

EUROPEAN POLITICAL COOPERATION

STATEMENTS OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS

1984

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Statement on Bolivia	28 November 1984
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Statement on Afghanistan	27 December 1984

The European Council issued other statements. See the conclusions of the Brussels (19-20 March 1984), Fontainebleau (25-26 June 1984) and Dublin (3-4 December 1984) meetings.

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

46. Speech by Mr. Claude Cheysson, President-in-Office of the Council and Foreign Minister of France, at the opening session of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe (CDE) (Stockholm, 17 January 1984, excerpt)

We, the Foreign Ministers of the 35 countries who participated in the Helsinki Conference, are meeting here today to debate questions of disarmament and security in Europe. History has shown that hatred and war are contagious. Confidence and peace can be so too. The members of the European Community are convinced that a harmonious debate at this conference will have a favourable effect on the most problematical negotiations of our time. But they also know and confirm that this conference was not intended as a substitute for others, especially the Geneva Conference, where the Americans and the Soviets have been discussing nuclear weapons. There would be no point in trying to tackle those problems here; indeed, to do so would hamper the CDE in carrying out its mandate.

The Ten feel it is important to recall three objectives in this connection:

First, all 35 countries wish primarily to follow the course adopted at Helsinki. At the CDE the principles laid down in the Final Act and precisely formulated at the conclusion of the Madrid Follow-up Conference will be fully observed. Its work will remain free from bloc-inspired discipline, but of course the existence of the alliances cannot be ignored. Like the CSCE, of which it is a part, the CDE encompasses all parts of the continent from the Atlantic to the Urals. The spirit of the CSCE requires us to seek a lasting improvement in relations among all European nations, constantly to reaffirm the right of every nation to

determine its own fate, to intensify our contacts, and to defend the individual and collective freedoms of all citizens. Europe cannot and should not cease to pursue its reunification as a cultural community. Recent history has divided our continent. The wound is deep, nonetheless we must again learn to live in harmony. This undertaking requires the balance of power to be restored for everyone's peace of mind. This is essential for security and peace. Ways will have to be found to enable all societies, from the Atlantic to the Urals, to develop without coercion and with their own identity being fully preserved, because there would be little chance of progress towards greater security in Europe if the agonizing social, cultural and human differences between the two sides were to persist and could grow worse at any moment. It is necessary that the nations of our continent should consistently and patiently seek co-operation and open their societies to one another. As in the case of the Final Act of Helsinki, the global approach is essential if we are to strengthen confidence and peace on our continent. In negotiations on arms control and security we cannot let our thoughts stray from the path of political reality. It is the normal and right course for the CDE to develop within the framework of the CSCE.

Second, we are looking for a new perspective for improving security in Europe. It will be important to proceed step by step. The realistic attitude called for in the present circumstances exists. Confidence cannot be restored in a flash; it is not something that can be prescribed. In view of the fear and the psychological barriers that have arisen throughout Europe because of the possible deployment of armed forces, we shall attempt gradually to establish conditions which will make it possible to dispel those concerns and suspicions. It is therefore encouraging to note that, following three years of difficult negotiations in Madrid, a step by step approach has been agreed upon. First, there is to be less secrecy in order to avoid surprise attacks; the fear of unexpected and unforeseeable attacks is to be reduced and eventually eliminated altogether; also, an attempt will be made to prevent demonstrations of strength for purposes of intimidation; and then, in a second phase of the conference, efforts will be

made to restore the conventional balance of arms at the lowest possible level by means of suitable, adequately controlled disarmament measures. At this stage of our deliberations we should have the courage to recognize the truth. Can anyone believe that confidence among the Europeans, which has been so badly shattered, can be restored simply by declarations of good faith? Who would dare maintain that new legal and political commitments which merely repeat what has been said so often before will provide the necessary reassurance and foster new trust? Our 35 nations have already solemnly undertaken not to use force when they signed the United Nations Charter, when they adopted the Final Act of Helsinki, and on many other occasions. If we want to live up to the expectations of our citizens we shall now have to go beyond that. New declarations, however solemn they may be, are not wanted. We shall have to follow a different course if we want to bring about a state of security.

And third, it is important that we establish clarity about the first phase of our undertaking as soon as possible. The proposals to be examined during the first phase of the CDE will be in keeping with the Madrid mandate and concern confidence-building measures. These in themselves must represent progress. They will relate to the prevention of surprise attacks and the use of force for purposes of intimidation. They will help ensure that no dangerous conclusions will be drawn from military movements and activities relating to the continent. Their purpose must also be to ease the gradual transition to the following stage, that of controlled disarmament measures. Thus the road will have to be paved for negotiated solutions to the most complex problems, those relating to reliable verification of commitments already entered into. This, as we know, has been an obstacle to all previous efforts. The nature and mobility of modern weapons magnify those difficulties. If military activities can be made more transparent and if all concerned are less secretive and provide one another with more information, such activities will be easier to interpret and at the same time comparable with normal conduct. This would also establish the necessary foundation for future disarmament efforts. There is broad scope for our negoti-

ations. Our nations could agree to inform one another at regular intervals about the identity and location of their military units, about their plans for exercises and manoeuvres, about significant military activities in good time, and also agree to exchange observers. In order to ensure that this system will increase mutual confidence, they can lay down procedures by which to establish clarity in cases of doubt. They can install technical facilities for mutual communication and introduce effective procedures for making contact with one another. These suggestions are by no means exhaustive. My last remark concerns the procedure for the next few days. A decision will have to be taken as to the best way of dealing with the various proposals. The ten members of the European Community favour a pragmatic approach, drawing on the working methods developed in the course of the CSCE. With these methods we were able to counteract the rationale of the bloc system without in any way damaging the interests of any one country.

These are the aims we have set ourselves for Stockholm. We hope they can be attained by the spring of 1986. It would then be possible at the CSCE Follow-up Conference due to take place in Vienna in the autumn of 1986 to assess progress in accordance with the Madrid decisions which were confirmed at the preparatory meeting in Helsinki, and consider the transition to the second phase, provided the necessary conditions have been fulfilled. The Stockholm Conference is faced with an important and complex task. It will have to beware of extreme situations. It must not develop into a discussion among experts on security issues. It must not aspire to become the nucleus of a collective security system in Europe. It must simply establish what can be done under the present perilous circumstances to set in motion a dialogue among the 35 States who are directly interested in Europe's security, a dialogue that starts from an appreciation of the problems and the situation of each country. It must thus, at its regional level, pave the way for subsequent measures of conventional disarmament and in this way help mitigate the danger of actual conflict.

France wanted and proposed this Conference. The ten members of the European Community wanted it pursuant

European political cooperation

2.4.1. Community Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation in Paris on 27 February adopted press communiqués on Lebanon, the war between Iran and Iraq, and southern Africa.

Lebanon

'The Ten:

(i) express concern at the recent events in Lebanon which have been characterized by a renewal of armed confrontation and a struggle between the Lebanese political forces and which threaten to perpetuate the division of the country and the presence of foreign troops in its territory;

(ii) call on all the parties concerned to reach a lasting and effective ceasefire agreement;

(iii) hope that the international community will urgently fulfil its responsibilities in regard to peace-keeping, in particular by installing in the Beirut conurbation with the agreement of all the parties concerned a United Nations force which would take up position following the departure of the Multinational Force on the basis of the mandate to be entrusted to it by the Security Council;

(iv) recall that the re-establishment of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Lebanese State requires Lebanese reconciliation as a precondition and indicate their firm conviction that the process initiated during the Geneva conference should be resumed under conditions corresponding to the aspirations of all the political and religious interests;

(v) note that this objective involves also the withdrawal of all foreign troops except those whose presence is agreed to by the Lebanese Government;

(vi) consider that the various Lebanese movements should be able to agree on a definition of the external status of their country which takes into account both its position in the Arab world and the desire of its population to no longer be exposed to the consequences of a conflict which has already caused it so much suffering.

The Ten subsequently dealt with the unresolved problems of the Middle East with which the events in Lebanon are closely linked, without prejudice to the discussion of this subject which the European Council could have on 19-20 March.'

Iran-Iraq

2.4.2. 'The Ten have noted with great regret and concern the latest developments in the conflict between Iraq and Iran which are marked by heavy fighting at the front and renewed attacks with rockets, shells and bombs against civilian targets. This situation risks leading to new levels of escalation of the war and a dangerous crisis in the region.

The Ten therefore appeal to both parties to comply with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and to renounce all activities which could lead to an escalation of hostilities or endanger the freedom of navigation in the Gulf. They renew their appeal to search for ways to a peaceful solution which is acceptable and honourable for both sides. They request the Secretary-General of the UN to take up again his mission to find a peaceful, just and lasting solution of the conflict. They are prepared to cooperate actively with the means at their disposal.

At the same time the Ten appeal to the warring parties to observe carefully the international rules and conventions concerning the protection of the civilian populations and the treatment of prisoners of war. They support the efforts of the International Committee of the Red Cross to ease the heavy burden which the war puts on both sides.'

Southern Africa

2.4.3. 'The 10 member countries of the European Community, who have shown for a long time the greatest concern for the situation in southern

Africa, welcome recent initiatives aimed at ending the conflicts in that region.

They note with satisfaction the agreement reached in Lusaka on 16 February 1984 on the strengthening and monitoring of the military disengagement in southern Angola and commend the efforts of all parties concerned to bring about increased security and stability in the region. They also welcome the recent understanding between South Africa and Mozambique.

The Ten urge continued restraint and hope that these developments will contribute to the climate of mutual confidence which will facilitate the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435.

The Ten will call upon all concerned to seize this new opportunity to implement the UN settlement plan without further delay. They continue to support and encourage all parties, as well as the Secretary-General of the UN, in their efforts to reach a just and peaceful solution to the Namibian question and they express their readiness to assist in the development of a free and independent Namibia.'

2.4.4. The Ministers also discussed East-West relations and the situation in Latin America, and Mr Cheysson, the French Minister for External Relations, explained the outcome to the press:

East-West relations

2.4.5. Ministers had noted that their views on East-West relations were broadly in line: the Soviet Union was continuing its traditional policy, and the search for political contact had to be kept up, while the Ten maintained their positions of principle, especially on disarmament. Representation at ministerial level at the opening of the Conference on Disarmament in Europe, which was itself largely due to the efforts of the Ten, was an important sign.

Latin America

2.4.6. The Ten confirmed their support for the initiative of the Contadora Group and hoped to provide assistance in all countries of Central America. The Council recently asked the Commission to look at how relations should be structured.

Ministers reviewed the situation in a number of Central American countries, includ-

ing El Salvador, where elections are to take place shortly, and Nicaragua. They noted with considerable satisfaction that elections in Argentina represented a major step forward. The attentions of the European Council would be drawn to this event and its implications for Latin America as a whole, with a view to a statement being made.

4. Political and institutional matters

European political cooperation

Foreign Ministers' declarations

2.4.1. Community Foreign Ministers held a political cooperation meeting when the Council met on 27 March and adopted the following declarations prepared at the European Council on 19 and 20 March.

Declaration on East-West relations

2.4.2. The Ten have a responsibility in regard to peace and stability in Europe and to the security of their populations. They consider that the process of European integration which they have launched and which they intend to pursue resolutely is of primary importance in this regard. They declare

their determination to maintain and intensify their contribution to the improvement of relations between East and West. They appeal to the Soviet Union to cooperate in progress towards genuine *détente* on the basis of a balance of forces, of respect for the interests of all States, of the faithful implementation of the Helsinki Final Act in all its aspects and of the renunciation of the use and threat of force. In this connection, the Ten recall their position on the question of Afghanistan.

