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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. At its 103rd meeting on 20 December 1983, the General Assembly adopted resolution 38/189 entitled "Strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region", the operative part of which read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"1. Recognizes:

(a) That the security of the Mediterranean is closely linked with international peace and security;

(b) That further efforts are necessary for the reduction of tension and of armaments and for the creation of conditions of security and fruitful co-operation in all fields for all countries and peoples of the Mediterranean, on the basis of the principles of sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, security, non-intervention and non-interference, non-violation of international borders, non-use of force or threat of use of force, the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force, the peaceful settlement of disputes and respect for sovereignty over natural resources;

(c) The need for just and viable solutions to existing problems and crises in the area, on the basis of the provisions of the Charter and of relevant resolutions of the United Nations, the withdrawal of foreign forces of occupation and the right of peoples under colonial or foreign domination to self-determination and independence;

"2. Encourages efforts for intensifying existing and promoting new forms of co-operation in various fields, particularly those aimed at reducing tension and strengthening confidence and security in the region;

"3. Urges Mediterranean States to inform the Secretary-General of any concerted efforts aimed at promoting and strengthening security and co-operation in the Mediterranean;

"4. Urges all States to co-operate with Mediterranean States in efforts to enhance security and co-operation in the Mediterranean;

"5. Invites the Secretary-General to give due attention to the question of peace, security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region and, if requested to do so, to render advice and assistance to concerted efforts by Mediterranean countries in promoting peace, security and co-operation in the region;

"6. Requests the Secretary-General to submit to the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth 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 thirty-eighth session, a comprehensive report on strengthening security and co-operation in the Mediterranean;

"7. Decides to include in the provisional agenda of its thirty-ninth session the item entitled "Strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region".

2. Pursuant to that resolution, the Secretary-General, on 8 February 1983, addressed a note verbale to the Governments of Member States of the United Nations requesting their views on the question of the strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region, in accordance with the relevant paragraphs of the resolution.

3. The present report is submitted in accordance with paragraph 6 of resolution 38/189 and is based on replies received so far from 14 Governments, as well as on the debate on the question at the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. Section II is a summary of the debate on the question at the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. Section III contains the views of States as transmitted in their replies to the Secretary-General's note verbale. Replies and notifications that may be received subsequently will be published as addenda to the present report. A list of documents on the item is annexed to the report.

II. SUMMARY OF THE DEBATE ON THE QUESTION OF STRENGTHENING OF SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN REGION DURING THE THIRTY-EIGHTH SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

A. Importance of the subject

4. During the debate, many delegations stressed the importance of the subject of strengthening of peace, security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region. They underlined the strategic importance of the Mediterranean Sea, which forms a link between two oceans and three continents. They noted the increasing tension and crises in the region, which, in their view, were capable of leading to serious threats not only to the region but also to the world as a whole. Some delegations stated that the security of the Mediterranean and the security of the adjacent regions were interdependent and in this context one of them referred to General Assembly resolution 37/118 of 16 December 1982.

B. Concept of a zone of peace and co-operation in the Mediterranean

5. One delegation, referring to the concept of a zone of peace and co-operation in the Mediterranean region and noting the absence of any clear definition of the concept, pointed out the necessity of defining its scope and geographical limits. Another delegation was of the view that the concept should be defined in such a way as to include the ideas of zone of peace, security and co-operation, nuclear-weapon-free zones, and zones free from the presence of foreign military forces. One other delegation was of the view that the concept should be defined further to include economic and technical co-operation among Mediterranean States.

C. General support for the goal of strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean

6. A large number of delegations reiterated their support for the objective of strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region. They continued to view the promotion of peace, security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region as a significant contribution to world peace, security and co-operation, and they expressed their readiness to continue the discussion on the subject. One delegation noted that the countries of the socialist community attached prime importance to the problem of strengthening international security in the Mediterranean region.

7. It was recalled that the Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries, at their Seventh Conference held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, declared their support for further involvement of the United Nations in the transformation of the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and co-operation and welcomed the initiative of Malta in the Conference of Security and Co-operation in Europe to convene a meeting to discuss questions relating to security in the Mediterranean, as embodied in the Helsinki Final Act.

D. Applicable principles for the attainment of the objective of strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region

8. Several delegations pointed out the necessity of the consistent application, in conformity with the principles and objectives of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law, of the following concepts: sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, security, non-violation of international frontiers, non-intervention and non-interference in internal affairs, non-use of force, active and peaceful coexistence, peaceful settlement of disputes and just and viable solutions of the existing problems and crises, the withdrawal of foreign forces of occupation, respect for sovereignty over natural resources and the right of people under colonial or foreign domination to self-determination and independence.

9. Another delegation stressed that in addition to the above-mentioned concepts, those principles enshrined in the policy of non-alignment should be consistently applied toward the goal of strengthening security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region.

E. Approaches and measures suggested towards the achievement of the goal of strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region

10. Several delegations suggested approaches and measures that in their view are realistic and specific. These relate to the political, security, military and socio-economic areas designed to contribute to the strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region.

1. General approaches toward the achievement of the goal

11. One delegation stressed the importance of efforts to identify and strengthen existing opportunities to find new measures in political, economic, scientific, cultural and other spheres; to strengthen joint endeavours for the protection of the Mediterranean environment, and to search for channels of co-operation, regardless of existing political differences. Another delegation expressed the opinion that major and urgent political and military issues in the Mediterranean should be addressed, and practical measures should be considered with a view to achieving improvement in the international climate of the area. In the opinion of one delegation, any measure would have to be carefully devised in such a way that neither of the two super Powers be given advantages detrimental to the other and hence to regional stability. Another stressed that the maintenance and the strengthening of security were linked to the security requirements of the States of the region.

