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## STRENGTHENING OF SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN REGION

### Report of the Secretary-General 1

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## I. INTRODUCTION

1. In its **resolution 41/89** of 4 December 1986, entitled "Strengthening of **security and co-operation** in the Mediterranean **region**", the General Assembly, inter alia, welcomed any further communication to the Secretary-General, from all **States**, of proposals, declarations and **recommendations** on strengthening **peace**, security and co-operation in the Mediterranean **region**; invited the Member States of the relevant regional organization; to lend **support** and to submit to the Secretary-General concrete ideas and suggestions on their potential contribution to the strengthening of peace and co-operation in the Mediterranean **region**; and **requested** the Secretary-General to submit to the General **Assembly** at its forty-second session, on the basis of all replies received and notifications submitted in the Implementation of the present resolution and **taking into account** the debate on this question during its forty-first session, an updated report on the strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region.

2. Pursuant to that resolution, the Secretary-General, on 10 February 1987, **addressed** a note **verbale** to all States requesting their views on the question of strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean **region** in accordance with the relevant paragraphs of the resolution.

3. **AS** at 15 August 1987, 11 Governments had replied to the Secretary-General's **note verbale**. By the same date, two notifications had also been submitted to the Secretary-General for circulation as official documents of the General **Assembly** under the agenda item entitled "Strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean **region**" (see annex).

## II. SUMMARY OF THE DEBATE ON THE QUESTION OF STRENGTHENING OF SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN REGION DURING THE **FORTY-FIRST** SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

### A. Considerations related to the political, security and military aspects of the situation in the Mediterranean region

4. The majority of States that **addressed** the subject of **strengthening** of security and **co-operation** in the Mediterranean region **expressed their** grave concern at the recrudescence of tension in the region in 1986, which had led to serious incidents jeopardizing the security and stability of the Mediterranean countries, particularly of the **non-aligned** Mediterranean countries. Several States referred in this respect to the increase of military presence and **military** activities in the Mediterranean region, to frequent military **manoeuvres** and demonstrations of force in the vicinity of the territorial waters of coastal States, to intensification of **international** terrorism in the region and finally to incidents of direct military confrontation in the Mediterranean region.

5. Several States expressed the opinion that the extension of the global East-West rivalry to the Mediterranean region, policies of **"aggression"** and

"interference", as well as the expanding military presence in the Mediterranean region of non-regional Powers constitute the main factors contributing to tension, crises and conflicts in the area.

6. A number of States noted once again that Mediterranean security is closely linked to security in Europe and the Middle East, as also to international peace and security. Some States pointed out that strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region could be achieved only if a solution were found to the Middle East crisis, the Cyprus question and the situation in Lebanon. A number of States emphasized in this regard the role the United Nations could play in finding such a solution.

7. One delegation drew attention to a series of endeavours undertaken in 1966 aimed at easing the tension in the Mediterranean region, such as encouraging direct talks between the parties most concerned in Mediterranean security, bringing together the prime ministers of the Central Mediterranean countries to discuss the situation in the region, inviting the foreign ministers of the regional non-aligned countries to a meeting to discuss the tense situation and to draw up a common policy in the Central Mediterranean region. Another delegation recalled its proposal for a meeting of the non-aligned countries and the European countries in the Mediterranean region aimed at drawing up of an international convention covering collective measures and arrangements to protect the Mediterranean and to strengthen the peace and security of Mediterranean States. It was further recalled that efforts were also made in the Security Council in relation to the incidents that had taken place in the Central Mediterranean with a view to solving all differences on the basis of principles relating to the peaceful settlement of disputes.

**B. International developments contributing to the process of strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region**

8. Referring to the role of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in the process of strengthening security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region, a number of States recalled once again the initiative taken by the foreign ministers of the non-aligned Mediterranean countries at their September 1984 meeting at Valletta, as well as to the declaration of the heads of State or Government adopted at the Eighth Non-Aligned Summit Conference held at Harare in September 1986. The declaration supported the joint efforts of the non-aligned Mediterranean States directed toward the transformation of the region into a zone of peace and co-operation and these countries' efforts to lessen and overcome tension and to strengthen all-round co-operation in the interest of all.

9. Some States emphasized the importance the agreement reached at the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe on measures for confidence and security-building might have for the reduction of tension in Europe and in the Mediterranean. An opinion was expressed that this agreement might serve as a basis for further elaboration at the Vienna follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE).

**C. General considerations concerning the strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region and concrete proposals aimed at achieving this goal**

10. A number of States reiterated their commitment to the idea of transforming the Mediterranean region into a zone of peace, security and co-operation. Some states renewed their call for withdrawal of all foreign fleets from the Mediterranean.

11. A number of States expressed their belief that the Vienna follow-up meeting of the CSCE might contribute to the creation of a climate of co-operation in the Mediterranean region. One delegation expressed the opinion that this forum should re-examine the Mediterranean document, which formed an integral part of the Helsinki Final Act.