The Ten emphasize the particular importance of the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act for peace and security in Europe. Having made a decisive contribution to the creation of the CSCE process, which seeks to overcome the division of Europe, they will pursue their efforts aimed at conducting a constructive dialogue with the Soviet Union and its allies in central and eastern Europe. They hope to develop cooperation with each of

them on a stable and realistic basis in all concrete fields. They consider that, if it is to have its full significance, cooperation between States must benefit the individual citizen. They favour freer contact between people in both parts of Europe, in particular between those of the two German States.

The Ten wish to see the success of arms control and disarmament negotiations and the resumption of those which have been broken off. For their part, they are determined to make every effort required in order to ensure progress in the negotiations in which they are taking part, in particular the Conference in Stockholm on Disarmament in Europe where they consider that positive results can be attained.

They set as their objective the establishment of a state of peace and security in Europe in which man's right to unrestricted self-fulfilment and the right of peoples to self-determination will be recognized and respected. They assert that it is possible to make progress towards this objective by peaceful evolution. Convinced that all the European peoples wish to live in peace, they appeal to the governments of the Soviet Union and its allies in central and eastern Europe to work for more constructive East-West relations in a spirit of equality and of respect for the legitimate security interests of all concerned. The Ten, for their part, are determined to make their own contribution, in the interests of Europe and of peace in the world.

Near and Middle East

2.4.3. The Ten are intensely concerned by the three conflicts in the Near and the Middle East—Lebanon, the Arab-Israeli dispute and the war between Iraq and Iran—which are serious both in themselves and in the effect which each has on the others.

Lebanon

The ten Heads of State or Government recall the fundamental importance of the re-establishment of Lebanon in its independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity. The Ten hope that, following the Lausanne Conference, progress towards reconciliation in Lebanon will prove possible. They hope that the Lebanese Government and all political forces will continue their efforts to bring about national unity and establish a lasting peace throughout the country by reaching a just solution to its internal problems which respects Lebanese sovereignty and the desire of the population of that country to escape from the suffering inflicted on it by the Middle East conflict. They underline the need to initiate without delay processes which will lead to the withdrawal of foreign forces from Lebanese territory.

They express the hope that the international community will shortly be in a position to give the Lebanese Government any help it requests in order to maintain peace in the country.

They undertake to participate actively at the appropriate time in the work of reconstructing Lebanon.

Middle East

Following decades of confrontation in the Middle East, the need for a settlement guaranteeing peace among all the States of the region is universally recognized. The Ten consider that this settlement should include the right to existence and security of all these States, including Israel.

Likewise, all the parties concerned have conceded that a settlement must take account of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. In the view of the Ten, this entails acceptance of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, with all that this implies.

Finally, it has been universally acknowledged that all the problems which exist between Israel and its neighbours must be resolved in accordance with the principles recognized by the international community, including non-recourse to the use of force and non-acquisition of territory by force. For the Ten, this means that, in accordance with Resolutions 242 and 338 of the Security Council, Israel must put an end to the territorial occupation which it has maintained since the conflict of 1967.

The Ten call on all parties to draw the consequences from these principles and to start the negotiations which are necessary for their implementation.

A negotiated settlement will require the continuing and independent expression of the will of the Palestinian people; the PLO must be associated with the negotiations.

In the Ten's view, furthermore, a process of negotiation presupposes mutual recognition of the existence and the rights of the parties in the conflict.

The Ten express their concern at the collapse of the hopes engendered in September 1982 by certain converging and promising peace initiatives and they declare that the absence of all progress towards a negotiated solution since then exacerbates antagonisms and entrenches the positions of those who favour confrontation.

They note, however, that certain recent developments, such as the meeting of the Islamic Conference in Casablanca and the resumption of the dialogue between Jordan and the Palestinians, have been encouraging. They request all parties to make sincere efforts to re-examine their positions with a view to reducing the gap between them,

taking particularly into account elements contained in the Reagan Plan and in the Fez Declaration. They also call upon all parties to renounce the use or threat of force and upon the Government of Israel to put an end to its policy of establishing settlements in the occupied territories.

They undertake to support any constructive step which might be initiated by the parties.

They recall that the United Nations Security Council can play a significant role in the pursuit of a solution to the Middle East conflict negotiated between the parties.

They stress their wish to develop the activity of the European Community on behalf of the populations of the occupied territories.

The governments of the Ten, both individually and collectively through the channel of the presidency, will maintain such contacts with the authorities and personalities of the region as could be useful in bringing the various positions closer together and contributing to the removal of the obstacles which stand in the way of a process of negotiation.

Iran/Iraq

The Heads of State or Government emphasize the gravity of the risks which continued warfare between Iraq and Iran poses for the region of the Gulf, for the entire Middle East and for international peace and stability.

Recent developments have increased the sufferings of the peoples of both countries and could open the way to new and dangerous escalation in the intensity and spread of the conflict.

The Ten wish to record their distress at the allegations of the use of chemical weapons. They hope that following the United Nations inquiry the full truth of the matter will be brought to light. They recall their unqualified condemnation of any use of such weapons.

The Ten call on the parties to comply with the principles and provisions of humanitarian international law in armed conflicts.

The Ten hope that each of the parties will finally agree to comply with the Security Council resolutions and heed the numerous appeals addressed to them by the international community. They hope that the parties will cooperate in the search for a peaceful solution, honourable for them both.

They hope that the United Nations Secretary-General will intensify his efforts for the restoration of peace and are ready to lend him their support to this end.

Latin America

The Ten affirm their desire to maintain and develop their historical relations with South America. They deem it important to welcome the progress made by democracy in this region. This remarkable progress has been achieved at a time of serious economic difficulties, due partly to the burden of foreign debts.

The Ten express, in particular, their profound satisfaction at the restoration of democracy in Argentina following the elections of 30 October 1983. They welcome the steps taken by the new Government of President Alfonsín to re-establish the rule of law in the country.

The Ten hope that Argentina's return to a system of pluralist democracy will encourage a similar evolution in other South American countries where human rights continue to be subjected to serious violations.

Reiterating the position which they expressed on Central America in their Stuttgart declaration of 19 June 1983, the Ten confirm their appreciation for the continuing efforts of the Contadora Group.

They hope that these efforts can contribute to a reduction of tensions and to progress towards peace, respect for independence, the establishment of pluralistic democracy and the solution of the economic and social problems of the countries concerned.

Cyprus

The Ten reiterate their statement of 16 November 1983.¹ They support Security Council Resolution 541/83, which should be used as a basis for restoring the territorial integrity and unity of the Republic of Cyprus. They regret that Turkey has recognized the self-styled 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus'. They call upon the Turkish Government to withdraw this recognition and to exercise their influence on the leaders of the Turkish-Cypriot community so that they should rescind their decision. They pledge their support for the Secretary-General of the United Nations in the pursuit of his mission of good offices in accordance with Security Council Resolution 541.

CSCE: Athens meeting on the peaceful settlement of disputes

2.4.4. As part of the follow-up to the Madrid meeting of the Conference on Security

¹ Bull. EC 11-1983, point 2.4.1.

4. Political and institutional matters

Political cooperation

2.4.1. The Foreign Ministers met in Luxembourg on 9 April. They issued the following statement on Chile:

'The Ten have been disturbed to learn of the tragic incidents which marked the eighth day of protest organized in Chile by all the opposition movements and which caused at least five deaths, all civilian. They deplore the suppression of these demonstrations, which provide the Chilean people under present circumstances with the only effective means of expressing their democratic aspirations. They regret the prosecution of political leaders, including Mr Almeyda, the chairman of the MDP, the continuing restrictions on the press and the accelerating cycle of repression and violence in Chile.

The Ten wish to see a resumption of the dialogue between the authorities and the democratic forces in Chile with a view to the early restoration of civil liberties following the formation of a government based on free elections.'

It was also decided that the Ten would make a formal approach to the Chilean authorities concerning the extradition of Walter Rauff, in accordance with the wishes of Parliament.¹

The Ministers also discussed East-West relations and the situation in the Middle East, including the question of exports of chemicals to Iraq and Iran. They took note of national arrangements and decided to compare procedures and the products covered. The Permanent Representatives Committee was asked to consider this question, notably with regard to the Community aspects.

2.4.2. On 5 April a meeting was held at ministerial level in Paris, on the troika pattern, with the Chinese Foreign Minister, Mr Wu Xueqian. The Commission was represented by Mr Wilhelm Haferkamp. It was the first meeting with China at ministerial level, previous contacts having been between officials (China's ambassador in the capital of the country holding the presidency).

The participants held an exchange of views on the major issues of international policy (East-West relations, the Middle East).

They highlighted the exemplary nature of the meeting, the first contact between China and the Ten at political level.

De la part du Secrétariat Général
Service "Information des délégations"

Supplément au télex hebdomadaire n° 378 du 21 avril adressé à l'ensemble des délégations extérieures et services de presse et d'information dans les pays tiers.

Bruxelles, le 18 avril 1989

COOPERATION POLITIQUE EUROPEENNE : LIBAN

Le 17 avril, les Douze ont rendu publique la déclaration suivante suite à la mort de l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne à Beyrouth. En voici le texte en français et en anglais :

"Les Douze, profondément émus par la tragique perte de l'Ambassadeur Pedro DE ARISTEGUI, représentant de la présidence à Beyrouth, condamnent cette mort innocente causée par le bombardement indiscriminé de la population civile.

Les Douze réitèrent avec la plus grande fermeté leur appel à toutes les parties, y comprise la Syrie, à établir un cessez-le-feu, ainsi que la cessation immédiate des bombardements.

Cet événement tragique réaffirme l'impérieuse nécessité d'une solution négociée de la crise libanaise, tel qu'exprimé dans les déclarations réitérées des Douze sur la situation très grave de ce pays méditerranéen.

La Communauté et ses Etats membres expriment leur disponibilité à poursuivre une aide humanitaire d'urgence adressée à toute la population libanaise, qui permette de soulager le plus vite possible ses actuelles souffrances".

"The Twelve, deeply moved by the tragic death of Ambassador PEDRO DE ARISTEGUI, representative of the Presidency in Beirut, condemn the taking of this innocent life as a result of the indiscriminate bombardment of the civilian population.

The Twelve reiterate with the greatest firmness their appeal to all parties, including Syria, for the establishment of a cease-fire and for an immediate end to shelling.

This tragic event confirms the absolute necessity of a negotiated solution to the Lebanese crisis, as stated repeatedly by the Twelve in their statements on the very grave situation in this mediterranean country.

The Community and its Member States express their readiness to continue to provide emergency humanitarian aid to the lebanese population without distinction and to relieve the present suffering as rapidly as possible".

European political cooperation

2.4.1. Community Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation in Brussels on 14 May adopted the following statement on Afghanistan:

'For several weeks, Soviet forces have been carrying on a large-scale offensive in various provinces of Afghanistan, and especially in the Panjshir area. The Ten consider that the intensified or new methods being employed in this offensive, in particular high-altitude bombing, can only add to suffering and destruction without shortening a conflict to which there is no military solution. These attacks can only lead to an increase in the number of homeless and refugees. Indeed this increased resort to force confirms the stubbornness of the resistance and the difficulties being encountered in overcoming it.

In these circumstances, the Ten must reiterate their attachment to the principles set out in the resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations and recently recalled on the fourth anniversary of Soviet intervention, namely that the withdrawal of foreign troops, self-determination by the Afghan people, the voluntary return of the refugees and the non-alignment of Afghanistan are the conditions for an honourable, just and lasting settlement for all the parties concerned. The Ten call on the Soviet union once again to follow this

course and support the efforts being made to this end by the Secretary-General of the United Nations.'

