of the United Nations. The Ten reiterate their unconditional support for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of the Republic of Cyprus. They continue to regard the Government of President Kyprianou as the sole legitimate Government of the Republic of Cyprus. They call upon all interested parties not to recognize this act, which creates a very serious situation in the area.'

2.4.2. The situation in Cyprus was discussed at the ministerial meeting held in Brussels on 22 November, when the Ten confirmed their categorical refusal to recognize the unilateral declaration of independence by the Turkish Cypriot community and undertook to continue their efforts to persuade other countries not to recognize the regime. The Commission was asked to present to the Council on 29 November a report setting out all the implications which the Ten's position would have for the operation of the agreement with Cyprus.

### Lebanon

Also at the meeting on 22 November the Ministers held an initial discussion to prepare the ground for the European Council to state its view when it meets in December on the situation in Lebanon and the whole problem of the Middle East. They reviewed the present situation in Lebanon and expressed concern about the fate of the Palestinians in Tripoli.

This discussion followed the statement by the Ten on events in the north of Lebanon, issued on 9 November:

'The Ten are deeply concerned at the fighting in the north of Lebanon, which is causing intolerable suffering and large-scale loss of life, particularly among the civilian population of the region, Palestinians and Lebanese alike.

The Ten, who have frequently expressed their opposition to the use or threat of force in the Middle East, appeal to all those concerned to put an immediate halt to the fighting and let reason and moderation prevail.

This fresh outbreak of violence highlights more than ever the urgent need to seek a negotiated settlement of the region's problems, in accordance with the principles which the Ten set out in the conclusions of the European Council on 29 June 1982<sup>1</sup> and in subsequent statements. In particular, self-determination for the Palestinian people, with all that this implies, remains a fundamental issue which must be dealt with in the context of a fair and lasting overall solution to the conflict.'

At their meeting on 22 November the Ministers also discussed East-West relations, Latin America and the Rangoon outrage (condemnation of North Korea, whose responsibility was established in the report drawn up by the Burmese authorities).



## European political cooperation

2.4.1. The Ten issued the following statement on Afghanistan on 27 December:

'Today marks the fourth anniversary of the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan. The Ten remain profoundly concerned by the continued occupation and by the violation of the independence of this traditionally neutral and non-aligned country. They condemn the continued violations of human rights and the attacks on Afghan civilians by Soviet forces in their efforts to suppress the Afghan people's determination to recover their independence and resist foreign domination of their country. They sincerely sympathize with those who have had to flee their country—about a fifth of the population.

The Ten stress the urgent necessity for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. This is the key to any lasting settlement. The United Nations General Assembly has for the fifth time, by an overwhelming majority, urgently called for a solution which secures the restoration of independence and non-aligned status to Afghanistan, permits the Afghan people to exercise fully their right to self-determination and makes it possible for Afghan refugees to return to their country in safety and in honour.

While recalling their proposal of June 1981, the Ten are ready to support any constructive initiative towards a lasting solution of principle. They welcome the efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations in this respect, but regret that these