12. Speaking on the question of the increase of international terrorism in the Mediterranean region, one State recalled its proposal made in April 1986 before the Council of Europe that a contact group at the ministerial level should be formed, consisting of four States members of the Council of Europe and four Arab countries, in order to discuss all issues related to international terrorism.

13. Some States noted that economic co-operation among the Mediterranean countries had already yielded some concrete results in the fields of economy, protection of human environment, science and technology, culture and the arts, tourism and sports, and drew attention to initiatives to promote co-operation in the field of exchange of information, particularly economic information, industrial co-operation and transport and communication. In this connection, some States expressed the view that non-aligned Mediterranean countries should be considered full economic Partners with the industrialized countries of Europe for the development of the Mediterranean region and called for a dialogue between the European Community and the Mediterranean countries that are not members of the Community.

**III. REPLIES RECEIVED FROM GOVERNMENTS**

**AFGHANISTAN**

[Original: English]

(6 July 1987)

1. Under present circumstances the world situation has deteriorated because of the continuing imperialist policy of militarization and the arms race in every corner of the world. Unfortunately, the Mediterranean region is a hotbed of tension and political confrontation, which not only jeopardizes peace in the region and Europe, but also threatens international peace and security.

2. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, in conformity with its peaceful foreign policy, has always been loyal to the concept of strengthening of international peace and security and co-operation in the world, including in the Mediterranean region.

3. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan attaches great importance to the agenda item entitled "Strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region". There is no doubt that the strengthening of confidence and security in the Mediterranean region is closely linked to peace and security in Europe and throughout the world.

4. In our belief the Helsinki Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe in 1985, especially the Charter on Security and CO-Operation in the Mediterranean, has lost none of its validity up to now.

5. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan supports the efforts of the countries that are working to ensure stability, peace and security in the region and condemns any attempts undertaken to disrupt the peace and security of the region.

#### BULGARIA

[Original: French]

[8 April 1987]

1. The People's Republic of Bulgaria attaches great importance to all developments relating to the situation in the Mediterranean region. As a Black Sea country, and thus linked to the Mediterranean, the People's Republic of Bulgaria has a vital interest in the normalization of the situation in that region and fully supports the proposal of the non-aligned countries to transform it into a zone of security and co-operation.

2. Unfortunately, the situation in the Mediterranean region continues to be strained, for reasons that are known to all. These are, first of all, Israel's long-standing policy of aggression against the Palestinian and other Arab peoples, as well as the military and political pressure exerted by the United States of America on the independent States of the region, which has grown increasingly strong in recent years. The displays of force and constant provocations in the form of naval manoeuvres off the Libyan and Lebanese coasts are increasing tension and threaten the security of the region and of Europe. The problems of the Middle East must be solved not by force or military aggression, but by political means, through a process of negotiation, e.g. an international conference under United Nations sponsorship with the participation of all the parties concerned.

3. Another source of tension in the Mediterranean is the illegal partition of Cyprus and the attempt to secure acceptance there of a separate State composed of the Cypriot population of Turkish origin. On this point, the People's Republic of Bulgaria wishes to reaffirm its position that Cyprus must once again become a united, independent State enjoying territorial integrity and whose sovereignty extends to the whole of the island. In order for its status as an independent State to be affirmed, Cyprus must be demilitarised, all military bases must be eliminated from the island and all foreign troops withdrawn. A negotiated solution must be found to the question of Cyprus within the framework of an international conference devoted to that topic sponsored by the United Nations.

4. The stockpiling of nuclear weapons in the region and the presence of foreign military bases are having a particularly destabilizing effect. The socialist countries parties to the Warsaw Treaty, particularly the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, have frequently put forward proposals and suggested confidence-building measures with a view to removing the nuclear threat and the prospect of a military confrontation in the Mediterranean. Their initiatives have included the reduction of forces, the withdrawal of naval units carrying nuclear weapons, the non-deployment of nuclear weapons on the territory of non-nuclear Mediterranean States, the non-use of nuclear weapons against Mediterranean countries that refuse to install such weapons on their territory, the simultaneous withdrawal of the Soviet and American fleets from the Mediterranean, and so on.

5. The People's Republic of Bulgaria remains convinced that, with good will, the problems of peace, security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region can be solved in a satisfactory manner. This will require a political dialogue in good faith, which is why Bulgaria supports the idea of convening a conference on Mediterranean questions, similar to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, with the participation of coastal and contiguous States, the United States of America and other States that may be concerned.

6. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is prepared to do everything it can to help transform the Mediterranean into a region of peace, security and co-operation.

#### BYELORUSSIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

[Original: Russian]

[24 August 1987]

1. The Byelorussian SSR, as a co-sponsor of the socialist States' well-known proposal made at the forty-first session of the General Assembly, on the establishment of a comprehensive system of international peace and security, believes that the situation in the Mediterranean region needs to be resolved on the basis of the principles set forth in the joint letter of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the socialist countries, entitled "Establishment of a comprehensive system of international security" (A/41/191).

2. In Our view, the transformation of the Mediterranean region into a zone of lasting peace and co-operation is a wholly attainable goal. To effect this transformation requires a responsible approach on the part of all interested States and a willingness to settle differences politically rather than by force, setting shared interests above narrow, selfish objectives.

3. Unfortunately, the activities of the United States of America and NATO in the Mediterranean region continue to give rise to anxiety about the region's future. Instead of contributing to the search for ways to implement the proposal of the non-aligned States to transform the Mediterranean into a zone of lasting peace and co-operation, the United States is pursuing other goals there, stepping up tension, fanning conflict and using armed force as a means of indirect or direct military

aggression. Evidence of that course is afforded by the United States policy towards Cyprus, the Syrian Arab Republic and other countries of the region, its encouragement of Israel's aggressive actions and, finally, its attack on the Libyan Arab Jamahir Iya, which aroused legitimate indignation.

4. For a number of years, including 1966 (See A/41/486/Add.1), the Byelorussian SSR has communicated to the Secretary-General its views and proposals on measures that could alter the course of events in the Mediterranean away from the "danger zone" towards the practical strengthening of the security of all countries in the region and the enhancement of their stability and co-operation. Such a turn of events would also be welcomed by countries outside the Mediterranean region.

5. Reaffirming the views it submitted in previous years, the Byelorussian SSR emphasizes that the speedy implementation of the well-known Soviet proposals on the elimination of entire classes of nuclear weapons in Europe would undoubtedly improve the situation throughout the Mediterranean region. The region would also benefit significantly from its transformation into a chemical-weapon-free zone. The Byelorussian SSR once again draws attention to the need to begin negotiations on the implementation of the Soviet Union's proposal for the simultaneous withdrawal of the United States and Soviet fleets from the Mediterranean, and also to the advisability of establishing wide-ranging co-operation in the region, along the lines of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, in which the United States and other interested countries, as well as Mediterranean and adjacent States, could take part.

6. After the initial steps in this direction, additional activities could be undertaken in the Mediterranean region as part of measures to ensure security through disarmament and to establish a comprehensive system of international peace and security.

7. The Byelorussian SSR expresses the hope that a second conference of the non-aligned States of the Mediterranean region will contribute to the transformation of that region into a zone of lasting peace and co-operation.

#### IRAQ

[Original: Arabic]

[21 August 1987]

1. Iraq expresses its deep concern at the escalation and aggravation of the situation in the Mediterranean, the use of military and non-military pressure against non-aligned countries in the region, the continuing confrontation between East and West, the increased military presence, concentration of military activities and build-up of weapon arsenals - including nuclear weapons - by the super-Powers, the establishment of foreign bases and fleets and the continued occurrence of crises and acts of occupation and aggression in the region.

2. Iraq **condemns** military exercise~~s~~ and other displays of military force in **areas adjacent** to the territorial waters or **airspace** of countries in the region, since these may provoke extremely **Serious events such as to** threaten the **eavereignty and independence** of aertain States in the region. It also **rejects** any pretext or excuse designed to justify the use or threat of force in **the** internal affairs of **Mediterranean countries**, as well as the **creation** of situations that may produce similar results.

3. Iraq strongly **supports** the conversion of the Mediterranean region into a zone of **peace, security** and co-operation and the ineulation of the region from confrontation and **oonfliat**. It supports efforts to promote **secur ity** and co-operation in the region, in **aaaordanae** with the resolutions of the **Movement Of Non-Aligned Countries** and the **United Nat ions**, **par ticularly** the efforts of the Mediterranean members of the Movement of, Non-Aligned Countries to reduce and eliminate tension<sup>6</sup> and to **promote comprehensive** co-operation for the benefit of all.

4. Iraq **uoneidere** the Valletta Dealaration of **September 1984** concerning Peace in the Mediterranean region to be an appropriate **framework for action** to promote **peace, security** and co-operation in the region. It urges **compliance** with the principles of that **Declarat ion**, **particularl y** those **relet ing** to the non-use of force or threat of use of force, the abstention by States from using their **arms, forces, bases and military facilities** against non-aligned aountries in the Mediterranean basin and the refusal of permission to foreign **forces** to use those countries' territory, waters and **airspace** for the launahing of **acts** of aggression against them.

#### NIGERIA

[Original: English]

[6 May 19071]

1. The **political** instability and military tension in the **Mediterranean** region are **classic** examples of **super-Power politics** and disputes in the third world. The region is probably unfortunate in that It **commands** both economic and strategic **intereats** that have heightened euper-Power rivalry in **that** zone. Each has tried to **establish** local presence at the expense of the other. The inevitable **outcome** has been **escalating** political and military tension that has made the region a troubled spot.