¹ Bull. EC 4-1984, point 2.4.1.

European political cooperation

Statement by the Foreign Ministers of the Ten on Poland

2.4.1. On 23 July the Foreign Ministers, who were together for a Council meeting, adopted the following statement:

'The Ministers recall the long-standing concern of the Ten about the situation in Poland, to which their peoples are linked by many historic ties.

The Ten welcome the decision of the Polish Government to release those who had received prison sentences for their political activities and those detained awaiting trial.

It is the hope of the Ten that the Polish Government's decision reflects a desire to meet the

aspirations of the Polish people for dialogue and reform and that the amnesty announced will be followed by further measures of a kind which could help to promote national reconciliation.

The Ten recall that it has consistently been their wish to return to a more normal relationship with Poland as actual developments in that country permit.'

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Barry

Speech to the European Parliament by
Peter Barry,
Irish Minister of Foreign Affairs,
on European Political Cooperation
(Excerpts)
26 July 1984

*Annex to the Official Journal of the
European Communities No. 1-315*

Mr President, please allow me now to speak on the process of political cooperation among the Ten.

Ireland takes over the Presidency at a time of considerable uncertainty in international affairs. Rapidly changing political realities around the world, and the volatility inherent in situations of crisis, do not make it easy to chart a clear course through this terrain. The task of reconciling national viewpoints and of promoting a common European perception of world events becomes a particularly onerous one under these circumstances. It is, nonetheless, a task which the Irish Presidency intends to tackle with energy and determination. It is our conviction that, now more than ever, a strong and coherent European voice must be heard in the international arena and that practical political

cooperation among the Ten should be directed towards this end.

(Applause)

During the second half of this year, the Ten will need to address themselves in European Political Cooperation to a host of complex and difficult issues.

The tragic conflict in the Lebanon and in the Middle East generally will continue to claim our sympathetic attention. Continued careful reflection will be required on the manner in which the legitimate rights and aspirations of all the States and peoples in the Middle East can best be safeguarded. The ongoing war between Iran and Iraq poses a further serious threat to the stability of the region and, indeed, to international security. The pursuit of a comprehensive and lasting settlement to the various problems of the Middle East will remain an overriding concern of the Ten over the next six months.

The overall picture of East-West relations is not encouraging at present. Under the Irish Presidency, the Ten will do all in their power to reduce tensions and to promote a more stable and cooperative relationship between East and West. It will be our object to work towards the restoration of international confidence and so strengthen the prospects for peace and stability on our own continent and in the world generally.

The situation in Poland is viewed by the Ten with particular concern. The recent amnesty to political prisoners has been greeted by the Ten as an encouraging and positive gesture. We shall continue to follow developments closely and take appropriate opportunities to underline the importance of reconciliation and dialogue between all sections of the Polish population.

Regarding the ongoing CSCE process, it will be the Ten's concern to ensure that all provisions of the Helsinki Final Act and the Madrid concluding documents are fully implemented. We attach importance to the Conference on Disarmament in Europe and will work to ensure the cohesion of the Ten both in that forum and at other meetings due to take place in the CSCE context in the coming months.

Conscious of the wide range of human, economic and cultural ties which exist between Latin America and the 10 countries of the European Community, the Ten under the Irish Presidency will be considering ways in which dialogue and cooperation with Latin America can be strengthened. In regard to the situation in Central America, the Ten will make the fullest possible contribution to the search for a durable political settlement, in particular by lending their support in as concrete a way as possible to the peace initiative undertaken by the Contadora group of countries.

The Ten will also continue to follow developments in Africa with close attention and will endeavour to

Barry

ensure that independence and stability are achieved in Southern Africa.

It will be an important objective of the Irish Presidency to continue and expand, at the 39th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, the successful coordination of the Ten on a wide variety of political, economic and human rights issues which has been a characteristic of previous sessions.

The theme of human rights, of course, is one which is not confined to the General Assembly but is echoed across the full range of international relations in one form or another. Under the Irish Presidency, the Ten will be prepared to show concern at violations of human rights whenever they occur and to defend human liberties whenever they are threatened.

Mr President, let me assure you that I look forward with great pleasure to the opportunities I shall have over the next six months to report at each of your part-sessions on developments in the field of political cooperation. I shall be honoured to continue the dialogue with the Members of this Assembly in the various forms open to us. I look forward, in particular, to welcoming the members of the Political Affairs Committee to Dublin for one of our two colloquies later this year.

Mr President, my report to the Parliament this morning on the work programme for the Irish Presidency has necessarily had to be confined in the time available to an outline, an identification of the most important areas to which we wish to give priority and where we would wish to see significant progress made in the coming months. In our efforts to achieve this progress, we intend to keep in very close touch with the European Parliament, and, of course, with your President, to whom I would like to extend my warmest congratulations on his election.

The institutional system established by the Treaties and by practice has demonstrated the importance of relations of trust between the European Parliament and the Council in many areas. I spoke at the beginning of my address of the intention of the Irish Presidency that the Presidents of the various specialist Councils should come to committee meetings of Parliament to outline to them the work in progress and the work planned. For my own part, within the limits imposed by other duties I must carry out as President of the Council, I shall ensure that I visit the Parliament in each part-session.

(Applause)

The climate, Mr President, in which this newly-elected Parliament is starting its term of office is not an easy one. The same is true, of course, for the climate in which Ireland is taking over the Presidency of the Council. By striving to combine our efforts, we can hope to bring about changes in a number of features

of that climate and so contribute to the achievement as soon as possible of prosperity and full employment for our people. This is essential if the internal and external peace of the Member States is to be maintained and safeguarded.

Go raibh maith agat.

2.4.1. On 12 November the Foreign Ministers issued the following statement on Chile:

'The Ten deplore the increase of violence in Chile. They are firmly convinced that the dialogue between the Chilean Government and the democratic opposition is the way to achieve a consensus in the country. They strongly denounce the abandonment of that dialogue in favour of measures which seriously prejudice fundamental individual liberties contained in the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights.

The proclamation of a state of siege deprives Chilean citizens, *inter alia*, of the protection of the judicial system as well as of a transition to pluralistic democracy.

The Ten express their profound concern about this situation and its victims and express their conviction of the necessity for the establishment, at the earliest possible moment, of all democratic liberties in the country.

The Ten are also concerned at the restrictions which the Chilean Government has placed on the return to their country of a very large number of Chileans. They hope that the Chilean Government will reconsider its policy on this matter and review the cases of those citizens forbidden to return to Chile.'

20 November 1984

Press Statement

South Africa - Code of Conduct

Fourth Community Analysis of National Reports on the
implementation of the Code of Conduct for European Community
Companies with subsidiaries in South Africa

July 1981 - June 1983 ,

The Ten discussed the fourth Community analysis of national reports on the implementation of the Code of Conduct by European Community companies with subsidiaries in South Africa. They decided to transmit the analysis to the European Parliament. The reports cover periods from July 1981 to June 1983. In all, the responses of 224 companies employing 141,679 black workers are analysed.

Since the Code of Conduct was adopted in 1977 important developments have taken place in labour practice in South Africa. The racial features have been removed from parts of the legislation dealing with labour matters and freedom of association has been extended to all black workers. Accordingly the influence of registered and non-registered black trade unions has increased markedly. The growth of trade union activity in E.C. companies was a notable feature of the period under review and the Ten are pleased to note that E.C. companies again showed an increased willingness to recognise black unions. The Ten regard a conciliatory and encouraging attitude to unions by employers as important if progress is to be made towards the achievement of internationally accepted standards of industrial relations.

The Ten noted that there had been a slight fall in the percentage of workers paid above the level recommended in the Code of Conduct. This is apparently due to recession in the South African economy. However, they also noted that the lot of the lowest paid workers appeared to have improved, although there is still scope for persuading companies which have not yet done so to observe the guidelines recommended by the Code.

The Ten welcome the contribution which companies can make in redressing in part the inequities of the educational system in South Africa. They note that training and educational activities could be expanded and could enable black workers to occupy skilled positions which are, at present, being filled by importation of workers from abroad.

The three members of the Ten whose companies have most subsidiaries in South Africa have appointed attaches to their embassies in Pretoria who have specific responsibility for labour matters related to the Code of Conduct.

4. Implementation of Community Code of Conduct by companies with subsidiaries in South Africa

Fourth Community analysis July 1981 to June 1983

3.4.1. At a political cooperation meeting on 20 November the Ten adopted the fourth Community analysis (July 1981 to June 1983) on the implementation of the Community Code of Conduct for companies with subsidiaries in South Africa. The text is reproduced below.

Introduction

Trade union membership among blacks increased substantially during the period under review. The ILO estimates that by the end of 1982 there were 545 000 blacks in trade unions, an increase of over 50% on the figures for the previous year. This increase has taken place despite a rise in unemployment among blacks.

Changes in industrial relations matters during the period include the elimination of 'job reservations' in the Labour Relations Act, although discrimination on grounds of race continues to be a feature in the Mines and Works Act. Also, the Supreme Court found in a binding decision (i) that the Government had erred in insisting that unions register on a racial basis and (ii) that unions were entitled to register on an open basis catering for all races.

Despite these changes, trade unions still encounter serious difficulties in organizing their activities. Union leaders have been imprisoned without trial and one, Dr Neil Aggett of the African Food and Canning Workers Union, died in detention in Feb-

ruary 1982. At the subsequent inquest, evidence of torture was adduced. In the Ciskei, the South African Allied Workers' Union was banned following amendments to legislation there and many trade unionists were arrested and tortured.

The number of strikes and the number of workers involved increased during 1982. According to official figures, the number of working days lost increased by over 50%. Most strikes concerned wage disputes while dismissals and layoffs were also significant causes.

Among developments in the Ten, it is worth noting that the Governments of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Netherlands appointed social attachés to their embassies in Pretoria with responsibility for increasing contacts with companies and trade unions. The United Kingdom has had a social attaché at its embassy for a number of years.

Analysis of reports

In the third Community analysis of national reports on the implementation of the Code of Conduct, the periods covered ranged from mid-1980 to the end of 1981. In 1983 the Ten began a process of harmonization of the reporting periods so that all reports will eventually cover common periods from 1 July to 30 June each year.

This fourth analysis is of reports covering periods from July 1981 to 30 June 1983. A summary of the national reports analysed is given in the table below.

Country ¹	Period covered	Numbers of company reports analysed	Numbers of black employees
Belgium	1.7.1982-30. 6.1983	5	not stated
Denmark	1.7.1982-30. 6.1983	2	204
Germany(FR) ²	1.7.1981-31.12.1982	51	21 100
Greece ³	1.7.1981-30. 6.1982	2	35
France	1.7.1982-30. 6.1983	7	2 230
Italy	1.7.1982-30. 6.1983	2	1 050
Netherlands	1.7.1981-30. 6.1982	17	4 468
	1.7.1982-30. 6.1983	16	4 060
United Kingdom	1.7.1981-30. 6.1982	130	134 000
	1.7.1982-30. 6.1983	139	113 000
Total	at 30.6.1983	224	141 679

¹ Ireland and Luxembourg do not have companies reporting under the Code.

² The first report from the Federal Republic of Germany to adopt the standard reporting period will cover the period to 30 June 1984.

³ The Greek report is also valid to 30 June 1983.

Reports were filed by over 90% of companies expected to do so. The present analysis reports on conditions in 224 companies employing approximately 141 679 black workers. The Governments of the Ten are encouraging those firms which have not yet done so to submit reports under the Code.

