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STRENGTHENING OF SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN THE
MEDITERRANEAN REGION

Report of the Secretary-General

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. *In its resolution 42/90 of 17 December 1987, entitled "Strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region", the General Assembly, inter alia, (a) 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; (b) invited States members 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 (c) requested the Secretary-General to submit to the General Assembly at its forty-third 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-second session, an updated report on the strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region.*
2. Pursuant to that resolution, on 9 March 1988 the Secretary-General addressed a note verbale to all States requesting their views on the question of strengthening security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region in accordance with the relevant paragraphs of the resolution.
3. *Au* at 16 July 1988, six Governments had replied to the Secretary-General's note verbale.

II. SUMMARY OF THE DEBATE ON THE QUESTION OF STRENGTHENING SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN REGION DURING THE FORTY-SECOND 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 security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region expressed their concern at the persistent tension in the region. It was pointed out that the continuing presence of non-regional Powers and the stockpiling in the area of weapons, including nuclear weapons, had created a dangerous situation,
5. Several States noted that the root causes for the persistent tension in the Mediterranean were to be found in the policies of aggression, intimidation, intervention, and interference in the internal affairs of the countries in the region. According to those States, such policies, conducted with a view to undermining the sovereignty and independence of non-aligned Mediterranean countries, posed a considerable threat to the peace and security of the region.
6. Identifying the ongoing crises and conflicts in the Mediterranean as one of the main causes of tension in the region as well as a potential danger for international peace and security, several States called for their peaceful, just and lasting solution. In this respect, some of those States underlined the role of the United Nations in finding solutions to those crises and conflicts.

7. A number of States emphasized once again the intimate link between strengthening security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region and strengthening security and co-operation in Europe and in other regions. Some States expressed the view that the process of strengthening security in Europe could not continue without taking into account the security concerns of the non-aligned Mediterranean countries. They called for an extended dialogue between the countries participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and the non-participating Mediterranean countries. In this connection, it was recalled that at the Vienna meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe some Mediterranean countries had submitted a proposal that a meeting be convened to consider the possibilities and means of strengthening security and intensifying co-operation in the Mediterranean region, within the framework of the Mediterranean chapter of the Helsinki Final Act. Hope was expressed that all negotiations on nuclear and conventional disarmament in Europe would also include the Mediterranean region within their scope.

8. Noting the results of the meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Mediterranean members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries held at Brioni, Yugoslavia, on 3 and 4 June 1987, several States stressed once again the importance of continuing and strengthening the dialogue between Mediterranean members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the European countries, particularly those bordering the Mediterranean. They emphasized in particular the importance the non-aligned Mediterranean countries attached to the task of intensifying and continuously promoting contacts between all Mediterranean States in all areas in which common interests and real possibilities for co-operation existed. One State commented that the communiqué adopted at the Brioni meeting contained assertions on North-South issues that, from its standpoint, were unacceptable.

9. Another State drew attention to a series of initiatives it had undertaken in the past two decades aimed at promoting the strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region. These initiatives included, *inter alia*, the establishment of an International Ocean Institute, a Regional Oil-Combating Center for the Mediterranean and, most recently, a European Center for Training and Research in the field of natural and technological pollution of the Mediterranean. This State further noted that it was working within the framework of the Commonwealth to promote a greater understanding and co-operation in the Mediterranean region.

10. In the context of the item under discussion, some delegations also referred to the issue of international terrorism, particularly State and State-sponsored terrorism.

B. Suggestions aimed at strengthening security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region

11. Considering the question of the linkage between developments in different regions, one State said that the present continental regional concept might be supplemented with "overlapping but equally valid regional approaches". It recalled its proposal to establish a regional centre for the advancement of marine science

and technology for the Mediterranean, as provided for in articles 276 and 277 of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.

12. Another State drew attention to the idea of establishing a Mediterranean forum as a multidisciplinary framework for the promotion of co-operation in the region, to include not only governmental representatives but also scientific, educational, cultural, artistic and other institutions, as well as eminent individuals specializing in Mediterranean studies.

13. One State reiterated some of its earlier proposals, namely, the application to the Mediterranean region of agreed confidence-building measures; the reduction of armed forces; the withdrawal from the Mediterranean of ships carrying nuclear weapons; the rejection of the idea of deploying nuclear weapons on the territory of non-nuclear Mediterranean countries] an undertaking by nuclear Powers not to use such weapons against any country in the Mediterranean which does not permit the deployment of such weapons within its own territory and the application to the Mediterranean region of the idea of establishing a zone free from chemical weapons.

