

## **EUROPEAN POLITICAL COOPERATION**

### **STATEMENTS OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS**

**1973**

Suspension of Hostilities in the Middle East	13 October 1973
Statement by the Danish Foreign Minister to the European Parliament	17 October 1973
Declaration on the Middle East	6 November 1973
Document on the European Identity	14 December 1973

The Heads of State and Government issued other statements. See the conclusions of the Copenhagen summit meeting of 14-15 December 1973.

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

## 5. Appeal of the Nine Foreign Ministers of 13 October 1973, for a Suspension of Hostilities in the Middle East

“The Nine Governments of the European Community, much pre-occupied by the resumption of the fighting in the Middle East, appeal to the parties to agree to stop the hostilities. This cease-fire which would spare the populations affected by the war new and tragic trials, will help at the same time to open the way to a proper negotiation, in an appropriate forum, allowing a solution of the conflict which conforms to all the provisions of Resolution 242 adopted by the Security Council on 22 November 1967 to be put into effect.”

# 5. Political Cooperation

## Statement on Cooperation made to the European Parliament

2501. Addressing the European Parliament, the President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers Conference on European Political Cooperation, Mr Knud Børge Andersen, the Danish Foreign Minister, made a statement 'on the efforts made towards progress in political unification' during the session of 17 October. It was the third yearly communication on political cooperation to be heard by Parliament. In this statement, Mr Andersen said:

'People often talk of the slowness, the snail's pace, of the development of political cooperation but when I look back and re-read the two corresponding reports which my predecessors presented in 1971 and 1972 it seems to me on the contrary remarkable how rapidly developments are taking place in reality. Each report made to this assembly has thus been able to record considerable progress.

The first dealt with the Luxembourg Report, the fundamental document on which European foreign policy cooperation is based.

The second report dealt with the involvement of the applicant states in this cooperation and with the European Summit Conference in Paris which set landmarks for the development of the Communities in the present decade.

And today, Mr President, I therefore have the opportunity to give a further account of a considerable progress in our work: the new report on European political cooperation.<sup>1</sup>

I would first like to give a short description of another matter of great importance for the building of Europe. I am thinking here of the three new Member States—including my own—which finally entered the European Communities on 1 January this year. This major event, seen superficially, was without consequence for polit-

ical cooperation, since the Nine had been concerned in cooperation at all levels, at ministerial level and at other official levels and had been taking part in the work since early 1972. But it was only formal membership which removed the temporary, provisional element from participation by the new countries and established links with economic cooperation within the framework of the Paris and Rome Treaties, as appears now, Mr President, in Paragraph 12 of the Second Report. I shall return to this subject later.

From this time too the acting Chairman has attended this assembly and its Political Affairs Committee and will also be meeting, later today, representatives of parliamentary life and of public opinion from all Nine Member States.

The Luxembourg Report, i.e. Report No 1, states, as we know, that these contacts have been established to give a democratic character to the construction of political union. This consideration appears to me to be of fundamental importance, and for that very reason I feel there are also grounds to underline that this democratic character can only be ensured if membership of the European Communities pursuant to the Rome Treaty is limited to countries with democratic views. This situation, Mr President, is in my opinion of some consequence for the desired image of this Community.

### Second Foreign Ministers Report concerning Political Cooperation over Foreign Policy

The most important progress during last year in the field of political cooperation has been, as I stated before, the elaboration and adoption of the Second Report which I assume you are familiar with. The formal obligation to produce such a report is laid down in the original Luxembourg Report. According to the original

<sup>1</sup> Bull. EC 9-1973, Point 1, Chap. 2, Documentation Annex.

Luxembourg Report the new report shall contain an assessment of the results obtained through consultations and it shall be presented in the course of late 1972. Clearly this deadline has been exceeded but paradoxical though it may sound I believe that this is an indication of progress and not of sluggishness in cooperation. At the Summit Conference held in Paris in October 1972, at which the deadline was extended until 30 June this year, the Heads of State or Government were in fact in a position to extend the scope of the contents of this Second Report so that it also contained a description of methods which could make it possible to improve political cooperation. So whereas in 1970 one only dared to hope for a modest report on the state of affairs, it was possible in 1972 to expect with certainty a progress report in the true sense of the word. This development is reflected in the structure of the Second Report, their being, as we know, an appendix with a description of the results obtained: in my opinion, Mr President, this was worth waiting half a year extra for.