The national reports of Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom are publicly available.

Relations within companies

The increased importance of trade unions and the increased readiness of Community companies to cooperate with them is apparent. The number of German companies reporting cooperation with trade unions rose from 7 to 15. The number of UK companies now giving formal recognition to independent black unions or established registered unions has risen to 39, a substantial increase from the 1981 figure of 17 and the 1982 figure of 25. The number of British companies prepared to negotiate with registered or unregistered trade unions also increased from 38 in 1982 to 55 in 1983.

Twenty-two German companies, employing 65% of the workforce in German enterprises, informed their employees that they were prepared to cooperate with unions. Among the 15 German companies at present cooperating with unions, union activities were facilitated in a variety of ways including:

- allowing meetings during working hours;
- assistance in preparing union information;
- partial or full exemption from work for shop stewards;
- deduction of union dues from wages.

The Netherlands reports note that Dutch firms accept the principle that employees are entitled to determine their own form of representation and that they were generally willing to negotiate with unionized employees. In addition, six Dutch firms, including the five which employ 400 or more black workers, state their willingness to negotiate with unregistered trade unions where these could show that they had sufficient support in the workforce.

The two Greek firms report that the employees of one firm, a bank, do not belong to any union, nor have they expressed any wish or made any request to belong to one. No trade union caters for employees in the other firm's business—an airline.

Both of the reporting Danish companies fully recognize the right of blacks to membership of a trade union. In the seven French companies union membership is open to all employees. The five Belgian companies also recognize the rights of their

workers to a free choice of trade union. One Italian company reports that its employees are unionized and the same company also liaises with its employees through a workers committee.

The liaison committee remains the predominant form of organization for employees although its role in some companies is being superseded by trade unions. Seventy-seven British firms now report liaison committees, compared with 91 in 1981 and 99 in 1982. The workers in 24 of the 51 German companies are represented by such committees, as are the employees of both Danish firms and two of the French firms. Liaison committees are also active in many Dutch firms, particularly the larger ones.

Migrant labour

Migrant labour is used by a minority of companies reporting under the Code. The Danish, Greek and Italian companies employ no migrant workers. The workforce of the only Belgian company using migrant labour consists entirely of migrants. Of the two French companies employing migrant labour, one is situated close to a 'homeland' whence the workers travel daily. Two Dutch firms reported using a small number of migrant workers. Of the 15 German firms employing migrants, six firms employed 90% of the total; and one British firm accounted for over 70% of the migrants employed by the 42 British companies using migrant labour.

In many cases migrant workers receive the same treatment as permanent staff, while several firms provide extra facilities such as subsidized transport, extra leave, etc., to alleviate the problems of migrants. Some firms have stated that they intend to phase out the use of migrant workers.

Pay

The Code recommends that all employers should pay minimum wages at least 50% above the amount required to meet the minimum needs of a family.

The reports indicate that most employees are paid wages above this minimum level and that most companies abide by the Code's recommendation. Firms encompassing 69% of workers in all German subsidiaries pay their employees above the recommended level; 90.1% of blacks employed by British firms and 85% of those working for Dutch firms are also paid above this level. One Danish, all Belgian and six French companies also pay all their employees above the recommended level.

There was, however, a slight fall in the percentage of employees of German and British firms who were paid above the recommended norm. In the case of British firms, this appears to have been caused, at least in part, by the recession in the South African economy.

One hundred and thirty-five employees (3.3%) of Dutch companies and 1 400 employees (1.3%) of British companies received wages below the amount considered adequate to meet the needs of a family. Over 60% of the British employed workers in this category are in a single company. In many cases these employees, mostly in the mining, construction, agricultural and service sectors, were new recruits or trainees. Some of the employees were women who were not the sole income earners in a family.

Wage structure and black African advancement

The overwhelming majority of companies accept the principles of equal pay for equal work and equality of job opportunities. There were only 6 firms which either did not accept them or else did not state their policy.

However, equal access by blacks to job opportunities is often circumscribed by their lack of qualifications or skills as a result of inferior education and training. Many companies seek to remedy this deficiency by the provision of suitable training either on the job or in institutions outside the firm. Most of the Dutch companies provide such training, as do 131 British, 31 German, 6 French, 1 Belgian and all the Italian and Danish firms. Approximately one third of the companies which filed reports increased the training offered in the period under review. One Italian company and three German firms reported the construction of new training centres. Several firms reported that they provided scholarships to university, technical college or other third-level institutions to some of their employees.

Many companies said that they had a deliberate policy of advancement of black Africans and cited instances of such promotion. However several companies also perceived a shortage of skilled labour and recruited skilled workers and managers from abroad to fill particular needs, but the number is declining.

Fringe benefits

Almost all companies reported providing fringe benefits in addition to wages. The majority of companies contribute to pension and insurance schemes and provide assistance to employees to

purchase accommodation. The range of benefits provided by different companies includes contributions to study costs, subsidized travel, low-cost meals, bonus payments, sports facilities and legal advice. Several companies report their involvement in community projects, whose benefits are not restricted to their own workforce.

Desegregation at places of work

A majority of companies report that partial or complete desegregation had been achieved at the workplace. Desegregation of social and works amenities was reported by a smaller number of firms, which nevertheless constituted a majority. Among the reasons cited for continued segregation are unchanged statutory provisions and controls, the nature of older buildings and the preferences of employees. However, some progress has been made during the period by many of the firms whose facilities are still not fully desegregated.

Conclusion

A rapid increase in the growth of trade union membership has been a feature of the period under review. There has also been a welcome increase in the preparedness of subsidiaries of companies in the Ten to recognize and negotiate with both registered and non-registered trade unions. Given the ambivalent attitude of the South African authorities to the development of trade union rights for black workers, it is considered that employers will have to maintain a conciliatory and encouraging attitude if progress is to be made towards the achievement of internationally accepted standards of industrial relations.

The recession in the South African economy has been partly responsible for the slight drop in the percentage of workers paid above the level recommended in the Code of Conduct. However, the relative lot of the lowest-paid workers appears to have improved slightly although there still remains a small percentage who are paid wages below what is regarded as the poverty level, i.e. the minimum subsistence requirement for a family. It is clear, therefore, that there is still scope for persuading companies which have not yet done so to meet the wage guidelines recommended by the Code.

Because of the inequity of South Africa's educational system, training and education provided by companies plays an important role in upgrading the skills of black workers and in enabling them to compete on equal terms for available job opportunities. The further room for improvement in training and development of black workers is demonstrated by the shortage of skilled workers, which companies have continued to meet by recruitment abroad.

4. The Community at the United Nations

Extracts from the address given on behalf of the Community and the Member States by Mr Peter Barry, President of the Council, to the United Nations General Assembly on 25 September

3.4.1. '... The United Nations is now almost 40 years old. The European Community is younger than that by 10 years. Both Organizations were born out of the same experience—the agony and destruction of the Second World War—and both have one essential aim in common — to prevent the recurrence of war. Surveying the international situation over the past 40 years we can take satisfaction from the fact that the continent of Europe has escaped another large-scale war and that the world has avoided global conflict which in a nuclear age would have disastrous consequences for the future of mankind. But our satisfaction must be tempered by the realization that even though global war has been averted, millions have perished in regional conflicts and civil strife; millions more continue to suffer under tyrannical and repressive regimes; and in a wealthy, scientifically advanced and resourceful world millions of our fellow men are subjected to poverty, malnutrition and disease. Beyond these injustices are the growth in nuclear and conventional armaments; the lack of success in arms control; and the state of the political relations between the super powers. None the less there are hopeful signs, notably the forthcoming meeting between the President of the United States and the Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union. In this connection also the Ten were encouraged by the tone and content of the address given to this Assembly yesterday by President Reagan.

Despite these encouraging signs the international community and the Ten must remain concerned at the persistence of negative trends in international life. For this reason they will persevere in their efforts to halt and reverse them.

The principles underlying the Ten's approach to international issues are clear. They may be simply stated.

First, we are committed to promoting the purposes and upholding the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. In recent years the international community has been subjected to a series of crises which has tested the will and capacity of this organization to keep the peace and deter aggression. Moreover, there has been deadlock on a number of international and regional issues of fundamental importance. The United Na-

tions has not responded to these challenges as well as it might; and Member States have not sought to use the Organization as they should. For their part the Ten will continue to promote the UN which, because of its universal character, is a unique forum for the resolution of conflict. We will continue to support also the endeavours of the Secretary-General to increase the relevance of the Organization and to improve its functioning.

A second set of principles, linked to the first, derives from our commitment to the rule of law and to dialogue in international relations. The European Community is itself constructed on these principles and the Ten wish to see them applied more thoroughly and effectively in all areas of international life. In this connection we believe that a renewal and deepening of political dialogue between East and West is an urgent necessity — urgent and necessary because of the awesome level of military forces; urgent and necessary also to prevent miscalculation or misunderstanding in sensitive areas of the world escalating into an international crisis. We are ready to extend our dialogue and cooperation with all States and regional groups.

Third, the Ten recognize and respect the right of all States to security, independence and the determination of their own destiny. These principles, which have informed the work of the United Nations since its foundation, are central to the Ten's approach to international issues. We believe that all States should be permitted to develop their human and natural resources free from external threat, in accordance with their own history and traditions, and without interference in their internal affairs.

Fourth, the Ten believe in the fundamental importance of human rights and in the need for States to respect, in deed as well as in word, internationally agreed human rights standards. I shall have more to say about human rights later in my statement but at this point I wish to emphasize that the principle of non-interference in internal affairs should not, indeed cannot, be invoked by States to ignore or reject international concern at human rights abuses on their territory.

Fifth, the European Community and its 10 Member States are committed to the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples, to working for the elimination of poverty, hunger and disease throughout the world, and to the alleviation of the plight of displaced persons. We believe that dialogue, cooperation and partnership hold the key to the promotion of more equitable and more even development which would also

contribute significantly to economic progress for all.

The principles I have just outlined underpin and give coherence to the work of the Ten on the major issues facing the world today.

East-West relations

Nowhere is the need for dialogue and cooperation more evident than in the area of East-West relations. These relations have continued to undergo considerable strain in the past year. The Ten regret this. Earlier this year they declared their determination to maintain and intensify their contribution to the improvement of relations between East and West. They appealed to the Soviet Union to cooperate in progress towards genuine *détente* on the basis of a balance of forces, of respect for the interests of all States, of the faithful implementation of the Helsinki Final Act in all its aspects including effective abstention from the threat or use of force. They recall in this connection their position on the continued military build-up by the Soviet Union and on the question of Afghanistan.

The Ten have sought to keep open all possible channels of dialogue with a view to contributing to an improvement in East-West relations. Despite the difficulties, the Ten will persist in their efforts to return these relations to a more stable and predictable basis. They will continue to work for a lessening of mistrust and to seek constructive and comprehensive political dialogue with the Soviet Union and its allies in Central and Eastern Europe. They will seek wherever possible to build on existing cooperation with each of these countries. But to bear fruit the efforts of the Ten to improve East-West relations will require to be reciprocated in the same spirit.

As European countries, the Ten attach great weight to the CSCE process as a forum for contacts and negotiation which gives all participating States, large and small, possibilities for contributing to a dialogue on matters of vital importance to them. The CSCE process this year has acquired a new dimension in the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. Full implementation of the Helsinki and Madrid provisions by all States participating in the CSCE process would significantly assist the restoration of confidence in East-West relations. It is disturbing to note, one year after the conclusion of the Madrid meeting, and with a CSCE experts' meeting on respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms due to take place in the first part of next year, an increase in the disregard by some participating States for the provisions agreed to at Helsinki and Madrid in these areas, including freedom of religion.

