

EUROPEAN POLITICAL COOPERATION

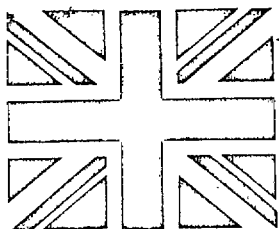
STATEMENTS OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS

1977

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Statement by the Belgian Delegate on Human Rights, Third Committee of the United Nations General Assembly	5 December 1977

The European Council issued other statements. See the conclusions of the Rome (25-26 March 1977), London (29-30 June 1977) and Brussels (5-6 December 1977) meetings.

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PRESS RELEASE

Jan 1977

UNITED KINGDOM PRESIDENCY OF THE COUNCIL OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES JANUARY - JUNE 1977

MR CROSLAND'S POLITICAL CO-OPERATION PRESS CONFERENCE

Mr Anthony Crosland, Britain's Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary (as President of the Council of Ministers) made the following statement at a Press Conference in London on Monday, January 31 on the occasion of the meeting of EEC Foreign Ministers:

On the agenda we shall be coming to Portugal this evening and also briefly on Rhodesia and on Spain. As far as this afternoon was concerned we started on the CSCE: with the Belgrade Preparatory meeting less than five months away, it was obviously time for ministers to focus on Belgrade Preparations. We were able to endorse a considerable amount of work already done by the Political Committee in preparing common positions for Belgrade and the need for intensifying consultations in the months immediately ahead and this follows of course, as you know, on a discussion on the same subject which took place in the Committee of Ministers at Strasbourg last week in which I spoke on behalf of the Presidency.

We then came to the Middle East and had a very full discussion of the Middle East question. We agreed on the high priority and importance which we attach to the Middle East and its issues and in particular to taking advantage of the present favourable atmosphere to make progress towards a settlement. We were in full agreement on the substance of the question on the basis of the reports before us from the Political Committee. We reaffirmed our views on the main elements of a settlement which was stated by the Netherlands Representative at the last UN General Assembly.

We noted that a number of very important visits are going to be made to the Middle East in the near future. They include visits by

the Secretary General of the UN, by the French Foreign Minister, by the German Foreign Minister, and by Secretary of State Vance. The Ministers of the Nine propose to continue their examination of Middle Eastern questions when they have reports that arise from these visits and will consider then at that time whether to formulate any further expression of our views.

Next we turned to the Euro Arab Dialogue and considered the : preparations which had been made for the second meeting of the General Committee in Tunis from February 10 - 12. We reaffirmed the importance that we attach to the dialogue and to developing further the close links which already bind the two regions to one another. We agreed that the dialogue gives expression to the special nature of the relationship between the Nine and the Arab world and provides both sides with an opportunity to exchange views on a wide range of subjects, political, economic, social and cultural. We also expressed the hope that the General Committee at Tunis would enable further practical progress to be made in a number of fields.

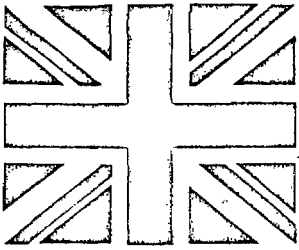
We then turned to the question of Cyprus and discussed the Cyprus and Turkey situation at the Council of Europe. We agreed that the report from the European Human Rights Commission on this case should be handled in the Council of Europe in accordance with normal procedures and precedents. It is, of course, for the Council of Europe, not for us, to decide on the details of timing and procedure but we all of us in the Nine are aware of the need to act with strict fairness and impartiality in Human Rights cases. The Human Rights Commission Report is confidential and until it has been considered in the Council of Europe in accordance with procedure it wouldn't be proper to comment on it. On the question of Cyprus we also discussed the fact that the Association Agreement with Cyprus comes up for Renewal in June of this year and we asked the Political Committee - this in a sense is in the spirit of Tindemans - to report to us on the political implications of the trading relationship which the

Community has with Cyprus and might have in the future.

We had a discussion of Southern Africa. We endorsed the intention of the Political Committee to make a demarch on Namibia and I reported at some length on the present situation in Rhodesia. I think there was a general welcome expressed very strongly by both the French and the German Foreign Ministers for the efforts that Britain had been making in respect of Rhodesia and I would anticipate that after the dinner tonight we shall issue a statement on Rhodesia which will express the solidarity of the Nine as a whole with the attitude that Britain has been taking on this subject. So that was all for this afternoon. This evening we come to Portugal and consider a statement on Rhodesia and possibly also a short statement of our view on recent developments in Spain.

2 February 1977

Verbatim 074/77



PRESS RELEASE

UNITED KINGDOM PRESIDENCY OF THE COUNCIL OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES JANUARY - JUNE 1977

Press Release R 63

2 February 1977

EEC FOREIGN MINISTERS STATEMENTS ON SPAIN AND RHODESIA

Two statements, one relating to Spain and the other to Rhodesia, were made following the meeting of EEC Foreign Ministers in London on Monday, January 31.

On Spain, the statement said:

The Nine Ministers have discussed Spain and like the Spanish people themselves have condemned the recent wave of terrorism. They expressed confidence that the Spanish people will succeed in establishing a Democratic system.

On Rhodesia, the statement said:

The Foreign Ministers of the Nine Countries of the European Community recall their statement of 18 October last in which they welcomed the British Government's decision to convene a conference on Rhodesia in Geneva. They express their deep concern that Mr Smith's rejection of 24 January of British suggestions for a transitional Government has for the time being jeopardised the British Government's attempt to find an agreed basis for negotiation. They deplore the irresponsible attitude of the illegal regime.

They appeal solemnly to all the parties concerned to continue the search for a negotiated settlement designed to bring about a rapid and orderly transfer of power to the majority of Zimbabwe. They formally declare that the Regime cannot expect any assistance from the Nine, on the contrary the Foreign Ministers of the Nine confirm that they will continue to comply strictly with their obligations relating to sanctions.

32. Communiqué issued after the Second Meeting of the General Committee of the Euro-Arab Dialogue
(Tunis, 12 February 1977, excerpt)

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Both sides noted with satisfaction the positive spirit, the objectivity and frankness characterizing this meeting, which they are agreed has succeeded in cementing the idea of the Dialogue, strengthening its foundations and procedures and better acquainting both sides with the areas of joint cooperation. The meeting embodied the joint political will of both sides as underlined by the Foreign Ministers of the European group at their meeting in London on 31 January and the Arab Foreign Ministers in their Cairo meeting on 15 January.

5.

This meeting provided both sides with the opportunity to exchange views on all aspects of Euro-Arab co-operation, political, economic, social and cultural. Both sides examined carefully each other's positions and considered extensively a number of important topics related to these aspects of their co-operation.

6.

Both sides emphasised their great concern about security in the Middle East and its implications for European and world security. They expressed full awareness of the dangers inherent in the persistence of the current stalemate and of their mutual interest in the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

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Source: European Political Co-operation, third edition, Press and Information Office, Federal Republic of Germany, Bonn, 1978.

7.

Both sides explained their views on the Middle East problem, including the question of Palestine. They noted with great interest the statements made by each other in this respect. They reaffirmed that a solution to the question of Palestine based on the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people is a crucial factor in achieving a just and lasting peace.

8.

The European side expressed its conviction that the principles included in the Declaration of 6 November 1973, as elaborated since then in statements made by the Nine, notably on the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, constitute the basic elements of a Middle East peace settlement and that these principles must be taken as a whole. The European side restated its view that a solution of the conflict in the Middle East will be possible only if the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to give effective expression to its national identity is translated into fact.

9.

The European side reiterated the concern of the Nine over the continued Israeli occupation of Arab territories since 1967. They maintained that the Fourth Geneva Convention was applicable to the occupied territories and opposed the policy of establishing settlements there, which could only prejudice the prospects for peace. They were also opposed to any moves to alter unilaterally the status of Jerusalem. The Arab side expressed its appreciation of this attitude.

10.

The European side welcomed the improved situation in Lebanon and expressed support for its independence, unity and territorial integrity. The Arab side expressed its ap-

preciation for this position, which is in accord with the joint Arab will to reconstruct an independent unified Lebanon.

11.

The European side took note of the proposal put forward by the Arab side to establish a committee for political consultation between the two sides. The European side undertook to consider this proposal with due attention.

...