#### Proposals and prospects for peace

2. Since the **super-Power** rivalry and establishment of military bases In the region have contributed to tension and instability, there should be gradual disengagement of military presence on the part of the **super-Powers** if genuine peace is to return to **that** region. The two **super-Powers** should also re-examine their **poliaiee** on what they consider as strategic to their economic interests in the region, that is, the maritime traffic on the Mediterranean.



3. Efforts should be made to have the Mediterranean region transformed into a zone of peace and co-operation amongst the States of the region. The two super-Powers should help foster genuine economic co-operation amongst the States of the region as a means of ending hostilities. Probably, a possible consideration would be the establishment of a commonly acceptable regional economic community but the foundation for such an economic superstructure has to be politically solid.
4. The States of the region should be encouraged to have regular meetings aimed at finding solutions to the problems of the Mediterranean zone. The Valletta meeting of September 1984 should probably be the foundation on which future meetings should be built. Possibilities for the expansion of such meetings could be explored and should include all the States of the region.
5. There should be an agreement or agreements amongst the nuclear-weapon States to ban nuclear weapons in the Mediterranean region. Those already deployed should be dismantled and others withdrawn. This would create some measure of security in the region and reduce military tension.
6. Further attempts should be made to find a permanent solution to the Palestinian question. There cannot be peace in the region if there is no peace in the Middle East. The Palestinian question is at the core of the Middle East débâcle and there cannot be genuine peace without a solution to the problem of a homeland for the Palestinians.
7. On the whole, it should be noted that as long as there is a threat to peaceful navigation on the Mediterranean, some states will always maintain vigilance over what they regard as strategic sea lanes of communication. It is important, therefore, that all foreign military presence in the region should be withdrawn.

#### PHILIPPINES

[Original: English]

[21 July 1987]

The Philippines has always supported the initiative for global security and has actively participated in various international co-operative efforts for economic and social development. Accordingly, it will abide with and support all co-operative efforts required to reduce tension and promote peace, security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region, in accordance with the principles and pertinent provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

TOGO

[Original: French]

[17 April 1987]

1. The **questions** of peace and security lie at the centre of the **concerns** of all *Governments*, which bear the heavy responsibility of providing their **peoples** with **living conditions** that will promote their **development**. From this **perspective**, every State **has** the duty to **preserve** its national sovereignty and territorial integrity. The notion of security is thus a complex phenomenon, which has military and **political** as well as **socio-economic** ramifications.
2. Given that **States** are **interdependent**, a State's security and peace are clearly **dependent** on the **peace** and security of other **States**, and can only be genuine and lasting if viewed in the context of a collective and **global process** involving the **international community** as a whole. Obviously, then, any individual attempt by a State or group of States to strengthen its security **at the expense** of another State or group of States can only lead to a stepping up of the search for security **measures**, of which the arms race is one example, and thus to greater insecurity for all. It must be stressed that with the **appearance** of nuclear weapons, which threaten **all** mankind, has come a greater awareness of the collective aspect of the notion of security. The fact that nuclear weapons constitute a threat to all States - to those that **possess** them as well as to those that do not - means that the search for appropriate and effective ways to ensure the security of everyone is a **common responsibility**.
3. It is in the light of the foregoing that the Togolese Government once again **considers** the question of 'Strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region'.
4. The Togolese Government believes that the strengthening of security and co-operation in the **Mediterranean region** first requires a clear analysis of the **causes** of insecurity in the region. These causes stem from actions and behaviour of the **States concerned** that violate human rights as well as the **principles** of sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, non-aggression, the non-use of force and the peaceful settlement of disputes.
5. It is in fact the failure to **respect** these principles that is at the root of **armed conflicts** throughout the world and in the **Mediterranean region**; it is the fear of being attacked, of losing their **security**, that **leads** the States of the region to take part in the arms race and, being mistrustful, to refuse or hesitate to **Co-operate**.
6. In essence, **then**, the States of the **Mediterranean** must scrupulously respect the principles of the Charter and trust each other if security and co-operation are to be strengthened. In that connection, the Togolese Government, while commending the efforts made by the States of the region, the United Nations and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, believes that the General Assembly should be more

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forthright and call upon all States Members of the Organisation, particularly those belonging to the Mediterranean region, to abide by the following commitments;

(a) States should respect the principles contained in the Charter of the United Nations; specifically, they should refrain from the use of threats or force, whether directed at the territorial integrity or political independence of any State or in any other way incompatible with the purposes of the Organization, and, in accordance with the Charter, should not interfere in affairs that are of the national competence of other States, since the violation of these principles constitutes a particular threat to security and co-operation among States)

(b) In accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, States should settle their international disputes by Peaceful means so that international peace and security or justice are not endangered, and should avoid any action that might give rise to conflicts)