The elaboration of the report itself has been very thorough and takes consideration of Parliament's own very useful contribution, and I would like to take this opportunity of thanking Parliament for this contribution. After being prepared at government administration level, first by a group consisting of European liaison officers in the foreign ministries of the Member States, the so-called "Group of correspondents", and then the Political Committee—i.e. the political directors—it was approved with some minor alterations first by the foreign ministers, and subsequently, via a written procedure, by the Heads of State or Government.

In comparison with the original Luxembourg Report the Second Report is characterized by the underlying theme of European union. But the objective of political cooperation is unaltered. The main concern is to obtain regular information, regular consultations and harmonization of the positions of the Member States, the

second concern is harmonization of their attitudes and the third is joint action where this appears possible and desirable. As you can see this is a very flexible formulation, the advantage of which is that, without excluding later progress, on which states may agree, avoids setting targets which could appear unrealistically high or remote at the present time. My view, Mr President, is definitely that this pragmatic way of proceeding will prove in the long run to be the most fruitful.

As you will see the Second Report contains an obligation to consult on important topics affecting political cooperation. For this reason Part II (11), of the Report states that as far as this question is concerned each country accepts as a general rule that it will not finalize its position without having consulted its partners within the framework of political cooperation.

As you will see this commitment is only valid as a general rule. This formulation naturally takes into account the special situations in which each country may find itself.

As regards the topics to be discussed under the consultation commitment these are defined in the Second Report as the topics which might affect Europe, or Europe's interests—in our continent and outside it—and also Europe's interests in fields where a joint attitude is necessary or desirable. The specification of the topics which are contemplated here will have a positive effect by concentrating the work on problems of direct importance for the Nine.

The report also confirms the increased frequency of the meetings of foreign ministers which was laid down in the Summit Conference communiqué. This intensification has proved to be a true reflection of practical needs: the ministers have already held four meetings in 1973 and we shall in all probability be holding one more. The increased number of meetings of the Political Committee is also confirmed in the report.

One stipulation of special interest and importance for this assembly concerns the doubling of the number of colloquies between the foreign ministers and members of the European Parliament's Political Affairs Committee. This, in combination with the flexible procedure which has gradually been evolved for these colloquies, signifies that Parliament members can become acquainted quickly with items which are being discussed within the framework of political cooperation, can ask for extra information, and inform the ministers of their views in a completely informal and confidential dialogue.

In this connection it should be noted that the Second Report enjoins the Political Committee to draw the ministers attention to proposals on foreign policy which have been adopted by the European Parliament.

As you will know a special section of the Second Report deals with relations between the machinery for political cooperation and for economic cooperation between EEC countries. It is maintained that political cooperation in the form of discussing foreign policy problems at inter-governmental level is distinct from the Community activity based on the legal obligations which the Member States have entered into in pursuance of the Rome Treaty; it is additional to that. Both forms of cooperation aim at contributing towards the development of the process of European unification.

On the other hand the report takes into account the fact that problems may have often both a political and economic aspect which should both be taken into consideration. The report lays down for this an information and hearing procedure under which firstly it is guaranteed that the Council shall receive a submission of the joint conclusions on political cooperation which are of interest for the work of the Community and secondly it shall be made possible for the EEC institution to be informed of the political aspects of problems which are under examination within

the framework of the Community. This shall be done by way of a report compiled by the political cooperation system. Conversely a representative of the Commission, as was already the case under the original Luxembourg Report, takes part in discussions of such questions arising within the political cooperation system which affect the activities of the Community. It is not only in the procedural field, Mr President, that there has been progress in political cooperation. Since the Dutch Foreign Minister made his report here in Parliament the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe has, as we all know, become a reality. Both in the very lengthy, not always particularly simple, preparatory discussions in Helsinki and in the conference itself—the second stage of which as you know has just begun in Geneva—the ability and volition of the Nine to harmonize their attitudes has provided good solid proof of the value of cooperation on foreign policy. In my opinion the Nine were responsible to a great degree for the fact that the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was arranged in a way which makes thorough discussion of all topics possible and thus increases the prospects of the one thing which is of interest: concrete results. It is therefore hardly an exaggeration to say that the Nine have made a decisive contribution to the hitherto successful progress of the Conference. One of the reasons for this, Mr President, has undoubtedly been that the Member States have sufficiently harmonized their points of views and there was never any uncertainty about where the Nine stood and what they stood for while at the same time they avoided any form of regimentation and any form of enslavement to specific formulas. This in my opinion is the the best example of European harmony and European cooperation.