III, REPLIES RECEIVED FROM GOVERNMENTS

BULGARIA

[Original: English:

[18 May 1988]

1. In the past decade, issues relating to the Mediterranean region have increasingly attracted the attention of the international community. Against the backdrop of the positive developments evolving in Europe, the situation in the Mediterranean region continues to be tense. The reasons are manifold and well known. Israel's policy of aggression against the Palestinian and Arab peoples, the illegal partition of Cyprus, foreign military bases and foreign naval presence in the region.

2. The complicated situation in the Mediterranean region has caused legitimate concern in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, which is located close to the region. There are foreign military bases with stockpiles of various offensive weapons, including nuclear arms, on the territory of two of our neighbouring Mediterranean countries. Moreover, the Mediterranean Sea is traversed by major trade routes linking the People's Republic of Bulgaria with the other continents of the world.

3. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is of the view that genuine possibilities do exist for improving the situation in the Mediterranean region. First and foremost, effective steps should be undertaken so that the solution of the problems of the Mediterranean region is able to keep pace with the ongoing negotiations on security and disarmament in Europe. The confidence- and security-building measures envisaged in the Document of the Stockholm Conference should be extended to include the Mediterranean region, and the recommendations of the Helsinki and Madrid documents pertaining to the Mediterranean region should be implemented. While new

idea8 and security-building measures in the Mediterranean region could be worked out at the Vienna meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. It is also necessary to support the programme of security-building measures related to the region, as proposed at the meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Mediterranean members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Brioni in July 1987. Of particular significance are the issues of co-operation in the economic, scientific and cultural fields, as well as on the important question of protecting the environment of the region. In this connection, high on our agenda is the question of holding a conference on security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region, similar to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe with the participation of the Mediterranean and other States concerned.

4. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is of the opinion that in addition to the well-known recent proposals of the USSR and the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty, the latest Soviet initiatives in this area constitute an important and constructive basis for a businesslike dialogue on the problems of security in the Mediterranean region. These initiatives include the future reduction of and limitation on the number of naval vessels and naval forces of the USSR and the United States of America, prior notification of each other as well as the Mediterranean States of naval transfers and exercises, and the invitation of observers to them, and the elaboration of principles ensuring the security of the busiest sea lanes of the Mediterranean Sea.

5. The People's Republic of Bulgaria once again reaffirms its position that the political settlement of the conflicts in the Mediterranean region and the elimination of foreign military bases and facilities there would be of major importance in improving the situation in the region.

6. Transforming the Mediterranean region into a zone of peace, security and co-operation would be conducive to further strengthening peace and security in Europe and throughout the world. This is a difficult yet achievable task that will require goodwill and collective efforts, and the People's Republic of Bulgaria is prepared to contribute in every possible way to its realization.

BYELORUSSIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

[Original! Russian]

[19 July 1988]

1. The Byelorussian SSR considers that the encouraging trends which have emerged recently in the international situation will become more firmly established and more widespread, extending to regions where conflict situations still persist. The situation in the Mediterranean should also benefit from these developments.

2. In particular, the entry into force of the Treaty between the USSR and the United States of America on the elimination of their intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles (the INF treaty) has practical, positive consequences for the region. It is important not to allow this favourable trend to be neutralized or reversed by any kind of "compensations", "modernisations" or redeployment,

3. The Byelorussian SSR advocates a comprehensive approach to ensuring international peace and security and is therefore in favour of a multilateral approach to the problems of the Mediterranean. In this connection it supports various initiatives and efforts of the Mediterranean States aimed at transforming it into a region of peace and co-operation and encompassing political, military and ecological aspects. Unfortunately, these proposals have not yet been put into practice because of the conditions which exist in this region.

4. For a number of years, including 1987 (see A/42/570) the Byelorussian SSR has communicated to the Secretary-General its views and proposals on measures that could lead the course of events in the Mediterranean away from the sphere of confrontation towards a strengthening of the genuine security of all the countries in the region and an enhancement of their stability and co-operation.

5. The Byelorussian SSR reaffirms the proposals set forth earlier and stresses that rapidly achieving the goals of a zone of peace and co-operation in the Mediterranean, reducing military confrontation and bringing international actions in this region into line with the new thinking would be facilitated in particular, by the simultaneous withdrawal from the Mediterranean, of the United States and Soviet fleets as proposed by the USSR, and as a first step towards that, the freezing on a reciprocal basis of the number of vessels and naval potential of both of these States with the subsequent establishment of ceilings for them.

