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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. The General Assembly, in its resolution 43/84 of 7 December 1988, entitled "Strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region", adopted without a vote, inter alia, reaffirmed the importance of intensifying and constantly promoting contacts in all fields where common interests exist in order to eliminate gradually, through co-operation, the causes preventing the faster social and economic development of the Mediterranean States, and took note, in this regard, of the idea of the establishment of a Mediterranean forum as a multidisciplinary framework for the promotion of co-operation in the region. The Assembly also (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 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 Mediterranean countries in their concerted efforts to promote peace, security, and co-operation in the region; (c) invited the States members of the relevant regional organizations 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 (d) requested the Secretary-General to submit to the Assembly at its forty-fourth session, on the basis of all replies received and notifications submitted in the implementation of the resolution and taking into account the debate on this question during its forty-third session, an updated report on the strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region.

2. On 14 April 1989, pursuant to that resolution, the Secretary-General addressed a note verbale to all States requesting their views on the question of strengthening security, peace and co-operation in the Mediterranean region.

3. As at 8 November 1989, 10 Governments had replied to the Secretary-General's note verbale and one acknowledgement had been submitted.

II. SUMMARY OF THE DEBATE ON THE QUESTION OF STRENGTHENING SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN REGION DURING THE FORTY-THIRD 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 military and naval presence of non-regional Powers and the stockpiling in the area of conventional and nuclear weapons had continued to be a source of instability and conflict.

5. Several States stressed that the main causes of the unsatisfactory overall situation in the Mediterranean were rooted in the policies based on a position of force, intervention and interference in the internal affairs of the countries in the region and on denial of the rights of some peoples in the area to self-determination and independence.

6. It was pointed out that, among major causes for the deterioration of the situation in the Mediterranean that could potentially jeopardize international peace and security, were the Middle East conflict, the Palestinian problem and the problem of Cyprus. Most of the States called for the peaceful, just and lasting solutions to those problems. In that respect, several States stressed the important role of the United Nations in achieving the resolution of those conflicts.

7. A number of States expressed the view that the prevention of the further militarization of the region and the removal of the arsenals of non-regional Powers, as well as the undertaking of concrete joint efforts to eliminate the existing hotbeds of crisis, would contribute to the achievement of peace and security in the Mediterranean.

8. It was emphasized that security in the Mediterranean region was closely linked with security in Europe and with international peace and security. Some States stressed the need to promote more effective co-operation between Mediterranean countries and European and other States and urged that efforts be made to reflect the more favourable situation now prevailing in Europe and in the Mediterranean region as well. It was suggested that, under those conditions, prospects were opening up for ensuring both general and national security on the basis of universalization of the principles of peaceful coexistence, the balancing of interests, confidence and co-operation. A number of States 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. Hope was expressed that, at the Vienna meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, special attention would be given in the context of an ad hoc meeting, to the Mediterranean area with a specific emphasis on its environment. Some States voiced their expectations that the Vienna meeting would affirm even more strongly the interrelationship between security in Europe and in the Mediterranean region, thus significantly contributing to the creation of a more favourable climate and to the relaxation of tension in the Mediterranean region.

9. Recalling the importance of the ministerial meetings of non-aligned countries at Valletta, Malta, in September 1984 and at Brioni, Yugoslavia, in June 1987, which had put forward a number of initiatives for the development of comprehensive and equitable co-operation among Mediterranean countries and for the transformation of that region into a zone of peace, security and co-operation, several States reaffirmed the need for the non-aligned Mediterranean countries to develop co-operation on the basis of equality and mutual benefit and to promote contacts in all areas in which common interests and real possibilities for co-operation existed. Emphasis was placed, in this context, on the importance of dialogue and consultations among, and joint efforts by, non-aligned and European Mediterranean countries to overcome the outstanding problems that aggravate the situation and cause tension in the Mediterranean region. Some States welcomed the decision to convene the next meeting of non-aligned Mediterranean countries in Algeria in 1989.

10. During the discussion on this item, special attention was given to the regional and subregional co-operation and dialogue within the Mediterranean region. Several States referred to the agreement reached by the Maghreb countries to work for the institution of a Maghreb Union and qualified it as an important contribution to peace, stability and co-operation in the region. The decisions taken by the first meeting of the six Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Balkan States, held at Belgrade in 1988, which had upheld the earlier initiatives aimed at transforming the Balkans into a zone free from nuclear and chemical weapons and had proposed further measures for co-operation in various fields, were also noted as an important contribution to strengthening peace, security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region.