(c) States should promote civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights and should not, therefore, deny those rights to certain groups within the population or discriminate against such groups on the basis of their nationality, ethnic origin, race, religion or language, thereby creating, either directly or indirectly, points of tension that might become disruptive to peace and security and destroy prospects for co-operation;

(d) States should foster international co-operation in all its forms, particularly at the regional and subregional levels; this is an appropriate and important way of preventing conflicts;

(e) In the light of the above, the General Assembly should call upon the States of the Mediterranean region to co-operate more fully with each other and with the Security Council and the Secretary-General in order to prevent the occurrence of any situation that might jeopardise peace and security,

(f) The Security Council and the Secretary-General must be urged to make full use of the means available to them under the Charter in order to fulfil their responsibilities for maintaining international peace and security,

(g) The General Assembly should endeavour to obtain a commitment from the States of the region to implement scrupulously decisions taken by the Security Council. The Togolese Government is also of the view that the establishment of a "Co8Snittee on the Mediterranean" might be considered for the preparation of a conference of regional heads of State and Government aimed at solving common problems.

7. The Togolese Government believes that the fundamental principles of the Charter must be constantly borne in mind and that the General Assembly should continue to draw attention to the obligations of every State in the maintenance of international peace and security.

WANDA

[Or iq in al: Engl ish]

[4 May 1987]

1. Uganda has actively taken the **posi tion** that the Mediterranean area should be a **zone of peace**, free from euper-Power rivalry and preserved for **peaceful** navigation. The tendency of some **Powers** to **station** naval forces in the area **pose**a serious threat to the stability of the area and sovereignty of **some** non-aligned States in **this** region. These **forces** have been used to mount **military attacks** **against** small States in the area. The belligerent attitude of Israel and the **continued** denial by the **same** of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian **people**, including a homeland of their own, and the **occupation** of Arab lands have aggravated the situation.

2. Uganda has always argued that a **comprehensive settlement** of the Middle East's **problems** can go a long way to **br inging** a durable **peace** in the Mediterranean region. Uganda hopes that this **advice** would be heeded by all **concerned**.

UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

[Or iq in alt Russian]

[20 August 1987]

1. **Among** all the matters relating to European seaurity, the **question of security** in the Mediterranean occupies a prominent **position**.

2. Tension persists in this part of the globe **because** of the growing **militarization** Of the region, in particular the **military** presence of the United States, and **interventionist** action by that oountry against ooastal States. These include its open aggression **against** the **sovereign** Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, its **campaign of blackmail** against the Syrian Arab Republic, its **interference** in the internal affairs of the Republic of Cyprus and its **opposition** to a just and comprehensive settlement in the Middle East.

3. Such **actions** are utterly at **variance** with &he idea of declaring the Mediterranean a zone of **peace**, security and co-operation, and **pose** a threat to peace everywhere. It is no **coincidence** that resolutions from recent **sessions** of the General **Assembly** have **pointed** out that the **security** of the **region** is "closely linked with international Peace and **security**".

4. Changes in the situation in the Mediterranean, which is directly adjacent to the **Black Sea**, directly affect the interests of the Ukrainian **SSR**.

5. The Ukrainian **SSR** has consistently aalled for the Mediterranean to be **transformed** from an area of military and political **confrontation** into a zone of laeting peace and co-operation. The attainment of this goal would be **facilitated**

by action on a number of specific measures proposed by the Soviet Union. These call, among other things, for the extension of agreed confidence-building measures to the region, a reduction in armed forces, the withdrawal from the Mediterranean of vessels carrying nuclear weapons, rejection of the deployment of nuclear weapons in non-nuclear Mediterranean countries and a commitment by the nuclear Powers not to use such weapons against any Mediterranean country that does not permit their deployment within its territory.

6. Action on the Soviet initiative calling for the withdrawal from the Mediterranean of the United States and Soviet navies would, in our view, help to normalize the situation in the region. The idea of creating chemical-weapon-free zones could also be applied to the Mediterranean. Further action to enhance security in the region could be framed in the light of the Soviet proposals made in the statement of 15 January 1986 for abolishing weapons of mass destruction by the year 2000.

7. The Ukrainian SSR supports the moves to enhance stability in the region that are taking place as part of the Helsinki process, and has a high regard for the constructive proposals by the non-aligned Mediterranean countries as contained, inter alia, in the declaration adopted at the meeting at Valletta in 1984 and the documents of the conference held in June 1987 at Brioni, Yugoslavia.

8. In the view of the Ukrainian SSR, a large-scale gathering on the lines of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe would also serve a useful purpose. In addition to the Mediterranean and adjacent States, such a gathering could be attended by other interested countries. There, States could reach agreement on the formulation of definite recommendations for establishing a régime of peace and security to govern the Mediterranean region.