It has been a consistent wish of the Ten to return to a more normal relationship with Poland as actual developments there permit. In this regard the Ten welcomed the Polish Government's amnesty decision in July last. The Ten hope that the Polish authorities, in a spirit of national reconciliation and tolerance, will follow this decision with further measures designed to meet the aspirations of the Polish people for dialogue and reform, and that all of the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act and the Madrid Concluding Document, including those on trade-union freedom, will be implemented by Poland.

Disarmament and arms control

For the 10 members of the European Community the achievement of balanced and verifiable arms control and disarmament agreements, as well as the full implementation of such agreements, is a matter of the highest importance. We shall continue to work for such results and to lend support to the efforts of others to achieve them.

The problems of achieving effective agreements on arms control and disarmament are difficult at any time. The pursuit of such agreements is made all the more difficult in a climate of mistrust and strain in political relations. None the less, there is no alternative to determined and painstaking pursuit at the negotiating table of concrete results in the form of substantial, balanced and verifiable arms control and disarmament agreements. In the field of disarmament, statements of good intentions are not enough, and declaratory undertakings are a poor substitute for specific, concrete and verifiable measures. When one takes account of the continuing growth in armaments, certain potentially destabilizing technological advances in weaponry, and the grave social and economic consequences of the arms race, it is evident that all countries, including the nuclear powers, should have a strong common interest in the negotiation of effective measures of arms control and disarmament resulting in stability at lower levels of forces. The Ten profoundly regret the suspension of the negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on intercontinental strategic nuclear weapons and intermediate nuclear forces. We consider that these vitally important negotiations should resume and be pursued actively with a view to reducing nuclear weapons to the lowest possible level.

Measures to curb and reverse the nuclear arms race should be complemented by efforts to maintain and improve the effectiveness of the non-proliferation regime, which has served the international community well since it was instituted in the 1960s. In this context those members of the

Ten which are parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty will work actively for the successful outcome of the Third NPT Review Conference in 1985.

The danger of an arms race in outer space is a matter of deep concern to the membership of this Organization. Given the pressing need for agreement on steps to avert this danger, the Ten can only regret that bilateral talks between the leading space powers, the Soviet Union and the United States have not yet taken place. They hope that such talks will commence without delay. In parallel, multilateral consideration by the Conference on Disarmament of questions relating to the prevention of an arms race in outer space is also desirable.

At the same time, we must take full account of other aspects of the disarmament equation; conventional disarmament and arms control is also necessary if the common desire for peace and stability is to be satisfied. The continent in which we Europeans live contains the highest concentration of conventional weaponry and forces in the world. This is one of the main reasons why the Ten, in conformity with the mandate agreed for the Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, which began work in January last, are seeking negotiated agreement in a first stage on a set of militarily significant and verifiable confidence and security-building measures. These measures would be designed to diminish the risk of military confrontation in Europe, and thereby pave the way to a second stage of the Conference where the participating States would continue their efforts for security and disarmament in Europe in particular by controlled reductions of armaments.

Those members of the Ten participating in the Vienna negotiations on mutual and balanced force reductions consider that the submission last April of a new proposal which seeks to resolve some of the most basic issues of these negotiations should permit real progress to be made towards agreement on conventional force reductions.

The Ten will continue to support realistic and concrete disarmament efforts at the sole multilateral negotiating body—the Geneva Conference on Disarmament. We attach particular importance to the successful conclusion of negotiations taking place at the Conference on a convention to prohibit chemical weapons. Member States of the European Community have contributed actively to this work. In this connection, we welcome positive developments which have taken place this year; the United States has tabled a draft Convention to outlaw these weapons and the Soviet Union has accepted the principle of on-site inspection of destruction of

stocks of chemical weapons. Although important differences remain to be resolved the Ten hope that it will be possible to move towards the conclusion at an early date of a convention to eliminate chemical weapons.

The importance of the relationship between disarmament and development has been underlined in the deliberations of the United Nations Disarmament Commission this year. The Commission agreed that the world economy, and particularly that of developing countries, would benefit from appropriate international action that takes into account the close relationship of disarmament and development. The Ten hope that it will prove possible to reach a broad measure of agreement at this session of the General Assembly on how the important question of giving concrete expression to the relationship should be pursued.

Middle East

The Ten have an historic concern for, and interest in, peace and stability in the Middle East. We have spoken out consistently on the problems of the area and how they might be resolved in a fair and durable way. Individually and collectively we have contributed to attempts to make and keep peace in the Middle East.

It is appropriate here, at the headquarters of the United Nations Organization, to note its involvement in the area over the years and the experience and expertise that it has developed. The UN has a vital role to play in establishing and maintaining peace in the Middle East. The Ten will continue to encourage and assist the activities of the UN to this end.

Conflict and tension continue in three areas in particular: between Israel and the Arab States; in Lebanon; and in the Gulf. Each dispute has brought its own toll of human suffering and destruction; each also poses wider threats in the region and to international peace and harmony. The international community, notably through the UN Security Council, has at various times set down guidelines for the solution of these problems in part or in whole. What is needed now is movement by the parties concerned in each case, with the support and assistance of the international community to negotiate peaceful solutions in accordance with the guidelines.

With regard to the Arab-Israeli conflict, Resolutions 242 and 338 of the Security Council set down fundamental principles for a settlement of that conflict. The Ten believe that in essence such a settlement must further take account of both the right to existence and security of all States in the Middle East, including Israel, and the right of the

Palestinian people to self-determination with all that this implies.

A negotiated settlement requires the continuing and independent expression of the will of the Palestinian people; the Ten have repeatedly said that the PLO should be associated with the negotiations. The resolution of the problems between Israel and its neighbours should be based on the principles, widely accepted in the international community, of non-recourse to the use of force and the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force. For the Ten, this means that, in accordance with Resolutions 242 and 338 of the Security Council, Israel must put an end to the territorial occupation which it has maintained since the conflict of 1967.

For some time now, because of events on both sides and developments elsewhere, there has been a hiatus in attempts to find a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Ten regret this. Each year that passes without a solution makes its achievement more difficult. Attitudes of hostility become more entrenched and the problems arising from the long occupation become more serious. Outside parties, including the Ten, can play a part in facilitating negotiations and can assist and support constructive steps by the sides. A number of proposals have been set forth, and remain on the table, which could be helpful for a comprehensive settlement. But it cannot be escaped that the parties themselves—Israel, the Arab States and the Palestinians—must sooner or later grasp the nettle and come to terms with each other's existence and legitimate rights. The Ten urge those involved to take steps in this direction. We believe that a start could be made with the renunciation by all parties of the threat or use of force and with the abandonment by Israel of the policy of establishing settlements in the occupied territories contrary to international law.

The Ten regard the progress which has been made towards reconciliation in Lebanon under the Government of Prime Minister Karame as encouraging and worthy of support. But violence nevertheless continues to flare up and fundamental problems remain to be addressed if the goal of an independent, sovereign country enjoying territorial integrity, affirmed so many times by the UN and endorsed by the Ten, is to be achieved.

Israel remains in occupation of a considerable part of the country, which is a cause of a great deal of human suffering and economic disruption in Lebanon. In the view of the Ten Israel should withdraw its troops in accordance with the call of the Security Council. In this connection we note that in his address to the Knesset the new Prime Minister of Israel said that one of the main objec-

tives of the new government is an early return of Israeli forces from Lebanon. The Ten also believe that other foreign forces on Lebanese soil whose presence is not authorized by the government should also be withdrawn. The Ten, some of whom contribute to observer and peace-keeping operations in Lebanon, reaffirm their willingness to assist that country towards peace and normality. They take this opportunity to express their appreciation of the work of Unifil, aimed at carrying out its mandate, and its efforts to maintain stable conditions and protect the population in its area of operations. They support the renewal in October of Unifil's mandate and hope that the conditions will be created which will allow the Force fully to carry out its tasks.

The Ten are concerned at the continuation of conflict between Iran and Iraq and the resultant increased tension in the Gulf area. There has been great loss of life on both sides among combatants and the civilian populations. Enormous material damage has been done. Shipping in the Gulf, including traffic to and from States not parties to the conflict, has been subjected to attacks. Of particular concern was the report in March of this year by an expert team dispatched by the Secretary-General which ascertained that chemical weapons had been used in areas inspected in Iran. The Ten condemn without qualification any use of chemical weapons and earnestly hope that they will not be used again in this or any other conflict. We call on both sides to comply with the principles and provisions of humanitarian international law in armed conflicts. We have underlined to Iran and Iraq the importance we attach to freedom of navigation and commerce in international waters and we recall that the Security Council has more than once addressed this question.

More positively it is noted with satisfaction that the undertaking by Iran and Iraq not to attack purely civilian targets is holding up well. We compliment the Secretary-General on bringing this about and on his work and that of the observer teams in maintaining it. A certain willingness to compromise and thus spare the civilian population from further suffering is an encouraging sign. One of the possibilities offered by the UN has been utilized. The Ten urge both sides to extend this process, leading to a general cessation of military activities in accordance with the relevant Security Council resolutions and numerous appeals of the international community. Negotiation could then begin aimed at finding a peaceful solution, honourable for both sides. Many intermediaries have offered their good offices in this area. The Ten hope that these efforts and those of the UN Secretary-General will be continued and intensified and they are ready to support them.

Cyprus

The situation in Cyprus remains an important matter of international concern. The Ten once again express their unconditional support for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of Cyprus in accordance with relevant UN resolutions. In particular, they reiterate their rejection of the declaration of 15 November 1983 purporting to establish an independent State within Cyprus. They deplore the fact that neither this declaration nor the subsequent purported exchange of ambassadors between Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot leadership has been withdrawn, in disregard of Security Council Resolutions 541 and 550.

The Ten attach particular importance to the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General and they call on all concerned to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General in his current efforts to bring about constructive dialogue aimed at a just and lasting solution to the problems of Cyprus.

Afghanistan

It is now almost five years since the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan. It remains a source of great concern to the whole world and continues seriously to affect the stability of the region. The Ten remain deeply concerned at the continuing occupation of that traditionally neutral and non-aligned country and at the violation of its independence. Despite repeated calls from the international community to respect the UN Charter and UN resolutions the Soviet Union refuses to heed the appeals to withdraw its troops, which is the key requirement for any satisfactory political solution. The Ten regret that the Soviet Union has shown no willingness to make a positive contribution to a settlement based on successive UN resolutions but has instead intensified its military efforts against the resistance forces which have resulted in many civilian casualties and further suffering and destruction in a country already ravaged by war.

The Ten are also deeply concerned that Pakistani civilians and Afghan refugees have been killed in attacks on Pakistani territory from within Afghanistan and they deplore these violations of Pakistan's border.

There can be no military victory in Afghanistan. There can only be a political solution which will ensure the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops, the restoration of Afghanistan's independence and non-aligned status and the right of the Afghan people to self-determination. In this regard the plight of the refugees must not be forgotten. The exodus of more than a fifth of the Afghan popu-

lation driven from their homeland and forced to seek shelter in neighbouring countries is a tragedy of immense proportions. Any solution must enable the refugees to return home in safety and honour.

The Ten are committed to supporting any initiative which aims at a lasting and principled solution based on successive UN resolutions to the problem of Afghanistan and recall their proposal of June 1981 in this regard. We continue to follow with interest the efforts of the UN Secretary-General's representative in his search for a political settlement within the UN framework and we regret that these efforts have not to date met with significant success.