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

11. Some delegations expressed their support for the idea of convening a conference of representatives of the Mediterranean and other interested States to discuss all the initiatives concerning security and co-operation in the region.

12. Several States reiterated an earlier proposal to create a zone of peace and co-operation in the Mediterranean through the reduction of military confrontation, confidence-building measures and the withdrawal of the forces of non-regional Powers from the area and, as a first step, a reciprocal freeze on the number of vessels and naval capability, along with agreement on a force ceiling.

13. One State urged that important international disarmament negotiations and agreements include in their scope the Mediterranean region.

III. REPLIES RECEIVED FROM GOVERNMENTS

ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA

[Original: English]

[26 April 1989]

The Government of Antigua and Barbuda is in full accord with the resolution and intends to comply with its requirements.

BAHRAIN

[Original: Arabic]

[5 July 1989]

1. The Government of the State of Bahrain welcomes the submission of ideas, proposals, announcements and recommendations by Member States for strengthening peace, security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region in order to present an up-to-date report to the General Assembly at its forty-fourth session.

2. The Government has endorsed all General Assembly resolutions concerning the strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region, the latest of which was Assembly resolution 43/84 of 7 December 1988. It has also supported the efforts of Mediterranean coastal States to turn the Mediterranean region into a zone of security, peace and co-operation that is free of conflict and confrontation, 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, peaceful settlement of disputes and respect for permanent sovereignty over natural resources.

3. In this connection, Bahrain welcomes the establishment of the Arab Maghreb Union as a significant contribution and means of promoting peace, stability, security, co-operation and development in the region.

BULGARIA

[Original: Russian]

[8 September 1989]

1. In recent years, the problems related to the maintenance of peace and security in the Mediterranean region have attracted increasing attention from the world community. In contrast to the positive trends in the international climate that have emerged in Europe and the world as a whole, the situation in certain parts of the Mediterranean region remains tense and complex, and is a matter for serious concern.

2. The arms race in the Middle East has assumed enormous proportions and there is a threat of the emergence of chemical and nuclear weapons and powerful ballistic missiles. Israel's aggressive policy towards the Palestinian and other Arab peoples, the illegal partition of Cyprus, the existence of foreign military bases and the unprecedented concentration of naval forces in the Mediterranean continue unabated. For example, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) maintains on a permanent basis more than 1,600 warplanes and about 800 large submarines and warships in that region.

3. The complex web of opposing interests in the Mediterranean is a justifiable cause for concern in Bulgaria, which borders directly on that region. For example, in the territory of two of its neighbouring Mediterranean countries, which are members of NATO, there are foreign military bases and nuclear weapons capable of hitting targets in Bulgarian territory. That constitutes a military factor external to the Balkans that exerts a highly destabilizing influence, since it is not subject to control by the Governments of the region. Furthermore, it aggravates the overall military situation in the Balkans, which is characterized by an advantage in terms of conventional weapons on the part of the military alliance which has deployed nuclear weapons in that subregion.

4. Bulgaria poses no such threat to any country. It recently announced and is now implementing significant unilateral reductions in its military forces and its defence budget for 1989. Were similar steps to be taken by other Governments of the Mediterranean region, they would enhance mutual trust and make a tangible contribution to the strengthening of peace and security.

5. Bulgaria's sincere interest in the just and lasting solution of conflicts in the Mediterranean and in the development and strengthening of all-round co-operation between States of that region is based, among other things, on the fact that major trade routes pass through the Mediterranean Sea and link Bulgaria with other parts of the world.

6. The security of the Mediterranean is closely linked with that of Europe, and cannot be divorced from international peace and security. The Treaty between the USSR and the United States on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, now being implemented, is having a direct, favourable influence on the security of the Mediterranean countries. Another factor of which should be considered, however, is that the speedy settlement of the Middle East conflict and other conflicts in the Mediterranean region would have a positive effect on the solution of other regional conflicts, as well as on the overall political situation in the world.

7. Bulgaria considers that real opportunities exist for normalizing the situation in the Mediterranean. Effective efforts should be made to ensure that the solution of the problems of the Mediterranean should not lag behind certain favourable developments, in the context of the Helsinki process, that are now gathering momentum. The measures for building confidence and security embodied in the Stockholm Document should be extended to the Mediterranean, and the provisions contained in the Mediterranean chapter of the Helsinki Final Act need to be implemented. At the same time, new ideas and measures for building confidence and security in the Mediterranean region can be developed at the Vienna talks.

