

Forum:	Disarmament and International Security Committee (GA1)
Issue:	Strengthening security and cooperation in the Mediterranean region
Student Officer:	Efi Charalampopoulou
Position:	Co-Chair

PERSONAL INTRODUCTION

Dear delegates,

My name is Efi Charalampopoulou, I am a student in the 10th grade of CGS and it is my utmost honour and pleasure to be serving as a Student Officer in the 11th PSMUN conference. MUN has, undoubtedly, been one of the most edifying experiences so far, leading to my great passion for it. Personally, I consider MUN to be a one-in-a-lifetime chance for teenagers, since it is the way of directly expressing our views on influential matters. Furthermore, the Disarmament and International Security Committee has always been captivating to me and thus I am beyond thankful for the opportunity I have been given. The 1st Committee of the UN General Assembly tackles some of the most urgent issues, concerning international security and disarmament. Thus, the actions that are to be taken in the context of this committee refer to peacekeeping and tackling instances that endanger international security.

This study guide touches upon the issue “Strengthening security and cooperation in the Mediterranean region”. This topic includes various aspects of the issue, including in-depth understanding of the historical background and evolution, the driving causes, the effect of the lack of cooperation in the international geopolitical sector, as well as investigation of individual cases of conflict and dispute. Hence, a variety of aspects must be considered, in the process of coming up with ideas to resolve the issue. Despite the fact that this study guide approaches several facets of the issue, it should not be used as the only source in research. As a result, you are highly encouraged to conduct your own extensive research upon the topic, in order to gain a holistic understanding. Should you have any questions and need any further clarifications, feel free to contact me at the following email: efisofi.xaralampopoulou@gmail.com

TOPIC INTRODUCTION

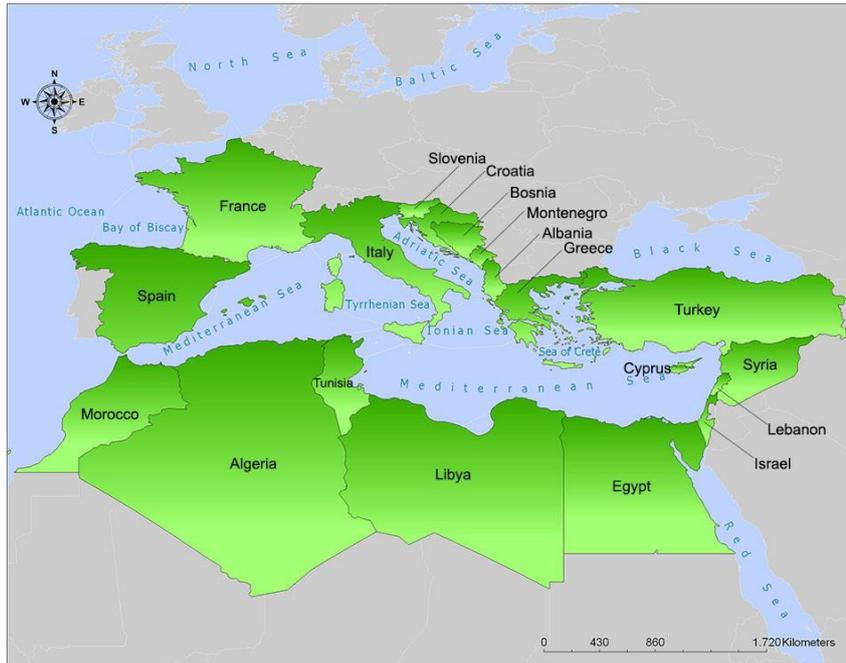
In regard to the implementation of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals, resolving arising conflicts is of major importance internationally, regionally and nationally. According to the 16th Goal of the Sustainable Development Agenda referring to the promotion of peace and justice and the strengthening of institutions, as well as the 17th Goal regarding the establishment of global partnership and

cooperation, it is vital to address any disputes that, consequently lead to lack of cooperation in different and various axis, such as the social, the economic, the political. Furthermore, we should not neglect the general aim that led to the formation of the UN, as expressed through the first article of the UN Charter: To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;¹

A prime example of a dispute, characterized by a national, regional and international effect is the one in the Mediterranean region. Despite the fact that the lack of cooperation and ineffectiveness of security measures is spotted within the borders of the Mediterranean, its effect is wider than imaginable, due to the geopolitical interest of the region. Starting from B.C. years, nations and nomadic groups have shown special preference towards the region, as it is the meeting point of 3 continents (Europe, Africa, Asia). Nowadays, the discovery of possible natural resources has exacerbated the already hectic situation. Hence, it is important to acknowledge and fully investigate the historical background of the situation and the individual cases of conflict, as well as the interference and invasion of exterior powers to the region's problems.

Considering the general umbrella-topic of this year's PSMUN conference, being 'Redefining Solidarity', it is important to understand its interconnection with the lack of cooperation and security in the Mediterranean region. The redefinition of solidarity is defined as the process, where one sets new bases and prerequisites, for a new relationship, which will utopianly be discerned by cooperation and mutual willingness for help. Regarding the issue, it is vital to understand solidarity, since every solution of the conflict revolves around this concept. Hence, when trying to establish patterns that ensure secure and cooperative relations in the region, the long-term and utmost goal is the redefinition of solidarity between and among the nations.

¹ "Chapter I: Purposes and Principles (Articles 1-2)." *United Nations*, United Nations, <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter/chapter-1.n>



1.1. Visual representation of the Mediterranean region and its belonging nations²

DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

National Security

National Security is the prevention of government repression, systematic violation of human rights and threats of militarization through acts of cooperation and partnership.

International Cooperation

International cooperation is defined as the process of interaction through which the policies of the nations are coordinated, according to which states adjust their behaviors and actions, aiming to achieve a mutual and common goal.

Maritime security

Maritime Security is the protection of vessels and the insurance of no border trespassing, prohibiting illegal operations, including piracy, robbery, terrorism, illegal fishing, pollution and trafficking of goods and people.

² “Mediterranean Map/List of Mediterranean Countries.” *Mappr*, 16 Oct. 2021, <https://www.mappr.co/thematic-maps/mediterranean-countries/>.

Partnership

Partnership is an established relationship, according to which states work in a cooperative and coordinated manner, in order to achieve a common goal, which fulfills both sides' interests.

Embargo

“An embargo is a government order that restricts commerce with a specified country or the exchange of specific goods. An embargo is usually created as a result of unfavorable political or economic circumstances between nations. It is designed to isolate a country and create difficulties for its governing body, forcing it to act on the issue that led to the embargo.”³

Transnational Threat

Transnational threats are the violations of the law in ways that involve more than one country, in their planning, execution or effect. The types of transnational crime are the following: provision of illicit goods, such as trafficking of illegal drugs, weapons, stolen property and cases of counterfeit, provision of illicit services, such as human trafficking and penetration of business and government affecting multiple countries, such as fraud, corruption and oppression.

Maritime Interventions

Maritime Interventions are the acts of interfering and invading national marine borders and property. They are carried out mostly by the mediating countries and the goal of most such acts is the compulsion or forbiddance of doing certain acts that might pose a risk to the country's interests, mostly in the financial and political sector.

Operational Security

Operational security, also known as procedural security, is a risk management process that aims to combat incidents of risk towards national and international security. The 5 gradual steps of this process are the following: identification of the sensitive data, evaluation of the possible threats, analysis of the vulnerabilities, assessment of the threat level, deviation of a plan to mitigate the threats.

Solidarity

Solidarity is the feeling of unification and fellowship that arises between and among nations through common purposes, responsibilities and interests, leading to cooperation and coordination in actions.

³ Liberto, Daniel. “What Is an Embargo?” *Investopedia*, Investopedia, 30 Dec. 2021, <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/e/embargo.asp>.

Jurisdiction

Jurisdiction is the authority and responsibility of a sovereign power to govern and legislate through the interpretation and application of the law through judicial institutions, aiming to administer justice.

Exclusive Economic Zone

“An Exclusive Economic Zone is an area beyond and adjacent to the territorial sea of a coastal State, subject to the specific legal regime under which the rights and jurisdiction of the coastal State and the rights and freedoms of other States are governed by the relevant provisions of the United Nations Convention on Law of the Sea.”⁴

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Greece-Turkey-Cyprus region

The eastern part of the Mediterranean has been facing disputes and conflicts for decades, counting back to the Ottoman Empire. However, the problem sharpened after the Asia Minor Dispute in 1922. Currently, the focus is shifted to the conflict between Turkey and Greece, which is mainly discerned by 3 issues in the spectrum of maritime security. These are the following: the disagreement over the boundaries of territorial waters and ownership over certain islands, the 2 countries' Exclusive Economic Zones in the eastern Mediterranean, the unresolved nature of the Cyprus crisis. It has been generally observed that the 2 parties show different interpretation towards the causes that urgently need to be addressed, as a means of resolving the issue. Namely, Greece promotes agreements aiming at maritime delimitation and possible Exclusive Economic Zones in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean, including the island of Cyprus. On the other hand, Turkey often refers to a long list of unresolved conflicts that need to be addressed, including the following: doubts on the sovereignty of certain islands, the hypothetical demilitarization of status of other Greek islands and the territorial sea, the width of the Greek national airspace and the control of the air traffic in the Aegean. Hence, it is vital to understand that there are no clarified causes that directly lead to its current status, but a combination of triggers that worsen the already tainted relations between the two.

The first 2 (borders and ownership, EEZs) out of the 3 main problems are interconnected. Firstly, it is important to understand the concepts of territorial sea and Exclusive Economic Zones. In the case of a territorial sea region, the ownership is up to 12 nautical miles from the coastline and the respective country exercises full

⁴ *Exclusive Economic Zone - Europa.*

<https://inspire.ec.europa.eu/codelist/MaritimeZoneTypeValue/exclusiveEconomicZone>.

sovereignty in its activities. On the other hand, an Exclusive Economic Zone is up to 200 nautical miles from the coastline. In that case, the respective country doesn't have full sovereignty of the region but can still exercise sole rights to exploitation of natural resources. Even though there have been various efforts to clearly outline the "sea-borders", the dispute is being constantly re-ignited. The most remarkable past action is the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, regulated in 1982, by most UN member-states, including all European Union countries and excepting Syria, Israel and Turkey, which are considered countries of the Mediterranean. As of now, the main concern is the Aegean. Many islands of the Aegean are really close to the Turkish coast, which results in Turkey having little exclusive access to this part of the sea. Despite the fact that both parties claim the territorial as 6 nautical miles, Greece argues that the country is entitled to 12 nautical miles, according to the UN Convention.

Due to the geopolitical power that that region holds, the militarization of it seems logical. However, the contradictory efforts often cause incidents. A prime example is the collision of a Turkish and a Greek warship in the Mediterranean Sea, which could have led to an acceleration of the situation. According to Greece, the militarization is an act of legitimate self-defence in these territories. There have been multiple efforts for the demilitarization of these territorial regions, with the Treaty of Lausanne being the most significant and thus delegates are highly encouraged to understand the content of it through research, as it is deemed crucial for fully understanding the topic. Firstly, through Article 12 of the treaty the territories are reminded to the states: "... the sovereignty of Greece over the islands of the Eastern Mediterranean, other than the islands of Imbros, Tenedos and Rabbit Islands, particularly the islands of Lemnos, Samothrace, Mytilene, Chios, Samos and Nikaria, is confirmed, subject to the provisions of the present Treaty respecting the islands placed under the sovereignty of Italy which form the subject of Article 15..."⁵ It is doubtful whether the acts of demilitarization are still implemented. It is, furthermore, remarkable, that both Turkey and Greece have ratified the treaty, but still demilitarization has not been achieved. Furthermore, Article 13 can be described as an effort towards demilitarization through the following: "...Greek military aircraft will be forbidden to fly over the territory of the Anatolian coast. Reciprocally, the Turkish Government will forbid their military aircraft to fly over the said islands. The Greek military forces in the said islands will be limited to the normal contingent called up for military service, which can be trained on the spot, as well as to a force of gendarmerie and police in proportion to the force of gendarmerie and police existing in the whole of the Greek territory."⁶

Due to the ongoing investigations about the existence of natural resources, the issue of Exclusive Economic Zones came to the surface again. Some of the most significant

⁵ Treaty of Lausanne, UN, <https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/unts/lon/volume%2028/v28.pdf>

⁶ Treaty of Lausanne, UN, <https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/unts/lon/volume%2028/v28.pdf>

gas fields that are already exploited and will be overexploited in the future are the following: Zhor field (Egypt), Tamar & Leviathan field (Israel), Aphrodite field (south of Cyprus). Both Turkey and Greece, provisional as they are, have decided to make international agreements. Turkey made an agreement with Libya, in 2019, agreeing to establish a corridor where the two countries' marine regions meet. Greece, also, made an agreement with Egypt, where both countries confirm their claims. Furthermore, there was an initiative among Greece, Cyprus and Israel, in order to create a gas pipeline project, which however passed through the maritime corridor that was established in the aforementioned Turkey-Libya agreement. Such actions exacerbate the already hectic climate between the two nations.

Another unresolved and triggering issue is the Cyprus crisis. Dating back to the Ottoman Empire, the island of Cyprus was conquered, which through the years remained that way. In 1960, Cyprus received independence from Britain and in 1974, the Republic of Cyprus is officially divided, leading to separate governments, the Greek and the Turkish. The same year, Greece fails to gain more influence on the island, which leads to the ongoing situation. The UN has established a Buffer Zone and there are also 2 British military bases, in case of interior conflict. An interesting point that needs to be investigated is that only Turkey recognizes the existence of the Turkish-Cypriot part of the island, whereas the UN and the European Union recognize the island as a united republic, the Republic of Cyprus.

Due to Turkey's diplomatic behaviour, especially in 1990-2000, aiming to enter the European Union, as well as the tainted relationships between the two, it is essential that issues of conflict, like maritime borders, are resolved. The repercussions of the current situation are various. While important issues are raised, like the illegal marine trafficking of people from Turkey and countries of Asia, like Afghanistan, due to the lack of coordination these issues also escalate. The cause is clear and crucial to address: the lack of sufficient and efficient security in the borders, leading to such acts being conducted much easier, endangering national security. Illegal trafficking and immigration pose many threats, including the illegal trafficking of goods, such as weapons. Hence, the fundamental goal is facilitation of negotiation patterns between interlocutors. This case is a prime example of types of conflict that may occur in the Mediterranean region in general and thus any solution proposed during debate should not aim to combat this individual case, but the different essential issues, like maritime security and illegal trafficking.

Spain-Morocco

7

The Spain-Morocco conflict is another significant conflict within the Mediterranean region. The northern part of the African continent, being Morocco, is dotted with regions that belong to Spain. After the Reconquista, which was an important war in Portugal and Spain, to expel the Muslims, during the 8th century, Spain reconquered the Iberian Peninsula, invaded Africa and conquered some cities, from which most have been returned.



Within Morocco's borders, Spain still claims some land, namely the cities of Peñon de Vélez de la Gomera, Melilla and Ceuta. These cities are the only parts, where part of the European Union exists, on the main African land. With that being said, these 3 small cities are the only European part in the African continent, since these cities belong to Spain, which is a member of the European Union. Withal, there is a complexity in governance, which could leave room for misunderstanding and further conflict. In May of 2021, there was a relaxation in border surveillance, in the region of Ceuta, which led to the illegal migration of 8000 immigrants from Morocco to the Spanish region. Later, 5600 returned after Morocco's strict requests. Furthermore, according to testimonies, clashes between security forces and migrants are not a rare phenomenon in the region of the borders. As a result, the situation has involved the European Union, which takes the stance of Spain and the Arab League, defending Morocco.

Hence, due to the already tainted relations between the two, cooperation on resolving migration crises, such as the one that occurred in 2020, is hardly possible, due to constant accusations towards one another. Moreover, the disagreement upon the borders seems to re-integrate the situation. The situation under which the bordering between two countries is unclear and then the issue is triggered through crises, such as migration waves, seems to be common in many Mediterranean conflicts and hence it is important to be addressed.

⁷ "Border Disputes." *Fanack.com*, 6 Aug. 2021, <https://fanack.com/morocco/geography-of-morocco/border-disputes/>.

Israel-Egypt-Lebanon

An example of a conflict that mostly involves non-EU countries, in Asia and Africa. Prior to understanding the current situation of the issue, it is vital to have comprehended the history among the nations. After Israel declared its independence on the 14th of May in 1948, the fighting started with other Arab forces joining the Palestinian Arabs in attacking territory in the former Palestinian mandate. “On the eve of May 14, the Arabs launched an air attack on Tel Aviv, which the Israelis resisted. This action was followed by the invasion of the former Palestinian mandate by Arab armies from Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, and Egypt. Saudi Arabia sent a formation that fought under the Egyptian command.”⁸ The Six-Day War followed, which tainted the relations even more. “The Six-Day War, also called June War or Third Arab-Israeli War or Naksah, brief war that took place June 5–10, 1967, and was the third of the Arab-Israeli wars. Israel’s decisive victory included the capture of the Sinai Peninsula, Gaza Strip, West Bank, Old City of Jerusalem, and Golan Heights; the status of these territories subsequently became a major point of contention in the Arab-Israeli conflict.”⁹ Despite the short duration of the war the effects were detrimental, both to forces of the nations (e.g. 90% of Egypt’s air force was destroyed) and the relations among them. More recently, in January of 2008, when Israel broadened its sanctions, gaps were opened in the Gaza strip-Egypt border, which led to the transnational illegal trafficking of food, fuel, goods and probably weapons. Following this incident, a series of conflicts took place around the borders, causing commotion and violence.

A major issue in this region is the rights of exploitation and distribution of natural resources. Due to the abundance of natural resources, especially petroleum, in the region, dispute among the nations has risen. Caused by the unclear interpretation of land and maritime borders, as well as their complexity, there are disagreements on the quantity and the region from which nations can exploit. A sense of cooperation has begun to appear. A prime example is the EastMed Gas Pipeline, through which Egypt promised to help Lebanon, through Syria, after the Beirut explosion, on 4 August 2020. In addition, states, including the aforementioned 3 have had the chance to discuss upon the issue through the enforcement of the East Mediterranean Gas Forum.

In spite of the remarkable progress that has been made, cooperative relations must be established. Considering that the region of Israel, Egypt and Lebanon is an international source of petroleum and hydrogen, as expected in the future,

⁸ U.S. Department of State, U.S. Department of State, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/arab-israeli-war>.

⁹ “Six-Day War.” *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., <https://www.britannica.com/event/Six-Day-War>.

cooperative economic patterns are crucial. In any other case, the already-existing situation will be negatively exploited by exterior powers who want to take advantage of the resources, because of the internal commotion of it. Hence, partnership is essential towards ensuring that no external powers will re-ignite the situation for the profit of petroleum.

Italy-Tunisia-Libya

The relation between Italy, Tunisia and Libya is a concrete example of the mass marine and illegal transportation of immigrants in the Mediterranean, which seems to be a worth-addressing consequence of many conflicts. Due to the accelerating and non-sustainable, mass entrance of immigrants in various cases the relationships are tainted. Following the countries' long history of mutual economic and political interests, Italy's oil source, Eni, holds a very strategic position in Libya. However, bearing in mind the unstable situation, both in Libya, due to violent conflict and build state institutions and in Tunisia, due to the persistent economic crisis, political and social inability to transition, immigration is an easy solution for the majority of the population. In most cases this is not done in lawful ways, but mostly through illegal transportation within the Mediterranean Sea. What is logical is that various incidents of transnational crime have been noticed, but not reported. Except for the illegal human trafficking, trafficking of goods and weapons has also been observed, which rejuvenates the issue. Except for the illegal manner of the conflict, security, national and individual is threatened. "According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), as of 11 September 23,601 people on the move have been returned to Libya in 2021, where murder, torture and rape continues to be the order of the day. Arrivals to Italy continue, with UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) figures showing more than 40,000 arrivals this year as of mid-September. Despite intense civilian search and rescue efforts, 1,103 people have died or gone missing on the central Mediterranean route so far in 2021."¹⁰ In order to declare the situation, on the 2nd of February in 2017, the Memorandum of Understanding on development cooperation, illegal immigration and trafficking, fuel smuggling and reinforcement of border security (hereafter 'memorandum' or 'MoU'), was signed.¹¹ The EU has also taken an important stance towards the issue, in order to ensure the fortification of

¹⁰ "Med: More than 23,000 People Returned to Unsafe Libya This Year, Arrivals to Italy on the Rise, over 1,000 Lives Lost at Sea, Rescues in the Alboran and Western Med." *European Council on Refugees and Exiles (ECRE)*, <https://ecre.org/med-more-than-23000-people-returned-to-unsafe-libya-this-year-arrivals-to-italy-on-the-rise-over-1000-lives-lost-at-sea-rescues-in-the-alboran-and-western-mediterranean/>.

¹¹ "EU Immigration and Asylum Law and Policy Droit Et Politique De L'immigration Et De L'asile De L'ue." *The Italy-Libya Memorandum of Understanding: The Baseline of a Policy Approach Aimed at Closing All Doors to Europe? – EU Immigration and Asylum Law and Policy*, <https://eumigrationlawblog.eu/the-italy-libya-memorandum-of-understanding-the-baseline-of-a-policy-approach-aimed-at-closing-all-doors-to-europe/>.

the basic human rights of the immigrant groups, as well as their distribution and circulation within the borders of the European Union.

Illegal trafficking is a phenomenon that is being noticed in most of the aforementioned cases and even if it is not the main concern, it is a consequence of the lack of security. Hence, prior to preparing clauses it is important to have understood the causes of this issue, in order to come up with ways to tackle illegal trafficking generally, in all conflicts of the Mediterranean. The first concern is the illegal immigration, as illegal trafficking of goods etc is interconnected to this. Firstly, the root of the problem is the lack of border security. As a result, this leaves room for such populations to immigrate illegally. Such actions, are not just contradictory to the law, but could destabilize another country's governance plan, due to the insane change in economy and population (also noticed in this case). It is remarkable that illicit trafficking of anything unrelated to people and their activities (immigration) is not that frequent. Thus, border security needs to be established, as a means of combatting illegal trafficking and immigration.

Once again, this is a prime example of a case, where cooperation is needed for mutual benefit. As noticed in most conflicts, presented in this Study Guide, migration is a consequence of the general issue that needs to be addressed, so as to be minimized. Should the nations establish negotiating patterns the most significant issues that need to be discussed is the dependence of Italy, gas-wise, on Libya, the lack of border supervision, as well as the accelerating rate of migration, leading to destabilizing Italian governments.

Significance and General Conclusions

Countering this issue is of major importance in various aspects. Firstly, in the view of the implication of the 2030 UN Agenda, including the aforementioned Sustainable Development Goals, the redefinition of partnering and solid relationships is important, especially when recovering from a multifaceted crisis, being the COVID-19 pandemic. Moreover, due to the benefits of the region, including economical, geopolitical and natural, common ground has to be set, so as to establish sustainable and fairly and lawfully distributed "exploitation". For instance, due to the similarities among nations regarding climate, the Mediterranean region plays a worth-mentioning role in the agricultural market, such as crops. In addition, in the case of confirmation of the existence of underground natural resources, such as petroleum, as recent investigations have been shown, the place will become an arena for international powers to conquer land and parts of the resources and for this reason it is urgent to address the issue to minimize internal conflict.

While observing the different cases of conflict in the region, someone can draw the conclusion that most of the issues are similar among the nations and the conflicts. Hence, during debate and regarding resolutions, delegates should NOT focus on resolving the aforementioned conflicts individually (e.g., focusing on resolving the

Greece-Turkey-Cyprus conflict individually), but come up with ways to combat any similar issues that occur in all these conflicts. This is proof for the significance of negotiation, so as to establish communication to resolve the consequent issue. These are mostly the following: illegal trafficking, immigration, unclear understanding of borders and their complexity, poor enforcement of law and past conventions, lack of communication, so as to resolve consequent issues (e.g., immigration in the Spain-Morocco conflict). Hence, the first and major step that needs to be taken is the establishment of communication patterns through supervised negotiation. Through this, will it be possible to resolve any issue that arises. Another step that needs to be taken urgently is border security, which will eventually lead to the decrease of trafficking of any form. In addition, acknowledging the major role of natural resources in most conflicts, the establishment of security, it is important to ensure no maritime interventions are conducted, when it comes to the exploitation of natural resources. Having noticed the complexity of border, region and right to exploit, some crucial measures need to be taken. Hence, stricter reinforcement of already existing conventions and treaties that define the borders and establishment of ways to confront cases of countries that do not abide the aforementioned documents are crucial. (see Possible Solutions section) In addition to that the improvement of relations is also of vast importance, considering the rights of exploitation of natural resources, especially in the case of complex borders between countries. (see Possible Solutions section)