Kampuchea

The Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea continues to threaten the peace and stability of the South-East Asia region. The failure over the last five years to make any progress towards a comprehensive political settlement, which would bring an end to the suffering of the Kampuchean people, lies in Vietnam's refusal to comply with the relevant UN resolutions. The Ten consider that the basis for a just and lasting solution is contained in the declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea which calls for total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops, the right of the Kampuchean people to choose freely their own destiny, respect for the independence, neutrality and non-alignment of Kampuchea, and the commitment of all States not to interfere in its internal affairs.

The Ten are prepared to support all constructive efforts to bring about a peaceful settlement to the problem of Kampuchea. This cannot be achieved without the participation and cooperation of all those concerned with the conflict. We believe that a solution can be reached which accommodates the legitimate security concerns of all the States of the region.

Korea

The unresolved Korean question still constitutes a potential danger to the peace and stability of the region. The Ten reiterate their belief that a 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 Ten believe that the Korean people should have their place among the countries represented at the United Nations.

Latin America

The Ten hope that democracy and full respect for human rights will be established throughout Latin

America. They welcome the movement towards democracy in South America which has been especially noteworthy over the past year. This progress has been achieved at a time of great economic difficulties. They particularly welcome the restoration of democracy in Argentina following the elections of October 1983 and the achievements of the government of President Alfonsín in consolidating democracy in that country. Elections have also taken place elsewhere in South America and these have served to strengthen the democratic process. Our hope is that those remaining countries in South America where democracy has not yet been restored will in the near future follow a similar evolution.

The Ten welcome the recent steps towards national reconciliation in Colombia and are following with interest the process of democratization in Uruguay where elections are scheduled for November of this year. I regret that, on the other hand, the repeated appeals of the international community to the Chilean authorities to take meaningful steps to restore democracy to their country continue to fall on deaf ears. Violent incidents continue. These have their origin in the denial of democratic freedoms to a people which has a long experience of democratic government.

The Ten continue to be deeply disturbed by the situation in Central America, especially in certain countries where murder and other atrocities are perpetrated, particularly on the civilian population, by the armed forces and by irregular armed bands, and where social and economic injustice continues to undermine the political consensus which is a condition of peaceful stability. The Ten have on many occasions expressed their full support for the efforts of the Contadora Group to achieve a peaceful solution to the problems of the region. I wish to reiterate our support for these efforts, which are based on respect for the independence of sovereign States, the right of States to freedom from outside interference, the inviolability of frontiers, the establishment of democratic conditions and the strict observance of human rights.

The Ten are convinced that the problems of Central America cannot be solved by armed force but only through a political settlement springing from the region itself. The Contadora initiative offers a clear opportunity for such a settlement, and the Ten urge all those in positions of political responsibility in Central America to work towards a final settlement on the basis of the Contadora proposals. In this connection the Ten consider that the elaboration of the Contadora Act is a significant and hopeful development.

The Ten note recent developments which have brought some degree of hope to the Central Amer-

ican region such as the statements made after his election by President Duarte of his intention to promote respect for human rights in El Salvador, as well as the forthcoming elections in Nicaragua, which it is hoped will lead to the establishment and consolidation of a genuine democracy in that country.

The Ten look forward to the meeting in San José, Costa Rica, later this week of the Foreign Ministers of the Ten, Central America, the Contadora countries, and Spain and Portugal. This meeting will mark the commencement of an intensified political and economic dialogue between the Ten and Central America.

Africa

The Ten are deeply concerned at the many problems confronting the African continent.

In South Africa the black majority continues to suffer the injustices and indignity of apartheid with no real prospect of change in its political status. South Africa's new constitution fails to meet the aspirations of black South Africans for equal treatment and the demands of the international community for justice. The black majority is completely excluded from the political process and only a small number of coloureds and Indians were prepared to participate in the recent elections. The sense of alienation and frustration of the black population was demonstrated by the violence which surrounded those elections. There is an urgent need for an early move towards the full and equal involvement of all citizens in the political process if further conflict and violence are to be averted. The Ten will continue to press for constitutional arrangements founded on the principle of equality and acceptable to all the citizens of South Africa.

During the past year, the South African Government has continued to implement its homelands policy. Families and entire communities have been forcibly removed from the homes which they have owned and developed over many generations. In the process many South Africans through their removal to the Bantustans have been rendered exiles in their own land and deprived of the livelihood they once possessed.

The Ten have individually and collectively expressed their abhorrence of and opposition to South Africa's actions. We reject the homelands policy, as all other aspects of apartheid, and we shall continue our pressure on South Africa to abandon the apartheid system.

The Ten have noted with satisfaction the agreement between Angola and South Africa reached in

Lusaka on 16 February on the strengthening and monitoring of the military disengagement in Southern Angola. They have also noted the Nkomati accord between Mozambique and South Africa. They have commended the efforts of all parties concerned to bring about increased security and stability in the region. They stand ready to welcome other positive moves. However, genuine and lasting peace must be founded on justice and guaranteed by the removal of the fundamental causes of conflict. The recent agreements can have only limited impact if they are not accompanied by early and substantial progress in the elimination of racial discrimination and by independence for Namibia.

The Ten hope that the southern African agreements will contribute to a climate of mutual confidence which would facilitate the implementation of Security Council Resolution 435. We regret deeply that our hopes for an early settlement remain unfulfilled and that South Africa continues its illegal occupation of Namibia. The Ten do not accept that the UN plan should be delayed or set aside for extraneous reasons or for arrangements inconsistent with Resolution 435. We shall continue to work for the immediate implementation of Resolution 435 because it alone embodies a universally accepted framework for a peaceful transition to independence in a manner which is guaranteed by this Organization to be free and fair.

The European Community and its Member States will also continue their aid to the Namibian people particularly through their support for the United Nations Institute for Namibia. They reaffirm their readiness to assist in the development of a free and independent Namibia.

The Ten hope that peaceful solutions can be found to the situation in the Horn of Africa. They believe that such solutions should be based on the principles of the UN Charter and of the Organization of African Unity.

Throughout Africa, the Ten continue to cooperate with governments, regional organizations and the Organization of African Unity in their efforts to promote stability and economic and social advancement. The OAU plays an important role in the promotion of peace on the continent and the Ten support in particular its efforts to find peaceful solutions to the problems of Chad and Western Sahara.

The problems caused by the severe drought which has struck large parts of Africa, together with the connected problem of desertification and other factors, have contributed to the deterioration of the continent's economy and its ability to produce food. The European Community and its members

are conscious of the necessity to assist the victims of this calamity and they shall continue to provide substantial emergency and development assistance to alleviate its effects. The Ten endorse the efforts of the international community to alleviate the situation of the 4 million refugees in Africa. Their sufferings evoke our concern as do the many problems which confront those States which give them shelter. The Ten and the Commission of the European Communities have already stated at the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa that they will continue to provide assistance to African economies to help their economic and social structures to cater effectively for refugees and returnees. They will also continue to support and encourage international cooperation to prevent the political conflicts and economic distress which are among the primary causes of refugee flows. The problem of refugees is of course a world-wide phenomenon. The Ten expect fruitful results from the work of the group of governmental experts on international cooperation to avert new flows of refugees.

Human rights

I referred at the outset to the Ten's commitment to human dignity and to the defence of human rights as a principle underlying the Ten's approach to international issues. Many of the political problems I have just described derive from failure to recognize the dignity and worth of the human person and to uphold the rights and freedoms set out in the UN Charter, in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in the Human Rights Covenants, and in other international human rights agreements. Our task as the Ten and the task of the United Nations is to ensure that States adhere to their obligations to promote and protect all categories of human rights—civil and political as well as economic, social and cultural. The Ten believe that all these rights form an integral part of a global system for the protection of the individual. They are indivisible and interrelated and must all be defended. The promotion and protection of one category of rights can never excuse a State from promoting and protecting other rights or exempt it from its obligations in this regard.

Unfortunately, the obligations entered into by States are too often broken. Numerous reports and surveys testify to the continuation of torture, political imprisonment, disappearances, arbitrary arrests, summary executions and racial and religious discrimination as instruments of State policy. The failure to match our aspirations with achievement weakens the human rights system so carefully and painstakingly developed over the past 40 years and calls into question the seriousness of our commitment. It is difficult to imagine the

impact on those who suffer injustice and repression of the feeling that the world is indifferent to their plight and has abandoned them to their fate. For their part the Ten will continue to speak out against violations of human rights whenever they occur, to work for the protection of the victims, and to promote international agreement on standards and procedures.

In this connection the Ten welcome the progress which has been made on the Draft Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Treatment or Punishment. We look forward to the adoption of the Convention at this session of the General Assembly. Effective measures to enforce the prohibition on torture are necessary. Torture and other forms of ill-treatment affront the principles of the Universal Declaration and undermine the primary aim of international cooperation on human rights—the achievement by each human being of a life of freedom and dignity.

While the Ten are convinced that international cooperation contains the greatest potential to eradicate abuses of human rights they are also conscious of the important role played by individuals and groups. It is a matter of grave concern that the most serious abuses are often inflicted on those who actively work to expose violations and remedy injustice. The Ten believe that the international community has a special duty to protect those who risk their life, health and liberty in defence of the rights and freedoms agreed by all.

International economic questions

The beginning of this decade saw the worst recession since the 1930s. Recently, there has been a recovery which has been strongest in some of the larger industrialized countries and particularly in the United States. The effects of this recovery are now beginning to be spread more widely. Last year there was a resumption of growth in world trade which has apparently been accelerating further in 1984. However, uncertainty remains concerning the likely evolution of the international economic situation.

Nevertheless considerable progress has been made in reducing rates of inflation in almost all the industrialized countries. Despite the uncertainty I have mentioned the prospects seem generally favourable. In addition, significant progress has been made recently in adjusting fiscal and external imbalances in many countries, both developed and developing. Many non-oil-producing developing countries have achieved a remarkable adjustment in their balance-of-payments positions.

As was noted in the communiqué of the London Economic Summit, a continuation of the recovery

requires unremitting efforts. We need to spread the benefits of the recovery widely, both in the industrialized countries, as well as to the developing countries, especially the poorer countries who stand to gain considerably from a sustained growth in the world economy. Progress has been made in laying foundations for sustained growth, but in the future we shall need to work for greater financial stability, notably in interest rates and exchange rates, and to make further efforts to liberalize trade and to combat protectionism. The very high level of real interest rates is a matter of particular concern. This directly affects economic activity, distorting exchange rates and capital flows and exacerbating indebtedness problems. To ensure the continuation of a strong and sustained recovery it is essential that interest rates internationally come down to more acceptable levels. At the same time it will be essential to ensure adequate transfer of resources to developing countries.

In assessing the economic outlook no one can afford to be complacent. There are sizeable disparities in fiscal policy and growth performance among industrialized countries. There is growing imbalance in the current-account positions of some major countries. There is the weakness of growth in many developing countries and the associated decline in their real per capita incomes. And there is the still precarious financial position of many heavily indebted countries.

The debt problems of developing countries have rightly been the focus of attention at a number of recent international gatherings. These are problems of crucial importance. Progress has been made but developing country indebtedness is likely to be prominent on the international economic agenda for some time to come. It is clear that progress towards resolving debt difficulties depends to a large extent on the evolution of interest rates and the rate of expansion of exports of the developing countries, and on the evolution of some other variables. All countries should work to create the conditions in which the key variables can move in the right direction, and here we should not overlook the importance of appropriate economic policies in the debtor countries. We do of course recognize that there is a link between adjustment and development, and the efforts of developing countries to adjust their economies should be supported by the international community.