6. Moreover, the USSR and the United States could give prior notification to each other and to all Mediterranean countries of movements of naval vessels and naval exercises and invite observers to them and could do so even before agreement on all-European confidence-building measures of this type. The Mediterranean would thus be able to set the tone in this very important matter.

7. It is also important to guarantee a régime of safe navigation in the Mediterranean basin.

8. A conference of representatives of Mediterranean and other interested States would help promote the initiative to establish a zone of peace and co-operation and also the implementation of other proposals of the same nature put forward at forums of countries of the region. The United Nations could make a major contribution to this.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

[Original, English]

[12 July 1988]

1. In the nuclear and space age, the safeguarding of peace and strengthening of international security has become the pivotal concern in international politics. More than ever before, international relations are marked by the awareness that problems which have a decisive impact on peace and security can be resolved only by political means. This was underlined by the Chairman of the German Democratic Republic State Council, Erich Honsker, when he said: "An analysis of

international affair⁶ shows that, after **years of sharpening** confrontation, a constantly exacerbating arms race and growing **tensions**, there are now the **first signs of a change for the better.**"

2. The **disarmament** process has been set in motion with the entry into force of the treaty between the **USSR** and the United States of America on the elimination of their intermediate-range and **shorter-range** nuclear missiles. The German Democratic Republic did **its best** to help bring about that treaty. Now, the first contours of a nuclear--weapon-free and non-violent world are taking shape. The treaty also *conveys* a significant **message: it is possible, after all, to find just and lasting solutions** to even the most complicated **issues**. An **awareness of this fact is of paramount importance for further successful efforts** by the forces of reason and realism **towards promoting and consolidating the incipient process of disarmament and guaranteeing comprehensive and equal security for all States and peoples and, thus, for staving off a nuclear inferno.** This presupposes a **sense of realism, judgement and understanding of the interests of others.**

3. In *that* context, the **summit** meeting between General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan was truly a source of encouragement in that it provided **positive conditions** for the conclusion of the treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States on a 50 per cent reduction of their strategic offensive weapons, *which is sure* to further and strengthen the process of nuclear disarmament. Prospects are good for limiting nuclear test explosions, as well as *for a world-wide ban on chemical weapons*. Also, there are justified hopes that nuclear missiles with a range of **up to 500 kilometres** will be included in the disarmament **process**. In the wake of *the* summit, new possibilities are *shaping up* for the political solution of regional conflicts, which would have a favourable impact both on strengthening *regional* and international security.

4. The German Democratic Republic situated at the **sensitive divide** between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, takes a particular interest in keeping the common European home **inhabitable for all times to come**, with States and peoples getting along well with **one another**. The fundamental concern of the German Democratic Republic is *the* all-round promotion of security and co-operation on the European continent, **notably by pursuing a policy of broad dialogue**. The German Democratic Republic **emphatically supports** extending nuclear disarmament in Europe to other fields. The same goes for the reduction and eventual elimination of tactical nuclear weapons systems. The ultimate objective is to scale down **weapons arsenals in Europe and create armed force structures and patterns of deployment in such a way as would give either side a guarantee against a surprise attack and preclude offensive operations altogether.** In this connection, the German Democratic Republic reiterates its principled preparedness to proceed from one *area* solution to another on the basis of equality and equal security. This **is also** the motive underlying its proposals, put forward jointly with Czechoslovakia, **for establishing a nuclear-weapon-free corridor and a zone free of chemical weapons in Central Europe.**

5. The International Meeting for Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zones, which was held in Berlin from 20 to 22 June 1988, clearly showed the broad international support **enjoyed** by the idea of such zones *among statesmen, parliamentarians, scientists and social forces* from all continents. At *the* same time, it reflected the growing

awareness of the fact that regional and global security are directly interrelated in the nuclear and space age,

6. Together with its allies, the German Democratic Republic takes the view that efforts to strengthen stability in Europe must also involve resolute steps to reduce military activities in the seas and oceans that surround this continent. In this respect, particular importance attaches to the Mediterranean area, where sizeable military potentials are concentrated and where complex regional conflicts have been smouldering, in some cases, for decades.

