Fortieth session
Agenda item 71 of the provisional agenda*

STRENGTHENING OF SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN THE
MEDITERRANEAN REGION

Note of the Secretary-General

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. At its 102nd meeting, on 17 December 1984, the General Assembly adopted resolution 39/153 entitled "Strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region", the operative part of which reads as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"...

"1. Reaffirms:

"(a) That the security of the Mediterranean is closely linked with European security and 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, peaceful settlement of disputes and respect for permanent sovereignty over natural resources;

"(c) The need for just and viable solutions of 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. Welcomes 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;

"3. Urges all States to co-operate with the Mediterranean States in the further efforts required to reduce tension and promote peace, security and co-operation in the region in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and 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;

"4. Encourages once again efforts to intensify existing forms and to promote new forms of co-operation in various fields, particularly those aimed at reducing tension and strengthening confidence and security in the region;

"5. Renews its invitation to 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. **Invites** the member States 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;

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

2. Pursuant to that resolution, the Secretary-General, on 15 February 1985, addressed a note verbale to the Governments of States Members 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 note contains views of States based on replies received so far from Governments. Replies received subsequently will be published as addenda to the present note.

II. REPLIES RECEIVED FROM GOVERNMENTS

**BRUNEI DARUSSALAM**

[Original: English]

[8 May 1985]

The Government has no proposal to make but supports resolution 39/153 and is prepared to co-operate with the Mediterranean States to achieve that purpose in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter. The Government of Brunei Darussalam hopes that tension will be reduced and conditions of security and co-operation will be created 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 permanent sovereignty over natural resources.

**BULGARIA**

[Original: English]

[19 July 1985]

1. The People's Republic of Bulgaria shares the concern expressed in resolution 39/153 over persistent and increasing tension in parts of the Mediterranean region and reaffirms in this respect its conviction, which is also set forth in the Helsinki Final Act, that security in Europe, viewed within the broader context of world security, is closely linked with security in the Mediterranean region.
2. The causes for tension in the Mediterranean region are well known. First and foremost is the perennial policy of aggression by Israel vis-à-vis the Palestinian and the Arab people of the region. The road to remove this source of tension is only one, namely, through Israel's recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to establish their own State and through the settlement of all contentious issues in the region by peaceful means. An important role in this respect can be played by the convening of an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations with the participation of all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization.

3. A particularly destabilizing factor in the Mediterranean region is the maintenance by some imperialist States of military bases, the stockpiling of nuclear weapons in the region, as well as the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in Italy. These weapons, targeted mainly on the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, have converted the Mediterranean into a gunpowder keg and they threaten the security of the countries and peoples of the Mediterranean region.

4. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is convinced that there are ways for eliminating the nuclear threat in the region and for turning the latter into a zone of peace, security and co-operation. The socialist countries have repeatedly proposed in this connection the withdrawal from the Mediterranean of naval vessels carrying nuclear weapons, the non-deployment of nuclear arms on the territory of the Mediterranean nuclear-weapon States and the assumption by the nuclear-weapon Powers of the obligation not to use nuclear weapons against Mediterranean countries which have no such weapons on their territory. Military confrontation in the region could be lessened also by agreed-upon reduction of military forces in the region and by the extension to it of a number of confidence-building measures in the military field.

5. The People's Republic of Bulgaria, being a Black Sea country and in this sense a Mediterranean one, is vitally interested in eliminating the nuclear threat in the region. There are no foreign military bases and nuclear arms on the territory of Bulgaria. However, the United States is maintaining in two neighbouring Mediterranean and Balkan countries military bases and nuclear weapons which pose a real threat to the security of Bulgaria and endanger peace in that part of the Mediterranean and the adjacent Balkan region. As it was noted in General Assembly resolution 37/118, the security of the Mediterranean and of the adjacent regions is interconnected and we are convinced that the turning of the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear weapons would play a stabilizing role in that part of the world.

6. Of major importance for strengthening peace and security in the Mediterranean region is the promotion of mutually advantageous co-operation both among the Mediterranean countries themselves, as well as between them and the countries of the adjacent regions. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is keenly interested in fostering such co-operation with the Mediterranean countries with which Bulgaria is maintaining active commercial, economic and cultural relations. Bulgaria is ready to participate in all forums relating to the problems of the Mediterranean Sea which is its sole sea lane to the rest of the world's continents.