33. Message to the Secretary-General from
the Nine Governments on the Occa-
sion of the Day for the Elimination of
Racial Discrimination
(21 March 1977, excerpt)

The peoples and Governments of the nine countries of the European Community unreservedly reject all forms of racial discrimination, as defined in Article 1 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. They condemn in particular the degrading practice of apartheid, and the concept of separate communities for different races. They believe that all people, whatever their race or colour, have the right to take part on an equal footing in the life and institutions of their country, and should be enabled to do so.

The Nine Governments are opposed to all forms of racial, religious and political discrimination, wherever they may occur. These practices violate the principles of freedom and democracy for which the nine countries of the European Community stand, and are all legitimate matters of international concern.

The Nine Governments would like to take this opportunity to assure Your Excellency of their determination to work for an end to these practices by all means that are in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

Source: European Political Co-operation, third edition, Press and Information Office, Federal Republic of Germany, Bonn, 1978.



BRITISH INFORMATION SERVICES

UNITED KINGDOM PRESIDENCY OF THE COUNCIL OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES JANUARY - JUNE 1977

April 19, 1977

POLICY STATEMENTS

PS(E) 8/77. SOUTHERN AFRICA

Official statement on Africa by
the Foreign Ministers of the
European Economic Community, in
London on April 18, 1977:

Following the conclusion of the political cooperation meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the European Economic Community on April 18, an official statement was issued in London expressing the Community's determination to do everything possible to promote democratic majority rule and non-racial government in Southern Africa.

The statement also expressed opposition to any "sphere of influence" policy in the area by any state.

"The Foreign Ministers of the Nine countries of the European Community have considered the situation in Africa -- particularly Namibia, Rhodesia and Zaire. They expressed their concern about the growth of violence and the evidence of instability and economic disruption.

"The Foreign Ministers reaffirmed the willingness of the Nine to cooperate insofar as any African State wishes them to do so and their rejection of any action by any State aimed at setting up a sphere of influence in Africa."

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The statement went on to express support for the principle of self-determination in Namibia and Rhodesia, and to condemn the policy of apartheid.

"The Foreign Ministers will continue to support the Organization of African Unity's attempts to promote African cooperation and will uphold the right of self-determination and independence of the Namibian and Rhodesian peoples. The Foreign Ministers repeated their condemnation of the policy of apartheid in South Africa. They will continue to oppose all forms of racial discrimination, wherever it exists."

The Community's dedication to the principles of human rights, non-racial government and non-intervention -- in Zaire as well as elsewhere -- was also stated.

"The Ministers declared their support for the right of all peoples to live in peace and to enjoy the basic rights set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

"The Foreign Ministers reaffirmed that they will do everything possible to promote democratic majority rule and non-racial government for the peoples of Southern Africa.

"They expressed their support for the principles of territorial integrity and non-intervention in internal affairs which have always been upheld by the United Nations and OAU and which should be respected in the case of Zaire, where they will encourage the Nigerian Government's mediation."

The Ministers further promised to turn their attention to the economic difficulties of these countries.

"The Nine will, individually and jointly, consider the possibility of making further efforts to improve the economic situation in Africa."

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BRITISH INFORMATION SERVICES

UNITED KINGDOM PRESIDENCY OF THE COUNCIL OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES JANUARY - JUNE 1977

May 18, 1977

POLICY STATEMENTS

PS(E) 10/77. MAPUTO STATEMENT ON ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA

Mr. Ted Rowlands, M.P., Minister of State,
and representative of the British Govern-
ment at the Maputo Conference, speaking
on behalf of the member governments of the
European Communities, at Maputo, Mozambique,
on May 17, 1977:

At a conference at Maputo called by the United Nations to discuss the problems facing Zimbabwe and Namibia, Mr. Ted Rowlands delivered the following statement on May 17 on behalf of the nine governments of the European Community.

"I should like first to speak as representative of the government currently exercising the presidency of the Council of Ministers of the European Community. I wish to reaffirm emphatically that the nine countries of the European Community will do everything possible to promote democratic majority rule and an end to racism and racial discrimination in both Zimbabwe and Namibia. We uphold the rights of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia to self determination and independence and to the enjoyment of the basic rights set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

/ "Our ...

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"Our countries are committed to an energetic and urgent search for peaceful change in both the countries being considered by this conference. In the case of Rhodesia we are convinced that the illegal minority regime in Salisbury must take up the chance that remains to achieve a peaceful transition to majority rule. The alternative would be a further escalation of violence, which would have tragic consequences. The nine countries of the European Community believe that the illegal regime must accept unambiguously that Rhodesia should come to independence as Zimbabwe on a basis of majority rule in 1978, and that Mr. Smith should negotiate to this end without delay. We have noted with appreciation the willingness of the Nationalist movements of Zimbabwe to join in negotiations and we hope that they will recognize the need to reassure all elements of the population that there is a place for them in the country after independence.

"The Nine reiterate that Mr. Smith's illegal regime can accept no assistance of any kind from them and reconfirm that they are continuing to comply strictly with their obligations relating to sanctions. Our partners in the European Community continue to offer full support to all the efforts being made by the United Kingdom and others to produce an early negotiated settlement.

"The views of the nine governments of the European Community on the question of Namibia are well known and were stated in the fourth committee of the General Assembly on November 24 last year. The Nine believed that South Africa should withdraw from Namibia at an early date and that the inhabitants of Namibia should exercise their right to self determination and independence. The exercise of this right should consist of the opportunity of expressing their views of the political and constitutional future of the territory as a whole, through a fully democratic process under the supervision of the United Nations. All political groups in Namibia including notably SWAPO should be given full freedom to engage in peaceful activities throughout the territory during the process of self determination, which should include a single election or referendum organized on a territory-wide basis and with full respect for the territorial integrity of Namibia. To this end all political prisoners should be released and exiles permitted to return.

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"The nine governments conveyed their views to the South African Government in a demarche on February 7. They did so because of reports that some form of internal self government might shortly be established in Namibia, based on recommendations of the Turnhalle Conference. The Turnhalle Conference is no substitute for the necessary involvement of all political groups in Namibia, including SWAPO. The nine governments renew their appeal to all parties, including the Government of South Africa and SWAPO to explore all possibilities which might lead to an internationally acceptable solution. In their view any such solution must be based upon the provisions of Security Council Resolution 385 and they welcome any initiatives designed to achieve that end."

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37. Statement by Mr. H. Simonet, the Belgian Foreign Minister, at the World Conference for Action against Apartheid
(Lagos, 23 August 1977, excerpt)

The countries of the European Community welcome the opportunity afforded them at this Conference to set out their position on apartheid and hope that this Conference, whose participants have just been welcomed by the host, His Excellency General Obasanjo, Head of the Military Federal Government of Nigeria, will express the growing concern of the community of nations in connection with the eradication of the policy of apartheid.

...

We have been able to witness closely the long struggle by this Organization against apartheid. Once again it has become convincingly clear that, in essence, this policy runs contrary to the conception of the United Nations—and hence of the members of the European Community—of man and his rights without distinction as to creed, nationality or race.

The Members of the United Nations today unanimously identify themselves with this long struggle, which is being conducted with endurance and invincible courage by men, some of whom we have heard at this Conference; they therefore lend an irresistible moral strength to the condemnation to which this struggle has finally led.

True, speakers have regretted that this unanimity has been slow in coming. True, they have also deplored the fact that that unanimity has still not, in their view, been expressed forcefully enough today by some countries.

I can say, however, on behalf of the European Community, that those who represent it here have clearly heard the new appeal for joint action. They have decided to respond in the way dictated by the wholehearted adherence of the European peoples to the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter and in a desire to avoid the bloody and catastrophic events which a passive attitude on the part of the international community towards apartheid would inevitably provoke.

The European Community, moreover, has for a long time condemned in unequivocal terms a policy which, on several occasions, has led to the confrontations which we want to prevent from degenerating soon into a merciless racial struggle.

The violent demonstrations at Soweto and in other places in South Africa have prompted the European Community to express its feelings unequivocally through Mr Van der Stoep, the Netherlands Foreign Minister, when he addressed the United Nations in his capacity of President of the Council of Ministers of the European Communities during the debate at the 31st session of the General Assembly.

These demonstrations were the tragic expression of the revolt of the majority of the South African people against apartheid and testify to the total failure of this policy. As long as apartheid is maintained, confrontation will be inevitable and it will become more and more violent.

The Nine condemn and utterly reject the concept of separate communities for the different races and deplore the South African Government's refusal to work towards a truly non-racial society in which all would be equal by right.

The Nine consider that this is the only solution to the country's problems.