The very high level of unemployment in developed and developing countries is a major source of concern. This is so particularly in Europe where we are undergoing a difficult period of structural adjustment. We must urgently tackle the lack of employment opportunities for the millions of people who are willing and anxious to obtain employment. In the Community and worldwide

we must devise a consistent strategy which, while resisting inflationary pressures, aims to reduce the massive unemployment problem. Medium-term projections, on the basis of present policies, indicate that we in the European Community can expect no significant reduction in unemployment for some time to come. The costs of sustained unemployment at present levels are enormous not just in terms of lost output and incomes but also in terms of their detrimental effects on attitudes in our societies.

In all these problems we are bound to recognize the increasing degree of interdependence between different countries and areas in the world economy and the consequences of economic policies pursued by individual countries or groups of countries for developments in other parts of the world. At the same time we should be aware of the inter-relationships of different policy areas, which all too often in the past have been considered separately. Given the uncertain economic environment in which we are operating, it is important that we retain flexibility in our economic policies and that we be prepared to act to counter any threat to world recovery.

In the Community we feel that the problems of development should be tackled in an integrated way and over the longer term. It is against this background and in this spirit that the Community has approached the various issues raised during the year in the framework of the North/South dialogue. Many of the issues considered still remain unresolved and are on the agenda of this General Assembly. In this connection the Community recalls its position in favour of global negotiations, which should of course be on a basis acceptable to all.

The review and appraisal of the international development strategy for the third development decade is another issue for the General Assembly. Despite considerable efforts in the framework of Unctad, at Ecosoc and here in New York, this important exercise is not yet complete. The recent economic recession has held back progress towards the growth and development for which we all hoped and planned in 1980. The review should allow us to take advantage of the improving economic climate and give a new impetus to the implementation of the strategy for the remainder of the decade. On behalf of the Community may I say that we, for our part, firmly hold to our commitments made in the context of the international development strategy. In particular, we reaffirm our commitments to maintain and where possible increase the levels of official development assistance, especially in favour of the least developed countries.

I have already spoken of the concern of the European Community at the terrible problems of Africa, in particular sub-Saharan Africa, where drought and desertification have exacerbated an already difficult situation. I would like to underline that in recent years more than 50% of the total aid received by African countries, that is over USD 5 000 million a year, came from the Community and its Member States. We heartily welcome the growing determination of African countries themselves to further engage in concrete efforts to come to grips with the various problems besetting their economic and social development.

We regret that it was not possible to reach agreement at Ecosoc on a declaration drawing attention to Africa's problems. We have confidence, however, that this General Assembly will successfully conclude the negotiations on the declaration. We believe that such a declaration will be a signal to the world of the concern of the international community at the plight of Africa, and will encourage action to alleviate that plight.

We recall that at the meeting of the World Bank a few days ago the Committee for Development expressed strong support for the proposed action programme contained in the Bank's report, emphasizing that its implementation will require the concerted and sustained efforts of African governments, bilateral donors and international organizations.

At the fourth General Conference of Unido the world community considered the relatively limited progress of industrialization in the developing countries since the second General Conference of Unido in 1975. In the Community's view, faster progress in industrialization worldwide is necessary, and the benefits of industrial growth should be spread more widely among the developing countries. We regret that it was not possible to reach agreement on the *chapeau* text at Unido IV although we were near to achieving a consensus. We are pleased that the conference provided an opportunity for a thorough examination of problems facing the developing countries in their efforts to industrialize. It concluded with a consensus agreement on nine resolutions aimed at helping the developing countries to overcome these problems and at defining the role of Unido.

We in the Community welcome the opportunity to give further consideration to the two resolutions which were not agreed and which are transmitted to this General Assembly. We hope it will be possible to achieve consensus agreement on them. We believe it appropriate that on the eve of the conversion of Unido to a specialized agency the industrialization of developing countries should

continue to be in the forefront of our attention here.

The effect of demographic patterns, in particular the rapid growth of the world's population, on development and the utilization of resources continue to be cause for concern. The second half of the 20th century stands out in history for its unprecedented population growth. Growth rates are still very high in many developing countries. Even though the global rates have now begun to decline, the result, combined with the rapid growth of previous decades, will be a doubling of the world population over the course of the next 50 years, which will add to the difficulties of overcoming the obstacles to economic and social development. This will necessitate increased international attention now and in the years to come to the problems of improving the balance of resources between the peoples of the world. The International Population Conference was held in Mexico City in August against this background. In reviewing and refining the world population plan of action, the Mexico Conference provided, in its recommendations adopted by consensus, many useful guidelines to governments in both developed and developing countries.

For the Community's own part, and in the context of strengthening our links with the developing countries, our efforts have been largely devoted this year to negotiating a third ACP-EEC convention. As in the case of its predecessors, Lomé III will cover a whole range of trade and aid provisions with over 60 African, Caribbean and Pacific countries. We take pride that this cooperation convention represents an unprecedented effort to create a new model for relations between North and South, encompassing almost half of the international community, including most of the poorest nations. The negotiations have now entered their final stage and it is envisaged that the new agreement will be signed in December in Lomé, the capital of Togo. We do not claim that this convention will provide definitive solutions to all the development problems of the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries. It is however a contribution, based on a number of fundamental principles, which should enable both the Community and the ACP countries to continue to build the kind of cooperation that will be beneficial to both sides. The objectives of the convention make that clear. We have agreed that we will support and promote the efforts of the ACP States to achieve self-determined, self-reliant and self-maintained development. Our efforts take account of local needs and local resources. Development must be encouraged from within and not imposed from without.

Finally, I would like to refer briefly to the Convention on the Law of the Sea. 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 hope that the Convention will become a useful instrument for the promotion of cooperation and stable relations between all countries in this field.

Concluding remarks

The Ten appreciate the importance of the Non-Aligned Movement to which over two-thirds of this Assembly now belongs. The Movement exercises a considerable influence on international affairs. We believe that genuine non-alignment can contribute significantly to international stability and to the peaceful settlement of the problems which face the international community.

These problems, some of which I have touched on in this statement, and most of which feature on the agenda of this Assembly, present a distressing catalogue to those who believe that the UN could and should play a more important and decisive role in international life. It is therefore entirely appropriate and necessary that the Secretary-General should again this year in his third annual report draw attention to the dangerous breakdown in the multilateral approach to international questions. The Ten agree with the Secretary-General's diagnosis of the problem. We also agree with his prescriptions for a solution. We have supported his efforts in the past. We shall continue to help in whatever way we can to restore respect for the Charter and to strengthen confidence in the Organization.

As the UN enters its 40th year there is an evident need for a recommitment to a multilateral approach which would draw on the energy, on the imagination, and on the potential for cooperation of the majority of this Assembly. Other approaches have been tried and failed. The Secretary-General in his annual report has sounded a warning about the risks of continued failure. We ignore it at our peril. ...'

51. Statement by the Ten on Non-Proliferation (Brussels, 20 November 1984)

The Ten, meeting within the framework of European Political Co-operation (hereafter referred to as the "Member States"):

- Mindful of the rights and obligations arising from the membership of the Member States of the European Atomic Energy Community;
- Recording their support for the objective of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons;
- Referring to the various undertakings regarding the peaceful use of nuclear energy and control which the Member States have made respectively, especially the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and the agreements concluded between the Member States, the European Atomic Energy Community and the International Atomic Energy Agency for the application of safeguards within the Community;
- Noting the adoption by all the Member States of the Guidelines for the Export of Nuclear Material, Equipment and Technology, in the capacity of unilateral undertakings as published in circular INFCIRC/254 of the International Atomic Energy Agency (hereinafter referred to as the "Guidelines");

1. Take note that the principles of the Guidelines form a basic common discipline for Member States for their nuclear exports.

2. Take note that, with due regard for the the Treaties of Rome and within the framework of the competence of the Member States, transfers of nuclear materials, equipment or technology may take place without restriction between the Member States, subject to the following additional detailed rules:

2.1. Until they are used, separated plutonium and greater than 20% enriched uranium shall be stored by the Member States at the place where it has been separated or

enriched to more than 20% or at the place of manufacture of fuel containing plutonium or greater than 20% enriched uranium or at a storage place set up and administered by a Member State or at a place decided upon by joint agreement by the Member States concerned.

2.1.1. Plutonium and greater than 20% enriched uranium shall be transferred by the Member States on submission of a consignee certificate specifying the ultimate destination, the quantity, the approximate delivery timetable, the use timetable, the form in which delivery will take place, and the use of such material for one or other of the following purpose:

- fuelling any functioning power reactor or research reactor or one that is in the course of construction on the territory of a Member State or under its jurisdiction;
- processing on the territory of a Member State or under its jurisdiction for fuelling the above-mentioned reactors or, subject to the detailed rules laid down in paragraph 2.1.3., for fuelling any reactor situated on the territory of a third State;
- research and development in any laboratory situated on the territory of a Member State or under its jurisdiction. Subject to the detailed rules of paragraph 2.1.3., the material may also be transferred to a third State under the framework of co-operation in the field of research and development;
- use in any other facility relating to an energy programme or one of research and development or situated on the territory of a Member State or under its jurisdiction;

including the intermediate storage required for the smooth functioning of the above-mentioned operations.

2.1.2. The Government of the Member State to which the consignee belongs shall certify the information given in the certificate referred to in paragraph 2.1.1.

2.1.3. Plutonium and greater than 20% enriched uranium shall not be re-transferred to a third State without the

mutual agreement of the Member State which separated it or enriched it to more than 20% and of the Member State wishing to effect a re-transfer, without prejudice to any other rights of prior consent which might exist.

2.1.4. Paragraphs 2.1.1., 2.1.2. and 2.1.3. above shall not apply to:

- plutonium with an isotopic value in plutonium 238 greater than 80%;
- special fissile products used in quantities of one gramme or less as a sensitive component of measuring instruments;
- transfers which do not exceed 50 grammes in effect made in the course of one year to a given Member State;
- re-transfers which do not exceed 50 grammes in the course of one year to a given third State, without prejudice to any other rights of prior consent which might exist.

2.1.5. The foregoing detailed rules shall be reviewed by the Member States should a system of international plutonium storage be set up under the auspices of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

2.2. Facilities and technology for reprocessing, enrichment and heavy-water production or facilities set up on the basis of the said technology may be transferred taking into account the nature and development of the nuclear programmes of the consignee Member States.

2.3. No enriching facility transferred from a Member State, nor any facility set up on the basis of the technology of such a facility, shall be designed or operated for the production of greater than 20% enriched uranium without the agreement of the supplier Member State.

2.4. When sensitive facilities or technology are being transferred, the Member States will observe the provisions relating to protection of confidentiality.

2.5. The prior agreement of the supplier State shall be required for any re-transfer of facilities, major critical components or reprocessing, enriching or heavy-water production technology and for any transfer of facilities or major critical components derived from the said articles.

The said re-transfers and transfers between Member States may take place after consultation with the Member State of origin taking into account the nature and development of the nuclear programme of the consignee Member State.

3. Take note that the Member States shall apply to the nuclear material under their jurisdiction measures of physical protection that are at least equal to the levels fixed by the Guidelines.

4. Take note that, under the above-mentioned conditions, transfers between Member States of nuclear material, equipment or technology shall take place in a manner compatible with the requirements of non-proliferation and of free movement.

2.4.5. On 28 November the Ten issued the following statement on the situation in Bolivia:

'The Ten are following with concern the present political situation in Bolivia. They reaffirm the importance which they attach to the maintenance of democratic government in that country.'