7. The People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue in the future to make a contribution to the efforts to reduce tension and confrontation in the Mediterranean and to turn that region into a zone of peace, security and co-operation.
1. The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic has already expressed concern about the tense situation in the Mediterranean. Recent developments in this region are a cause of great alarm. The constant operations of a large formation of United States warships in the region, the stationing of American nuclear missiles in a number of European countries, particularly Italy, the continuing encroachments of Israel, supported by the United States, upon the independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon, the tension in Cyprus provoked by imperialism, and overt pressure on Libya and other independent Mediterranean States are extremely negative factors, which are having an adverse effect on security and co-operation in the Mediterranean.

2. As we know, the countries of the socialist community have repeatedly proposed the adoption of effective measures to transform the Mediterranean into a zone of peace, security and co-operation. The achievement of this objective would also be facilitated by implementation of the Soviet proposal on freeing the European continent completely of both medium-range and tactical nuclear weapons. A step of great importance in this direction has been the introduction by the Soviet Union, on a unilateral basis, of a moratorium on the deployment of its medium-range missiles and its suspension of other countermeasures in Europe. It is essential for the United States and its NATO allies to take constructive steps in response.

3. A significant contribution to strengthening security in the Mediterranean region would be made by abstention from the stationing of nuclear weapons in nuclear-weapon-free Mediterranean countries, the adoption by the nuclear Powers of undertakings not to use nuclear weapons against any Mediterranean country which does not allow the stationing of such weapons on its territory, the withdrawal of ships equipped with nuclear weapons from the Mediterranean, and the extension to the Mediterranean region of military confidence-building measures which have already proved themselves in international practice.

4. The positive development of the situation in this region would also be promoted by the implementation of measures to limit naval activities and naval armaments in Mediterranean waters. The position of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic on such measures was set forth in the letters of the Permanent Mission of the Byelorussian SSR to the Secretary-General dated 25 April 1984 and 26 April 1985.

5. The Byelorussian SSR welcomes steps on the part of the Mediterranean countries aimed at transforming the region into a zone of peace, security and co-operation, and in this light greeted positively the outcome of the conference of non-aligned Mediterranean States held at Valletta in September 1984.

6. The Byelorussian SSR continues to believe that the situation in a region which is of such importance for the destiny of the world as the Mediterranean directly
affects the security interests of the countries of the socialist community, given its close relationship to the security of adjacent regions, and it is prepared to assist all efforts to normalize the situation in the Mediterranean on the basis of equality, taking fully into account the interests of the peoples and the interests of peace and security.

CUBA

[Original: Spanish]

[9 July 1985]

1. The Government of the Republic of Cuba is convinced that there is an urgent need to strengthen peace, security and co-operation in this region of the world. The attainment of peace and security in the Mediterranean would be an effective contribution to the aspiration of the world community to eliminate the scourge of war, since its positive influence would extend to other adjacent regions with which there exists an unquestionable interrelationship.

2. For these reasons, the Government of Cuba considers that it is essential to redouble the efforts being made by the Mediterranean States and the entire international community.

3. The establishment of an atmosphere of peace, security and co-operation in the Mediterranean Sea will not be possible, however, unless the ongoing conflicts in the region are solved, most particularly those arising from the aggressive policy of the Zionist State of Israel and the hostile military presence of imperialism in Mediterranean waters. The deployment of nuclear weapons in the territories of non-nuclear-weapon States of the region is likewise inimical to the aspiration of the Mediterranean States and the international community.

4. The Government of the Republic of Cuba supports the invitation to the Secretary-General, renewed in resolution 39/153, 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.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

[Original: Spanish]

[9 May 1985]

The Dominican Republic has the honour to state that, in keeping with the peace-loving vocation of the Dominican Government and people and their advocacy of international co-operation, the Dominican Republic will support any measures that may be adopted at the United Nations to promote détente, security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region.
KENYA

[Original: English]

[28 May 1985]

1. Kenya fully recognizes the objectives of promoting peace, security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region. In this connection, Kenya strongly supports strengthening security and co-operation in the Mediterranean basin, as provided for in the Mediterranean Chapter of the Helsinki Final Act and Valletta Declaration for Mediterranean Peace.

2. The creation of the Mediterranean Zone of Peace would enhance conditions propitious to stability and co-operation for socio-economic development among States within the region. Furthermore, such an agreement would constitute a constructive and positive effort towards eliminating the super-Power rivalry for spheres of influence and preventing potential conflict in that region.

3. Kenya urges all States to co-operate with the Mediterranean States in efforts geared to reduction of tension and promotion of peace in accordance with purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and with the provisions of the Declaration of Principles on International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States.

4. Similarly, consistent with its unwavering policy of peaceful coexistence and good neighbourliness between all States, Kenya supports, in principle, the call for strengthening of security and co-operation in every region as a first step towards the realization of general and complete disarmament.

MEXICO

[Original: Spanish]

[18 June 1985]

1. The strengthening of security in the Mediterranean region depends to a large extent on the implementation of measures which will effectively guarantee non-intervention and establish genuine co-operation in the area of disarmament among coastal and non-coastal States.

2. Mexico deems the establishment of a zone of peace in the Mediterranean appropriate, because it is a region of vital importance from the strategic and commercial viewpoints.

3. The Government of Mexico considers, however, that it is the interested countries of the region which should propose and implement concrete measures of co-operation for the achievement of the above-mentioned objective, which would be received by the international community with great satisfaction.
4. Among the specific proposals to strengthen security in the Mediterranean the following may be considered:

   (a) The possibility of limiting activities of a military nature, such as manoeuvres and other naval exercises, especially in zones of conflict or in areas which are subject to disputes over sovereignty;

   (b) The adoption of confidence-building measures, such as the presence of international observers during exercises and the prior notification of manoeuvres.

5. Furthermore, the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, as the legal instrument that will govern all the activities of States in maritime space, can help to strengthen security and promote co-operation in the Mediterranean. The coastal States of the Mediterranean should therefore ratify or accede to that instrument promptly, so that the rules of the Convention on the Law of the Sea may enter into force as soon as possible.

PHILIPPINES

[Original: English]

[17 July 1985]

1. The Philippines reiterates its support for various relevant United Nations resolutions on this subject (General Assembly resolutions 36/102, 37/118 and 38/189).

2. The presence of major naval forces in the area and their use in the conveyance of opposing groups of military and/or naval forces in the Middle East region could create serious repercussions beyond the Mediterranean and could further destabilize the situation in the Middle East. In the light of the continuing instability and sources of tension in the region, the Philippines has been consistent in its policy to support the United Nations system of collective security.

3. The Philippines welcomes all positive developments which serve to enhance international security and strengthen co-operation in the region, as embodied in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and the Concluding Documents of the Belgrade and Madrid Meetings.

4. The Philippines continues to support any other positive initiative that might be taken in the United Nations on the above subject-matter, aimed at reducing tension and strengthening confidence in the economic, commercial, social and cultural fields as well as in the area of regional security.
1. The situation in the Mediterranean region continues to be tense due largely to the NATO nuclear arms build-up in the area and the escalation of the Middle East conflict as a result of the aggressive Israeli policy. This state of affairs directly affects the security of States in the region and, indirectly, that of the European continent as a whole. It also has adverse impact on the co-operation of the Mediterranean States themselves as well as that of other European States with the States of the region.

2. Poland is vitally interested in a peaceful evolution of the situation in the Mediterranean region. This position is consistent with the fundamental premises of Poland's foreign policy aimed, as they are, at consolidation of the principles of peaceful coexistence in international relations. The interest also results from its awareness that the situation obtaining in the region directly bears on European security, from the realization of the need to expand Poland's political, economic, scientific and cultural links with the States of the region which include a number of major partners of co-operation of our country.

3. Like other socialist States, Poland comes out in favour of transforming the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and co-operation. The carrying out of that objective, in our view, calls in the first place for the immediate withdrawal of nuclear weapons from the region and the bringing about of peaceful solution of the open conflicts in the region, especially that in the Middle East. In the considered view of the Polish Government, the United Nations has an unquestionable role to play in efforts to promote Mediterranean security. Within the framework of the United Nations undertakings in that regard, Poland has been making its own positive contribution - as demonstrated by the participation of a Polish contingent in the United Nations Emergency Force in Sinai (UNEF II) and the continued service of a Polish contingent with the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) on the Golan Heights.

4. In the opinion of the Government of the Polish People's Republic, peace and security in the Mediterranean region are indispensable prerequisites for the fostering of a climate conducive to the development of intra-Mediterranean co-operation as well as co-operation between the States of the region and other European States. In our view, the adoption and implementation throughout the Mediterranean region of a United Nations declaration on confidence-building measures in international economic relations would be instrumental for the removal of the barriers standing in the way of the intensification of mutually advantageous co-operation. Such international organizations as UNESCO, UNEP, WHO and the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe have as well an important role to play in promoting expanded co-operation in the Mediterranean region. Poland has been lending its support to their activities and is currently participating in the implementation of a number of their joint undertakings. It also seeks to encourage different forms of bilateral co-operation with the Mediterranean States. This
goes, among other things, for co-operation with regard to industrial investment, protection and preservation of archaeological and architectural monuments and co-operation between scientific centres, including the exchange of scholars and university lecturers.

5. Important possibilities with regard to the further consolidation of security and promotion of co-operation within the Mediterranean region have been opened up within the framework of the process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE). Like other States sharing in that process, Poland has taken upon itself an obligation to co-operate with other States with a view to promoting détente and security in the Mediterranean area and expanding co-operation with the States concerned. In this connection, we come out for strict respect by the States participating in the CSCE process, in their relations with the Mediterranean States, of the principles embodied in the CSCE Final Act, with due regard to the confidence-building measures in the military sphere, as envisaged in the Final Act. This position Poland has been presenting also from the rostrum of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and on Disarmament in Europe.

6. Poland has consistently spoken out for the promotion of economic, scientific and cultural co-operation between the States participating in the CSCE process, on the one hand, and the non-participatory Mediterranean States, on the other. This stand bears out Poland's attendance at the expert meeting in La Valetta in 1979 and the Venice seminar in 1984. At these meetings Poland sought to make a meaningful contribution to the search for the most adequate forms of co-operation, for its promotion between the States of the region and, more particularly, between the States involved in the CSCE process and the non-participatory Mediterranean States in regard both to bilateral and multilateral co-operation.

UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

[Original: Russian]

[31 July 1985]

1. As a result of the militarist aspirations and direct military interference of the imperialist forces, especially the United States, the situation in the Mediterranean region is continuing to deteriorate. The increasing process of militarization is transforming the Mediterranean into a zone of direct threat to the peoples living in the region, as well as in adjacent regions, and is hindering peaceful navigation. A great danger is presented by the stationing of American first-strike missiles in Italy and by the deployment of large United States naval formations in the Mediterranean.

2. Tension is mounting in the eastern Mediterranean because of the "strategic co-operation" which still continues between the United States and Israel. All-round political, economic and military assistance from the United States is enabling Israel to block attempts at reaching a political settlement in the Middle East and to continue acts of aggression against Lebanon and other Arab States.

/...
3. Overt imperialist pressure on Libya and interference in the internal affairs of Cyprus and other independent Mediterranean States have not ceased.

4. All of this runs counter to the provisions of resolution 39/153 and is fundamentally inconsistent with the idea of declaring the Mediterranean as a zone of peace, security and co-operation.

5. The state of affairs in the Mediterranean directly affects the interests of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, since this region is in direct proximity to its borders.

6. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic consistently advocates the transformation of the Mediterranean from a region of military and political confrontation into a zone of lasting peace and security, which would in turn contribute to establishing economic, scientific, technical and cultural co-operation among States of this region and to improving the international situation as a whole. The basis for achieving this objective could be provided by the extension to the region of military confidence-building measures, agreed reductions of armed forces, and especially naval forces, the withdrawal of ships equipped with nuclear weapons from the Mediterranean, the non-deployment of nuclear weapons in nuclear-weapon-free Mediterranean countries, and the adoption by the nuclear Powers of undertakings not to use nuclear weapons against any Mediterranean country which does not allow the stationing of such weapons on its territory.

7. The easing of tension in the region could also be promoted by other concrete measures. Some of these were set forth by the Permanent Mission of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to the United Nations in its reply dated 30 April 1984 to the Secretary-General's questionnaire concerning the limitation of naval activities and naval armaments.

8. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in every way supports the efforts by peace-loving States aimed at reducing tension and strengthening confidence, security and co-operation in the Mediterranean, and in this connection positively welcomes the outcome of the conference of the Mediterranean States members of the non-aligned movement, held at Valletta in September 1984.

9. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic will continue to contribute actively to the realization of the idea of transforming the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and co-operation and to take part in the collective efforts of States aimed at reducing tension and strengthening confidence and security in this region.
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

[Original: Russian]

[2 July 1985]

1. The continuing deterioration of the situation in the Mediterranean is a cause of great concern in the Soviet Union. The permanent presence in that region of a large number of warships of the United States fleet threatens the security and independence of the countries in the Mediterranean and the adjacent regions and creates a serious obstacle to peaceful navigation.

2. The siting of American nuclear missiles in a number of countries in Europe, including Italy, poses a great danger to the Mediterranean and adjacent regions.

3. Tension in the eastern Mediterranean continues to escalate. Israel, with the support of the United States, stubbornly continues to infringe upon the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon and to intensify its campaign of terrorism and violence in southern Lebanon. The responsibility for Israel's actions rests fully on those who provide military and political "cover" to their "strategic partner". Overt pressure continues to be put on Libya in an effort to force that sovereign State to abandon its independent foreign policy. Thanks to the imperialist forces, the situation in and around Cyprus remains tense. Other independent States in the Mediterranean are also experiencing military and political pressure.

4. It is perfectly obvious that the manner in which the situation develops there directly concerns the Soviet Union. As a Black Sea Power, and consequently as a Mediterranean Power, the USSR is in favour of turning the Mediterranean into a zone of stable peace and co-operation, so as to reduce nuclear weapons there instead of building them up.

5. The Soviet Union has consistently offered and is offering to take effective measures in order eventually to rid Europe completely of both medium-range and tactical nuclear weapons. The unilateral declaration by the Soviet Union of a moratorium on the deployment of its medium-range missiles and its suspension of other retaliatory measures in Europe are an important step in this direction. Accordingly, the USSR expects the United States and other NATO members, in return, to show restraint in the matter of stationing American missiles in Western Europe, including, it goes without saying, the Mediterranean region.

6. If the idea of turning the Mediterranean into a zone of peace, security and co-operation becomes reality, a number of specific measures proposed by the Soviet Union could be put into effect. They are: that nuclear weapons should not be sited in the territories of nuclear-free Mediterranean countries; that the nuclear Powers should undertake not to use nuclear weapons against any Mediterranean country that has refused to allow such weapons to be sited on its soil; that ships equipped with nuclear weapons should be withdrawn from the Mediterranean; and that confidence-building measures in the military field which have already proved effective in international practice, such as prior notification of military exercises, the invitation of observers to such exercises and the exchange of military delegations, should be extended to the Mediterranean region.

/...
7. An agreed reduction of armed forces, primarily naval forces, in the Mediterranean could also make a major contribution to easing tension in the region, as could other specific measures 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 9 April 1984 addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations concerning the limitation of naval activities and naval armaments.

8. Implementation of the foregoing proposals would engender among the States of the Mediterranean region a sense of confidence in their own security. This would be a major step towards the development and intensification of economic, scientific and technical, cultural and other forms of co-operation among States, thereby restoring détente in the region.

9. The Soviet Union resolutely supports the steps taken by peace-loving Mediterranean States to normalize the situation in the region. It is precisely from this standpoint that it evaluates the conclusions of the meeting of the Mediterranean members of the non-aligned movement, held at Valletta in September 1984, which came out in favour of broadening efforts by the non-aligned Mediterranean countries to transform the Mediterranean into a region of peace, security and co-operation. It fully shares the concern expressed by the participants in the meeting regarding the stationing of nuclear missiles in the region and the meeting's conclusion concerning the relationship between security in the Mediterranean and international security in general.

10. For its part, the Soviet Union expresses its readiness to continue to co-operate with the Mediterranean States in every possible way in the efforts to ease tension and establish peace, security and co-operation in the region.

11. The USSR will continue actively to promote the idea of turning the Mediterranean into a zone of peace, security and co-operation and will participate in the collective efforts of States directed at the realization of the idea of establishing such a zone.