2. Measures suggested in the political, security and military areas

12. Some delegations suggested the following specific measures with a view to strengthening security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region: extension of confidence-building measures to the Mediterranean, non-use of nuclear weapons against any Mediterranean country by the nuclear Powers, an agreed reduction of armed forces in the region, withdrawal from the Mediterranean of ships carrying nuclear weapons on the territory of non-nuclear weapon States of the Mediterranean. A number of delegations stressed that the resolution of outstanding conflicts and disputes in the region constituted one such measure.

3. Economic measures toward the attainment of the goal

13. Some delegations indicated that co-operation in the economic field among Mediterranean States would reinforce the prospect for strengthening security, peace and co-operation in the region. One delegation expressed the view that the Mediterranean region could become the natural focal point for future co-operation between Europe and the neighbouring continents across the Mediterranean region through the promotion of a gradual policy of integration. This possibility, in its view, was inevitable in the light of growing economic relations between the Mediterranean countries and the European Economic Community.

4. Institutional measures

14. Some delegations stressed that, given the inseparable link between Europe and the Mediterranean, the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) was the best forum for the pursuit of the objective of strengthening security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region until such time as a specific alternative forum were to be established. One delegation noted that, as a result of the efforts carried out within CSCE, meetings on Mediterranean co-operation in the cultural, technological and economic areas were about to enter a second phase at Venice as a follow-up to the first meeting held at Valletta. This delegation

regretted that the Mediterranean still remained on the periphery of the ongoing activities of the United Nations regional commissions.

F. Problems facing the goal of strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region

15. Several delegations noted with concern that the Mediterranean region contained alarming levels of conventional, nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction introduced mainly by external Powers. Several of them stressed that confrontation of external naval and other forces in the Mediterranean region was at its peak in terms of density and danger. In the opinion of one delegation, such concentration of naval and associated forces in an enclosed sea such as the Mediterranean would have an adverse effect on its defence capability because the maritime powers, equipped with modernized navies, no longer required bases of the old conventional kind; the presence of surface and even submarine naval units in congested areas made them vulnerable to modern missiles; the presence of these units did not in any single case prevent the outbreak of regional conflicts and it made much more probable the involvement of the nuclear Powers in a localized conflict. Furthermore, in the view of this delegation, the activities of opposing naval forces in the Mediterranean region would increase the resentment of Mediterranean States that remained outside military alliances.

16. Several delegations noted that the Mediterranean region witnessed some of the most enduring conflicts and disputes. They referred to the outstanding conflicts in the Middle East and Cyprus. They expressed the opinion that tensions deriving from the absence of a just and lasting solution to the Palestinian problem and the intervention and interference jeopardizing the integrity of Lebanon constituted serious impediments to any progress towards strengthening security and co-operation in the Mediterranean. Some delegations noted with concern that the situation in Cyprus was further aggravated by the unilateral declaration of an independent Turkish State in Cyprus. Those delegations that noted with concern the existing conflicts and disputes in the region stressed that a solution to such outstanding conflicts and disputes would help expedite the process of strengthening security and co-operation in the Mediterranean.

G. National, bilateral and multilateral achievements of Mediterranean States towards strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region

17. Two delegations pointed out their national and bilateral achievements towards strengthening security and co-operation in the Mediterranean. One North African delegation referred to the successful conclusion of a "Treaty of Brotherhood and Concord" with a neighbouring State and said that this Treaty was open to all parties of the Arab region of the Maghreb. Another delegation reiterated its accession to the status of neutrality, based on the principles of non-alignment, and referred to the ongoing peaceful settlement of a dispute with a neighbouring country over exploration activities on the continental shelf. The same delegation also referred to the Barcelona Convention and Protocols for the protection of the Mediterranean environment as a product of multilateral co-operation among Mediterranean States.

H. Relationship between security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region and the adjacent areas

18. Several delegations stressed that security in the Mediterranean was linked to the security and co-operation in Europe, as reflected in the Helsinki Act, and in the Final Document of the Madrid Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. Some delegations referred to the proposals for the transformation of the Balkan peninsula and the Middle East into nuclear-weapon-free zones as efforts particularly relevant to strengthening security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region.

I. Conclusions

19. In the view of many delegations, the task of strengthening security and co-operation in the Mediterranean must be dealt with resolutely and realistically, gradually opening up channels for co-operation and creating opportunities for settling existing disputes. They were aware that the attainment of this goal would be primarily the work of those States most immediately concerned. However, in their view, the co-operation of other States was indispensable for the success of this undertaking. The attainment of this goal, in their opinion, would constitute a meaningful contribution to world peace and stability.

20. The First Committee, at its 54th meeting on 9 December 1983, adopted without a vote a revised draft resolution entitled "Strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region". The draft resolution was eventually sponsored by the following 12 States: Algeria, Cyprus, Egypt, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malta, Romania, the Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Tunisia and Yugoslavia, subsequently joined by the Bahamas and Greece. One delegation noted on behalf of all the sponsoring States that the text of the resolution was the result of intensive consultations and that it represented a concrete first step toward the attainment of the goal. The sponsors were aware, however, that not all of the points of view and positions of certain countries or groups of countries were adequately reflected in the resolution. The sponsoring States appreciated the spirit in which negotiations had been carried out and hoped that the willingness on the part of the negotiating States could be transformed into constructive future efforts for the attainment of the goal.

21. The General Assembly at its 103rd meeting on 20 December 1983, adopted, the resolution [38/189] without a vote, as recommended by the First Committee.