9. The Ukrainian SSR believes that the United Nations can and should take advantage of its authority and opportunities to lend practical assistance in turning the Mediterranean basin into a region of lasting peace, security and co-operation for all. The resolution on a comprehensive system of international peace and security adopted at the forty-first session of the General Assembly affords a sound basis for joint action by States in this direction.

10. Such a system of security would lead to the creation of a non-nuclear world in which the use or threat of force would not be countenanced and relations between nations could evolve in a spirit of mutual respect, friendship and co-operation. Progress towards a climate of security, good-neighbourliness and co-operation in the Mediterranean would, in turn, facilitate the establishment of a comprehensive system of international security.

11. The socialist States parties to the Warsaw Treaty are firmly in favour of reducing the tension in the Mediterranean and turning the region into a zone of lasting peace, good-neighbourliness and co-operation, and support the conduct of an appropriate international conference for that purpose; they reaffirmed their position on the matter at the meeting of the Committee of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the countries concerned that was held at Bucharest on 14 and 15 October 1986.

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

[Original: Russian]

(20 August 1987)

1. The Soviet Union views the unabating tension in the Mediterranean region with some alarm.
2. The reasons for the tension in the Mediterranean are well known. They are, primarily, the build-up of the United States military and nuclear presence, the large-scale militaristic preparations by NATO, the opposition by the United States and Israel to a just and comprehensive settlement in the Middle East, the campaign against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, which spilled over into a direct armed attack on the latter by the United States, the continuing threat to the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, the campaign of blackmail against the Syrian Arab Republic, and the threatened use of force against other countries in the Mediterranean basin. This situation is fraught with danger, and the consequences would reach well beyond the limits of the Mediterranean region.
3. It is perfectly obvious that changes in the situation in the Mediterranean directly affect the Soviet Union. As a country vitally interested in ensuring security, stability and peace in the region, the USSR has consistently argued that the Mediterranean should be turned from an arena of military confrontation into a zone of lasting peace and co-operation.
4. On the basis of the thesis, embodied in the Helsinki Final Act and the Document of the Stockholm Conference, that there is an unbreakable link between security in the Mediterranean and security in Europe, the USSR considers that swift arrival at agreement on its proposals for abolishing entire categories of nuclear weapons in Europe - medium-range and tactical and theatre missiles - would also have an instant positive effect on the situation in the Mediterranean region.
5. The determination of the Soviet Union to make a worthwhile contribution to improving the situation in the Mediterranean is given substance in specific proposals that would entail the extension to the region of agreed confidence-building measures, reductions in armed forces, the withdrawal from the Mediterranean of nuclear-weapon-bearing vessels, rejection of the deployment of nuclear weapons in non-nuclear Mediterranean countries and a commitment by the nuclear powers not to use such weapons against any Mediterranean country that does not permit their deployment within its territory. The idea of creating chemical-weapon-free zones could also be applied to the region. The Soviet Union in principle sees no need for its naval forces to maintain a permanent presence in the Mediterranean. It is obliged always to have vessels there for only one reason: the American Sixth Fleet, armed with nuclear missiles, is in the immediate vicinity of the Soviet borders, threatening the security of the USSR and its allies and friends. If the United States, which lies thousands and thousands of miles from the Mediterranean, would withdraw its fleet, the Soviet Union, which is ready to open talks on the matter without delay, would simultaneously withdraw its own.

At this early stage 'no restrictions of any kind would be placed on the naval activities or naval armaments of the Mediterranean coastal States. Further action to enhance security in the region, in the Soviet Union's view, would be framed in the light of the proposals in Mr. Gorbachev's statement of 15 January 1986 for abolishing weapons of mass destruction (nuclear and chemical) by the end of this century.

6. The USSR has a high regard for the constructive role played by the non-aligned countries of the Mediterranean, which, meeting at Valletta in 1984, called for the region to be turned into a zone of peace, security and co-operation. It hails the convening in Yugoslavia this year of the second Conference of Mediterranean Members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and expresses the hope that the Conference will facilitate the planning of practical action to give effect to this initiative.

7. The Soviet Union considers that a broader gathering on the lines of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe could also play a useful role. In addition to the Mediterranean and adjacent States, it could be attended by other interested countries. At such a gathering, States could reach agreement on the formulation of definite recommendations for establishing a régime of peace and security to govern the Mediterranean region.

8. The resolution on a comprehensive system of international peace and security adopted at the forty-first session of the General Assembly, which stresses the growing interdependence of countries and the absence in the contemporary world of a reasonable alternative to the policy of co-operation and interaction, paves the way, in the view of the USSR, for combined, more productive efforts by States to guarantee security in the Mediterranean.