Apartheid is an insult to human dignity, conflicts with the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the United Nations Charter, and constitutes a form of institutionalized racialism, depriving the majority of South Africans of the full enjoyment of their civil and political rights. The Nine have stressed on more than one occasion, and in particular before the United Nations, the fact that apartheid is a flagrant violation of human rights and that it runs counter to the legitimate aspirations of all South Africans to participate fully, on an equal footing in the political, economic, social and cultural life of their country. The Nine are consequently convinced of the need to put an end, rapidly and peacefully, to the policy of apartheid.

The Nine consider that the Bantustan policy, far from solving the problems posed by apartheid—as the South African Government claimed—would simply perpetuate them.

In order to show their disapproval of apartheid, and their solidarity with all those opposed to it and all those who are its victims, the Nine have taken a number of measures and decisions.

They are opposed to the creation of Bantustans and have refused to recognize the Transkei, having made the reasons for their stand very clear.

They will refrain from any act which could, in any way whatsoever, help to maintain or develop this policy.

They are stepping up aid to South Africa's neighbours to help them cope with the problems inherent in their particular geographical situation.

They also contribute to the funds set up by the United Nations to help victims of apartheid in South Africa; their assistance is intended mainly for those who have suffered from the repressive and discriminatory laws and will be given in such forms as legal assistance or educational grants.

The contributions made by governments to the United Nations funds are also accompanied by grants to private organizations which deal in particular with students and refugees from South Africa.

It should also be pointed out that the European Community as such is using the Lomé Convention to assist the victims of the South African occupation of Namibia and its apartheid policy there by providing financial backing for the United Nations Institute for Namibia in Lusaka and awarding scholarships to Namibian students.

The Member States of the Community have placed an embargo on the sale of arms to South Africa.

The Foreign Ministers of the Nine recently decided as part of their political co-operation programme to give active consideration to a range of initiatives to bring the collective weight of the Community to bear on South Africa to persuade it to abandon its apartheid policy.

The examination of these initiatives is at present in progress and will shortly be completed, thus enabling the Foreign Ministers to take the appropriate political decisions.

The above principles and measures reflect the aspirations and political will of the 250 million inhabitants of the countries of the European Community.

The rejection of racialism and the defence of human rights are a concrete reality which will make itself increasingly felt.

At their meeting in London on 18 April 1977 the Foreign Ministers of the Nine expressed these views in a general statement which reflects the common concern of the governments of the Nine at the mounting violence in Africa. With regard to the specific issue of apartheid, the general statement of 18 April reads:

“The Ministers declared their support for the right of all peoples to live in peace and to enjoy the basic rights set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Foreign Ministers reaffirmed that they will do everything possible to promote democratic majority rule and non-racial government for the peoples of southern Africa.”

The Nine will continue to support the pressure exerted on South Africa by the international community and to intensify their own action to eradicate apartheid, and they hope that this Conference will mark an important step in that direction.

Political cooperation

2.2.4. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs, in Brussels for a Council meeting, held a political cooperation meeting on 20 September under the chairmanship of Mr Simonet, the Belgian Foreign Minister. The Commission was represented by Mr Jenkins, President, Mr Haferkamp, Vice-President, and Mr Cheysson, member.

The Ministers approved a code of conduct for companies with subsidiaries, branches or representation in South Africa. Here is the full text:

Code of Conduct for companies with subsidiaries, branches or representation in South Africa

1. Relations within the undertaking

(a) Companies should ensure that all their employees irrespective of racial or other distinction are allowed to choose freely and without any hindrance the type of organization to represent them.

(b) Employers should regularly and unequivocally inform their employees that consultations and collective bargaining with organizations which are freely elected and representative of employees are part of company policy.

(c) Should black African employees decide that their representative body should be in the form of a trade union, the company should accept this decision. Trade unions for black Africans are not illegal, and companies are free to recognize them, and to negotiate and conclude agreements with them.

(d) Consequently, the companies should allow collective bargaining with organizations freely chosen by the workers to develop in accordance with internationally accepted principles.

(e) Employers should do everything possible to ensure that black African employees are free to form or to join a trade union. Steps should be taken in particular to permit trade union officials to explain to employees the aims of trade unions and the advantages of membership, to distribute trade union documentation and display trade union notices on the company's premises, to have reasonable time off to carry out their union duties without loss of pay and to organize meetings.

(f) Where works or liaison committees already operate, trade union officials should have representative status on these bodies if employees so wish. However, the existence of these types of committee should not prejudice the development or status of trade unions or of their representatives.

2. Migrant labour

(a) The system of migrant labour is, in South Africa, an instrument of the policy of apartheid which has the effect of preventing the individual from seeking and obtaining a job of his choice: it also causes grave social and family problems.

(b) Employers have the social responsibility to contribute towards ensuring freedom of movement for black African workers and their families.

(c) In the meantime employers should make it their concern to alleviate as much as possible the effects of the existing system.

3. Pay

Companies should assume a special responsibility as regards the pay and conditions of employment of their black African employees. They should formulate specific policies aimed at improving their terms of employment. Pay based on the absolute minimum necessary for a family to survive cannot be considered as being sufficient. The minimum wage should initially exceed by at least 50% the minimum level required to satisfy the basic needs of an employee and his family.

4. Wage structure and black African advancement

(a) The principle of 'equal pay for equal work' means that all jobs should be open to any worker who possesses suitable qualifications, irrespective of racial or other distinction, and that wages should be based on a qualitative job evaluation.

(b) The same pay scales should be applied to the same work. The adoption of the principle of equal pay would, however, be meaningless if black African employees were kept in inferior jobs. Employers should therefore draw up an appropriate range of training schemes of a suitable standard to provide training for their black African employees, and should reduce their dependence on immigrant white labour.

5. Fringe benefits

(a) In view of their social responsibilities, undertakings should concern themselves with the living conditions of their employees and families.

(b) For this purpose company funds could be set aside for use:

- in the housing of black African personnel and their families;
- in transport from place of residence to place of work and back;
- in providing leisure and health service facilities;
- in providing their employees with assistance in problems they encounter with the authorities over their movement from one place to another, their choice of residence and their employment;
- in pension matters;
- in educational matters;
- in improving medical services, in adopting programmes of insurance against industrial accidents and unemployment, and in other measures of social welfare.

6. Desegregation at places of work

In so far as it lies within their own competence, employers should do everything possible to abolish any practice of segregation, notably at the workplace and in canteens, sports activities, education and training. They should also ensure equal working conditions for all their staff.

7. Reports on the implementation of the code of conduct

(a) Parent companies to which this code is addressed should publish each year a detailed and fully documented report on the progress made in applying this code.

(b) The number of black Africans employed in the undertaking should be specified in the report, and progress in each of the six areas indicated above should be fully covered.

(c) The governments of the Nine will review annually progress made in implementing this code. To this end a copy of each company's report should be submitted to the national government.



P E R M A N E N T M I S S I O N O F B E L G I U M
T O T H E U N I T E D N A T I O N S

STATEMENT BY Mr. HENRI SIMONET
MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF BELGIUM
PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL
OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY
AND OF EUROPEAN POLITICAL CO-OPERATION

32nd SESSION
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
UNITED NATIONS

New York, September 26, 1977

Informal translation : original (French)

Check against delivery

Mr. President,

In my capacity as President of the Council of the European Community and as President of European Political Co-operation, I have the privilege of performing a particularly pleasant task. Mr. President, on the occasion of your election to the presidency of this 32nd General Assembly, allow me to express our heartiest congratulations and to tell you how very pleased we are that you are presiding over this Assembly.

I should also like to assure the Secretary General of our full support for his efforts in the service of the United Nations, and compliment him on the lucidity and conscientiousness with which he discharges his high responsibilities.

Our society contains an extraordinary range of cultures, traditions, races, religions, beliefs and ideologies. In view of this diversity, it is evident that only universal co-operation which unites all members of the international community can create the conditions of stability and well-being that are necessary for ensuring relations among our peoples, based on mutual understanding and a common will to promote peace.

This is the essential role of the United Nations.

I am very pleased, on behalf of the nine members of the European Community, to welcome two new members into our midst : the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and

the Republic of Djibouti. Our warmest congratulations are extended to them.

For 25 years now, certain countries of Western Europe have been trying to put into practice the lesson of History by establishing a durable peace among themselves and creating the conditions necessary for the improvement of the well-being of their peoples. This is the goal which the European Community has set for itself. Little by little, co-operation among the members of the Community continues to grow. But this task would be insufficient if the European Community did not participate, as efficiently as possible, in the safeguard of peace in the world and in the struggle against underdevelopment.