Barry

Speech to the European Parliament by
Peter Barry,
Irish Minister of Foreign Affairs,
on European Political Cooperation
(Excerpts)
12 December 1984

*Annex to the Official Journal of the
European Communities No. 1-320*

Mr President, I would like now to review the work undertaken during the Irish Presidency in the field of European political cooperation. During this period, the Ten have continued to consult and coordinate effectively on the major international issues which confront them. Common positions have been elaborated on a wide range of complex topics. While our task has not always been an easy one, we have endeavoured to speak out on international developments with a single European voice.

Under the Irish Presidency the Ten have marked their particular concern for peace and stability in the Middle East. We availed ourselves of a relative lull in diplomatic activity in the region to engage in a careful analysis of the situation there. At its meeting in Dublin last week the European Council reaffirmed the Ten's policy in regard to the Arab/Israeli conflict. In continuation of this policy, and having considered a report on the Middle East situation, the European Council also considered that contacts should be developed with all the parties with a view to seeking ways to improve the situation in the region. The Ten have also reasserted their commitment to the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon and have called for the withdrawal from Lebanon of all foreign troops, except those whose presence was agreed by the Lebanese Government.

The beginning of the recent Israeli/Lebanese talks has been a welcome development. We hope that an agreement will be reached enabling an early withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Lebanon.

The Ten's position on the Iran/Iraq war remains unchanged. We have continued to express our profound concern at the loss of life and material damage caused by this conflict. We have pressed for a negotiated solution to bring an end to military activity. We have also called on both sides to comply with the principles of humanitarian international law in armed conflicts.

When I addressed this House last July, I said that the overall picture of East-West relations was not encouraging. I promised that the Ten would do all in their power to reduce tensions and to promote more stable and cooperative relations between East and West. During this difficult period the Ten sought consistently to keep open all possible channels of dialogue between both sides and also supported the efforts of

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others directed to this end. In this connection, we welcome very much the forthcoming high-level conference between the United States and the Soviet Union. In our view, sustained dialogue both between the United States and the Soviet Union, and between Europeans in East and West is indispensable and complementary in the pursuit of improved East-West relations and the consequent enhancement of international security.

During our presidency the Ten have made clear the importance they attach to the achievement of balanced and verifiable arms control and disarmament agreements. We have consistently supported the resumption of the vitally important negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on intercontinental strategic nuclear weapons and intermediate nuclear forces.

In view of the urgent need to avert the danger of an arms race in outer space, we have also advocated the initiation of talks on this subject between the two leading space powers. We therefore welcome the announcement of the meeting between Mr Schulz and Mr Gromyko in January in Geneva and hope very much that this will lead to agreement on how to carry forward negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on these various questions.

The Ten also attach great importance to the CSCE process which has a central place in East-West relations. We have continued to urge full implementation of the Helsinki-Madrid provisions by all CSCE participating States in order to bring about more secure, more cooperative and more humane relations in Europe. Under the Irish Presidency there was close, effective and fruitful coordination among the Ten at a number of meetings held within the CSCE framework. At the Stockholm Conference on security-building measures and disarmament in Europe, the Ten have been working towards achieving negotiated agreement on concrete measures which would increase confidence in security by making military behaviour more open and military intentions more calculable.

The Ten also cooperated successfully at the CSCE seminar on Mediterranean cooperation which was held in Venice recently and at a meeting held in Budapest to prepare next year's CSCE cultural forum in that city.

We have continued to pay close attention to events in Poland. On 23 July we welcomed the announcement by the Polish Government of an amnesty for political prisoners. We expressed the hope that the government's decision reflected a desire to meet the aspirations of the Polish people for dialogue and reform and would be followed by further measures designed to promote national reconciliation. We recalled that it has consistently been our wish to return to more normal relations with Poland as soon as developments in that country permit.

More recently, however, we were shocked by the murder of Father Popieluszko which we roundly condemn. We have noted the stated intention of the Polish authorities to pursue the perpetrators of this atrocity.

As regards nuclear non-proliferation, I should mention that the 10 Foreign Ministers recently adopted a declaration of common policy on the consequence of adoption by the 10 Member States of the London Guidelines which represents a common discipline with regard to nuclear exports.

Mr President, turning to the situation in Central America, which has been a source of continuing concern for the Ten, I would like your permission to respond to Oral Questions Nos 042/84 and 045/84 on the subject of the Ministerial Conference held in San José, Costa Rica on 28 and 29 September in which the European Community and its Member States participated, along with Spain and Portugal, the countries of Central America and the countries of the Contadora Group. The aim of the Ten at this conference was to give practical support, both political and economic, to the efforts of the countries of Central America themselves to bring peace, social justice, economic development and respect for human rights and democratic liberties to the region. We were conscious throughout of the intimate connection between underdevelopment and inequitable social and economic structures on the one hand, and political instability and violence on the other. It is for this reason that the final communiqué of the meeting reflects both Europe's political support for peace-making efforts, particularly those of the Contadora Group, and Europe's firm intention to intensify economic cooperation with Central America.

The Community records the agreement of both sides to continue the political dialogue begun in San José through further meetings at regular intervals in the future. Both sides also declared themselves ready to start discussions as soon as possible with a view to negotiating an interregional framework economic cooperation agreement. At San José all the participants expressed their firm conviction that the problems of Central America cannot be solved by armed force. They can only be solved by political solutions springing from the region itself. In this connection, we affirmed our support for the Contadora process which provides the best opportunity to achieve a solution of the crisis. The Community recognized that the revised draft Contadora Act is a fundamental stage in the negotiation process for peace in Central America. The Central American countries, we hope, will shortly reach full agreement on a final text of the Contadora Act.

The Ten have also been following with concern the deteriorating situation in Chile. In a statement of 11 September we expressed preoccupation with the acts of violence and repression which had followed

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political demonstrations aimed at the restoration of democracy to that country.

Political developments in Africa have also continued to claim our attention. The situation in South Africa was the subject of a declaration on 11 September in which we expressed concern at the arrest and detention of those involved in the boycott of the recent elections to the Coloured and Indian Assemblies in South Africa. Later we formally expressed this concern to the South African authorities and sought the immediate release of those detained without charge.

While further improvements have still to be made, it is clear none the less that the code of conduct for European Community companies with subsidiaries in South Africa has had a positive effect on conditions for black workers there. On 20 November the 10 Foreign Ministers approved the fourth Community analysis of the Member States' national reports on the implementation of the code of conduct.

Under the Irish presidency the Ten developed still further their relations with the Association of South East Asian Nations. I attended the ASEAN post-ministerial conference with the dialogue partners in Indonesia last July. In addition, the fifth EEC/ASEAN ministerial meeting was held in Dublin on 15 and 16 November. In the joint declaration following that meeting the Foreign Ministers of the Ten and ASEAN expressed their satisfaction with the wide degree of consensus reached in current international, regional and political problems. We paid particular attention to the two major threats to peace and stability in Asia, namely the situation in Kampuchea and Afghanistan. Discussions on the economic part of the agenda focused largely on the EEC/ASEAN Cooperation Agreement. Agreement was reached on the importance of increasing European investment in the ASEAN region and it is planned to study the means whereby this may be achieved. It was also agreed to convene a special meeting of relevant Community and ASEAN Ministers early in the New Year for the purpose of reviewing the operation of the cooperation agreement to date and examining ways in which the cooperation might be strengthened to our mutual benefit.

Again during our presidency the Ten continued and developed their coordination of a wide variety of issues within the framework of the United Nations. On behalf of the European Community and its 10 Member States, I delivered a statement at the 39th United Nations General Assembly in which I outlined the Ten's policy on the leading international issues. Within the United Nations framework we have also maintained our close coordination on human rights issues. In my statement to the 39th General Assembly I underlined the Ten's determination to continue to speak out against human rights violations wherever they occur and promote international agreement on standards and procedures with which human rights can be defended. We also adopted a set of prin-

ciples in relation to the increasingly serious problem of international terrorism and the abuses of diplomatic immunity.

I have been asked by Parliament to respond in the course of my address this morning to a number of oral questions put down by members on the subject of Western European Union. It will, I trust, be understood that as only seven of the Ten are members of the Western European Union, the Ten as such cannot take a position on discussions which may take place in the WEU framework. Discussions within the WEU are not a matter for European political cooperation.

Furthermore, it is appropriate that I should recall the significance which the Ten have attached under the Irish presidency to their dialogue with the European Parliament on matters arising in the framework of political cooperation. This dialogue, in our view, was rich in benefits for both sides and can no doubt be further developed. As President-in-Office I have availed myself of the various channels open to me to keep Parliament fully informed of developments and to engage in a wide-ranging exchange of views with Members on the various political issues with which the Ten have been confronted. Speaking personally, can I say that I greatly value the opportunity I have had to hear the views of Members on these issues. I have drawn the attention of my colleagues in political cooperation as a matter of course to resolutions adopted by Parliament on political topics. The formally expressed views of this House are thus fed directly into the deliberative process of the Ten, and indeed made an important contribution to our work.

In conclusion, I would suggest that the Irish presidency has made considerable efforts to reach agreement on solutions to outstanding Community problems. We have in fact, as I have detailed, succeeded in bringing a number of important issues to a successful conclusion. But the essential task of relaunching the Community in all its elements remains uncompleted. This task of course would be beyond the scope and capacity of any one presidency, but I think we have made our contribution. However, the work of the unfulfilled mandate of Stuttgart must continue. I can assure this House that Ireland will continue to play a full and responsible role in meeting this formidable challenge.

(Applause)

Political cooperation

2.4.1. The conclusions adopted by the European Council at its Dublin meeting on 3 and 4 December included a number of items relating to political cooperation.¹

2.4.2. On 27 December the Ten issued the following statement on Afghanistan:

'Five years ago today, Soviet forces invaded Afghanistan. The Ten, together with the overwhelming majority of UN Member States, condemned this violation of international law and of the Soviet Union's obligations under the UN Charter. They remain deeply concerned about the continuing illegal occupation by the Soviet Union of that traditionally neutral and non-aligned country. They condemn the continuing violations of human rights in Afghanistan and, in particular, the extensive shelling and bombing by Soviet forces of civilian areas, in their efforts to suppress the resistance, which have resulted in widespread destruction and loss of life. They are concerned at reports of food shortages, malnutrition and high infant mortality in rural areas of Afghanistan resulting from this policy. The Ten reaffirm their concern about the continuing attacks on Afghan refugees and civilians in Pakistan and they condemn these violations of Pakistan's sovereignty. They appreciate the generous attitude of the Pakistani Government in giving refuge to 3 million Afghans.

The Ten reaffirm the urgent need to seek a just and lasting solution to the Afghan problem in accordance with successive UN resolutions. Such a solution would require the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops, the restoration of Afghanistan's independence and non-aligned status, the right of the Afghan people to determine their own future without outside interference and enable the millions of Afghans who were forced to flee their homeland to return in safety and honour. They note that 119 members of the General Assembly of the United Nations have recently endorsed such a solution.

The Ten remain prepared to support any initiative which seeks a just and lasting solution to the problem and recall their proposal of June 1981 in this regard. They attach great importance to the efforts of the Secretary-General's representative in his search for a political settlement within the UN framework. They welcome the positive contribution made by the Government of Pakistan to these efforts. They regret that the Soviet Union has not yet made the necessary positive contribution to enable these efforts to succeed. In particular, they are concerned that no progress has been made on the question of the withdrawal of the occupation forces, which remains the key requirement of any solution.'