9. The Soviet Union is convinced that enhanced security should be pursued in the military, political, economic and humanitarian spheres. A constructive dialogue, bilateral and multilateral, on the principles underlying a world secure for all would provide an opportunity to identify the most effective ways and practical means of reorganizing international relations to fit the aspirations of all nations, given the hard facts of the nuclear and space age. Progress towards a climate of security, peace and trust in the Mediterranean would, in turn, be a great asset in the construction of a comprehensive system of international security.

10. Today as never before, urgent steps are needed to lower the temperature and tension and normalize the situation in the Mediterranean region. In the view of the Soviet Union, the United Nations needs to take advantage of all its authority and opportunities to lend practical assistance in turning the Mediterranean into a region of lasting peace, security and co-operation.

YUGOSGAVI A

(Original: Englieh)

[12 May 1987]

1. In its reply of 15 June 1982, the Government of the **Socialist** Federal Republic Of Yugoslavia **had the honour to emphasize its** particular interest in the **strengthening of security and co-operation** in the region of the **Mediterranean as an integral part of international security. As a non-aligned, European and Mediterranean country, Yugoslavia has consistently striven, together with other non-aligned countries, to make the Mediterranean an area free of crises and conflicts, weapons and pressure on non-aligned countries, and to turn the Mediterranean into a sea of peace, co-operation, good-neighbourliness and progress of all countries, irrespective of their social system, level of development or size. It approaches this question from the point of view of the consistent implementation of the principles and objectives of the United Nations concerning all regions of the world and by all the Member States of the world Organization.**

2. In order to **realize** the aspiration8 to **strengthen** security and co-operation in the **region** of the Mediterranean, **numerous** recommendations have been adopted at **non-aligned gatherings, the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and at the United Nations** that have the common **feature** of building peace, security and co-operation in **the region of the Mediterranean based on the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.**

3. Conferences of **heads** of State or Government, **as well as ministerial** conferences and other **meetings** of non-aligned **countries** have formulated and developed political frameworks for strengthening **security** and co-operation in the Mediterranean that are of lasting inspiration and **constitute the basis** for the activity Of the Yugoslav Government. They, inter alia, point to the interrelatedness of the **problems** of the **security of Europe, the Mediterranean, the Middle East and North Africa:** to the fact that the Mediterranean **is** increasingly **being used** for manoeuvres by rival military **forces.**

4. They **also** point to **the need** to render support to the legitimate **rights** of the non-aligned countries of that region to participate in decision-making relating to their **security, the need to strengthen joint efforts of the Mediterranean non-aligned and other countries in order to remove the causes of tension in this region and, first and foremost, to achieve just solutions to the question of Palestine, the Middle East crisis and the problem of Cyprus and to the need to strengthen security and co-operation in the region of the Mediterranean in general.**

5. It was on **this basis** that the Seventh Conference of **Heads** of State or Government **of Non-Aligned Countries**, held in March 1983 at New Delhi, **addressed** an appeal to all Mediterranean members of **the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries** to **convene** a meeting with a view to concerting their **positions** and **launching initiatives** aimed at strengthening **co-operation** and **security in the Mediterranean.**



6. Together with other non-aligned countries, Yugoslavia welcomed and fully supported the declaration for Mediterranean peace adopted at the Ministerial Meeting of Mediterranean Members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, held in September 1984 at Valletta.

7. The Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in September 1966 at Harare, reiterated the support of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries for the effort to transform the Mediterranean into a region of peace, security and co-operation, a region free of conflicts and confrontation. It expressed its firm support for the goal of strengthening security and co-operation in the region of the Mediterranean in accordance with previous communiqués of the Movement and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. Supporting the orientation of the Mediterranean members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries towards investing lasting effort in reducing and overcoming tension and in strengthening overall co-operation in the interest of all, the Conference welcomed and supported the decision of the Mediterranean members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries to hold meetings at the ministerial level whenever they deem it necessary, the next being scheduled to take place in Yugoslavia, so as to make a concrete contribution to the stability of the region and to the promotion of functional co-operation in the region both among Mediterranean non-aligned countries and between Mediterranean non-aligned and European countries in various fields.

8. The CSCE participating States have formulated principles of international relations relating to security and co-operation in Europe. They have undertaken to abide by these principles also in their relations with other States. The understanding of mutual interrelatedness of security in Europe and the security in the Mediterranean has inspired the CSCE participating States to elaborate in a separate chapter of the Final Document on the Mediterranean a concept of the promotion of co-operation with non-European Mediterranean countries. The CSCE participating States pointed out clearly at Helsinki and then at Madrid their orientation to expand contacts and talks with CSCE non-participating Mediterranean States with a view to contributing to peace, reduction of armed forces, lessening of tension and the strengthening of security and the expansion of co-operation in the Mediterranean.