#### Relations between the United States and Europe

Political cooperation has also shown itself to be particularly useful as a framework for the ve

topical discussions on the relations between Europe and the USA. As far as the Community is concerned we started active discussion of this question in March of this year. Dr Kissinger's speech in April naturally endowed the subject with increased relevance. In the course of the summer the Nine Member States elaborated an introductory declaration to be made by the European Community and its Member States on the one hand and the USA on the other during a possible visit by President Nixon, and after a long series of Euro-American dialogues in New York in combination with the opening of the 28th General Assembly of the United Nations, during which I, among others, in my capacity as Chairman of the European Conference of Foreign Ministers had a dialogue with the American Secretary of State, Dr Kissinger, to find out his initial reactions to our draft declaration, this draft has now become the subject of negotiations between members of the EEC Political Committee and American officials. These negotiations are taking place in Copenhagen and the second stage is due to take place tomorrow.

Certain things about this development seem to me to be of particular significance and of particular importance.

The first lies in the fact that the Nine, in relation to the USA, have been capable of evolving a joint attitude which takes account of their desire to constitute a distinct entity and the wish to maintain the close link which binds the Nine to the USA. Subsequently the USA can be in no doubt that its European friends and allies wish to show, openly but at the same time with resolution and harmony, how they regard the future of transatlantic relations.

Secondly, the obtaining of this joint attitude by the Nine, rather than involving a strain on their mutual relations, has had a most positive effect in giving an impulse to the examination of what we call European identity. At this stage I would only like to say that the Nine consider-

ed that it was time to set to work defining the general ideals, principles, and objectives which the Nine acknowledge and which they want to try to observe and promote partly among themselves and partly in international politics. It goes without saying that the construction of the Community, the maintenance of the EEC as a group of democratic countries, and frankness in relations with the outside world constitute very central elements in these relations. I could go on to mention many concrete things in which European political cooperation has proved its value but I believe that I would be giving a truer picture of the situation if I restricted myself, as I have tried to do, to the main lines.

The Second Report, the new report, has still only been in force for a lesser number of weeks than the number of months during which there has been political cooperation between the Nine. It will therefore be realized that a reading of the report cannot be based on any impressive results obtained so far since it is a completely new report. But developments and the experience acquired have already shown that the Nine have the volition to make the most of the framework which has been created, and to attain the objective which it has set itself: a free and democratic European union.'

#### **Declaration by the Nine on the Situation in the Middle East**

2502. The gravity of events in the Middle East has led the Governments of the EEC Member States to discuss the situation in the light of political cooperation. Member States' Foreign Ministers issued the following Communiqué on 13 October 1973;

*'The nine Governments of the European Community, greatly concerned over the resumption of hostilities in the Middle East appeal to those concerned to stop the fighting. The cease-fire which would spare the people suffering from the war from further tragic ordeals,*

TEXT OF DECLARATION ON THE MIDDLE EAST

ISSUED BY THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY IN  
BRUSSELS ON TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 6 1973

The nine Governments of the European Community have continued their exchange of views on the situation in the Middle East. While emphasizing that the views set out below are only a first contribution on their part to the search for a comprehensive solution to the problem, they have agreed on the following:

They strongly urge that the forces of both sides in the Middle East conflict should return immediately to the positions they occupied on October 22 in accordance with Resolutions 339 and 340 of the Security Council. They believe that a return to these positions will facilitate a solution to other pressing problems concerning prisoners-of-war and the Egyptian Third Army.

They have the firm hope that, following the adoption by the Security Council of Resolution No. 338 of October 22, negotiations will at last begin for the restoration in the Middle East of a just and lasting peace through the application of Security Council Resolution 242 in all of its parts. They declare themselves ready to do all in their power to contribute to that peace. They believe that those negotiations must take place in the framework of the United Nations. They recall that the Charter has entrusted to the Security Council the principal responsibility for international peace and security -- the Council and the Secretary-General have a special role to play in the making and keeping of peace through the application of Council Resolutions Nos. 242 and 338.

They consider that a peace agreement should be based particularly on the following points:

- (1) The inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force.
- (2) The need for Israel to end the territorial occupation which it has maintained since the conflict of 1967.
- (3) Respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of every state in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries.

/(4) ...

- (4) Recognition that in the establishment of a just and lasting peace account must be taken of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians.

They recall that according to Resolution No. 242 the peace settlement must be the object of international guarantees. They consider that such guarantees must be reinforced, among other means, by the dispatch of peacekeeping forces to the demilitarized zones envisaged in Article 2(c) of Resolution No. 242. They are agreed that such guarantees are of primary importance in settling the overall situation in the Middle East in conformity with Resolution No. 242, to which the Council refers in Resolution No. 338. They reserve the right to make proposals in this connection.