7. Given the geo-strategic importance of the Mediterranean, which links three continents, any move to relax the situation in that region would have a positive impact on Europe, Asia and Africa. Therefore, the German Democratic Republic joins the other member States of the Warsaw Treaty in advocating the transformation of the Mediterranean region into a zone of stable peace, security and co-operation,

8. The German Democratic Republic, as a non-littoral State of the Mediterranean, contributes its share to this end in the framework of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and through other multilateral and bilateral foreign policy moves. It actively supports the proposals submitted by the USSR and the other socialist States, as well as non-aligned and other countries, in order to create a healthier climate in that region in the political, economic, military, scientific-technical and ecological fields. It particularly appreciates the Soviet initiative with regard to a freeze on, and ceilings for, Soviet and American naval force potentials deployed in the Mediterranean.

9. In this connection, the German Democratic Republic welcomes confidence-building measures in regard to naval forces like those proposed by the USSR at the third special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament. The implementation of such practical steps as are outlined below would have a positive influence on the strengthening of confidence, stability and security in the Mediterranean.

Prior notification of transfers and manoeuvres involving naval forces and air forces operating with them; limitations on the number, scale and areas of conduct of such manoeuvres; the invitation of manoeuvre observers, and the exchange of data

The establishment of militarily thinned-out zones and zones of increased confidence in the areas spanning the most important international shipping routes, as well as the withdrawal of offensive forces and means from these zones;

The limitation of the number of vessels carrying tactical nuclear weapons; disclosure by the USSR and the United States - on the basis of reciprocity - as to whether their naval vessels calling at foreign ports carry nuclear weapons or not, and the collective development of technical means to ascertain whether naval vessels are armed with nuclear weapons.

10. At the same time, the German Democratic Republic favours redoubling efforts to eliminate hotbeds of conflict in the Mediterranean region.

11. It advocates a comprehensive, **just** and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict by collective endeavours. Hence, it supports the proposal to hold an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations in which all parties concerned, including the PLO, would take part in order to achieve this objective.

12. The German Democratic Republic believes that convening a representative international conference within the framework of the United Nations, in which Cyprus, with representatives of both Greece and Turkey, the Member States of the United Nations and other States may take part, would be a viable way of resolving the international aspects of the Cyprus question,

13. The conference of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries is, in the view of the German Democratic Republic, an example of how subregional endeavours of States of differing social orders can help to improve understanding, attenuate prejudices and enhance co-operation in the Mediterranean.

14. The German Democratic Republic supports holding an expert meeting within the framework of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe follow-up meeting in Vienna to deal with issues of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean.

15. The development and advancement of mutually advantageous relations with the States of that region is another essential element of strengthening security and co-operation in the Mediterranean and beyond. In conformity with its peaceful foreign policy, the German Democratic Republic has always endeavoured to develop, on the basis of peaceful coexistence, relations of mutual respect and trust with the littoral States of the Mediterranean and all States of that region bearing political and military responsibility.

16. This is, in the view of the German Democratic Republic, a concrete contribution to the efforts to transform the Mediterranean region into a region of peace and co-operation,

IRAQ

{Original: Arabic}

{31 March 1988}

Iraq reaffirms its earlier position set forth in document A/42/570 of 30 September 1987 and believes that it is the appropriate framework for action to strengthen peace and security in the Mediterranean region.

OMAN

[Original: Arabic]

[25 April 1988]

1. The increasing attention being paid to strengthening security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region is reassuring, given the considerable importance of this region and its link with European security and with peace and security in adjacent regions.

2. The Sultanate of Oman, aware that the situation in the Mediterranean region is fraught with tension, has supported efforts to strengthen security and co-operation in the region and, most recently, joined in the consensus achieved by the General Assembly in its resolution 42/90. In the view of Oman, the security and co-operation to which the countries and peoples of the region aspire cannot be achieved without the genuine political will to find just and viable solutions to existing problems and crises in the region and without further efforts to reduce tension and to create conditions of security and co-operation in all fields for all countries and peoples of the Mediterranean region on the basis of the principles of sovereignty and integrity, the right to self-determination, security, non-interference in all its forms, the inviolability of international borders, renunciation of threat or use of force, the inadmissibility of acquiring territory by force and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

POLAND

[Original: English]

[3 August 1988]