8. Bulgaria supports the efforts being made to that end by the Mediterranean members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. There also remains on the agenda the question of holding a conference of Mediterranean countries with the participation of hinterland States, as well as other interested States, along the lines of the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. The emerging consensus concerning the convening of such a conference is assuming increasing importance. It is, naturally, not an easy matter

to overcome all obstacles and resolve differences of views on that question, but at the present stage it would be possible to begin preparations for the convening of such a conference. Bulgaria supports the proposals to give full scope to the potential for promoting peace, even before the convening of a United Nations conference, with a view to achieving mutually acceptable forms of constructive interaction among all countries involved in reaching a settlement of the Middle East question.

9. The idea of establishing a Mediterranean forum as a multidisciplinary framework for the promotion of co-operation in the region, which would bring together not only the representatives of Governments, but also individuals prominent in the scientific, educational, cultural and other fields, also deserves attention and support.

10. Bulgaria attaches great importance to the fuller use of existing forms and the promotion of new forms of broad, all-round and mutually advantageous economic, trade, scientific, technical and cultural co-operation, as well as co-operation among States and peoples of the region in the field of the environment, veterinary and phytosanitary protection, seismology, the peaceful use of nuclear energy, and other fields. It supports the idea of concluding a multilateral agreement for the prevention of incidents in the Mediterranean Sea and the airspace above it, as well as a multilateral agreement on the safety of maritime communications, including joint measures to combat international terrorism.

11. Bulgaria is ready to co-operate actively with other States of the Mediterranean region in further efforts to reduce tension and strengthen peace, security and co-operation in the region, in accordance with the provisions of the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

12. Bulgaria considers that there exists a sound basis of ideas and concrete proposals for a business-like and constructive dialogue on the problems of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean. They include the latest proposals put forward by the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, which relate, inter alia, to a freezing and limitation of the naval forces of the USSR and the United States in the region, mutual notification by those two States and notification to the Mediterranean countries concerning the movements of warships and the conduct of naval exercises, including the invitation of observers, and the elaboration of principles governing the safety of busy shipping lanes, especially in straits.

13. Bulgaria reaffirms its conviction that a settlement by peaceful political means, in the spirit of the new political thinking, of existing conflicts in the region and the elimination of the foreign military presence there would be of decisive importance for normalizing the situation in the Mediterranean Sea. Transformation of the Mediterranean into a zone of peace, security and co-operation will make a further contribution to the strengthening of peace and security in Europe and the world as a whole. Bulgaria will continue to do its utmost to promote the attainment of that noble goal.

BYELORUSSIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

[Original: Russian]

[2 August 1989]

1. The Byelorussian SSR believes that the strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region is an important international task of regional and also genuinely global significance. It has consistently supported the resolutions of the General Assembly designed to solve this problem, including resolution 43/84 of 7 December 1988, and the efforts and initiatives of Mediterranean and other States aimed at transforming this region into a zone of peace and co-operation.
2. The recent positive developments in Europe and throughout the world render the need to establish similar processes in the Mediterranean region even more important and urgent. Any further delay in this matter may put an undesirable brake on the movement towards stability.
3. The persistence in the Mediterranean region of a hotbed of one of the most chronic of conflicts - the Middle East conflict - and the unending sufferings of the peoples of Lebanon and Palestine, as well as the arms race, which is developing a dangerous momentum in the region, and the threat of the establishment there of arsenals of the most dangerous types of weapons, including some that fall within the category of weapons of mass destruction - all this makes it crucial to reach agreement on and adopt practical and serious security-building measures.
4. There is no lack of concrete proposals in this connection. In its previous replies to questionnaires from the Secretary-General, including its reply of 19 July 1988 (A/43/579), the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic stated its views about possible measures that might be taken and it takes this opportunity to reconfirm that view. It is essential to reduce the unacceptably high level of nuclear confrontation in this area, to remove the foreign military bases and military installations of non-Mediterranean States, to limit the frequency and range of movements of naval forces, and to extend confidence-building measures in the region in the spirit of the Stockholm agreements.
5. The Soviet Union, as is well known, has put forward a proposal regarding the concrete steps which could be taken to initiate these processes. The USSR is ready to accept the simultaneous withdrawal from the Mediterranean of the United States and Soviet fleets and is proposing, *inter alia*, as a first step, a freeze on the number of ships and the naval potential of the two States, with the subsequent establishment of limits on them.
6. It would be essential for these and other initiatives to be given careful and constructive consideration at a conference of representatives of Mediterranean and other interested States. Such a conference would have to be well prepared. The United Nations could play a part in its preparation.

7. Significant progress in the strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region would represent a serious contribution to the building of a common European home and would help to lay the foundations of a lasting peace for the many peoples inhabiting its shores and to promote the exercise of their right to self-determination and truly guarantee the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the States of the region.

