

Private Secretary (2)

European Council: Political Cooperation Subjects

1. Political Directors have this afternoon produced texts on the following subjects for inclusion in tomorrow's Summary of Conclusions:-

(a) East-West Relations:
 - General, including relations with the new Soviet leadership and a reference to the Madrid Conference

- Poland

- Afghanistan

(b) Middle East:

- The Arab-Israeli problem

- Lebanon

(c) Latin America (4 lines only)

/ 2. I attach copies of the best texts now available.

3. The Presidency intends to suggest that at dinner tonight Heads of Government should discuss East-West relations and Foreign Ministers the Middle East.

4. In accordance with the usual procedure, the Presidency will circulate the texts to Foreign Ministers tonight, in case they wish to discuss them, but not to Heads of Government at this stage.

J L Bullard

3 December, 1982

J L Bullard

cc: Mr Coles (3)
 Sir M Butler
 Mr Ingham
 Mr Evans
 Mr Hannay
 Mr Goulden
 Mr Shepherd
 Mr Smith
 Mr Brenton

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DRAFT CONCLUSIONS ON POLITICAL ITEMS
AS AGREED IN THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE
ON DECEMBER 3, 1982.

Text by the Political Committee

European Council, Copenhagen,
December 3-4, 1982

East/West Relations

(GREEK RESERVE)

The European Council reviewed recent developments in East/West relations. It emphasized that relations of the Ten with the Soviet Union would continue to be based on a policy of [firmness and] openness. It calls upon the new leadership of the Soviet Union to make the necessary contributions to the improvement of confidence and trust in international affairs. The Ten are ready to respond positively to such efforts and to work together with the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe for a more constructive East/West relationship.

The European Council envisaged that such a trend in international relations would have a favourable effect on negotiations at the Madrid meeting. In this context the European Council confirmed the commitment of the Ten to real and early progress by negotiating a substantial and balanced concluding document, entailing progress in all fields of the Helsinki Final Act.

Poland

The European Council discussed recent developments in Poland.

It noted with regret that a large number of persons remain in detention, that martial law continues and that the free trade union, Solidarity, has been dissolved.

It also noted, however, that the recent release of some internees, including the leader of Solidarity, Mr. Lech Walesa, might constitute a positive step towards the fulfilment of the appeal made by the Ten on January 4, 1982.

The Ten will continue to follow developments in Poland closely and in particular study the implications of the possible lifting of martial law, including the conditions under which this will take place.

Their profound concern for Poland - expressed in their declaration of January 4, 1982 - continues to be the establishment of fundamental liberties, respect for human rights and for trade union rights, as well as the resumption of the process of reform implying the restoration of a genuine dialogue with all the representatives of spiritual and social forces. This would permit the Ten to develop, as they desire, their relations with Poland and the Polish people, to whom they have proved

their attachment, in particular through the humanitarian aid being extended to them by their countries and the European Community.

Afghanistan

The European Council called upon the Soviet Union to make an important improvement in East-West and international relations by revising its attitude on the question of Afghanistan. It endorsed the verdict of the international community on the situation in Afghanistan, embodied in the fourth successive vote of the General Assembly of the United Nations, preceded by the declarations adopted by the Non-aligned Movement and the Islamic conference. They affirmed their conviction that the Soviet army of occupation must be withdrawn and the people of Afghanistan permitted to regain their national sovereignty and independence and the status of a non-aligned state.

It expressed its readiness to support any realistic efforts to achieve a political solution.

The situation in the Middle East, including Lebanon

The European Council discussed events in the Middle East where two aspects in particular continue to cause deep concern.

First as regards the Arab-Israeli conflict the European Council expressed its disappointment at the delay in grasping the political opportunity created by the initiative contained in President Reagan's speech on September 1, 1982, and the will to peace expressed in the declaration of Arab Heads of State meeting at Fez on September 9, 1982.

It called upon each of the parties to assume its international responsibilities without further hesitations.

The European Council reaffirmed the declaration to the press issued by the Foreign Ministers on September 20, 1982. It remains the view of the Ten that the Middle East can enjoy true peace and lasting stability only through a comprehensive settlement based on the principles of security for all States in the region, including Israel's right to exist, justice for all peoples, including the right of self-determination for the Palestinians with all that this implies and mutual recognition by all the parties involved.

Secondly, the European Council continued to view the situation in Lebanon with the greatest concern. It particularly noted that in spite of the efforts made, especially by the Government of the United States, no significant progress had yet been achieved towards the withdrawal of the Israeli forces, nor towards the evacuation of all other foreign forces.

The persistence of this situation would constitute a threat to the integrity and unity of Lebanon carrying serious dangers for the whole region.

The reaffirmation and continuous reenforcement of the authority of the Lebanese Government are indispensable and require the withdrawal of all foreign forces. This withdrawal could be of a progressive nature but should take place within a fixed and short period of time and should cover the whole Lebanese territory. Withdrawal should take place in accordance with modalities and under conditions which would permit the Lebanese authorities to exercise fully and without reservations their normal rights of sovereignty over all of Lebanon.

The Ten called on all states and forces concerned to comply with the resolutions adopted by the Security Council.

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They consider that the International Community has a duty to further the search for a solution, making use in the first place of the competence and resources of the United Nations, but also of possibilities for action of individual states.

The Ten have already demonstrated their willingness to contribute to the solution of the problems, especially by giving their support to the UN forces and UN observers established by the Security Council, as well as the multi-national force, established in Beirut at the request of the Government of Lebanon. The Ten and the Community are equally prepared to contribute to the reconstruction of Lebanon.

The Presidency reported on recent contacts with the parties concerned with a view to promoting a comprehensive, just and lasting peace settlement. The European Council confirmed that the Ten will continue to be active in these efforts and in this context will maintain and expand their contacts with all parties.

Latin America

The European Council noted with satisfaction that the Foreign Ministers have agreed upon certain measures aimed at strengthening the relations of the Ten with Latin America, including a programme of Community aid to Central America.