1. Poland has noted with satisfaction the positive changes in international relations manifest, on the one hand, in progress in the disarmament dialogue, including the agreement on the elimination from Europe of two types of nuclear missiles and the ongoing negotiations on a 50 per cent reduction of strategic weapons and, on the other, in a gradual settlement of local conflicts. Some conflicts, however, especially in the Middle East and in the Persian Gulf, continue to pose a threat not only to the security of the respective regions but also to the security of the world as a whole, given the interdependence between national, regional and global security. Poland attaches great importance to the development of a comprehensive system of international peace and security whose major components would include security and co-operation in different regions,

2. The Mediterranean region, which borders on Europe, Africa and Asia, is one of the most militarized regions in the world. The economic and strategic importance of this area and numerous disputes and conflicts - both internal and international, and territorial, ethnic, religious and economic in nature - have led to serious and persistent tensions in that region.

3. As we have stated on many occasions, the situation in the Middle East, especially in Arab territories under Israeli occupation, is one of particular concern to us. Poland has invariably favoured a peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict on the forum of an international peace conference under the aegis of the United Nations, with the participation of all parties concerned and with due respect for their legitimate interests. The key issue is the solution of the Palestinian problem and the recognition by Israel of the Palestinians' right to self-determination.
4. The question of Lebanon should be also settled with due regard to the security interests of that country, including the preservation of its independence and territorial integrity. The same applies to the question of Cyprus.
5. The participation of Polish soldiers in UNDOF on the Golan Heights and earlier in UNEF II in the Suez Canal zone and on the Sinai Peninsula is Poland's concrete contribution to the improvement of security in that region.
6. The presence of considerable NATO naval forces, first of all of the Sixth United States Fleet, in the Mediterranean and in numerous military bases on the territory of littoral States, is a source of tension and justified concern of States in this region and of other European States as well.
7. Poland extends its support to the initiatives to transform the Mediterranean region into a zone of peace and co-operation. We have followed with attention all actions in this direction undertaken by the non-aligned States of the region which are supported by the entire Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. We also support the proposals aimed at strengthening security and enhancing co-operation that were formulated at the ministerial meetings of the Mediterranean members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries at Valetta in 1984 and Brioni in 1987. We welcomed with genuine satisfaction the decisions taken by the first meeting of the six Foreign Ministers of the Balkan States, held at Belgrade in February 1988, which upheld the earlier initiatives to transform the Balkans into a zone free from nuclear and chemical weapons and proposed further measures with respect to co-operation in various fields.
8. The establishment of a zone of peace and co-operation in the Mediterranean region, including the Balkans, calls for the withdrawal of all foreign troops and military brass from that area. This refers, in particular, to the naval forces of the two great Powers. Poland has supported the proposals of the Soviet Union to limit and to eliminate from that region the military potentials of the two Powers, based on the principle of equality, as well as the most recent initiative of 16 March 1988 to freeze the military potentials of the two Powers in that region and establish an upper ceiling on them. Poland extends its full support to this initiative and to proposals to introduce military confidence-building measures in the Mediterranean region on the basis of a Soviet-United States agreement.
9. We are likewise in favour of convening - pursuant to the proposal of the Soviet Union - a conference of representatives of the Mediterranean and other interested States that would discuss all the initiatives concerning security and co-operation in the region, especially those put forward by the Mediterranean

States. This would constitute an important step towards the **●** **◆** **◆** **◆** **◆** **◆** **◆** **◆** **◆** **◆** of a zone of peace and co-operation in that region.

10. Many proposals contained in the documents of both the ministerial meetings of the Mediterranean Non-Aligned Countries and the meeting of the Balkan States could be regarded as **●** economic confidence-building measures. For many years Poland has focused particular attention on these measures, assuming that they could be implemented both on a global and regional scale. Poland has raised this issue at the United Nations repeatedly and stands ready to participate, as far as it is able, in multilateral efforts pursued by the Mediterranean States together with other States.

11. The close interrelationship between *the* security of the Mediterranean region and that of Europe has been widely recognized by the international community and confirmed in the documents of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the ministerial meetings of the Mediterranean members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the United Nations. The Mediterranean dimension of the CSCE process, inscribed in the Final Act, was subsequently developed at successive meetings which confirmed the political commitment of States participating in the CSCE to contribute to the cause of peace, security and justice and to develop good-neighbourly relations with countries in that region. Poland favours full implementation of the relevant provisions of the CSCE Final Act, the Final Document of the Madrid Meeting and the Document of the Stockholm Conference concerning confidence-building measures, as well as security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region. Poland is also in favour of putting into **●** effect the specific recommendations contained in documents of the Valetta meeting and the Venice seminar concerning co-operation in that region as well as co-operation between non-participating and participating States,

12. For its part, Poland wishes to draw attention to that part of the Document of the Stockholm Conference which constitutes a development and substantiation of the principle of the non-use of force. The implementation of this and all the other CSCE principles, which the States participating in the Conference have undertaken to apply not only in their mutual relations but also in relations with other States, would positively affect a peaceful development of the Mediterranean region. Poland and other socialist States attach great importance to the observance of these principles, including the substantiation and implementation of the principle of non-use of force.