9. At the meeting of foreign ministers of neutral and non-aligned CSCE participating States, held at Brioni, Yugoslavia, in October 1986, within the preparations for the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting, a communiqué was adopted on further directions for action by neutral and non-aligned countries at the Vienna follow-up meeting, which reaffirmed, inter alia, the existing relation between security in Europe and security in the Mediterranean within a broader context of security in the world, and emphasized the need for meaningful implementation of the chapter on the Mediterranean in CSCE documents. Proceeding from this, Malta, Cyprus and Yugoslavia at the ongoing Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting submitted a proposal for the convening of a CSCE meeting on the promotion of security and co-operation in that region with the participation of all Mediterranean States not participating in CSCE.

10. The Yugoslav Government has always considered that it is of exceptional importance that the question of the strengthening of security and co-operation in the region of the Mediterranean, as an integral part of world security, should become a lasting concern of the United Nations. In that it is proceeding from the belief that further efforts are needed to reduce tension and arms and to create conditions for security and fruitful co-operation in all areas for all countries and peoples of the Mediterranean on the basis of the principles of sovereignty, independence and non-interference, inviolability of international borders, non-use of force, inadmissibility of the acquisition of territories by force, peaceful solution of disputes and respect for permanent sovereignty over natural resources, as well as the need for just and feasible solutions to the existing problems and crises in the region on the basis of the provisions of the Charter and relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, withdrawal of foreign occupation forces and the right of peoples under colonial or foreign domination to self-determination and independence.

11. The Government of the SFR of Yugoslavia expresses its satisfaction at previous efforts and the consensus achieved within the United Nations on the strengthening of security and co-operation in the region of the Mediterranean and stresses the importance of encouraging further efforts by all countries and of their co-operation with Mediterranean countries with the aim of promoting peace, security and co-operation in the region. It underlines the importance of the role of the world Organization in the further affirmation of and ever-broader support for the principle according to which the security in the region is, first and foremost, the task and responsibility of the countries of the region and equitable bilateral and multilateral co-operation among them is the best way to obtain stability whereby the continued involvement of the Secretary-General of the United Nations would greatly contribute to positive developments concerning this question.

12. The Yugoslav Government is aware that the process of the strengthening of security and co-operation in the region of the Mediterranean is both an urgent and long-term process that should be achieved gradually. It will spare no effort to ensure that the principles and goals of the strengthening of security and co-operation in the region of the Mediterranean are constantly promoted and meaningfully implemented through action within the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the CSCE process and by action within the United Nations.

13. On the basis of the decision of the Eighth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Harare in September 1986, and in accordance with the activities of the Mediterranean members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries initiated at the Ministerial Meeting of the Mediterranean. Members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Valletta in 1984, and at the invitation of the Yugoslav Government, representatives of Algeria, Cyprus, Egypt, Lebanon, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malta, Morocco, the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia and Yugoslavia, as well as an observer from Zimbabwe, the current Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, met at Belgrade from 24 to 26 February 1987.

14. This meeting adopted a press communiqué in which it was emphasized, inter alia, that the meeting at the level of high officials had the task to prepare

the Ministerial Meeting of the Mediterranean Members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, its goal was to contribute in a concrete manner both to the stability of the region and the promotion of co-operation in various fields among the Mediterranean members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries themselves and between these countries and European countries.

15. Experts in planning and development from the Mediterranean State members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, whose work was part of the preparatory meeting, exchanged information on plans and programmes of economic and social development of their countries and made recommendations to the effect that the forthcoming Ministerial Meeting accept action-oriented measures for the promotion of economic co-operation among the Mediterranean members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries based on common interest and mutual benefit in the following fields, inter alia: exchange of economic information, trade, industry, technology, agriculture, tourism and finance.

16. In the discussion on the current situation in the region, conducted in a constructive atmosphere, solidarity was expressed with the just struggle of the Palestinian people and the need was stressed for concerted efforts to overcome causes of tension in the region, agreement was reached on the draft agenda and on other modalities of the Ministerial Meeting with a view to creating optimum conditions for its success, and proposal of Yugoslavia to hold the Ministerial Meeting of the Mediterranean Members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries from 3 to 4 June 1987 at Brioni, Yugoslavia, was adopted with satisfaction.

17. The Yugoslav Government points out that Yugoslavia will continue, as in the past, to strive to strengthen bilateral and multilateral contacts and forms of co-operation with the countries of the region with a view to undertaking joint actions in order to strengthen security and co-operation in the region of the Mediterranean. It will co-operate with all other peace-loving countries and forces in the world that are ready to deal with all outstanding international problems, in accordance with the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations, in the strengthening of peace and security in the world, and of security and co-operation in the region of the Mediterranean.

ANNEX

~~Strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region: letters submitted for circulation under this item as~~  
at 15 August 1987

- A/42/231- Letter dated 15 April 1987 from the Permanent Representative of the  
S/18816 Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the United Nations addressed  
to the Secretary-General
- A/42/409 Letter dated 16 July 1987 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the  
Permanent Mission of Yugoslavia to the United Nations addressed to  
the Secretary-General

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