It seems to me that these objectives are absolutely fundamental and that beyond ideological conflicts there must exist ways and means of conducting fruitful dialogues that will bring these objectives nearer. The nations of the European Community have no intention of shrinking from their responsibilities and they intend to play their proper role in the international community. The European Nine made their common views in this regard quite clear in the declaration published by the Council of Europe on 17 July 1975. A copy of this declaration was sent to all the members of the United Nations.

The Nine put their principles into practice in the Lomé Convention by establishing a balanced framework for co-operation and by instituting a dialogue on a new basis with a number of African, Caribbean and Pacific countries. Much still needs to be done. We are determined to continue along this path in order to find fair solutions.

In addition to this regional approach, the European Nine intend to act on a more global scale by co-operating with the totality of developing nations. Our system of generalized preferences is the first step in this direction.

We reaffirm our will to achieve a structural improvement in the position of developing countries in the world economy.

The European Community is fully aware of its particular obligations. It will continue, to the extent of its means, to give aid in the form of food and materials to countries suffering from extreme poverty and to peoples afflicted by war and natural catastrophes. Its Member States reaffirm their will to increase their aid to development, effectively and substantially, and better to balance their efforts in this respect.

In co-operation with developing countries, they are determined to devote a progressively more important part of their efforts to programmes intended to satisfy the essential needs of man. In order that all developing nations benefit from this new orientation, they have also agreed to examine the importance and the attribution of the aid to development with a view to increase the volume and the effectiveness in the framework of an enlarged international effort.

At this point, I would like to address myself to certain current situations which deserve the special attention of this assembly.

1. Middle East

Anything that affects the stability and prosperity of the countries of Africa and the Middle East is of the greatest interest to the European Nine. We have close historical ties with these countries which are deepening in all fields of human activity.

With regard to the situation in the Near East, over which the Nine continue to be gravely concerned, they remain convinced, as a matter of principle, that any solution must be based on Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, as they affirmed on 29 June 1977, as well as being based on the following fundamental principles :

- acquisition of territory by force is unacceptable ;
- Israel must end its occupation of territories it has held since the 1967 war ;
- the sovereignty, territorial integrity and the independence of each state in the region must be respected, as well as the right of each state in the region to live in peace within secure and recognised borders ;
- the establishment of a just and durable peace must give due consideration to the rights of the Palestinians.

The Nine also continue to believe that a solution to the conflict will be possible only if the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to give effective expression to its national identity is translated into fact. This would take into account the need for a homeland for the Palestinian people.

It remains the firm view of the Nine that all these aspects must be taken as a whole.

They consider that the representatives of the parties in the conflict, including the Palestinian people, must participate in the negotiations in an appropriate manner to be worked out in consultation between all the parties concerned. In the context of an overall settlement, Israel must be ready to recognise the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people ; equally, the Arab side must be ready to recognise the right of Israel to live in peace within secure and recognised boundaries.

Speaking practically, the Nine are prepared to collaborate, to the extent desired by the interested parties, in the search for a general and definitive solution, and to implement this, notably through participation in the context of the United Nations, in guarantees that the Nine consider of the greatest importance for a general solution of the problems of the Middle East.

One should recall that the Nine have publicly stated their concern over the illegal measures taken recently by the Government of Israel in the occupied territories, and which will be the subject of a new point on the agenda of our Assembly. These measures are contrary to the basic principles which I have just stated. Moreover, they constitute an additional obstacle in the process of negotiation which should lead to a peaceful solution.

Looking forward to peace negotiations, the Nine reaffirm what they have expressed on many occasions, in that the parties to the conflict should refrain from making any declarations and adopting any measures, administrative, legal, military or other, which would constitute an obstacle to the process of peace.

Moreover, the Nine reaffirm their continuing support for Lebanon's independence and territorial integrity. They deplore that the South of the country should be the scene of bloodshed, endangering the efforts to establish peace in the Middle East, and they call upon all parties concerned to halt the fighting.

2. Cyprus

The efforts undertaken by the United Nations to find a solution to the question of Cyprus are well known. I should like to reaffirm the support of the Nine for the efforts which the Secretary-General puts forward in the accordance with the mandate he received from our Organisation. The Nine believe that everything must be done to search for a negotiated solution, both durable and fair, through consultations between the two communities.

In this respect, I recall that on 18 February 1977, the Nine stated their satisfaction on the subject of the the Nicosia meeting of February 12. They hope that conversations between the two communities will resume as quickly as possible in the same spirit which inspired that meeting. The Nine reaffirm their support of the principle of territorial integrity of the Cypriot Republic.

Through appropriate steps, the Nine continue to urge all parties concerned to pursue their consultations.

3. Apartheid

We remain firmly opposed to all forms of racial discrimination, wherever it exists. I had the opportunity to express the position of the Nine concerning

apartheid at the Lagos Conference. The Nine condemn apartheid and reject it as an insult to the dignity of man and as a form of institutionalised racism that deprives the majority of the population of their full civil and political rights.

Events in the past year have demonstrated the growing frustration of the black population and the intransigence of the South African Government.

As I stated at the Lagos Conference, apartheid cannot work : I then expressed the view of the Nine that the Bantustan policy, far from solving the problems posed by apartheid, was in fact a means of perpetuating it.

I should also point out that the Nine recently decided to examine a variety of different actions they could take to bring their collective influence to bear on South Africa to put an end to apartheid.

Thus the Nine have recently adopted a code of conduct for all their firms with subsidiaries, branches or representation in South Africa. The publication of this code constitutes a first measure among others which are still being examined.

We will do everything possible to try to bring about a non-racial government in South Africa that will permit the peoples of that country to participate fully in the life of the nation.

4. Namibia

We declared at the Maputo Conference, as well as in the message issued on the occasion of Namibia Day, that we support the right of the peoples of Rhodesia and Namibia to self-determination, to independence, and to the enjoyment of the fundamental rights defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Concerning Namibia, it is our position that the Namibians should be able to exercise these rights in a democratic fashion under the supervision of the United Nations, and that all political groups should be able to participate, including SWAPO. Any solution of the Namibian problem must be based on Security Council Resolution 385.

The Nine express the strong desire that efforts currently underway will lead to success. Some valuable progress has already been made. This may be a unique opportunity for securing a peaceful and early transition to independence and the Nine stand ready to assist in this process in any way they can.

5. Zimbabwe

Time is running out for settling the Rhodesia issue : it seems to us essential to use every possible means to bring to an end a conflict which could have repercussions throughout Africa and to bring about independence for Zimbabwe in 1978 on the basis of majority rule. We commend the efforts being made at present to achieve an early settlement along these lines,

whilst observing strictly the obligations resulting from the Charter in the field of sanctions. In order for Zimbabwe to develop properly there will be a need for economic assistance to help provide a solution to the basic problems with which this new State will find itself confronted after the disappearance of the illegal minority regime. Members of the Community are prepared to consider carefully and sympathetically proposals that have already been made for a Zimbabwe Development Fund. "

6. Africa in General

The African continent is seeking stability. Africa must find this stability as well as its own identity. We know that this is the objective of all the peoples of Africa, which is why I am eager to reiterate the position of the Nine in this regard. The Nine strongly reject any intervention by any state which seeks to establish a zone of influence on the African continent. It is the African states, and the African states alone, who must find the solutions to their problems.

Recent events in the Horn of Africa underline the importance of this principle of non-intervention.

Any aid given to Africa must be aid that the nations of Africa desire, and it must be given under conditions that the Africans themselves have determined are in their best interest.

7. Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe

As for the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the Community considers that the final declaration of Helsinki is a very important constituent element of the broader question of détente. Therefore, it constitutes a capital contribution to the efforts aiming at the consolidation of peace within the international community. This document must be considered as a whole, and each of its parts must be correctly implemented, lest it should not answer the hopes it had raised.

A precise and logical working plan defined during a preparatory meeting, should allow the meeting at Belgrade which will examine the follow-up of the Conference in a few days' time, to look at each of the themes of the final declaration, both with respect to their implementation in the past and to the stimulation of this implementation in the future.

8. Economic problems

I would now like to deal with international economic relations. One of the tasks of the current General Assembly will be to evaluate progress made in international co-operation and to determine how this co-operation should evolve in the years ahead.

The same subject was debated extensively, here, a few days ago. But our work during the next three months is more ambitious and perhaps more difficult. The Community feels that real progress has been made recently in the field of international economic co-operation. In this respect, the Paris Conference has yielded positive results in several important areas. The Community will see to it that the Paris agreements are implemented in the near future.