13. Like other European socialist States and the non-aligned Mediterranean States participating in the CSCE process, Poland is in favour of extending to the Mediterranean area the confidence-building measures in the military sphere which have been agreed to in the CSCE process. Poland was the first country at the Vienna meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe to submit a proposal to broaden the scope of work of the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and on Disarmament in Europe, with a view to covering the questions of the reduction of conventional armaments and providing for military stability in Europe. The Polish plan to decrease armaments and to increase confidence in Central Europe presented by General Jaruzelski on 8 May 1987 is conceived as an integral part of efforts designed to ease tensions and to decrease

armaments throughout Europe "from the Atlantic to the Urals". Its implementation would prevent the transfer of armaments from one part of Europe to another or even outside the European continent.

14. Enhanced security in the Mediterranean region would usher in much broader possibilities for co-operation among the Mediterranean States as well as for their co-operation with other States. An important role in the development of this co-operation can be played by such international organisations as UNEP, WHO, UNESCO, and the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe. Poland has participated in their activities and is ready to co-operate in the implementation of many joint projects undertaken by these organisations, including those which refer to the Mediterranean region, as, for example, the TEM-TER transportation project.

15. Poland, which maintains diplomatic relations and develops mutually beneficial trade, economic and cultural co-operation with almost all the Mediterranean countries, desires to broaden this co-operation through political dialogue to industrial co-operation, the protection and conservation of the archaeological and architectural monuments, and co-operation between scientific and research centres.

16. As the cradle of European civilization, the Mediterranean region should continue to be the centre of inspiration, through its cultural heritage, for the surrounding area. The materialisation of the proposal to establish a Mediterranean Forum put forward by the States of that region, would serve both to protect the highest cultural values and to utilize them more fully as part of the human heritage, which plays such an important role in preparing societies for life in peace.

17. The Government of the Polish People's Republic reiterates its full support for the General Assembly resolution of 7 December 1987 concerning the strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region, and reaffirms its readiness to co-operate permanently in the implementation of its provisions.

SPAIN

[Original; Spanish]

17 July 1988]

1. Spain recognizes the importance of promoting peace, security and co-operation in the Mediterranean and is aware of the link between the security of that region and the security of Europe.

2. However, Spain believes that, for the moment, the international situation is not ripe for direct consideration of the question of strengthening security in the Mediterranean region.

3. In the mean time, Spain favours making co-operation in the region more effective - something which it is already doing - as the best means of fostering developments which will make it possible to take up the strengthening of security

in the Mediterranean in a thoroughgoing manner and with some hope of success. For this to happen, the necessary stability of conventional forces in Europe at reduced levels must first be achieved.

4. In line with the foregoing, Spain would regard at the Vienna follow-up meeting of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe that a meeting should be held in Palma de Mallorca on protection of the Mediterranean ecosystems.

5. Spain also looks favourably on the moves towards co-operation by other countries bordering on the Mediterranean which are prompted by this same philosophy, such as the recent Yugoslav initiative regarding co-operation on tourism in the Mediterranean region, provided that such initiatives respect the principle of universality.

6. Lastly, in keeping with paragraph 24 of the Document of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, Spain confirms its intention to develop good-neighbourly relations with all States in the region, with due regard to reciprocity, and in the spirit of the principles contained in the Declaration on Principles Guiding Relations between Participating States adopted at the Helsinki Conference, so as to promote confidence and security and make peace prevail in the region in accordance with the provisions contained in the Mediterranean chapter of the Helsinki Final Act.

UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

[Original: Russian]

[21 July 1988]

1. At a time of improvement in the international atmosphere and transition to real disarmament measures as a result of the entry into force of the historic Treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Short-Range Missiles (the INF Treaty), the settling of "hotbeds of tension" is of particular significance. One dangerous source of tension is the Mediterranean. In that region, as in the past, there is a complex web of contradictory interests and a high level of military confrontation, and conflicts develop.