They recall on this occasion the ties of all kinds which have long linked them to the littoral states of the South and East of the Mediterranean. In this connection they reaffirm the terms of the Declaration of the Paris Summit of October 21 1972 and recall that the Community has decided, in the framework of a global and balanced approach, to negotiate agreement with those countries.

E N D



## 5. Document on the European Identity published by the Nine Foreign Ministers (Copenhagen, 14 December 1973)

The Nine Member Countries of the European Communities have decided that the time has come to draw up a document on the European Identity. This will enable them to achieve a better definition of their relations with other countries and of their responsibilities and the place which they occupy in world affairs. They have decided to define the European Identity with the dynamic nature of the Community in mind. They have the intention of carrying the work further in the future in the light of the progress made in the construction of a United Europe.

Defining the European Identity involves:

- reviewing the common heritage, interests and special obligations of the Nine, as well as the degree of unity so far achieved within the Community,
- assessing the extent to which the Nine are already acting together in relation to the rest of the world and the responsibilities which result from this,
- taking into consideration the dynamic nature of European unification.

## **I. The Unity of the Nine Member Countries of the Community**

1. The Nine European States might have been pushed towards disunity by their history and by selfishly defending misjudged interests. But they have overcome their past enmities and have decided that unity is a basic European necessity to ensure the survival of the civilization which they have in common.

The Nine wish to ensure that the cherished values of their legal, political and moral order are respected, and to preserve the rich variety of their national cultures. Sharing as they do the same attitudes to life, based on a determination to build a society which measures up to the needs of the individual, they are determined to defend the principles of representative democracy, of the rule of law, of social justice—which is the ultimate goal of economic progress—and of respect for human rights. All of these are fundamental elements of the European Identity. The Nine believe that this enterprise corresponds to the deepest aspirations of their peoples who should participate in its realization, particularly through their elected representatives.

2. The Nine have the political will to succeed in the construction of a United Europe. On the basis of the Treaties of Paris and Rome setting up the European Communities and of subsequent decisions, they have created a common market, based on a customs union, and have established institutions, common policies and machinery for co-operation. All these are an essential part of the European Identity. The Nine are determined to safeguard the elements which make up the unity they have achieved so far and the fundamental objectives laid down for future development at the Summit Conferences in The Hague and Paris. On the basis of the Luxembourg and Copenhagen reports, the Nine Governments have established a system of political co-operation with a view to determining common attitudes and, where possible and desirable, common action. They propose to develop this further. In accordance with the decision taken at the Paris conference, the Nine reaffirm their intention of transforming the

whole complex of their relations into a European Union before the end of the present decade.

3. The diversity of cultures within the framework of a common European civilization, the attachment to common values and principles, the increasing convergence of attitudes to life, the awareness of having specific interests in common and the determination to take part in the construction of a United Europe, all give the European Identity its originality and its own dynamism.

4. The construction of a United Europe, which the Nine Member Countries of the Community are undertaking, is open to other European nations who share the same ideals and objectives.

5. The European countries have, in the course of their history, developed close ties with many other parts of the world. These relationships, which will continue to evolve, constitute an assurance of progress and international equilibrium.

6. Although in the past the European countries were individually able to play a major rôle on the international scene, present international problems are too difficult for any of the Nine to solve alone. International developments and the growing concentration of power and responsibility in the hands of a very small number of great powers mean that Europe must unite and speak increasingly with one voice if it wants to make itself heard and play its proper rôle in the world.

7. The Community, the world's largest trading group, could not be a closed economic entity. It has close links with the rest of the world as regards its supplies and market outlets. For this reason the Community, while remaining in control of its own trading policies, intends to exert a positive influence on world economic relations with a view to the greater well-being of all.

8. The Nine, one of whose essential aims is to maintain peace, will never succeed in doing so if they neglect their

own security. Those of them who are members of the Atlantic Alliance consider that in the present circumstances there is no alternative to the security provided by the nuclear weapons of the United States and by the presence of North American forces in Europe: and they agree that in the light of the relative military vulnerability of Europe, the Europeans should, if they wish to preserve their independence, hold to their commitments and make constant efforts to ensure that they have adequate means of defence at their disposal.