I do not want to express feelings of unmitigated satisfaction, for we must remain realistic, and recognise the aspirations of the international community for a new international economic order. The European Community remains convinced of the need to bring about a fundamental improvement in the position of developing countries in the world economy, taking into account the problems of the least developed countries. If I am not pessimistic, then it is because the international community has made significant efforts in important sectors with the aim of narrowing down differences and reconciling diverse interests. A case in point are the many ongoing negotiations this year, such as those on an integrated programme for commodities and on a common fund. In those areas, solutions are within reach and the Community will continue to participate in those discussions with an open mind, seeking tangible solutions.

Mr. President, sometimes circumstances or the economic climate tend to interfere with good intentions and hamper our lines of action. The Community is not immune to the difficulties currently facing many nations. It struggles with the problems of inflation and unemployment. The joint efforts which the Member States make to maintain an adequate level of economic activity, and even induce proper growth, meet with difficulties which are far from being solved. In some sectors of the economy, those problems have recently become exacerbated and no immediate or permanent cure is in sight.

Nonetheless, if the Community must try to protect its own internal equilibrium - which has a considerable impact on harmonious worldwide economic relations, - it doesn't choose to withdraw within itself. The concept of integration is the basis of the Community, as is its overture to the world.

We understand the problems resulting from the present economic climate, but we reject protectionism as a defense. Therefore, the Community will continue to contribute substantially to the multilateral trade negotiations within GATT and it hopes that these talks will yield concrete results, satisfying in particular the developing countries.

The Community has established a worldwide network of association and co-operation agreements. Some of those formulas for co-operation, which I have already mentioned, are innovations. But we intend to go beyond this. The Lomé Convention has been followed, in 1976, by the signing of a new series of agreements with Maghreb and Near East countries.

We also hope that during the meeting which is to be held in Brussels from 26-28 October, the dialogue between the Nine and the members of the League of Arab states will yield concrete results which are of a definite interest to all participants.

With regard to the Mediterranean countries, the Community has adopted a policy of global approach. This has taken shape through a series of new contractual agreements, linking the Community to practically every Mediterranean country. This was done in the interest

of all countries concerned, in the interest of development and, therefore, of the stability in this sensitive part of the world. This regional approach has been complemented by a global policy in favour of developing countries. In this regard, the Scheme of Generalised Preferences for 1977 has been substantially improved in comparison with last year. New orientations have been given to food aid. In general, efforts are being made to ensure the co-ordination and harmonisation of policies of development co-operation by the Community.

I mention these accomplishments without conceit, fully aware that they can be perfected and may be deemed inadequate.

I am also pleased to note that contacts between the Community and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance are developing.

We are also very satisfied with the recent progress towards negotiation of a commercial agreement with the People's Republic of China, which I hope will soon materialise.

We are convinced that the United Nations are bound to play a fundamental role in the efforts of the international community towards the restructuring of economic relations.

The Community attaches great importance to the work done in United Nations fora. It will continue its efforts towards a positive contribution. It wants to reiterate its desire to co-operate and to avoid a climate

of confrontation which could only harm the international community as a whole. In this respect, we have been able to witness, in particular during the 7th special session of this Assembly, how a spirit of dialogue can prevail over confrontation. We cannot make real progress by opposing each other or through formulas too far removed from the reality of our economic structures.

In this spirit of realism, and not precluding the will to redress any imbalances, we should turn our thoughts to the contents of the new strategy for development, which will unquestionably be one of the major future tasks in the realisation of the objectives of a new international economic order.

9. Human Rights

If the Nine are preoccupied with trying to establish peace in the world as well as with the quest for a more equitable society, they also want to make a contribution to the effective protection of Human Rights, both in civil and political, as well as social and cultural fields.

Mr. President, the Members of the Community share the feelings you yourself have expressed at the beginning of our work, i.e. Human Rights comprise economic, social and cultural rights, as well as civil and political rights, and they are all interdependent and inseparable.

It is evident that peace, justice and equity are inconceivable without those guarantees in Human Rights against the abuses of arbitrariness and all forms of exploitation.

Our general public opinion knows that this is an essential question and it is the duty of Governments and of the United Nations to provide adequate answers.

The Nine are pleased by the progress that has been made by the international community in the field of Human Rights. The United Nations play a key role in this area. But the task is still far from being accomplished. During the course of this session, the General Assembly will turn its attention to a number of initiatives directed toward further safeguarding and implementing Human Rights.

Some of these initiatives are concerned with specific rights and their particular implementation. This is notably the case with the initiative concerning the taking of hostages. We express the hope that a political will will inspire those who are participating in the work which may lead to the drafting of a Convention in this field. This is why we favour the continuation of the mandate of the Ad Hoc Committee which was created for this purpose by the 31st General Assembly.

Other initiatives aim at reinforcing the mechanisms by which Human Rights are implemented.

Finally, another category seeks to re-establish respect for Human Rights in special situations where these rights seem to be scoffed at.

It is the intention of the Nine to examine these initiatives according to their merits and the extent to which they are likely to achieve their aims.

We hope that, beyond differing doctrines and political systems, this General Assembly will find it possible to realise what must be our true objective. This is : To give man his rightful place in the world and to ensure that terror, oppression and injustice will be mere curiosities to be found in the textbooks of history.

These observations I have just made were made in my capacity as the representative of the country which currently holds the presidency of the European Community. I would now like to add a few thoughts as Minister for Foreign Affairs for Belgium.

The occasion of the 25th anniversary of the United Nations gave each of us an opportunity to reflect on the nature of this Organisation, the way it operates and hopes for its future. In the report that he has just submitted to the present session, the Secretary General has described the current situation of the United Nations. I would like to applaud his ceaseless efforts and tell him how much Belgium agrees with his analysis. The report, of course, reflects certain worries but it also reflects the hope and conviction that must be at the heart of all our actions.

Like all human endeavours, our Organisation is not perfect. But rather than stressing its weaknesses and opting for fatalism or despair, is it not our duty to support the efforts that are daily undertaken to reinforce the role that it can, and must play. Today more than ever, the United Nations are necessary and indispensable. They represent hope for many Nations. They must be the supreme resort, the guardian of international law, and the light that guides our steps through trial and distress.

Over the past 30 years, the number of U.N. members has tripled and we are coming closer each day to the ideal of universality which we all share. The activities of the Organisation have also multiplied, particularly in the fields of social and economic development, to which

next year we will dedicate more than one billion dollars. This is only a part of the funds that Member States will make available to about 20 organisations and institutions that today are part of the system of the United Nations.

The modest undertaking of Lake Success has been transformed into an assembly of organisations for which it is imperative to harmonise objectives and co-ordinate efforts.

We offer determined support to the General Assembly as well as to all its subsidiary organs, to measures which promote unified action and increase the effectiveness of the work of the United Nations. To achieve these goals, we must daily strive for a better definition of priorities, an integrated planning of programmes and the encouragement of a policy of curtailed expenses and budgetary conservatism that will allow a larger portion of available resources to be dedicated to projects which will be of particular benefit to developing nations.

Some progress has been made in these areas over the past two years. The biennial budget proposed by the Secretary General makes this quite clear.

However, the transformation of the world and the urgency of its needs require more. It is necessary indeed to effect a major restructuring of the economic and social sectors of the United Nations system, which has been the objective for the past two years of the Special Committee created by the General Assembly.

Beyond these basic concerns in administration and effectiveness, we must reflect on the role and the action of the Organisation. Although, strictly speaking, the Organisation deals with States, its ultimate objective remains the destiny of man.

World opinion, to which we should give due attention, has shown the way by making Human Rights more and more a matter of essential preoccupation.

Our Organisation boasts already considerable achievements but their implementation remains too often theoretical. Our prime role is to convert theory into practice. In this spirit, the Belgian delegation would like to remind this forum of the proposal it made a year ago in the context of Resolution 1503 of the Economic and Social Council.

The funeral of Mr. Stephen Biko, yesterday in Kingwilliamstown, is a tragic reminder of the fate of the victims of the flagrant breach of Human Rights which is apartheid, and that of political prisoners which, throughout the world appeals to universal conscience. He will always be remembered.

But we will not have fully respected the ultimate objective of our Organisation if we limit our concern for mankind to the promotion and defence of Human Rights, however important this aspect of our activity may be.