2. At present in the world, real conditions are being created for extending to this vital region the encouraging developments occurring on the European continent and in the international situation as a whole.

3. In accordance with the INF Treaty, a considerable number of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles deployed in or aimed at the Mediterranean region are to be destroyed. Prospects are becoming greater for further radical reductions, and subsequently even the complete elimination of nuclear weapons in the interests of the peoples of the world, including those of the Mediterranean countries. A favourable view is being taken of the efforts of a number of Balkan countries to turn the Balkans into a zone of peace and co-operation, without nuclear and chemical weapons, and without foreign military forces and bases.

4. At the same time, there is serious concern about the plan to "compensate" for the American missiles destroyed under the INF Treaty by building up other types of weapons, particularly sea- and air-based weapons.

5. The situation in the Mediterranean, which is directly adjacent to the Black Sea, directly affects the interests of the Ukrainian SSR,

6. The Ukrainian SSR is consistently in favour of transforming the Mediterranean from a region of military and political confrontation into a zone of stable peace, security and co-operation and supports the concrete steps taken by peace-loving States to improve the situation in the region.

7. The goal of reducing the continuing nuclear confrontation is gaining in urgency. This would be facilitated, in our view, by putting into practice a number of concrete measures proposed by the Soviet Union. They include, in particular, 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 the territories of non-nuclear Mediterranean countries and undertakings by the nuclear Powers not to use nuclear weapons against any Mediterranean country that does not permit the deployment of such weapons within its territory. The Soviet Union has declared its willingness to withdraw its fleet from the Mediterranean, if the United States does likewise, with, as a first step, with effect from 1 July 1988, a freezing of the number of vessels and the potential of naval forces of both countries in the Mediterranean, and then the establishment of ceilings for them.

8. Even before agreement is reached on general confidence-building measures in the spirit of the Stockholm agreements, the USSR and the United States could give prior notification to each other and to all Mediterranean countries of movements of naval vessels and naval exercises and invite observers to them.

9. The Ukrainian SSR is carefully considering and supporting the formulation by Mediterranean and other interested countries of principles and methods for guaranteeing the safety of peaceful navigation. A specially convened meeting of these States could assemble, analyse and organize for subsequent implementation all the proposals made with a view to establishing peace and stability in this region. This would be a major step forward.

10. The Ukrainian SSR reiterates its willingness to continue its active efforts for the practical implementation of the idea of transforming the Mediterranean into a zone of peace, security and co-operation.

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

[Original : Russian]

[9 May 1988]

1. In the Soviet Union there is great interest in the processes and phenomena which are occurring in the Mediterranean region.
2. Unfortunately, a high level of military confrontation continues to prevail in the region, conflicts persist and sometimes conflict situations become exacerbated. The Mediterranean has not yet been affected by the positive trends which have emerged over the past year as a whole in East-West relations. Moreover, now, after the signing of the INF Treaty, there is an ever-growing awareness that the Mediterranean is lagging behind these trends. Plans to include the region in a possible geographical zone of "compensation" for means of mass destruction that have been eliminated are particularly dangerous to it.
3. We are not inclined to regard this region in a simplistic manner, on the basis of the stereotypes of East-West confrontation and particularly Soviet-American rivalry. We are aware of, and do not intend to ignore in future either, the problems of the region, the complexity and diversity of the entangled interests there, and the aspirations of the Mediterranean countries themselves. We have welcomed and supported most of their initiatives. Unfortunately, however, even their initiatives have not been significantly developed. Apparently the problem is the existence of a dialectic relationship between the overall situation in the Mediterranean and the solution of specific regional issues. Taking this into account we feel that it is urgent that there should be a comprehensive and multilateral approach to the problems of the Mediterranean, and parallel progress in solving them at various levels.
4. These are our general assessments of the complex and sometimes contradictory situation in the Mediterranean. As to the Soviet Union's contribution to improving the Mediterranean atmosphere, the following should be noted.
5. Now that the historic Soviet-American INF Treaty has become a reality, the destruction of the considerable number of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles deployed in or aimed at the Mediterranean region is becoming feasible. This significant step towards reducing the intensity of military confrontation offers new possibilities for strengthening security in the Mediterranean as well.
6. The Soviet Union consistently abides by the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act and the Concluding Document of the Madrid Meeting, and scrupulously adheres to the confidence-building measures which have been put into practice in the world and have proved their validity. It is prepared to develop the Stockholm agreements even further and extend them to naval activities, including those in the Mediterranean. Our raising of that issue before the American side during the visit to the United States in March 1988 of the Foreign Minister of the USSR, Mr. Shevardnadze, should be regarded as a practical step in that direction.