EGYPT

[Original: Arabic]

[12 September 1989]

1. The Mediterranean enjoys an important geographical position by virtue of its location in a region that served as the cradle for world civilizations and links three continents: Africa, Asia and Europe. As a result, it has become a significant centre of strategic sea lanes and a principal route between the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, serving the spirit of co-operation in all spheres to benefit the peoples of the world.

2. All of those factors have helped to endow the region with geopolitical significance. Unfortunately, however, the Mediterranean has, with the passing of time, become a region marked by regional conflicts that affect not only the security and safety of its coastal States, but also international peace and security. Regional and international conflicts have erupted in the region since the end of the Second World War, and some have even threatened to bring the world to the brink of nuclear war.

3. Egypt has frequently affirmed that the security of the Mediterranean region must be grounded in recognition of the following:

(a) The concept of comprehensive security is based on the principle of the interdependence of States. It is not possible to fragment that security, or even to discuss the security of one part in isolation from the security of the other;

(b) There is a close link between European security and the security of the Mediterranean. Any conflict or tension in one of the two regions inevitably affects the other, whereas a stable situation helps to create a positive atmosphere of security. That principle was affirmed in the Helsinki Final Act of 1975, as follows:

"Convinced that security in Europe ... is closely linked with security in the Mediterranean area as a whole, and that accordingly the process of improving security should not be confined to Europe but should extend to other parts of the world, and in particular to the Mediterranean area ...". 1/

4. In that context, the seriousness of the regional conflicts affecting the Mediterranean region, principal among which is the Middle East problem and its essence, the question of Palestine, as well as the critical situation in Lebanon

must be noted. It cannot be ignored that the continuation of those problems and conflicts in a sensitive region of the world has the effect of escalating the arms race in terms of both conventional and nuclear weapons. In addition, it tends to cause a deterioration of social and economic conditions in many parts of the Mediterranean.

5. All of those factors confirm the importance of beginning to identify effective solutions to the problems of the Mediterranean. Further disregard for those problems will inevitably exacerbate them, reduce opportunities for the establishment of security and stability and threaten co-operation in the region.

6. What is needed in order to establish security and peace in the Mediterranean region is fulfilment of the minimum requirements of all parties, in order that a pattern of co-operation may take the place of relations based on conflict and confrontation.

7. In that context, a major role can be played by the United Nations in the strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region and thus in the promotion of international peace and security. Action can be taken in the following spheres:

1. Security

8. Egypt makes the following proposals:

(a) The United Nations must affirm the close link between the peace and security of both Europe and the Mediterranean since their strengthening will serve to reinforce international peace and security;

(b) The United Nations must continue to encourage parties to any conflict to settle their differences by peaceful means in accordance with Article 33, paragraph 1, of the Charter of the United Nations, because continued conflict constitutes a threat to international peace and security. The United Nations should also encourage dialogue between the parties with a view to preventing the aggravation of disputes;

(c) The Middle East problem must be solved in accordance with Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), and the opportunity must be provided for the Palestinian people to exercise its right to self-determination and to establish its own independent State;

(d) Efforts should be made to encourage the conclusion of agreements for an outright ban on lethal weapons, and particularly nuclear arms and weapons of mass destruction;

(e) The United Nations should support the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in the Middle East and Africa, in view of the direct effect that would have on the security of the Mediterranean.

2. Economic matters

9. It is important to promote co-operation and strengthen commercial relations between Mediterranean countries with respect to economic, commercial and cultural matters. That can be done, in particular, by encouraging and promoting European-Arab dialogue in all spheres.

3. Environment

10. The subject of the environment has become one of our most important contemporary issues and a challenge which must be faced by the international community. Egypt believes that this problem cannot be ignored and that the international community must co-operate in order to prevent its becoming more serious.

11. Among the most important concerns in that regard are the rapid adoption of the measures necessary to address the danger posed by the expanding gap in the ozone layer and the need to protect the Mediterranean environment against all forms of pollution that threaten fishing resources. Use can be made of the experience of Mediterranean States in addressing many of those problems.

GREECE

[Original: English]

[1 June 1989]

1. Promotion of peace and co-operation in the Mediterranean region remains one of the most important aims of the foreign policy of Greece. Greece supports all efforts for co-operation, either bilateral or multilateral, among the countries of the region and considers any problem arising in the area as serious. Greece, a country situated in the region, supports therefore every genuine effort for the consolidation of peace and the promotion of co-operation among countries of the area with a view to transforming the Mediterranean basin into a sea of peace rather than a military confrontation field.

2. The Government of Greece welcomes General Assembly resolution 43/84 and will strive to assist the Secretary-General in its implementation.

ISRAEL

[Original: English]

[27 June 1989]

1. The reduction of tensions and the movement towards co-operation and peace have always been cardinal elements of Israel's policy. The Middle East has for decades

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been a focus of tension, instability and violence, and the Arab-Israel conflict has been one of the arenas of confrontation, despite Israel's many efforts to promote negotiations that would bring peace.

2. In keeping with Israel's unceasing and determined search for a genuine and lasting peace with its Arab neighbours, the Government of Israel has currently embarked on a Peace Initiative, which sets forth the guidelines for achieving a breakthrough towards a resolution of the conflict that would usher in a new era of regional co-operation and good-neighbourly relations. The Initiative is based on four steps, each of which is an integral part of the Initiative and should be dealt with simultaneously. The steps are as follows:

"(a) Israel views as important that the peace between Israel and Egypt, based on the Camp David Accords, will serve as a cornerstone for enlarging the circle of peace in the region, and calls for a common endeavour for the strengthening of the peace and its extension, through continued consultation;

"(b) Israel calls for the establishment of peaceful relations between it and those Arab States which still maintain a state of war with it for the purpose of promoting a comprehensive settlement for the Arab-Israel conflict, including recognition, direct negotiations, ending the boycott, diplomatic relations, cessation of hostile activity in international institutions or forums, and regional and bilateral co-operation;

"(c) Israel calls for an international endeavour to resolve the problem of the residents of the Arab refugee camps in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district in order to improve their living conditions and to rehabilitate them. Israel is prepared to be a partner in this endeavour;

"(d) In order to advance the political negotiation process leading to peace, Israel proposes free and democratic elections among the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district in an atmosphere devoid of violence, threats and terror. In these elections, a representation will be chosen to conduct negotiations for a transitional period of self-rule. That period will constitute a test for coexistence and co-operation. At a later stage, negotiations will be conducted for a permanent solution, during which all the proposed options for an agreed settlement will be examined, and peace between Israel and Jordan will be achieved."

3. The Peace Initiative of the Government of Israel presents guidelines and principles for addressing the issues of the Arab-Israel conflict and, therefore, would significantly contribute to the interrelated goals of reducing tensions and enhancing co-operation in the Mediterranean. Israel's call to the Arab States to end the state of war and belligerency and enter into direct negotiations that would result in peace and co-operation has special relevance to the situation in the Mediterranean.

4. Co-operation is possible and can yield tangible results, as seen, for example, in the Action Plan for the Protection of the Mediterranean Basin for safeguarding

environmental quality. Both Israel and the Arab States of the Mediterranean have actively participated in various conferences of the Plan and have signed the Barcelona Convention for the Protection of the Mediterranean Sea against Pollution of 16 February 1976, subsequent Protocols, and the Genoa Declaration, which comprise a comprehensive programme for protecting the Mediterranean Sea from pollution. Co-operation has become a reality on matters pertaining to the environment. Other spheres of activity could similarly benefit from such co-operation and true peace could be the outcome.

5. Israel fully endorses the principle of regional security and co-operation and is prepared to do its part in bringing this about. Therefore, Israel also supports the idea of establishing a Mediterranean forum that would promote co-operation between the Mediterranean nations on all levels - between Government; among scientific, educational, cultural and other institutions; and between prominent individuals specializing in Mediterranean studies. This forum, however, would have validity and be true to the goal of promoting security and co-operation only if it is open to all the States of the Mediterranean, so that all may contribute and benefit.

6. Israel hopes that, working together, all the States of the region will be able to chart a new course for the Mediterranean - one that leaves confrontation and conflict behind, and moves towards peace and regional harmony.

SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC

[Original: Arabic]

[31 July 1989]

1. The Syrian Arab Republic believes that General Assembly resolution 43/84, and particularly paragraph 1 thereof, contains important principles for the strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region.

2. The Syrian Arab Republic has consistently expressed its interest in the strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region. This interest was clearly voiced by President Hafez al-Assad in his address on 11 September 1987 at the opening ceremony of the 10th Mediterranean Games. On that occasion he said:

"Just as we want the land to be a land of peace and friendship, without aggression, occupation or any manifestation of aggression or occupation, we also want the sea to be a sea of peace and friendship, whose skies are filled with sea-gulls rather than aircraft of death and destruction and whose waters are ploughed by ships bringing peoples together rather than the carriers of instruments of death and destruction. We want a sea that exists for the people of that sea, without the fleets of those who have evil intentions towards our peoples, and we want the Mediterranean basin to be a region that serves as a nucleus for world peace, from which the doves of peace arise to fan out in the skies above the Earth."

3. The Syrian Arab Republic has also taken an active and rigorous part in action to establish the principles of strengthening security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region by joining in the adoption of statements issued at meetings of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Mediterranean members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, including, in particular, the Declaration adopted at Valletta, Malta, on 11 September 1984 and the Declaration adopted at Brioni, Yugoslavia, on 4 June 1987.

4. The Syrian Arab Republic is of the opinion that the strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region requires the elimination of points of tension in the region through the solution of conflicts by peaceful means, respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States, non-interference in internal affairs and non-use of force or threat of use of force, by adhering to the principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations and implementing United Nations resolutions.

5. The Syrian Arab Republic wishes to affirm that the following factors serve to undermine security, co-operation and stability in the Mediterranean region:

(a) The pursuit by certain States of hegemony and military supremacy and the practice of aggression and expansion, as well as the presence of foreign naval fleets and military bases and the practice of State terrorism against certain Mediterranean nations;

(b) Israel's obstruction of efforts to implement General Assembly resolutions providing for the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East by the continued development of its nuclear and military capabilities and its refusal either to adhere to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons or to place its nuclear facilities under International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards, in accordance with related United Nations resolutions;

(c) Israel's continued occupation of the occupied Arab territories, conduct of a racist, expansionist and colonialist policy and refusal either to withdraw from the occupied territories or to recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian Arab people, particularly its right to return, to self-determination and to the establishment of its own independent State;

(d) Israel's continued aggression against Lebanon and occupation of parts of southern Lebanon, its refusal to implement Security Council resolutions calling for its unconditional withdrawal, its attacks on Tunisia and the attack on the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

6. In light of those factors and considerations, the Syrian Arab Republic is continuing to strive to eliminate one of the principal points of tension in the world through the attainment of a just, comprehensive and peaceful settlement of the Middle East crisis. Such a settlement requires the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East, to be attended by the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization and the permanent members of the Security Council, in order to ensure both Israel's complete withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories and the exercise by the

Palestinian Arab people of its legitimate rights, foremost among which is the right to return, to self-determination and to the establishment of its own State on its national soil.

7. The Syrian Arab Republic wishes to affirm that the link between the security of Europe and that of the Middle East requires that the non-aligned Mediterranean States take part in negotiations of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe relating to security-building measures with a view to including consideration of disarmament in the European and Mediterranean regions and to establishing co-operation between the two regions in the economic, commercial and cultural spheres, on a basis of equality and the exchange of benefits without discrimination or the imposition of measures of coercion.

8. The Syrian Arab Republic wishes to reaffirm that it will persist in its endeavours to ensure that the Mediterranean region becomes a zone of peace and friendship.

UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

[Original: Russian]

[24 August 1989]

1. The Ukrainian SSR has constantly advocated the transformation of the Mediterranean into a zone of lasting peace and co-operation and it supports the steps taken to secure the stable and secure development of the region.

2. The complexity and diversity of the problem of guaranteeing security in the Mediterranean are a consequence of its special geographical, political and economic situation, which exposes it to the influence of the situation in Europe, the Middle East and North Africa. At the same time, the security of the Mediterranean region is indivisible. This is where the community of destinies of peoples and the interdependence and oneness of the contemporary world make themselves felt, and, indeed, where the conflicting interests of many States clash and intertwine. The effective guarantee of the security of the Mediterranean region can be achieved as part of a comprehensive approach to the strengthening of international peace and security. It is obvious, in this connection, that the continuation of an unstable military and political situation in the region as a result of the concentrations of powerful naval forces, including nuclear weapons, and the existence there of enormous arsenals of weapons, run counter to the growing trend towards détente and disarmament, especially in Europe.

3. The simultaneous achievement of disarmament in Europe and a settlement in the Middle East, together with the resolution of other conflicts in neighbouring regions would create favourable conditions for the strengthening of stability and security in the Mediterranean. The implementation of the proposals for the demilitarization of the Mediterranean region, including the reduction and subsequent simultaneous withdrawal of the United States and Soviet fleets, would improve the situation in each of the directly contiguous regions. The converse is

also clear: the unblocking of chronic regional conflicts would strengthen the potential for peace throughout the world, including the Mediterranean basin.

4. The Soviet Union has put forward a constructive, concrete programme to guarantee security in the Mediterranean region, taking into account the existing realities. It provides for the reduction of the existing high level of nuclear confrontation in the region, the removal of the foreign military bases and installations of non-Mediterranean States, the limitation of the frequency and range of movements of naval forces, and the extension of confidence-building measures to the region in the spirit of the Stockholm agreements.

5. The Ukrainian SSR attaches great importance to the proposal of the USSR to withdraw its fleet from the Mediterranean region, provided that the United States does likewise, and, as a first step, to freeze the number of ships and the naval potential of the two countries and then to set quantitative limits on them. Pending agreement on joint confidence-building measures, the USSR and the United States could notify each other and all the Mediterranean countries well in advance about movements of their ships and their military exercises and invite observers to observe them.

6. The development of the situation in regions adjacent to Europe imparts a new dimension to European security itself and to the building of a common European home, and vice versa: the increasingly strong positive processes in Europe must be reflected in the destinies of the Mediterranean region. The scope of the confidence-building measures relating to the naval activities in the Mediterranean of States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe could herald the beginning of a shift towards positive changes in this marine area bordering on Europe. Similarly, measures for the redeployment of ground forces in Europe into a defensive structure could be buttressed by a limitation of the offensive potential of naval forces. The Ukrainian SSR attaches great importance to the provisions on the Mediterranean region contained in the documents of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, including the Concluding Document of the Vienna meeting. The holding of the special conference on the Mediterranean region provided for in that document would provide an opportunity for consideration of ways and means of further developing and extending the framework of co-operation in various areas and strengthening confidence and security in the region.

7. The Ukrainian SSR supports the formulation by the Mediterranean and other interested States of principles and methods for guaranteeing the safety of international shipping routes in this region, especially in international straits.

8. The programme of security-building measures proposed at the 1987 meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of non-aligned Mediterranean countries at Brioni provides a good basis for a broad, productive dialogue on the region's problems. This programme is evidence of the growing positive influence of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries on the situation in the Mediterranean.

9. The idea of establishing machinery to assemble, organize and determine a rational order of priority and system for the implementation of all the initiatives

put forward in recent years by many States, first and foremost the Mediterranean States, is becoming ever more immediate. The United Nations could make a substantial contribution to the establishment of such machinery, and indeed to the solution of many urgent Mediterranean problems, on the basis of the General Assembly resolutions on the strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region.

10. The Ukrainian SSR believes that the development of fruitful regional co-operation in the political, economic, environmental, scientific, humanitarian and other fields can play an important role in the complicated process of building security in the Mediterranean region, including measures for the settlement of conflicts and for the removal of hotbeds of tension, the reduction of the level of military confrontation and the strengthening of confidence among States. The way to the establishment of such co-operation lies through the joint solution of urgent problems: bilateral, regional and global.

11. The Ukrainian SSR is ready to co-operate in every possible way in the realization of the idea of transforming the Mediterranean into a region of lasting peace and co-operation and to participate in the consideration of this question in the United Nations and in other international forums.

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

[Original: Russian]

[20 May 1989]

1. The Soviet Union is vitally interested in ensuring peace, security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region and attaches great importance to the finding and implementation of a viable formula for the stable and secure development of this very important region of the world.

2. We consider the strengthening of security in the Mediterranean to be an integral part of ensuring global stability within the context of a comprehensive approach to the strengthening of international peace and security.

3. Positive changes in the situation in Europe and in the world as a whole, in particular the successful conclusion of the Vienna follow-up meeting of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and the start of negotiations on conventional armed forces and confidence- and security-building measures in Europe, together with the progress made in settling regional conflicts in this and adjacent regions, are creating more favourable conditions for the strengthening of security and stability in the Mediterranean, and are, at the same time, making the solution of this problem very urgent.

4. The Soviet Union considers the strengthening of security in the Mediterranean to be a complex process that involves simultaneous steps to settle conflict situations and eliminate hotbeds of tension in the region, to lower the level of military confrontation, to strengthen confidence among Mediterranean States, and to

develop fruitful regional co-operation in the political, economic, environmental, scientific, humanitarian and other fields. We are also fully aware of the specific character of the Mediterranean, in particular the diversity and interdependence of the countries of the region, the variety of interlocking interests there and the difficulty of balancing them, the special nature of the trends of European and world development as reflected in this area and the contradictory nature of the processes taking place in the Mediterranean, and we take these special characteristics of the region into account in shaping our policy.

5. The USSR makes no kind of linkage between advances in various directions in the strengthening of security in the Mediterranean and is ready to solve those problems which are amenable to solution today without any kind of preliminary conditions. At the same time, it starts from the premise - confirmed by the experience of the Helsinki process - that to achieve substantial results it is essential to move in all directions at the same time and seek to ensure that successes in one direction exert a positive influence on progress in other directions. For example, it would hardly be possible to enjoy the fruits of peaceful co-operation to the full if an unstable military-political situation, determined by a high concentration of naval armaments, including nuclear weapons, is maintained in the area. There is a dialectical relationship between the solution of specific regional issues and the overall situation in the Mediterranean.

6. The Soviet Union has made numerous proposals aimed at reducing the level of military confrontation and building confidence in the military sphere in the Mediterranean. Those proposals include, in particular, such multifarious proposals as those for the freezing of the number of Soviet and United States naval vessels in the Mediterranean Sea and the establishment of limits for them, followed at a subsequent stage by the withdrawal of the Soviet and United States fleets; the withdrawal of vessels carrying nuclear weapons from the Mediterranean Sea; the renunciation of the deployment of nuclear weapons in non-nuclear Mediterranean countries and the giving of an undertaking by the nuclear Powers not to use such weapons against any Mediterranean country that does not allow their deployment in its territory; the agreed reduction of armed forces, primarily naval forces, in the Mediterranean region; and the limitation of naval activities and naval armaments in the region. These proposals also include Soviet support for the formulation of principles and methods to ensure safety in intensive navigation routes, especially international straits.

7. A number of our initiatives are aimed at the future, outlining long-term aims and ways of approaching them; others, in particular those concerning confidence-building measures in the Mediterranean Sea and the freezing of Soviet and United States naval forces there and the establishment of limits on them, can be implemented today.

8. The Soviet Union attaches great importance to the provisions relating to security and co-operation in the Mediterranean contained in documents adopted within the framework of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, including those in the Concluding Document of the Vienna follow-up meeting. We consider that they create definite opportunities for joint action aimed at changing

the situation in the Mediterranean for the better. The meeting on the Mediterranean to be held at Palma de Mallorca in 1990, as provided for in the Vienna document, will make it possible to consider ways and means of further reinforcing the various aspects of co-operation in the region with a view to promoting the strengthening of confidence and security in the region.

9. The Soviet Union advocates that confidence-building measures should embrace the naval activities of States participating in the Helsinki process in the Mediterranean Sea, since that is part of the marine area adjacent to Europe.

10. We consider that even before such measures are agreed within the Helsinki process, the USSR and the United States could notify one another and all the Mediterranean States well in advance about their naval exercises in that area and movements of their ships, and invite observers to observe them.

11. The general proposals put forward by the Soviet Union for the strengthening of stability, security and confidence at sea apply equally to the Mediterranean Sea.

12. The Soviet Union welcomes the initiatives of other Mediterranean States aimed at normalizing the situation in the region.

13. In particular, the Soviet Union considers the proposal by 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 to be a useful one. We have supported the initiative of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Cyprus to convene a conference of parliamentarians of the Mediterranean countries with the aim of ridding the region of foreign navies and bases. In our view, the proposal of Spain on the ecosystem of the Mediterranean also deserves attention.

14. We value highly the contribution made by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries to the cause of strengthening security and developing co-operation in the Mediterranean region. We attach great importance to the results of the meetings of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of non-aligned Mediterranean States held at Valletta (1984) and Brioni (1987) and to their forthcoming meeting at Algiers. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has great potential for exerting a positive influence on the development of the situation in the Mediterranean.

15. It is essential to initiate and maintain an intensive dialogue at various levels through diplomatic and political channels, between Governments and between representatives of political parties and of business, scientific and social circles, on both a bilateral and a multilateral basis.

16. In our opinion, the various ideas and proposals concerning a broad spectrum of Mediterranean problems put forward by the USSR and other States provide a good basis for the development of such a dialogue. The Soviet Union reaffirms its proposal regarding the establishment of international machinery to assemble, organize and evaluate these proposals and determine an order of priority and procedure for implementing them. The United Nations could make a substantial contribution to the establishment of such machinery.

17. We consider that the United Nations is called upon to play an important role in resolving urgent Mediterranean problems. The General Assembly resolutions on the strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region undoubtedly provide a positive basis from which to advance towards the normalisation of the situation in this region. In our view, the regional international organizations whose activities have a bearing on this region (the League of Arab States, the Organization of African Unity and others) could also make an outstanding contribution.

18. In expressing these views, the Soviet Union remains prepared, as before, for constructive co-operation with all interested countries with a view to moving towards the transformation of the Mediterranean into a region of lasting peace and international co-operation.

Notes

1/ Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, Helsinki, 1985, Cmnd. 6198 (London, HM Stationery Office, 1985).