One of our major preoccupations must be to seek ways of maintaining peace and international security. The scope is wide. It includes the control, limitation and reduction of the use of arms in the solution of regional disputes.

In this respect, the problems of disarmament require an integrated approach which must not only be based on measures of arms control and reduction, but also on a parallel strengthening of the means of a peaceful settlement of disputes.

The task is great. In a world still dominated essentially by the balance of power and ideological conflicts, international relations are always marked by mistrust and fear that a shift in the balance of power will lead to an arms race. Détente remains a precarious phenomenon and efforts to strengthen international security have been undoubtedly greater than the achievements obtained.

However, the disproportion between the enormity of the task and the paucity of results should not make us pessimistic.

Have we not seen, since the 1960s, the beginnings of an international legislation in arms control? discussions and negotiations are more intense than ever in essential fields such as non-proliferation and stoppage of nuclear tests and the banning of chemical weapons.

Regional and bilateral efforts, such as SALT and MBFR have also been undertaken and deserve the encouragement of all countries.

Unquestionably, the world has reached a new level of consciousness; disarmament has become a universal concern notwithstanding the special duties and obligations of the great powers.

Such a state of mind augurs well of the next special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. This could be an important landmark on the road to general, complete and controlled disarmament, provided of course that all major military powers would be included, beginning with the nuclear military powers. It will be

important to avoid dogma and to stay clear of the dangers of pursuing sterile perfectionism.

It is within this essentially pragmatic and concrete context that my country has the intention to propose a study, based on ideas brought forward last year, to evaluate the possibilities offered by the regional approach. The regional approach is in no way intended to replace the global approach, but rather to complete it in the fields of nuclear and conventional arms.

Indeed :

circumstances in a given region could favour certain specific measures which could be inapplicable in other regions or on a world scale ;
in general, it is easier to get around complex problems of disarmament and arms control at the regional level and at the level of a group of States.

On the other hand, some questions require a universal solution. I am thinking notably of the problem of nuclear non-proliferation.

Few problems create such near unanimity concerning the principle and such discord concerning the solution. Why ? If all the world agrees to denounce the risks of nuclear proliferation, implementation of a policy of non-proliferation, as in other areas of international life, inevitably brings the "Haves" and the "Have Nots" into opposition. Those countries which already possess nuclear weapons, and therefore certain skills and techniques, are put into opposition to those countries which do not have nuclear weapons, those who have nuclear technology to those who do not and those who produce the indispensable fuels to those whose soil does not contain this commodity.

Respect for the principle of non-proliferation must therefore grow out of a solution to these problems and that solution requires internationalisation of nuclear means. All current and future civilian nuclear technology as well as all necessary equipment and fuel must be available equally to every one of us, without discrimination between those who possess nuclear weapons and, not only those who do not but also those who have voluntarily renounced them in accordance with the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

This treaty has required an infinitely greater sacrifice of sovereignty of those countries that do not have nuclear weapons than has been required of their partners that do possess them.

If, as seems to be the case, it is now necessary to go beyond the treaty, to further protect mankind from the dangers of nuclear proliferation, it is for the nuclear States this time to set the example of sacrifice by committing themselves to equal access for all to nuclear technology, equipment and fuels. Such must be the basis of the action of the United Nations as well as the nuclear States, who should set an example by engaging in a discussion leading to serious and substantial measures toward nuclear disarmament.

I had occasion to refer to our preoccupation and that of our partners in the European Community with regard to the great problems in international affairs.

It seems essential to me that these problems be approached in the spirit of mutual good will, understand-

ing of each other's needs, and which must also reign within the United Nations.

If we work in this spirit, there is only one path we can follow: We must redouble our confidence in the United Nations and more than ever stride forward, seeking the just and durable peace that all the peoples of the world expect of us.

Thank you, Mr. President.

39. Statement by the Belgian Delegate at the Belgrade CSCE Meeting (7 October 1977, excerpt)

From the 1st July up to the 31st December of this year, Belgium has assumed the Chairmanship of the European Communities. European Communities are a fundamentally dynamic institution and their vocation is to achieve in the relatively near future unity amongst its partners in ever broadening spheres.

Member States of the Communities are deeply convinced that the progress that they are achieving will make it possible for them to contribute more effectively to constructive dialogue in Europe and in the world and in this way will promote development of co-operation with all countries.

Therefore it is not surprising that the ideas which I have had the honour to express do not just reflect the ideas of my country, but also the ideas of the other members of the Communities. I would recall in this respect that the Council of Ministers of the Community authorized two years ago its president in office, President Moro to sign the Final Act in Helsinki on behalf of the European Community.

Certain distinguished delegates of countries from the European Communities have had the opportunity to express their ideas before me and others will have the opportunity to speak after me. You will find in different forms the same solid pattern of arguments, which my delegation because of the role that is evolved to Belgium, over this six months, will have the opportunity to recall on behalf of the European Community during the discussions of this meeting.

In conclusion, please allow me to confirm the determination of the European Communities to implement all the

provisions of the Final Act and, in all these fields, to contribute as much as possible to the strengthening of security and co-operation in Europe, the very objectives for which we have met today.

40. Communiqué issued after the Third Meeting of the General Committee of the Euro-Arab Dialogue (Brussels, 28 October 1977, excerpt)

...

4.

The two sides pursued the exchange of views on all the aspects of Euro-Arab cooperation—political, economic, social and cultural—which had taken place during the two previous meetings of the General Committees at Luxembourg in Mai 1976 and at Tunis in February 1977.

They reviewed developments, within the framework of the Euro-Arab dialogue, which have taken place since then.

5.

The two sides reviewed the situation in the Middle East and the recent developments since the last General Committee Meeting held in Tunisia last February. They agreed that the present situation continues to endanger the peace and security of the Middle East and to threaten international peace and security.

6.

On this respect, they reaffirmed their conviction that the security of Europe is linked to the security of the Mediterranean region and the Arab region.

7.

The Arab side welcomed the stand which the European Council had adopted on the Middle East by issuing in London their statement of 29th June, 1977 which stated the following (wording, see No. 36).

180 Source: European Political Co-operation, third edition, Press and Information Office, Federal Republic of Germany, Bonn, 1978.

8.

Both sides recalled that they voted, on October 27, for the General Assembly resolution under agenda item 126. This resolution, *inter alia*:

- “— determines that measures and actions taken by Israel in the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967 have no legal validity and constitute a serious obstruction of efforts aimed at achieving a just and lasting peace in the Middle East;
- strongly deplores the persistence of Israel in carrying out such measures, in particular the establishment of settlements in the occupied Arab territories;
- calls upon Israel to comply strictly with its international obligations in accordance with the principles of international law and the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949;
- calls once more upon the Government of Israel as the occupying Power to desist forthwith from taking any action which would result in changing the legal status, geographical nature or demographic composition of the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem.”

9.

The Arab side reiterated its view that the time has come for the Nine to recognise the Palestine Liberation Organisation as the legitimate representative of the people of Palestine which has received the recognition of all the Arab states and most other countries as well as the United Nations.

10.

The two sides restated their conviction of the importance of intensifying efforts in order to achieve a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. The Arab side considered

that the Nine should play a major role in this context and took note that the Nine are prepared to cooperate to the extent desired by the interested parties, in the search for a general and definitive solution, and to implement this, notably through participation, in the context of the United Nations, in guarantees that the Nine consider of the greatest importance for a general solution of the problems of the Middle East.

11.

Both sides reiterated their support for the independence of Lebanon, its unity and territorial integrity.

12.

Both sides expect that a Euro-Arab Dialogue meeting at the level of Foreign Ministers will be convened at an appropriate date and agreed to consider the steps to be taken for preparing such a meeting.

13.

It has been agreed that the next meeting of the General Committee shall be held in principle during the first semester of 1978 in an Arab capital.

2. Report on political cooperation

Annual report to Parliament on political cooperation presented on 15 November by Mr Simonet, Chairman of the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Member States of the Community

3.2.1. In their annual reports to the European Parliament on Community cooperation in the sphere of foreign policy, my predecessors have emphasized the progress achieved by referring both to the number of major topics which have been tackled and to the increasing thoroughness of this cooperation. I feel it is fair to say that this progress has been maintained in the past year. However, this opening statement should not encourage the governments of the Nine to pat themselves on the back. It is, instead, the starting point from which I am going to consider the development of political cooperation in general. Before I do so, I want to mention the areas with which the Community has been particularly concerned since Mr Van Der Stoel spoke to you here in November last year.

3.2.2. Belgrade is currently hosting the follow-up meeting to the Helsinki Conference. The Nine cooperated particularly closely at Helsinki and at Geneva for the Conference, and this spirit was again manifest before and during the meeting in Belgrade. All the problems encountered, whether relating to procedure or substance, have been tackled with the constant desire to achieve as thorough and balanced an assessment as possible of how the Final Act has been implemented. With this in mind, the Nine have coordinated their approach in such a way as to ensure that each of the major items in the Final Act will be raised at the Belgrade meeting, and they have considered making a number of proposals in order to improve the implementation of the Act. It was this same desire which has led them, ever since the preparatory stages last June and July, to insist on a procedural system which will ensure a searching review of what has been achieved in each of the Final Act's three baskets. They have also made sure that the Community as a body is properly represented whenever appropriate during

the meeting. The Community delegations in Belgrade are working together constantly, and from the preparatory stage onwards they have been in frequent contact with many other States which signed the Final Act in Helsinki, especially the NATO countries and the neutral and non-aligned nations.

Futile bickering or a series of accusations is not what we want; what we want is genuine and thorough deliberation by every country which signed the Act so that we can move towards real *détente*. The immense importance which the Member States have attached to the observance of human rights has to be seen in this context.

Belgrade must be a significant stage along the road to achieving the aims of the Final Act. The Nine will do their utmost to ensure the success of the Conference.

3.2.3. There is another international forum where the Nine have made their presence felt this autumn: the 32nd General Assembly of the United Nations. The close cooperation of our countries at the United Nations is an established tradition. It is usually expressed by joint voting or by stating a common position. It is also expressed by the speech given on behalf of the Nine by the President-in-Office of the Council during the general debate. This cooperation is ensured by frequent meetings at every level, both in the normal context of political cooperation and also among the permanent representatives of the Member States at the United Nations. Their political cooperation this year has benefited from experience gained during the 31st General Assembly. Preparations for the current session were made together. The problems of disarmament were considered, special attention being paid to those items on the agenda which might strain Community solidarity. It is still too early to assess the overall achievements of the 32nd General Assembly, but let me say that the results so far have been encouraging.

Community cooperation in New York and in Belgrade does not mean that the Member States have been inactive individually. On the contrary, I think they are realizing more and more that it is often easier to find solutions to their problems if these are made the subject of political cooperation right from the start. This results in a certain way of going about things which means that the UN now regards the Community not as a monolithic bloc—which in any case we should not want it to be—but as a body with something to say.

3.2.4. Since my predecessor's report to the House, Africa—especially southern Africa—has had an increasing share of our attention in the field of political cooperation. If we look at Rhodesia first, the Nine have consistently—at the Maputo Conference in May, for example—stressed the need for a peaceful transition to majority rule for an independent Zimbabwe in 1978, and British and Anglo-American initiatives in this direction have been supported. While observing to the letter the UN sanctions against Rhodesia, we are ready to offer Zimbabwe economic aid once the illegal minority government has gone.

3.2.5. As for Namibia, the Nine have also stated their position on several occasions, in particular on the day devoted to Namibia at the United Nations at the end of August. The Member States consider that the people of Namibia must have an early opportunity to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. This must be achieved in a democratic manner under the supervision of the United Nations, and with the participation of all political groups, including SWAPO. The Nine have made several approaches to the South African government on the matter, in particular last February. They support the initiatives of the five western members of the Security Council in the hope of seeing progress towards this goal.

3.2.6. However, the current situation in southern Africa is very closely linked to the attitude of South Africa. The Nine's opposition to *apartheid* is nothing new, of course. I was able to restate our position during the Lagos Conference in August, when I said that the Nine regarded this policy as an insult to human dignity and a kind of institutionalized racism, which deprived most of the population of their civil and political rights. In this connection, the policy of creating bantustans is no more than an extension of *apartheid*. The Nine totally reject this policy. After refusing to recognize the so-called independence of Transkei, they have no intention of giving any recognition to the bogus independence which South Africa is planning to give Bophutatswana next month.

We feel that the entire policy of *apartheid* is disastrous for everyone in the Republic of South Africa. Not only is it incompatible with the values of western civilization which the South African government purports to uphold, but it also breeds a despair which is felt throughout the country and which often explodes, as in Soveto, with tragic consequences. The South African government's decision of 19 October is to move against people, organizations and publications disowning *apartheid* is part of an intolerable and self-defeating policy. The Nine have therefore made strong representations on this matter to Pretoria. They are resolved to apply the arms embargo which the Security Council approved at the beginning of the month. But even before these recent events the Community took a step which, it thought, ought to encourage moves towards progress in South Africa, and more especially to the abolition of *apartheid*. The Nine decided to consider ways of bringing the collective weight of the Community to bear towards this end. On 20 September they published a code of conduct for firms with branches or agents in South Africa, and they have urged their fellow members in the OECD to adopt the code, too. The whole aim of this action by our governments is the creation in South Africa of a non-racial government which

will allow every citizen to play a full and active part in the running of the country.

Other events in Africa have received special attention from the Nine. I refer in particular to the disturbing events in the Horn of Africa, the Shaba rebellion in Zaire and the distressing position of human rights in Uganda. With regard to Uganda, the Nine made an approach—unfortunately without success—on humanitarian grounds in September in the hope of saving human life. In addition, the Council meeting of 21 June agreed that any Community aid to Uganda should not consolidate or prolong the denial of basic human rights for the people of that country.

Africa will undoubtedly remain a focus of our attention in the months to come. This continent is our neighbour, geographically and historically, and also by virtue of its ties with the European Community. The Nine's primary wish is for an African solution to its many problems without any outside interference. We reject—and we emphasized this at our meeting in April—moves by any State whatsoever which attempt to create a sphere of influence in Africa. The aid which we are giving and will continue to give must be wanted by the African States and used according to the guidelines which they themselves propose to follow for their own development.

3.2.8. The problem of Cyprus causes the Nine particular concern since the States which are directly involved are linked to the Community by Association Agreements. The Nine have constantly urged those involved to find a fair and lasting solution, to be achieved by negotiation through the UN Secretary-General, with due regard for the territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and the legitimate interests of the two communities which live side-by-side on the island. At the beginning of the year things looked hopeful: we had welcomed the meeting between Archbishop Makarios and Mr Denktash in Nicosia on 12 February and the resumption of talks between the two communities in Vienna at the

end of March. Little has been achieved since then, however, especially after the death of Archbishop Makarios and in view of elections pending in the various States involved. It is still the firm belief of the Nine that the principle of these talks must be upheld and that it is vital to resume them as soon as circumstances permit. This view was recently communicated to those involved and to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr Waldheim.

3.2.9. The Nine intend to persevere with their positive and impartial role, which was again apparent when the EEC-Cyprus agreements were extended at the end of June. They used the opportunity to reiterate their firm desire that the benefits of the agreement should be enjoyed by both communities on the island.

I now turn to another area of conflict which we know only too well: the Middle East. Throughout the year, but especially in the last two months, immense efforts have been made to reconvene the Geneva Conference. These efforts have not yet met with success, but they are backed by the Nine who are quite convinced that there must be an immediate resumption of peace talks for an overall settlement. On 29 June the European Council adopted several guidelines for a settlement of the Middle East conflict. In this Community document the Member States repeat their conviction that a genuine settlement could only be achieved on the basis of resolutions 242 and 338 of the Security Council, and on the basis of the following:

Firstly, the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force; secondly—and this follows on directly from the first point—the need for Israel to end the territorial occupation which it has maintained since the conflict of 1967; thirdly, respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of every State in the area and the right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries; and finally, recognition that in the establishment of a just and lasting peace account must be taken of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians.

These were the main points in the statement of 29 June. It forms the basis of our policy on Middle East affairs. Consequently, an approach was made to the Israelis in August when we expressed our concern at a number of illegal measures relating to the settlement of occupied territory. We also recently stated before the United Nations that this policy of colonizing the occupied territories is liable to hamper negotiations.

3.2.10. The Community's position on the Middle East was again made clear during the third meeting of the General Committee of the Euro-Arab Dialogue in Brussels between 26 and 28 October. The second meeting, you will remember, was held in Tunis in February this year. On that occasion negotiation was somewhat difficult. Recently, however, there has been a more positive trend, and the Brussels talks of a fortnight ago resulted in a series of decisions on positive action. A number of preliminary measures and studies were approved, especially in the fields of infrastructure, agriculture and cultural matters. There was also agreement on how to finance these initial projects. This first step will eventually enable us to implement full-scale projects.

Other initiatives are in the pipeline and these will be followed up with a view to achieving concrete results. The particular fields involved are the labour force, protection of investments, transfer of technology, industrialization and commercial cooperation. As far as the last item is concerned, the Nine agreed at the Brussels meeting to examine the possibility of establishing formal, non-preferential links within the framework of the Dialogue.

It is clear that we have here a wide range of joint action with a group of countries whose political and economic importance for Europe is obvious. The progress made last month is an encouraging advance in our deep and wide-ranging dialogue with our Arab colleagues.

3.2.11. This annual debate on political cooperation organized by the European Parliament gives

us all the chance to take stock of what we have achieved. This is all the more important as the constant flow of specific decisions, distinct statements and views on particular matters which I have just mentioned could easily obscure the overall picture.

It is now just over seven years since the Community heads of government gave the go-ahead for political cooperation by adopting the Luxembourg report. Three years later they updated their aims with the adoption of the Copenhagen report. Today these documents are still the theoretical basis on which political cooperation rests, and by referring back to them we can assess how much progress has been made in the directions required.

The Luxembourg report was extremely cautious in stating that the aim of political cooperation was to improve the mutual understanding of problems by means of consultation and exchanges of information. It was essential to harmonize and maintain points of view and, where possible and of course desirable, to take joint action. Encouraged by the early success which followed this first report, the Copenhagen report was couched in more formal terms, setting forth a commitment to consult one another on all important matters with the aim of adopting a joint approach to specific problems. There was one reservation, however, since it was made clear that the matters dealt with should affect Europe in areas where a definite position was 'essential and desirable'.

Looking at the situation as it stands today, we can say that the aims outlined in these documents have in most cases been achieved, and that the procedures they proposed have become routine. This does not mean, of course, that everything is running perfectly. As President of the Council, I can give you several examples of occasions when consultation would have been useful or joint action could have been formulated, and where this was not done. But these unfortunate occasions have now become the exception.

The rule, as far as the Nine are concerned, is that we now consult one another on all important matters of foreign policy. Not only do we seek a common approach to specific problems, but very often we manage to find one. Joint action has become common enough for it no longer to be regarded as exceptional. There is less and less recourse to the escape clauses which allow the Member States to question the guidelines of political cooperation.

Instead, I believe I can go as far as to say that political cooperation has become closer and more demanding than the original documents foresaw. A kind of unwritten law has developed among the Member States. There are no penalties attached, of course, but there is tacit recognition of a rule which may be broken from time to time but which nevertheless exists. There is now a fair amount of pressure on our diplomatic representatives to act together, to speak with one voice and to avoid divergent views.

It is certainly interesting to ponder the source of this pressure. It is not, as some people still claim, that the advocates of Europe are blind crusaders for a new faith, whereby dogmatic intolerance attempts to deny the reality of our Member States, our peoples and our countries. It is high time we banished these absurd and hackneyed ideas which would have us still living in a world of illusions. The truth of everyday reality is that a double pressure is being exerted, and will no doubt continue to be exerted more and more, both within and outside the Member States. I say 'within' because our citizens are becoming increasingly aware of the need for joint action in a world dominated by the superpowers and by blocs of nations in several international organizations. And I say 'outside' because other nations which expect international dialogue to be between large blocs are waiting, hoping, and sometimes even demanding, to hear the voice of Europe and to know what our collective view is. It is this double pressure which urges us along the path of political cooperation, and not some kind of European sectarianism.

When taking stock, we must neither overestimate nor underestimate what has been achieved. We must not overestimate it because our political cooperation, for all the progress made, is not a common foreign policy. It is based solely on the political goodwill of governments which state that they have remained sovereign, save where certain powers have been transferred to international organizations. Views may differ on just how true this statement is. It is vague, retractable and there may be exception. Furthermore, the weaknesses and shortcomings in the international business of building Europe imposed objective limits on political cooperation. If we are to speak with one voice in the world, we must first agree on where our common interest lie, and this is not yet the case in every sector. On the other hand, however, we must not be too ready to underestimate the results of our efforts, because we have achieved real cooperation and we often manage to present an image of a united Europe to the outside world.

All the indications are that we shall continue to move in this direction, whatever the opponents of a united Europe may think. And this is not because our arguments are any better than theirs—though they probably are—but because political cooperation, just like the building of Europe, satisfies the needs of the age. This is the reality which all of us, whether we are for or against the idea of European unity, will have to accept.

41. Statement by the Nine Foreign Ministers on the Situation in the Middle East (Brussels, 22 November 1977)

The Nine Ministers for Foreign Affairs, convinced that mistrust constitutes one of the main obstacles to a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israel conflict, share the hopes raised by the courageous initiatives of President Sadat and his historic meeting with the Israeli leaders. They hope that the unprecedented dialogue begun in Jerusalem will open the way to comprehensive negotiations leading to a just and lasting overall settlement taking account of the rights and concerns of all the interested parties. It is urgent that genuine peace at last be achieved for all the peoples of the area including the Palestinian people on the basis of the principles recognized by the international community which are embodied in particular in the declaration of the European Council of 29 June 1977. They express the hope that it will be possible for the Geneva conference to be reconvened in the near future.

Source: European Political Co-operation, third edition, Press and Information Office, Federal Republic of Germany, Bonn, 1978.

42. Statement by the Nine Foreign Ministers on Bophuthatswana
(Brussels, 22 November 1977)

On 6 December the South African Government will grant what it terms "independence" to the bantustan of Bophuthatswana. The position of the Nine as regards this so-called independence is clear. They did not recognize the Transkei and do not intend to recognize Bophuthatswana. The Member Countries will therefore not establish diplomatic relations with Bophuthatswana and, on a practical level, will act in accordance with their position of principle.

The creation of bantustans is an integral part of the policy of apartheid, which the Nine have condemned on many occasions.

Source: European Political Co-operation, third edition, Press and Information Office, Federal Republic of Germany, Bonn, 1978.

43. Statement by the Belgian Delegate on Human Rights in the Third Committee of the United Nations General Assembly (New York, 5 December 1977, excerpt)

We consider the realization of economic, social and cultural rights of the human person throughout the world to be of fundamental importance, and are aware of the need to contribute substantially to the improvement of the economic situation in the Third World countries so as to facilitate full exercise of those rights there. In this regard, we wish to reiterate that our countries support the principle of equal rights, whether civil and political or economic, social and cultural, as laid down in Articles 55 and 56 of the Charter. The policies of each of our Governments fully bear out this statement. We recognize the indivisibility of those rights and that individuals deprived of all or part of their economic, social and cultural rights cannot fully enjoy their civil and political rights or at least some of them. Furthermore, we remain convinced that the enjoyment of civil and political rights forms the best framework for the full enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights and is an indispensable guarantee of those rights.

We might add that even if all individuals are not yet in a position to enjoy their full civil and political rights because of the social, economic and cultural context in which they live, the process of introducing these rights only requires of States that they have the political will to recognize them in their essence. We reject the notion that the enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights should necessarily precede the realization of civil and political rights. If this notion were carried to its extreme one could go, for example, so far as only according to those who are

well nourished the right not to be tortured. Article 2 of the two International Covenants on Human Rights makes it quite clear that economic, social and cultural rights are to be achieved progressively, while civil and political rights are a matter of immediate necessity.

We also reject the allegation made by a certain group of delegations during the debate to the effect that the exercise of civil and political rights is peculiar to rich countries. Among those making that allegation is at least one representative of a State with a per capita income higher than of some Community countries. I would also like to add that many States in the Third World, in spite of their precarious economic and social situation, unhesitatingly grant full civil and political rights to their citizens and have not waited for the establishment of a new international economic order before doing so.

The countries of the European Economic Community recognize the importance of the rights of people and believe that interaction between those rights and individual rights will help to ensure the full exercise of both, but they refuse to consider the enjoyment of collective rights an indispensable prerequisite for the enjoyment of human rights as defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the two International Covenants. The preambles of both these documents affirm unambiguously the rights of the human person. Article 5 of the Proclamation of Teheran affirms the same principle when it states that the laws of each country must grant every citizen—whatever his race, language, religion and political convictions—freedom of speech, information, conscience and religion, as well as the right fully to participate in the political, economic, cultural and social life of his country.

Finally, as regards our support for human rights, whether civil and political rights or economic, social and cultural rights are being defended and even where collective rights are proclaimed, the sole objective is indisputably the promotion and protection of the human person.