7. We have also supported the proposals and practical steps of the Mediterranean countries themselves. A positive view was taken in the Soviet Union of the results of the meeting of Mediterranean States members of the Non-Aligned Movement at Brioni (Yugoslavia, June 1987), and the recent meeting of Foreign Ministers Of Balkan countries at Belgrade (February 1988). The USSR reacted favourably to the appeal made to it by participants in the Brioni meeting. We have entered into a lively and intensive dialogue with this group of States which is useful for both sides.

8. We welcomed the proposal of Malta, Cyprus and Yugoslavia to hold a meeting of experts from the countries participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe on problems of the Mediterranean, and the initiative of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Cyprus to convene a conference of parliamentarians of the Mediterranean countries in order to progress towards a non-nuclear Mediterranean without foreign armed forces and bases. In our view, the proposals of Spain on the economy of the Mediterranean and of Malta on holding a meeting of Mediterranean countries on questions of terrorism also deserve support.

9. We have developed good, constructive and progressive relations in practically all spheres with most of the Mediterranean States. We intend to develop them even further, as we regard this as our contribution to overcoming the disagreements which exist between the countries of the region and strengthening and expanding co-operation between them.

10. Basically, however, we are looking towards the future. Much remains to be done in the Mediterranean; there is a whole host of untouched areas. Our proposals are aimed at the future. On the basis of the unbreakable link between security in the Mediterranean region and security in Europe, the Soviet Union is proposing that agreed confidence-building measures should be applied to the Mediterranean, a reduction of the armed forces stationed here should be begun, ships carrying nuclear weapons should be withdrawn, the deployment of nuclear weapons in the territories of non-nuclear Mediterranean States should be rejected and the nuclear Powers should undertake not to use such weapons against any Mediterranean country that does not permit their deployment. The Soviet side does not need to maintain a permanent naval force in the Mediterranean. If the United States withdrew its navy from the Mediterranean, the Soviet Union would immediately follow suit. We are prepared to go even further in this direction.

11. As was stated recently in Belgrade by Mr. M. S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union, as a first step, could on a reciprocal basis with the United States as early as 1 July 1988 freeze the number of vessels and the potential of the navies of both countries in the Mediterranean, and subsequently establish limits for them,

12. We believe that in order to reduce military confrontation in this region the Soviet Union and the United States, even before agreement on general confidence-building measures in the spirit of the Stockholm agreements, could give prior notification to each other and to all Mediterranean countries of movements of naval vessels and naval exercises and invite observers to them.

13. **In our** time the Mediterranean **is** above all **an** important transport artery and **an** intensive navigation route. The interests and *economic requirements* **of** the great majority **of** States of the world would be served by **guaranteeing a régime** of safe navigation *in* the **Mediterranean** basin. Any constructive views on the subject would **therefore** be **studied** closely and supported by the Soviet Union.

14. **As** already noted, in general there are a considerable number and variety **of** **ideas** and proposals worthy **of** attention concerning the whole range of Mediterranean problems. **We** believe that it has become *necessary* to establish international machinery to assemble, organise and determine the **order of** priority and system for implementing these proposals. This task could be undertaken by **a** meeting *of* representatives of the Mediterranean States and other interested countries. This idea is of value to **us**, and not to us **alone**. It is becoming increasingly relevant and fully corresponds to paragraph 7 of resolution **42/90**. It would seem that **an** important role in this matter could be played by the United Nations, *For our part*, we are prepared to support its efforts in **this** direction.

15. In putting forward such **proposals**, the **Soviet** Union believes that *their* implementation would be **a** substantial component *of* a comprehensive system *of* international peace and security which would radically improve the situation **in** the Mediterranean and adjacent regions and make *it* possible to ease conflicts **in** the **region** and contribute to ~~the~~ establishment *of an* atmosphere **of good-neighbourliness** and mutual **trust**. The Soviet side is prepared **to** co-operate with all interested countries in **order** to *progress* towards transforming the Mediterranean into *a* region **of** peace and co-operation through a collective **search for** constructive solutions **and an** in-depth, non-confrontational dialogue on ~~these~~ matters ,