III. REPLIES RECEIVED FROM GOVERNMENTS

AFGHANISTAN

[Original: English]

[14 August 1984]

1. The world situation resulting from adventurist and irresponsible policies being pursued by world imperialism at its head United States imperialism, is of great concern for the whole of mankind.



2. The use of force or the threat of use of force, including the threat of nuclear force in international relations, military intervention and interference in other countries' affairs, aggression against their independence and plunder of their resources, the revival of the cold war, military presence and build-up of military bases and the intensification of the arms race, specially as regards nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction for which imperialism is responsible, constitute a gloomy picture of today's world.

3. The critical and dangerous situation in the Caribbean, Central America, the Middle East, South-West and South-East Asia and other parts of the world created by imperialistic circles with the aim of fulfilling their imperial ambitions, is an open threat to peace and security of the world.

4. The Mediterranean is one of the regions of the world where United States imperialism is not only strengthening its military presence in the area under its control, but resorts to outright armed intervention wherever, in its view, its "vital interests" are jeopardized.

5. In order to exploit the primary resources of the Mediterranean, to gain control over Middle East oil and to create a bridgehead here in the strategic approaches to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the Middle East, the Gulf, tropical Africa and the Indian Ocean, United States imperialism is resorting to violence, exerting pressure on the region's neutral States, interfering in Southern Europe's affairs, putting the squeeze on the progressive Arab countries of North Africa and the Middle East, suppressing the national liberation movements and implanting suitable reactionary dictatorships.

6. Since 1970, the Pentagon prodded the North Atlantic Treaty Organization into stepping up a combat task force in the Mediterranean ready for action at short notice. The United States Sixth Fleet, composed of aircraft carriers, patrol ships, automatic submarines and combat planes, has been here since the Second World War and has been reinforced in a large extent since then.

7. United States imperialism, by updating and reinforcing its military bases in Greece, Italy, Spain and Turkey, by involving a number of Mediterranean countries into confrontation, by providing Israel and Turkey with a vast amount of armament in order to increase their military presence and by deployment of a large number of cruise missiles in Italy on the one hand and by creation of instability in the region on the other, is endangering peace and security not only in the Mediterranean but also in the whole of Europe.

8. Using the myth of a "Soviet threat" as a cover, United States imperialism, which seeks world hegemony, is openly restoring the policy of strength, expanding armaments and reinforcing its armed forces of aggression on a large scale, while at the same time scheming to strengthen the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, an aggressive military bloc, deploy new types of nuclear weapons in Europe and increase military bases of aggression in many parts of the world, including the Mediterranean.

9. Likewise using the same "threat", Washington seeks to frighten its North Atlantic Treaty Organization partners in order to accelerate the arms race and to impose on the Mediterranean countries nuclear weapons and means of their delivery.

10. Contrary to false allegations by United States imperialism regarding the so-called "Soviet threat", the Soviet Union is not a threat to world peace and security. Its realistic proposals and initiatives for the maintenance of world peace and security for the building of confidence and co-operation among nations are a clear testimony to this fact.
11. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, as a peace-loving country, devotes special attention to the question of peace and security in the whole world, including the Mediterranean, which has become one of the most dangerous centres of tension threatening international peace and security.
12. In general, it is our firm belief that peace and security could be guaranteed if the principles of the United Nations Charter are adhered to and respected, if peaceful and all-sided development of the peoples is guaranteed, if the identity and sovereignty of each nation are respected and if international relations are restructured on the basis of equality and mutual respect in order to remove tension and confrontation and replace them with détente, co-operation and mutual understanding.
13. We are strongly convinced that the Soviet Union's creative proposals in the negotiations on the limitation and reduction of strategic arms, the proposals for banning neutron weapons as well as for preparing an international convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons, the proposals for a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests, the joint proposal of the socialist countries for a treaty on the mutual non-use of military force and the maintenance of relations of peace between the Warsaw Treaty and the North Atlantic Alliance, and other Soviet initiatives that are gaining increasing prominence in European and world politics would play a constructive role in preserving peace and security and reaching complete disarmament in the world.
14. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is of the opinion that the immediate implementation of the Helsinki Mediterranean Document, the implementation of the agreements reached at the Madrid Conference and the constructive Soviet proposal on the Mediterranean is the only way to turn the Mediterranean from being an arena of military and political confrontation into a zone of peace and co-operation.

ARGENTINA

[Original: Spanish]

[14 June 1984]

1. The Argentine Republic reiterates the essence of its 7 December 1982 statement (A/37/355/Add.4) on the subject. The Argentine Government views with concern the growing militarization of maritime areas and, in this particular instance, of the Mediterranean Sea, as a result of the movement of war fleets carrying their full complement of weapons and, in particular, the transit and deployment of nuclear weapons, causing the geographical proliferation of such weapons.

2. It also endorses the terms of operative paragraphs 1 (b) and (c) of resolution 38/189, which state that "... further efforts are necessary for the reduction of tension and of armaments and for the creation of conditions of security and fruitful co-operation in all fields for all countries and peoples of the Mediterranean, on the basis of the principles of sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, security, non-intervention and non-interference, non-violation of international borders, non-use of force or threat of use of force, the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force, the peaceful settlement of disputes and respect for sovereignty over natural resources" and "the need for just and viable solutions to existing problems and crises in the area, on the basis of the provisions of the Charter and of relevant resolutions of the United Nations, the withdrawal of foreign forces of occupation and the right of peoples under colonial or foreign domination to self-determination and independence".

3. Accordingly, the Argentine Republic supports the efforts being made by the non-aligned countries and other friendly coastal nations of the Mediterranean Sea to strengthen security and co-operation in that region and believes that, in order to achieve this objective, measures must be taken for the reduction of the presence of military forces from outside the region, the withdrawal of fleets belonging to the great Powers and the elimination of foreign colonial military bases, the presence of which is a threat to the security, independence and territorial integrity of the States of the region.

#### BULGARIA

[Original: Russian]

[8 August 1984]

1. The inclusion of the question of the strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region in the agenda of recent sessions of the General Assembly is evidence of the important place it occupies in the overall scheme of international relations. The provision included in the Helsinki Final Act to the effect that security in Europe considered in the wider context of world security is closely linked with security in the Mediterranean area has lost none of its validity up to the present day.

2. The Mediterranean remains a region of conflict and tension that threatens peace and security in Europe and throughout the world. In this connection, mention must be made of the continuing Israeli occupation of Lebanon and Israel's acts of aggression against the Mediterranean Arab countries. The problem of Cyprus remains unsolved.

3. Tension in the Mediterranean is increasing, especially of late, as a result of the plans by a number of imperialist countries to use the region as a springboard for aggression against the USSR and European socialist countries. The deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in Italy has greatly increased the danger of a sudden nuclear strike against the territory of the USSR, Bulgaria and the other

socialist countries. This threat becomes even more real when the numerous United States and North Atlantic Treaty Organization military bases and installations dotted around the Mediterranean are taken into account.

4. The socialist countries, Bulgaria included, are particularly alarmed by the aggravation of the situation in the Mediterranean region. They have on several occasions proposed practical measures to reduce military confrontation in the region and transform it into a zone of peace, security and co-operation. Examples of such proposals are those concerning an agreed reduction of military forces in the region, the withdrawal from the region of nuclear-armed vessels, the non-deployment of nuclear weapons in the territory of Mediterranean non-nuclear Powers, and an acceptance by the nuclear Powers of the obligation not to use nuclear weapons against Mediterranean countries that do not permit the deployment of such weapons in their territory.

5. Bulgaria is especially interested in the strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean. Our country shares a border with three Mediterranean Powers, two of which are members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and have American military bases and nuclear weapons in their territory. The Mediterranean Sea is the natural and sole sea route for trade between Bulgaria and other continents. The Mediterranean countries themselves are among our country's chief economic partners outside the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Bulgaria has historical links with most of them through traditional cultural ties and co-operation. Therefore, for Bulgaria, which directly borders on and is directly connected with the Mediterranean Sea, peace and security in the region is of immediate importance for its own security. In this connection, we support the position set forth in General Assembly resolution 37/118 that the security of the Mediterranean and the security of the adjacent regions are interdependent.

6. Bulgaria is convinced that ways exist to transform the Mediterranean from a region of conflict and tension to a zone of peace, security and co-operation. There are already practical proposals on the subject, and all that is required is good will on the part of all Mediterranean Powers and other interested countries to achieve tangible positive results in realizing that lofty goal.

BYELORUSSIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

[Original: Russian]

[16 July 1984]

1. The Byelorussian SSR shares the concern of many States about the situation that has arisen in the Mediterranean region as a result of the continuation by the imperialist Powers of the policy of escalating military and political confrontation and whipping up tension in that region.

2. Recently, a number of factors created by the United States and some of its allies have endangered the situation in that region. They include the deployment

by the United States of first-strike nuclear missiles in Italy, the "strategic co-operation" between the United States and Israel, the direct armed intervention of the United States in Lebanon, the overt pressure exerted by the United States on the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, aggravation of the situation in Cyprus, and the military and political pressure that the United States exerts on other sovereign States of the Mediterranean.

3. Taken as a whole, the actions of the United States and some of its allies run counter to the aim of transforming the Mediterranean region into a zone of security and co-operation.

4. The Byelorussian SSR continues to advocate the creation in the Mediterranean region of a zone of stable peace and co-operation, as was indicated in the reply of the Byelorussian SSR in document A/37/355/Add.3. This aim would be served by measures to alleviate the nuclear threat and to reduce nuclear weapons in the Mediterranean region. A significant contribution to the strengthening of security in that region would be made by the non-deployment of nuclear weapons in the territory of non-nuclear Mediterranean countries, a commitment by the nuclear Powers not to use nuclear weapons against any Mediterranean country that does not permit the deployment of such weapons in its territory, the withdrawal from the Mediterranean Sea of vessels carrying nuclear weapons, and the agreed reduction of armed forces, especially naval forces, in that region.

5. That aim would also be served by the extension to that region of confidence-building measures in the military sphere, which have already proved their worth in international practice.

6. The situation in that region would also be improved by the implementation of measures to limit naval activities and naval armaments in the Mediterranean Sea, questions that are now being discussed in a broader geographical context in the United Nations. The position of the Byelorussian SSR on such measures is set forth in the reply sent by the Byelorussian SSR on 25 April 1984 to the notes of the Secretary-General in documents DDA/6-84/CNAV and DDA/7-84/SNAV.

7. The Byelorussian SSR considers that the situation in a region so vital for the fate of peace as the Mediterranean directly affects the security interests of the countries of the socialist community, since it is closely interrelated with the security of adjoining regions. Accordingly, the Byelorussian SSR attaches great importance to the strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean Sea, including the establishment of a zone of peace, security and co-operation in that region, and is ready to contribute its utmost to the attainment of that goal on the basis of equality, with full account being taken of the interests of the peoples concerned and of the interests of peace and international security. At the same time, it is important that all parties adopt a constructive approach and display the political will to achieve truly tangible and positive results.

CUBA

[Original: Spanish]

[29 June 1984]

1. Cuba supports the conversion of the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and international co-operation and advocates the dismantling of the naval bases existing in the region, as indispensable requirements for the establishment of such a situation in the Mediterranean.
2. Being aware of the complexity and the scope of these objectives, the Permanent Representative is of the opinion that the coastal States, as well as foreign Powers, should adopt a series of measures and short-term and medium-term commitments that will help to reduce tension and to strengthen confidence and security in the region. These are as follows:
  - (a) Prohibition of the installation of additional nuclear arms on board vessels, submarines and aircraft carriers operating in the zone;
  - (b) Prohibition of the use or threat of the use of force as well as of any act of piracy, blockade or naval harassment, between the coastal States, or against any of them by a foreign Power;
  - (c) Restriction of naval manoeuvres to the territorial waters of participating countries;
  - (d) The countries concerned should take all necessary measures to guarantee free access, freedom of movement and security of shipping through straits and channels, for any type of vessel, in accordance with the principles established by international law and the law of the sea.
3. Cuba also urges the United Nations and the countries involved to solve by peaceful means any differences between coastal States, particularly those relating to the situation in the Middle East and the Turkish-Greek-Cypriot conflict.
4. Cuba considers that the establishment of a climate of peace in the Middle East will help to increase and stabilize shipping through the Suez Canal and the Red Sea, which would be extremely beneficial to a large number of countries, particularly the Mediterranean countries themselves.

ECUADOR

[Original: Spanish]

[8 August 1984]

1. The Government of Ecuador supports all initiatives conducive to a reduction in tension and to the strengthening of confidence and security in the Mediterranean region.

2. In recognition of the close link existing between international peace and security and peace and security in that region, the Government of Ecuador accepts the overriding need to apply strictly the principles enumerated in General Assembly resolution 38/189, particularly those relating to territorial integrity, the non-use or threat of use of force, the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

GREECE

[Original: English]

[11 July 1984]

1. One of the main objectives of Greek foreign policy is the promotion of friendship and co-operation in the Mediterranean region, a matter closely linked with international peace and security. The Greek Government believes that the Mediterranean region should belong to the people who inhabit it without the presence of the fleets of the super Powers, and, furthermore, without military manoeuvres that jeopardize peace in such a sensitive and inflammable region.
2. Greece has been following a policy of friendship and co-operation with the peoples and Governments of the Mediterranean region. The Greek Government has already undertaken efforts in the political, cultural and economic fields aimed at safeguarding the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Mediterranean countries, including the right of their peoples to self-determination and prosperity.
3. Finally, the Greek Government expresses its support to resolution 38/189 of the General Assembly and will spare no efforts to assist the Secretary-General in his endeavours for the implementation of this resolution.

IRAQ

[Original: Arabic]

[18 April 1984]

1. The security of the Mediterranean is closely linked with international peace and security and further efforts are therefore necessary for the reduction of international tension.
2. Participation in the creation of an international climate in which conditions of confidence, security and co-operation may prevail, on the basis of the principles of sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, security, non-intervention and non-interference, non-violation of international borders and non-use or threat or use of force, would promote the strengthening of security and co-operation in that vital area of the world that is the Mediterranean.

3. The settlement of ongoing conflicts among States of the region by peaceful means and the formulation of just and viable solutions to existing problems and crises in the area on the basis of the provisions of the Charter and of relevant resolutions of the United Nations would contribute to the achievement of the goal of strengthening security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region. The transformation of the Mediterranean region into a zone of peace, security and co-operation, as recommended by the General Assembly of the United Nations and the non-aligned summit conferences, is of particular importance and is a step that would promote security in the region.

4. In the view of the fact that the Middle East is a part of the Mediterranean region, the strengthening of security and co-operation in the region requires that a just solution be found to the essential problem of the region, namely the question of Palestine, based on recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, and on ensuring the exercise of all of its legitimate and inalienable rights. The matter also requires that remedial action be taken with regard to the grave situation created by Israel in the region by its occupation and annexation of Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem, its persistence in establishing settlements and escalating its aggression against the Palestinian people and the neighbouring Arab countries, and its defiance of the relevant resolutions of international bodies.

5. A particular responsibility devolves on those States that are able, by virtue of their location, to participate in resolving the conflicts and crises existing in this region. It is incumbent upon those States to assist in the process of reaching a solution to the question of Palestine and to contribute to the realization of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people.

6. Rejection of the presence of foreign military forces in the region; the removal of all military bases therefrom; the non-provision of facilities for such forces in any form whatever; and forbearance from entering into foreign military alliances.

#### MOROCCO

[Original: Arabic]

[24 July 1984]

1. In the present as in the past, Morocco accords the highest esteem and loyalty to the concept of establishing the foundations of peace, security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region, a concept that it constantly strives to crystallize in a tangible, realistic form in accordance with resolution 36/102 adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 9 December 1981.

2. Ever since Morocco attained its independence, it has constantly upheld the cause of peace, security and co-operation, which is regarded as one of the most important issues of the hour in the international arena. This emerges clearly from excerpts from His Majesty's statements, on many occasions and at many meetings, in which he has presented Morocco's viewpoint on this issue, from the interventions of



the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Morocco in the General Assembly at its successive regular sessions, and from the interventions of the heads of Moroccan delegations to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

3. His Majesty has said, on many occasions, that rapprochement and co-operation between the Mediterranean States would deepen and consolidate the ties of understanding and mutual assistance between their peoples and would promote their openness to the world and the protection of their cultural heritage. He has also stressed more than once that, while the countries of North Africa belong to the Arab Islamic civilization, that is no barrier to their active collaboration with the other countries of the Western Mediterranean and there is nothing to prevent the transformation of this solidarity into a multilateral international agreement. At the same time, he has indicated that Morocco, despite its modest potentials, has spared no effort in participating actively in order to contribute to the enrichment and prosperity of this region. His Majesty has also focused on the role which the Mediterranean countries should play with regard to participation in the maintenance of stability, equilibrium and peace in the world.

4. Moroccan officials have stated, on many occasions, that it is in the interest of all Mediterranean States to work to revive co-operation between themselves, whether bilateral or multilateral. This co-operation should cover all areas of political and social life; that would enable these countries to safeguard peace in this part of the world.

5. At successive sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Morocco have set forth explicitly in their statements Morocco's views on this question, which is regarded as a major issue. They have explained that, however disparate the contemporary facts pertaining to this sea may be, they do not, in fact, distort the geopolitical and economic bases of the historical interaction between the peoples of this region, and they have expressed their apprehension regarding any possible source from which a threat to peace in the Mediterranean might arise.

6. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe recognized that cultural and economic ties and the need to ensure the security of both shores of this sea would make Morocco and the other coastal States the legitimate defenders of security and of the development of relations between the peoples of the region. At the session of this Conference at Geneva, on 30 November 1973, the head of the Moroccan delegation drew attention to the necessity of adopting a decision that would enable his delegation to participate in the various stages of the work and to contribute, to the greatest extent possible, to creating a climate favourable to mutual understanding between Europe and the Mediterranean States, so as to promote the establishment of the foundations of mutual co-operation, well-being and true prosperity, which constituted an important factor in the achievement of peace and security. Morocco considers, today more than at any time in the past, that the Mediterranean region is one of the most important pivots on which the fate of the world hinges and one of the troubled regions that constitutes a danger to Europe because of the gravity of the conflicts there, one of the most important being the conflict existing between the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot communities.

7. At Belgrade, on 20 October 1977, the head of the Moroccan delegation states in this connection at the plenary meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, that, with regard to the Mediterranean region, Morocco has spared no effort in supporting the strengthening of existing ties between the Mediterranean States and Europe in the areas of security and co-operation. He focused on the need to make this region a "lake of peace" remote from anything that might lead to the creation of any kind of polarization and confusion within our countries. Security and co-operation between the two halves of this lake presuppose and demand the establishment of relations of mutual understanding, confidence and friendship between the European and the Arab peoples centred on human, intellectual, material and national exchange. Europe and the Mediterranean States should strive, today more than at any time in the past, to establish the bases of a unified security policy that reflected their material and human solidarity.

8. In this regard, Morocco appreciates the attention given by the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe to the issues that concern our country as demonstrated by the addition of a text on security and co-operation in the Mediterranean to the Helsinki Final Act, adopted in 1975.

9. During his intervention at Madrid at the above-mentioned Conference on 28 November 1980, the head of the Moroccan delegation expressed the hope of Morocco that the Conference would devote time to the study of this question and, during that study, accord Morocco and the other South Mediterranean States the status of full participants that they merited by the very nature of things. He stated this also at the meeting held in Malta in February 1979 on possible means of strengthening and promoting co-operation in the region, although the nature of Morocco's participation did not permit it to contribute effectively to the work of this meeting. Both Spain and Morocco welcomed the idea of the continental link that will connect Europe, via Gibraltar, with Africa and the Arab world, via Morocco. This project, which has obtained the support of many African and European States, can enable both continents to arrive at true development and to deepen the links of mutual co-operation and exchange in the speediest and most beneficial way.

10. In his address to the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe held at Stockholm on 23 January 1981, the head of the Moroccan delegation stated that Morocco was convinced that it had become imperative that disarmament measures should not be confined merely to the European continent but should be applied generally to all States situated on the shores of the Mediterranean, because Morocco would be directly affected by the actual measures that might be adopted to strengthen the security of member States and revive the issue of disarmament. In view of the special importance of such measures, Morocco had at the Belgrade and Madrid meetings already voiced its aspirations to become a partner of Europe in dealing with the delicate issues that were of concern to the region.

11. From all the above, it may be said that Morocco's position is centred on the need to make the Mediterranean Sea a "lake of peace" and a fertile field for fruitful co-operation and lasting mutual understanding between its peoples. That would help to ensure that no scope existed for foreign intervention seeking to turn it into an area of conflict and strategic and geopolitical rivalry. Morocco

believes that it is best for this region to remain forever a connecting link between North and South and between East and West and a true cradle of human civilization.

POLAND

[Original: English]

[24 May 1984]

1. As a signatory of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), Poland has undertaken a political commitment to collaborate with other States with a view to promoting détente and conditions of security in the Mediterranean region as well as the development of co-operation with the Mediterranean countries. The need to pursue further these processes stems both from the close links of European security with the security of the Mediterranean - as recorded in the CSCE Final Act - and the disquieting development of the situation in that area. The stockpile of nuclear weapons accumulated in the Mediterranean region has further built up as a result of the deployment of the new American middle-range nuclear missiles. These steps contribute to the heightening of tension and increase the danger of conflict that threatens peace in Europe and throughout the world.
2. Poland, together with other States members of the Warsaw Treaty, has always resolutely opposed the introduction of nuclear weapons to the Mediterranean region. It has repeatedly come out in favour of declaring the region a nuclear-free zone as well as extending to that region the military confidence-building measures as envisaged in the CSCE Final Act.
3. The continuing Middle East conflict represents a major destabilizing factor in the Mediterranean region, with negative implications for international relations as a whole. The extinguishing of that dangerous hotbed of tension, in Poland's view, calls for a comprehensive and durable settlement of the problem, with the participation of all parties concerned, providing for: the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the occupied Arab territories, guarantees for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Lebanon, the recognition of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including the right to independent statehood as well as security guarantees for all States of the region. The participation of Polish soldiers in the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force in the Middle East represents Poland's practical contribution to the consolidation of peace in the region.
4. Close political relations and economic and cultural co-operation with the Mediterranean States and an all-round, non-discriminatory co-operation constitute tangible elements of the implementation of the CSCE Final Act as well as consolidation of peace and security in Europe and throughout the world.
5. Mindful of the above considerations, at a meeting of experts of CSCE States at Valletta, Malta, Poland has made a major contribution to the search for the most appropriate forms of co-operation of the CSCE participating States with the

non-participating Mediterranean States. For precisely the same reasons Poland attaches major significance to the seminar on economic, scientific and cultural co-operation in the Mediterranean region that is to be held in Venice next October.

SUDAN

[Original: Arabic]

[30 July 1984]

1. With reference to General Assembly resolution 38/189, the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan considers that the search for ways of strengthening security and co-operation in the Middle East cannot be conducted in isolation from the question of the achievement of a just and comprehensive peace in the region. It has become clear to the international community that a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East will not be achieved except through arrival at a just and lasting solution of the question of Palestine, which is the core of the conflict in that region. The strengthening of security and co-operation in the Middle East must be founded on peace based on justice and not on peace imposed by force of arms. This approach was stressed by the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez in 1982, in which the Sudan participated and which adopted a sound approach to peace based on justice that would guarantee the security and territorial integrity of all the States of the region and ensure the exercise of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to self-determination and the establishment of its independent State in its territory. The basis for such a peace will not be established without the participation of the Palestinian people represented by the Palestinian Liberation Organization, the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

2. Accordingly, it will not be possible to achieve a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East except by compelling Israel to comply with the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly calling upon Israel to withdraw completely and unconditionally from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967, including Arab Jerusalem, and to recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian Arab people.

3. The strengthening of security and co-operation among the States of the Mediterranean region is contingent upon the full commitment of the States of the region to the principles of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security contained in resolution 2625 (XXV), commitment to the principles of good-neighbourliness, respect for the sovereignty and political independence of States, the inadmissibility of the use or threat of force in international relations, peaceful settlement of disputes and the inadmissibility of intervention in the internal affairs of States and total commitment to the provisions of General Assembly resolution 38/189 and to the strengthening of security and co-operation in the region through the promotion and strengthening of bilateral relations.

4. The concept of a zone of peace in the Middle East can constitute a major contribution to the safeguarding of international peace and security if the concept is based on the principle of the achievement of a just and comprehensive peace in the region. Support for the revitalization of the Arab-European dialogue, as well as for efforts within the framework of the United Nations and Middle East regional forums, would perhaps help to promote the concept of a zone of peace in the Middle East and to strengthen security and co-operation there.

## THAILAND

[Original: English]

[3 July 1984]

1. Regional measures to promote peace among the nations by peaceful means should be stressed and actively implemented in order to achieve concrete results as stated in Chapter 8, Articles 52-54, of the United Nations Charter.

2. Efforts should be made to impress upon the nations of the Mediterranean region the fact that present and past losses have been the result of disputes, and that the only way to bring about security and co-operation to the area is through peaceful and effective compromise that is acceptable to all.

3. The nations of the Mediterranean region should be called on to try to promote mutual understanding and trust, stressing good relations between neighbouring countries that is an important factor in promoting regional security and co-operation.

4. The major Powers should be called on to stop interfering in the internal affairs of the nations of the region, especially in military affairs, since such interference could easily lead to disputes.

5. When conducting arms sales, major Powers should observe humanitarian principles, since powerful weapons not only destroy opposing forces, but also affect innocent people who are not involved in the disputes.

## UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

[Original: Russian]

[20 July 1984]

1. The consideration of the question of the strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region at the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly demonstrated the serious concern of the representatives of the Member States over the situation in this region.

2. Since that session, the situation in the Mediterranean basin has become even more acute as a result of the militaristic ambitions of and blatant military

intervention by the imperialist forces, and primarily the United States-Israeli "strategic alliance", which has caused incalculable suffering to the peoples of the eastern Mediterranean, was "strengthened" by the United States' open intervention in Lebanon. Undisguised pressure against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, threats against the Syrian Arab Republic and interference in the internal affairs of Cyprus and the other independent Mediterranean States are continuing.

3. The threat to the States of the region has been seriously increased as a result of the deployment in Sicily of United States cruise missiles targeted specifically at the Arab and other countries, and as a result of other actions taken by the United States and its allies under the banner of "strengthening North Atlantic Treaty Organization's southern flank".

4. All this runs directly counter to the provisions of General Assembly resolution 38/189 and the idea of declaring the Mediterranean a zone of security and co-operation.

5. The Ukrainian SSR consistently advocates making the Mediterranean a zone of lasting peace and fruitful co-operation, thereby facilitating normalization of the international situation as a whole. The extension to this region of confidence-building measures in the military field; the reduction of military, and primarily naval, forces; the withdrawal of nuclear-weapon ships from the Mediterranean; the non-deployment of nuclear weapons in the territory of the non-nuclear Mediterranean countries; and any undertaking by the nuclear Powers not to use nuclear weapons against any Mediterranean country that does not permit the deployment of such weapons, could provide starting points towards this goal.

6. Certain other measures to reduce tension, inter alia, in the Mediterranean basin, are indicated in the reply of the Permanent Mission of the Ukrainian SSR to the United Nations of 30 April 1984 to the Secretary-General's request for information in the limitation of naval activity and of naval armaments.

7. The Ukrainian SSR fully supports the efforts of peace-loving forces to strengthen confidence in the Mediterranean and to promote peaceful co-operation in the region, and it fully endorses the basic concept of the interdependence between security in the Mediterranean and security in the adjacent regions.

8. The Ukrainian SSR will facilitate in every way the implementation of the idea of making the Mediterranean a zone of peace and co-operation, and is prepared to take an active part in a discussion of this question in the United Nations and in other international forums.

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIAL REPUBLICS

[Original: Russian]

[25 May 1984]

1. The discussion of this question at recent sessions of the United Nations General Assembly bears witness to the increasing concern of the Mediterranean

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States and indeed other States over the continuing policy of militarization of the Mediterranean region and the escalation of military and political confrontation there.

2. Tension in this region has now reached a dangerous level. The "strategic co-operation" between the United States and Israel and the direct armed intervention of the United States in Lebanon have further aggravated the situation in the eastern Mediterranean. The United States is continuing to intensify overt pressure on Libya in an attempt to force that sovereign State to refrain from pursuing an independent foreign policy. The situation in Cyprus is deteriorating, and is being further exacerbated through the fault of the imperialist forces led by the United States. Military and political pressure exerted by the United States is also being felt by other independent Mediterranean States.

3. A great danger is posed by the siting of United States first-strike nuclear missiles in Italy. For obvious reasons the Soviet Union can hardly be indifferent to the fact that a threat to its security and the security of its allies also originates from the Mediterranean.

4. The actions of the United States and some of its allies cannot, of course, in any way be seen as promoting the goals of declaring the Mediterranean a zone of security and co-operation.

5. The position of the USSR with regard to the Mediterranean continues to be one of principle and remains invariable. As a Black Sea Power - and therefore as a Mediterranean Power - the Soviet Union is in favour of making the Mediterranean a zone of stable peace and co-operation. To that end, it is above all essential to counteract the growing nuclear threat in the Mediterranean. The goal is not to build up but to reduce nuclear weapons in the Mediterranean region. The Soviet Union has already proposed:

(a) That nuclear weapons should not be sited in the territories of nuclear-free Mediterranean countries;

(b) That the nuclear Powers should undertake not to use nuclear weapons against any Mediterranean country that has refused to allow such weapons being sited on its soil;

(c) That ships equipped with nuclear weapons should be withdrawn from the Mediterranean.

6. An agreed reduction of armed forces, primarily naval forces, in the Mediterranean could also make a major contribution to easing tension in the region.

7. The Soviet Union is in favour of extending to the Mediterranean region confidence-building measures in the military field that have already proven themselves, namely, prior notification of military exercises and the invitation of observers to such exercises, and the exchange of military delegations.

8. Other specific measures might be conducive to reducing military tension in the region. Some of them were put forward by Mr. A. A. Gromyko, First Deputy

Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, in a letter dated 10 April 1984 in answer to a questionnaire from the Secretary-General of the United Nations concerning the limitation of naval activities and naval armaments.

9. The Soviet Union attaches great importance to the struggle of peace-loving forces in and outside the United Nations for the enhancement of security in the Mediterranean and for peaceful co-operation in that region. The situation there directly affects the security interests of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries since the region is in direct proximity to their borders. Hence, the security of the Mediterranean region and the security of its hinterland are interrelated.

10. The Soviet Union proceeds from the firm conviction that there are no questions, including the establishment of a zone of peace, security and co-operation in the Mediterranean, that could not be resolved by means of negotiations on the basis of equality, a constructive approach and the political will to achieve positive results while taking full account of the vital interests of peoples and the interests of peace and international security.

11. The Soviet Union is ready to do its utmost in promoting the successful realization of the idea of turning the Mediterranean into a zone of peace, and to that end intends to take an active part in the discussion of this question both within the framework of the United Nations and in multilateral, regional or other forums.



ANNEX

Strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region: list of documents before the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session

- A/38/250 First report of the General Committee: "Organization of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, Adoption of the Agenda and Allocation of Items"
- A/38/291 and Add.1-2 Report of the Secretary-General (containing replies received from Governments)
- A/38/395 Report of the Secretary-General (containing replies received from Governments)
- A/38/642 Report of the First Committee on the item entitled "Strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region"
- A/38/127 Letter dated 25 March 1983 from the Permanent Representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General
- A/38/132-S/15675 and Corr.1-2 Letter dated 30 March 1983 from the Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General
- A/38/328 Letter dated 6 August 1983 from the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General
- A/38/495-S/16035 Letter dated 10 October 1983 from the Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General
- A/C.1/38/L.88 Draft resolution entitled "Strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region" sponsored by Cyprus, Egypt, Malta, Romania and Yugoslavia
- A/C.1/38/L.88/Rev.1 Revised draft resolution entitled "Strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region" sponsored by Algeria, Cyprus, Egypt, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malta, Romania, Tunisia and Yugoslavia
- A/C.1/38/L.88/Rev.2 Revised draft resolution entitled "Strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region" sponsored by Algeria, Cyprus, Egypt, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malta, Romania, Tunisia and Yugoslavia

A/C.1/38/L.88/Rev.3  
(8 December 1983)

Revised draft resolution entitled "Strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region" sponsored by Algeria, Cyprus, Egypt, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malta, Romania, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Tunisia, the Bahamas, Greece and Yugoslavia

A/C.1/38/PV.47, 49-54

Verbatim record of the First Committee's discussion entitled "Strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region"

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