## **II. The European Identity in Relation to the World**

9. The Europe of the Nine is aware that, as it unites, it takes on new international obligations. European unification is not directed against anyone, nor is it inspired by a desire for power. On the contrary, the Nine are convinced that their union will benefit the whole international community since it will constitute an element of equilibrium and a basis for co-operation with all countries, whatever their size, culture or social system. The Nine intend to play an active role in world affairs and thus to contribute, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, to ensuring that international relations have a more just basis; that the independence and equality of States are better preserved; that prosperity is more equitably shared; and that the security of each country is more effectively guaranteed. In pursuit of these objectives the Nine should progressively define common positions in the sphere of foreign policy.

10. As the Community progresses towards a common policy in relation to third countries, it will act in accordance with the following principles:

- (a) The Nine, acting as a single entity, will strive to promote harmonious and constructive relations with these countries. This should not however jeopardize, hold back or affect the will of the Nine to progress towards European Union within the time limits laid down.
- (b) In future when the Nine negotiate collectively with

other countries, the institutions and procedures chosen should enable the distinct character of the European entity to be respected.

- (c) In bilateral contacts with other countries, the Member States of the Community will increasingly act on the basis of agreed common positions.

11. The Nine intend to strengthen their links, in the present institutional framework, with the Member Countries of the Council of Europe, and with other European countries with whom they already have friendly relations and close co-operation.

12. The Nine attach essential importance to the Community's policy of association. Without diminishing the advantages enjoyed by the countries with which it has special relations, the Community intends progressively to put into operation a policy for development aid on a worldwide scale in accordance with the principles and aims set out in the Paris Summit Declaration.

13. The Community will implement its undertakings towards the Mediterranean and African countries in order to reinforce its long-standing links with these countries. The Nine intend to preserve their historical links with the countries of the Middle East and to co-operate over the establishment and maintenance of peace, stability and progress in the region.

14. The close ties between the United States and Europe of the Nine—we share values and aspirations based on a common heritage—are mutually beneficial and must be preserved. These ties do not conflict with the determination of the Nine to establish themselves as a distinct and original entity. The Nine intend to maintain their constructive dialogue and to develop their co-operation with the United States on the basis of equality and in a spirit of friendship.

15. The Nine also remain determined to engage in close co-operation and to pursue a constructive dialogue with the other industrialized countries, such as Japan and

Canada, which have an essential role in maintaining an open and balanced world economic system. They appreciate the existing fruitful co-operation with these countries, particularly within the OECD.

16. The Nine have contributed, both individually and collectively to the first results of a policy of détente and co-operation with the USSR and the East European countries. They are determined to carry this policy further forward on a reciprocal basis.

17. Conscious of the major role played by China in international affairs, the Nine intend to intensify their relations with the Chinese Government and to promote exchanges in various fields as well as contacts between European and Chinese leaders.

18. The Nine are also aware of the important role played by other Asian countries. They are determined to develop their relations with these countries as is demonstrated, as far as commercial relations are concerned, by the Declaration of Intent made by the Community at the time of its enlargement.

19. The Nine are traditionally bound to the Latin American countries by friendly links and many other contacts; they intend to develop these. In this context they attach great importance to the agreements concluded between the European Community and certain Latin American countries.

20. There can be no real peace if the developed countries do not pay more heed to the less favoured nations. Convinced of this fact, and conscious of their responsibilities and particular obligations, the Nine attach very great importance to the struggle against under-development. They are, therefore, resolved to intensify their efforts in the fields of trade and development aid and to strengthen international co-operation to these ends.

21. The Nine will participate in international negotiations in an outward-looking spirit, while preserving the funda-

mental elements of their unity and their basic aims. They are also resolved to contribute to international progress, both through their relations with third countries and by adopting common positions wherever possible in international organizations, notably the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies.

### **III. The Dynamic Nature of the Construction of a United Europe**

22. The European Identity will evolve as a function of the dynamic construction of a United Europe. In their external relations, the Nine propose progressively to undertake the definition of their identity in relation to other countries or groups of countries. They believe that in so doing they will strengthen their own cohesion and contribute to the framing of a genuinely European foreign policy. They are convinced that building up this policy will help them to tackle with confidence and realism further stages in the construction of a United Europe, thus making easier the proposed transformation of the whole complex of their relations into a European Union.

## **6. Communiqué of the Conference of the Heads of State and Government of the Member States of the European Community (Copenhagen, 15 December 1973, excerpts)**

The Heads of State or Government of the Member States of the European Community met in Copenhagen on 14 and 15 December 1973 at the invitation of the Prime Minister of Denmark. The President of the Commission participated actively in their work on Community questions. They agreed as follows: