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REPORT

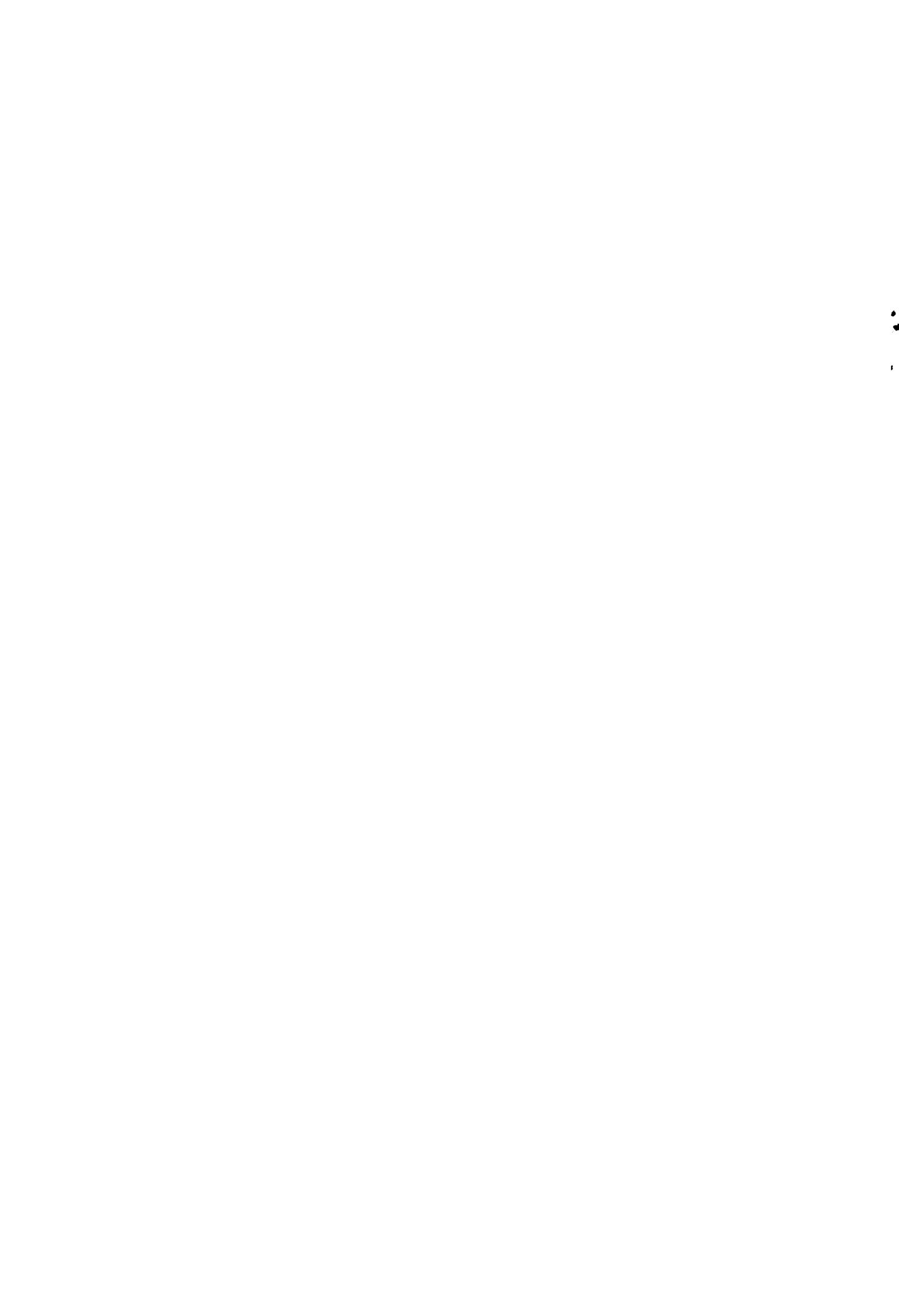
drawn up on behalf of the Political Affairs Committee

on the political aspects of a European security strategy

Rapporteur: Mr C. A. GALLUZZI

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PE 107.683/fin.  
Or. It.



The European Parliament referred the following motions for resolutions to the Political Affairs Committee pursuant to Rule 47 of the Rules of Procedure :

- on 11 February 1985, the motion for a resolution by Mr ANTONIOZZI on the need for a report on the world situation with regard to space defence initiative weapons (Doc. 2-1348/84),
- on 11 February 1985, the motion for a resolution by Mrs CHARZAT and others on a halt to the arms race and the militarization of space by the United States and the Soviet Union (Doc. 2-1553/84),
- on 8 May 1985, the motion for a resolution by Mr LE PEN and others on behalf of the Group of the European Right, on the Warsaw Pact on the thirtieth anniversary of its signature (Doc. B 2-180/85).
- on 14 April 1986, the motion for a resolution by Mr POETTERING and others on the coordination of all measures for the development of defences against short-range missiles and other conventional systems in Europe (Doc. B 2-46/86); this motion for a resolution was referred to the Committee on Energy, Research and Technology for an opinion.

At its meetings of 28 February 1985, 20 June 1985 and 27 May 1986, the Political Affairs Committee submitted these motions for resolutions for consideration by the Subcommittee on Security and Disarmament.

At its meeting of 28 February 1985, the Political Affairs Committee decided to draw up a report and appointed Mr GALLUZZI rapporteur.

The committee considered the draft report at its meetings of 29 April 1987, 25 May 1987 and 23 June 1987.

At the last meeting it adopted the motion for a resolution as a whole by 22 votes to 0, with 14 abstentions.

The following took part in the vote : Mr ERCINI, chairman; Mr PLANAS, first vice-chairman, Sir Peter VANNECK, third vice-chairman, Mr GALLUZZI, rapporteur, Mr ANTONIOZZI, Mr BALFE (deputizing for Mr Lomas), Mr BEYER DE RYKE (deputizing for Mr Bettiza), Mr BLUMENFELD, Mr BOCKLET (deputizing for Mr Klepsch), Mr CALVO SOTELO (deputizing for Mr Estgen), Mr CONDESSO (deputizing for Mr Almeida Mendes), Mr DELOROZOY (deputizing for Mr de Gucht), Lady ELLES (deputizing for Lord Bethell), Mr ESTRELLA PEDROLA (deputizing for Mr Medina Ortega), Mr FITZGERALD (deputizing for Mr Medeiros Ferreira), Mr FLANAGAN, Mr FORD, Mr HABSBURG, Mr HAENSCH, Mrs HEINRICH, Mr van der LEK, Mr NEWENS, Mr PAISLEY, Mr PELIKAN (deputizing for Mr Amadei), Mr PENDERS, Mr PFLIMLIN, Mr PLASKOVITIS, Mr POETTERING, Mr PRAG (deputizing for Lord Douro), Mr ROBLES PIQUER (deputizing for Mr Perinat Elio), Mr SABY (deputizing for Mrs Charzat), Sir James SCOTT-HOPKINS (deputizing for Mr TOKSVIG), Mr SEGRE (deputizing for Mr Piquet), Mr SELVA (deputizing for Mr Iodice), Mr TAYLOR (deputizing for Mr Romualdi), Mr TOURRAIN (deputizing for Mr Coste-Floret), Mrs TRUPIA, Mr TZOUNIS, Mr WALTER, Mr WEDEKIND (substitute) and Mr WELSH.

The Committee on Energy, Research and Technology will not deliver an opinion.

The report was tabled on 1 July 1987.

The deadline for tabling amendments to this report will be indicated in the draft agenda for the part-session at which it will be debated.

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The Political Affairs Committee hereby submits to the European Parliament the following motion for a resolution together with explanatory statement :

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION

on the political aspects of a European security strategy

The European Parliament,

- having regard to the motion for a resolution tabled by Mr ANTONIOZZI on the need for a report on the world situation with regard to space defence initiative weapons (Doc. 2-1348/84),
  - having regard to the motion for a resolution tabled by Mrs CHARZAT and others on a halt to the arms race and the militarization of space by the United States and the Soviet Union (Doc. 2-1553/84),
  - having regard to the motion for a resolution tabled by Mr LE PEN and others, on behalf of the Group of the European Right, on the Warsaw Pact on the thirtieth anniversary of its signature (Doc. B 2-180/85),
  - having regard to the motion for a resolution tabled by Mr POETTERING and others on the coordination of all measures for the development of defences against short-range missiles and other conventional systems in Europe (Doc. B 2-46/86),
  - having regard to the report of the Political Affairs Committee (Doc. A 2-110/87),
- A. whereas security must be based on a system of guarantees more stable than purely military ones,
  - B. whereas the basic premise of any security policy continues to be a balance of forces,
  - C. whereas the division of Europe has resulted in the creation of two antagonistic alliances, with both Eastern and Western Europe having an excessive amount of weaponry,
  - D. whereas although it is vitally necessary for the whole of Europe that this system of opposed blocs be superseded, it is bound to take a long time and cannot be achieved by unilateral action,
  - E. whereas Europe and the European Community itself are pluralistic entities and this fact must be taken into account when a European security policy is being drawn up,
  - F. having regard therefore to the need to identify, despite the obvious differences among the Twelve, common points of interest and scope for action in the foreign and security policies of the Member States,
  - G. whereas a European security policy outside the Atlantic Alliance is inconceivable, but whereas European interests in security as well as other spheres, do not always and necessarily coincide with those of its American ally,

- H. whereas the threat to Western Europe must be assessed in its entirety: short, intermediate and long-range nuclear weapons, imbalance in conventional forces and chemical weapons, and whereas the developments which have taken place on the international scene and in European and world policy make it necessary to give some thought to the Community's international role and its strategic and political options,
- I. having regard to the role and responsibilities of the WEU (Western European Union) in the sphere of defence and European security policy,
- J. having regard to the favourable outcome of the Stockholm Conference and the progress being made at the Vienna Conference,
- K. having regard to the outcome of the Stuttgart Summit of June 1983, the provisions of the Single Act of 17 February 1986 (relating to security) set out in Article 30 as a whole and, more particularly, in paragraph 6 thereof, and the conclusions of the Intergovernmental Conference held in Luxembourg in January 1985,

Is convinced that :

1. A European security policy must be based on the simultaneous upholding of a policy of defence and detente, and respect for the political, cultural and historical differences between the twelve Member States;
2. A relationship of mutual loyalty and friendship between the countries of the Community and the United States of America must be based on a real partnership and ongoing consultation on the most important international problems;
3. The Member States of the EEC acting in political cooperation must play a more active part in the East-West dialogue on arms control and disarmament negotiations now under way in Geneva;
4. The necessary military balance between East and West must be seen as an integral component of security policy which must have as its objectives a reduction in the nuclear arsenal, a ban on the production and use of chemical and biological weapons and genuine parity in conventional weapons;
5. The Twelve must endeavour to create a climate of mutual trust between East and West, demanding that the two superpowers respect existing treaties on disarmament and arms control, the publication of information on existing nuclear equipment (civil and military) and that they refrain from the development and introduction of new weapons;
6. The European Community must be informed in good time about, and take part in, any initiative designed to lead to balanced and controlled disarmament;
7. The EEC is in a position to lay down and adopt, without delay, joint criteria and controls regarding the sale of arms to third countries;
8. Political, economic and cultural cooperation between the different parts of Europe must be increased through the full implementation of the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, and relations between the EEC and Comecon and its European Member States should not be conceived as a limitation or restriction on bilateral relations between Western European and Eastern European countries but as an incentive to their development;

9. The European Community must endeavour to help bring about peace in the Mediterranean, reduce the number of weapons in the region, strengthen security, reduce tension and improve cooperation and define a global Mediterranean policy by making an active contribution to the solution of the region's political problems and by waging a determined campaign against terrorism;
10. The European Community must support the efforts being made to convene an International Conference on Peace in the Near and Middle East and assist all those forces throughout the world whose aim is to help bring about a peaceful solution to the serious and pressing problems of the Middle East;
11. A reopening of the Euro-Arab dialogue and closer political relations with Israel, in the context of renewed recognition of the State of Israel's right to exist, the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and the right of all peoples to live in peace within secure and guaranteed borders are essential if vetoes and refusals by both sides are to be prevented;
12. If European security policy is to be made more tangible, the divide between the technical and military aspects (under the responsibility of the WEU) and the overall political framework (mapped out by European Political Cooperation (EPC)) must be bridged;
13. In this context closer collaboration between the Parliamentary Assembly of the WEU and the European Parliament and between the Presidents-in-Office of the WEU and Community political cooperation would be desirable;
14. Such collaboration, in addition to covering general matters, should be concentrated on specific subjects and questions such as, for example:
  - the full range of political, military, industrial and technological resources needed to ensure the security of member countries;
  - the political and military implications of critical situations in other parts of the world;
  - political initiative on questions of disarmament;
  - collaboration on arms procurement and weapons standardization policies;
15. Considers it is necessary to give Community citizens comprehensive information about the need for an effective security policy and to debate this issue thoroughly with all interested parties;
16. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council, the Commission, the governments of the Member States, the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation and the President of the Parliamentary Assembly of the WEU.

B  
EXPLANATORY STATEMENT

It should be made clear that although this report theoretically deals with one specific aspect of a European security policy it in fact touches on the very essence of the problem. A European security policy is indeed mainly a political problem. This means that it can only be based on a system of guarantees which are more stable and more secure than exclusively military ones. This system demands that politics should be more important than arms, in other words they should be seen in the context of a network of political relations and acts. Security can therefore be based only on a balance involving not only military forces but also the development of political dialogue, to help overcome and reduce differences.

However, the building-up of gigantic and more or less comparable military arsenals by the two superpowers has now become a strategic reality which will be hard to replace. This means that the conditions for present and future unilateral security do not exist. Security can only be reciprocal and based on inter-dependence.

The main obstacle standing in the way of a security policy in Europe is the militarization of political relations between East and West, which has increased constantly during the last few years. Apart from a mistaken concept of security (more arms = greater security), the international scene has been dominated by the two major powers' Manichean approach to international relations (all possible good on one side and all possible evil on the other) and above all by the division of Europe into two opposed camps, which often do not communicate with each other.

After the end of the Second World War the security of Europe was organized in blocs of allies, which have now become an established fact. This division has had a number of unfavourable effects, leading to a situation of growing tension and danger, which has worsened as the instruments of military aggression have become more numerous and sophisticated and are less and less under man's control. The need to overcome these divisions and create a system of collective security on our continent based on peace, disarmament and cooperation resulting from equality and independence between all states is therefore an objective of general interest, which should be pursued steadfastly and with determination.

However, it is obvious that the blocs are now a reality on which political and military balance in Europe depends. This balance cannot be altered suddenly without dangerous abysses opening up in international relations and political and military crises emerging from unforeseen quarters. Replacing this system of blocs will therefore entail a long political process and cannot be achieved by unilateral action.

Any attempt to draw up a European security policy must make allowance for the two following essential points : we must be aware that it is a long-term process and that therefore any progress can only be gradual and that Europe, like the EEC itself, is a pluralistic and varied entity in which different concepts exist side by side, also with regard to questions of security. This calls for full awareness of the difficulties to be overcome and patient efforts to find common interests and points of view in order to build up a common security policy.

It is clear from what has been said above that even though Europe's interests do not always coincide with those of its American ally, even as regards questions of security and defence, a European security policy outside the Atlantic Alliance is impossible and impracticable. This does not mean that the Atlantic Alliance should be considered as sacred and that the decisions of the larger ally should be accepted unquestioningly; rather it should be considered as a pact between equals, rejecting any tendency to reduce it to the military part of the USA's hegemony with regard to Western Europe.

This means that Europe must be given a larger share in the Alliance's political and military decision-making and must demand respect for the Alliance's basic principles which were stated, when it was set up, in the famous 'Harmel report', which said that the pact was based on a dual policy of defence and détente and stressed its defensive and geographically circumscribed nature.

In accordance with these principles, consideration must be given to the greater responsibilities that Europe must take on for the sake of its own defence and which the European Parliament has advocated and still advocates in a number of resolutions and opinions. The new draft Treaty on European Union adopted by the European Parliament, which laid the foundations of true European unity, is still the essential instrument to be used in drawing up a European security policy. As a result of the decisions reached by the Intergovernmental Conference, which to a great extent invalidated the European Parliament's deliberations, the latter must resume its campaign to foster the process of European political integration. Meanwhile, exploiting the space created by the Luxembourg Conference, substantial progress can be made towards a common security policy.

To this end Europe's ability to ensure effective cooperation between the Member States on certain military policy and foreign policy decisions is of key importance, in particular with regard to :

- the development of economic cooperation between East and West, in order to highlight interdependence and the creation of a network of common interests,
- the extension and reinforcement of relations with the ACP, countries based on cooperation and development aid,
- concrete measures towards nuclear and conventional disarmament and the removal of nuclear arms from those parts of European territory where the danger of their being rapidly deployed (partly because the various installations are close together) is particularly acute.

The security of the Mediterranean is of major importance for a European security policy. Efforts to turn this region into an area of peace and cooperation will be successful only if it proves possible to combine economic and political factors and launch a global Mediterranean policy to tackle the problems of economic and social growth in the region with broad economic, industrial and commercial cooperation, a financial policy of development aid (loans and investments) efforts to help solve the most serious political problems (above all the Palestinian problem) and action to combat terrorism, attacking the root of the problem and promoting change without making positions more inflexible. All this calls for a renewal of European political initiative in the area, a strengthening of political cooperation, especially after the accession of Spain and Portugal and concentration on mediation, with the reopening of the Euro-Arab dialogue. Closer relations with Israel may make it possible to overcome misunderstandings and negative attitudes.

The resumption of contacts between the EEC and COMECON is of undoubted importance for a European security policy, since it means they are acknowledging each other's existence whilst admitting the differences between them. This is very important and must be encouraged and seen, not as a limitation or restriction, but as a freeing and development of bilateral relations between Western European and Eastern European countries. Apart from the advantages to be found in political dialogue and economic cooperation, it may help to promote a broader exchange of technical and scientific information, and put an end to absurd and anachronistic limitations as in the case of serious nuclear accidents or experimentation on new weapons.

However, if a European security policy is to progress from the realm of generalities and statements of principle to become a reality, it must have appropriate instruments at its disposal.

This problem was tackled specifically in Article 68 of the new draft Treaty adopted by the European Parliament in February 1984 but it had already been referred to in the Solemn Declaration on European Union signed by the Heads of State at the Stuttgart Summit in June 1983. Although it plays down the action that needs to be taken, the idea contained in this declaration regarding the need for 'the coordination of the positions of Member States on the political and economic aspects of security ...' could and still can be taken further.

The main obstacle to be overcome if we are to progress from words to deeds and if a European security policy is to become a concrete reality, is the present separation of technical and military matters, which are the responsibility of the WEU (Western European Union), from the European Community's overall political framework. This separation stands in the way of a common security policy being drawn up by the Twelve and prevents the Community from becoming a dependable partner, aware of its own role and responsibilities in the Atlantic Alliance. The fact that these are three different authorities, which often do not communicate with one another, (WEU - EPC - NATO bodies) prevents Europe from progressing in an unambiguous direction in both foreign policy and security policy, since it weakens or even sometimes invalidates the important and significant positions, both joint and autonomous, taken up by the Community in international relations and politics.

Therefore, together with an injection of new life into the WEU and the development of Community political cooperation, we should advocate a link between the Community and the Western European Union. This could be achieved by collaboration between the Presidents of the two parliamentary assemblies (the Assembly of the WEU and the European Parliament) and between the Presidents-in-Office of political cooperation and the WEU. In addition to strengthening the process of European integration, this would help us to pursue (considering the WEU, political cooperation and the bodies governing the alliance as complementary authorities), the objective of real Euro-Atlantic partnership in the field of defence and security.

Collaboration between the Community and the WEU should be concentrated on the following specific subjects :

- questions of European defence,
- controlled arms limitation,
- participation in the Geneva, Stockholm and Vienna conferences, positions to be adopted and steps to be taken on questions of nuclear disarmament, measures to increase mutual trust and reduce numbers of troops and weapons systems,

- the development of East-West relations and their implications for European security,
- Europe's role in the Atlantic Alliance and how it is to be made more satisfactory,
- the implications, for Europe, of critical situations in other parts of the world,
- the development of European cooperation in the field of armaments.

Apart from the institutional implications, great importance must be attached to the repercussions on public opinion, in particular youth movements, which have given and still give a vital impulse to the broader movement for peace, national independence, freedom and respect for human rights. An active and constructive relationship can and must be established by the European Parliament and by the departments most directly involved (the Political Affairs Committee, the Subcommittee on Security, etc.) in order to unite the forces of millions of Europeans who are in some way committed to striving for peace and freedom, so that this positive impulse does not peter out in the form of unproductive protest or is exploited for the wrong ends, but so that it may find a suitable political outlet to ensure that the convictions it represents carry some weight on the international scene.



MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION DOC. 2-1348/84

on the need for a report on the world situation with regard to  
space defence initiative weapons

The European Parliament,

- A. Having regard to current world moves to strengthen the prospects for peace;
- B. Whereas discussions on security and conventional and nuclear disarmament have been held for many years in various international forums;
- C. Concerned at the new and incalculable dangers presented by space weapons;

Hereby resolves:

- 1. to prepare a report on the current world situation with regard to space weapons;
- 2. to draw from this report appropriate suggestions for submission to the EEC Council of Ministers meeting in political cooperation in preparation for possible peace-with-security initiatives in the appropriate forums;
- 3. to forward copies of this resolution to the UN, the Council of Europe, the WEU, the European Council, the Council of Ministers, the Commission of the European Communities and the national parliaments of the Member States.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION DOC. 2- 1553/84

on a halt to the arms race and the militarization of space by the  
United States and the Soviet Union

The European Parliament,

- A. noting the talks on 7 and 8 January 1985 in Geneva between representatives of the United States and the Soviet Union on arms reduction talks,
- B. noting the communiqué released after these talks,
- C. deploring the continuing failure, for which the two superpowers are responsible, of arms control policy,
- D. deeply concerned at the competition between them over the use of space for military purposes, be it for anti-missile or for anti-satellite systems,
- E. noting that the strategic defence initiative programme of the United States and the Soviet deployment of anti-satellite systems will lead to the militarization of space and an intensification of the arms race, especially in offensive weapons, and thwart attempts to restore a strategic arms balance between the superpowers at the lowest possible level,
- F. deeply concerned at such developments which threaten the security and peace of the world and of the peoples of Europe,
- G. whereas the race to militarize space tends to favour attack rather than defence, which is more problematic, difficult, costly and complex and whereas such a race cannot in any case eliminate the potential for mutual assured destruction,
- H. noting that nuclear deterrence, consisting of an arms balance between the two superpowers at the lowest possible level, has since 1949 been the best guarantee of the non-use of force,
1. Reaffirms, as the representative of the peoples of the European Community, its concern for the peaceful use of space;
2. Requests that the United States and the Soviet Union, together with the states of Europe, enter into genuine multilateral talks with a view to keeping new anti-ballistic technologies within properly controlled and verified limits and imposing a very strict limit on anti-satellite systems, including the banning of high-orbit anti-satellite systems;
3. Requests a renewable five-year moratorium on the deployment on the ground, in the atmosphere and in space of directed energy weapons systems and on testing;
4. Requests that at the same time the United States and the Soviet Union reach a stable nuclear arms level, based on a verifiable balance in terms of nuclear missiles, thus breaking the never-ending arms-race cycle, and calculated according to the lowest possible balanced capacities. The technological race between the United States and the Soviet Union over the last two decades has clearly shown that every advance in atomic weapons interception is matched by a corresponding advance in penetration and that the permanent rivalry between the superpowers over logistic strategy runs counter to the principles of arms control and contributes to destabilization;
5. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Foreign Ministers of the EEC, the President-in-Office of the Council, the President of the Commission and the Commission itself.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION DOC. B 2-180/85  
on the Warsaw Pact on the thirtieth anniversary of its signature

The European Parliament,

- A. noting that the Warsaw Pact, signed on 14 May 1955, does not enshrine an alliance among equals and sovereign states - and has none of the essential features of such an alliance - but is the expression of a unilateral diktat imposed by the Soviet Union, seeking to tighten its grip on the countries of Eastern Europe,
- B. noting in addition that, far from being an instrument establishing a defensive alliance, the Warsaw Pact, which is founded on the concept of 'spheres of influence' in its most absolute and retrogressive sense, has enabled the Soviet Union, inspired solely by self-interest, to set up a military and political network (armed forces and communist parties) on the territory of the Eastern European countries subjected to its domination, whose operation, under unified command, is subordinated to its direct authority,
- C. concerned at the deployment in Eastern Europe of combined armed forces totalling about 180 divisions, massively equipped with conventional weaponry (tanks, fighter-bombers, warships) and at the mass build-up of the Soviet nuclear arsenal, especially SS 20 missiles; emphasizing that this gigantic machinery - an illustration in itself of Soviet tyranny behind the iron curtain - is manifestly directed against the free world, and first and foremost the European Community, and consequently poses a threat to peace, flouting many formal undertakings and the fundamental principles governing international relations; whereas for these reasons, the Warsaw Pact could not be regarded as a counterpart to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, to which it bears no real resemblance,
- D. believing that the concepts of 'limited sovereignty' and the 'right of intervention' (the 'Breznev doctrine'), which, continuing from the text of the Warsaw Pact and within the scope of action of the body instituted thereunder, were devised and have been applied in arbitrary fashion by the Soviet Union, seek to establish its domination in Eastern Europe as an irreversible fact, while imposing an ideology that is inimical to the values of European civilization upheld in the countries concerned,
  1. Is anxious to explode the myth of the supposedly pacific nature of the Warsaw Pact Organization, and that of the so-called voluntary collaboration of the Soviet Union's European neighbours, which are in reality forced to participate in an ideological, political and military construction at variance with their vital interests and the legitimate aspirations which reflect those interests;
  2. Condemns the Soviet Union, both for having instigated the Warsaw Pact and for imposing its exclusive authority within a system involving the most iniquitous methods of exercising hegemony, each in violation of accepted moral and political norms;
  3. Proclaims its solidarity with the captive countries of Eastern Europe and is of the opinion that the European Community should oppose all Soviet action within or outside the area covered by the Warsaw Pact, since this would jeopardize the existence of the free world and the subjugated European nations;
  4. Instructs its President to forward this motion for a resolution to the Council and Commission of the European Communities and the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION DOC. B 2-46/86

on the coordination of all measures for the development of defences against short-range missiles and other conventional systems in Europe

The European Parliament,

- A. having regard to its resolutions and reports on European security and foreign policy in the framework of a European solution,
  - B. having regard to the desire expressed by the Heads of State or Government at their meeting in Luxembourg to encourage advanced technology in Europe;
  - C. whereas the American defence initiative needs a complementary European element;
  - D. having regard to NATO's desire to set up a missile defence staff in view of the changed situation in Europe,
1. Calls on the Foreign Ministers of the European Community meeting in European Political Cooperation (EPC), pursuant to the European Parliament's resolution of 11 July 1985 on the political and economic aspects of European security in the context of EPC (Doc. B 2-632/85), to provide for Euro-American coordinated measures in the form of a working two way system in order to contribute to the development of defences against short-range missiles by further developing European air defence systems as part of a European defence initiative;
  2. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council, the Commission, the Foreign Ministers meeting in European Political Cooperation (EPC) and the US Administration