MAJOR COUNTRIES AND ORGANIZATIONS INVOLVED

United States of America

The United States of America seem to have an ambiguous strategy towards the Mediterranean region. Its basic concern is the Eastern Mediterranean, where conflict is exacerbated, and the presence of natural gas has been confirmed. The relations with Turkey have been worsened, due to Turkey's constant and mass supply of weapons by Russia, in regard to the Greece-Cyprus-Turkey conflict, as well as Libya, because of its cooperation with Russia, such as the presence of Russian jets, in June of 2020. Furthermore, the USA has maintained close cooperation and aid towards Syria, with the prime example of the March 2020 aid of 596\$ dollars. It is also interesting to investigate Russia's presence into this conflict as well, which has been clashing with the US. What is important to understand is the motives that lead to US's involvement. Firstly, the Mediterranean conflict, is an occasion for the US to showcase and compete with Russia upon power, as proven by the 4 aforementioned case studies. Moreover, the rising interest for gas, because of the scarcity the US is facing, is a crucial factor, since the US tries to establish good relations with countries that could be a supply to

the nation. In conclusion, in most cases US's involvement could be sharpening the internal conflicts between and among the Mediterranean nations.

Turkey

The involvement of Turkey in the Mediterranean conflicts is major, but what is important to understand is its interests that lead to such actions. Firstly, Turkey's wish to join the EU for the past decades is widely known. Despite that the application has continuously denied, mostly because of the country's engage in conflict with countries that are already members of the EU, such as Greece and Cyprus. Following that Turkey has started to build cooperative relations with Russia. What is important to investigate, is the international response towards the economic crisis Turkey is going through right now, due to the unstable political situation.

Germany

Germany has adopted a more neutral manner towards most conflicts in the Mediterranean region especially those that involve migration problems, such as the Greece-Turkey-Cyprus and Spain-Morocco conflicts. Due to the fact that Germany is a major force in the European Union, many immigrants wish to end up there. In addition to that Germany shows support towards countries that go through politically unstable periods and conflicts while also supporting the countries that receive the migrative waves (e.g. Italy and Greece). Thus, there is an understanding towards the second types of countries, which are mostly European. For this reason, it is vital to understand Germany's role, especially in coordinating the distribution of migrative waves, aiming to avoid conflict.

Spain

Spain is a prime example of a European country in conflict, in this case the "opponent" is Morocco. Spain maintains good relations with most of the European countries in the Mediterranean region, while avoiding conflict with the rest and keeps a neutral stance. Although Spain doesn't endanger any scenario for conflict, the country suffers by the mass migration flows. Hence, the country is heavily relying on the European Union, which systematically puts effort into countering mass migration waves. Spain's perspective towards the issue is of major significance to investigate. Spain shows tolerance towards the mass migrative waves, through the help of Germany, whose role into the distribution of immigrants is huge. However, employment and the workplace is under huge pressure, under these circumstances and the national political stability is endangered. Despite that Spain wants to maintain peace and not let the conflict escalate.

European Union

Similarly, to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) action, the main goal of the EU is to maintain maritime peace and security. In cases of conflict in the region, in which nations that belong to the European Union are involved; the union takes the

stance of its members. However, in any other case there is no clear position towards the conflict, because the national policies towards them are contradictory. It is clear that the union empowers negotiations and thus there are multiple initiatives that have been taken. The most worth mentioning among them is the Union for the Mediterranean the European (UfM), the European Institute for the Mediterranean (IEMed) and the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), which has also taken action to combat the general issue, as well as the various conflicts that have arisen in the Mediterranean. The role of the European Union in immigration is also remarkable bearing in mind that most migration groups from Asia and Africa consider Europe to be the ideal final destination.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

NATO's actions and goals are similar to the EU's, being the maintenance of security and peace in the region. NATO has established another forum, in order to promote peaceful, sufficient and efficient discussion, aiming to resolve any upcoming issues. The Mediterranean Dialogue (MD) is an initiative, which was launched in December of 1994 (further analysis in the Previous Attempts section). Furthermore, the NATO has in the past intervened in cases of conflict to help encountering them. A prime example is the placement of security patrols in western Mediterranean in early 2021.

International Maritime Organization (IMO)

The most remarkable action, taken by the International Maritime Organization (IMO) is the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea was adopted in 1982. "It lays down a comprehensive regime of law and order in the world's oceans and seas establishing rules governing all uses of the oceans and their resources. It embodies in one instrument traditional rules for the uses of the oceans and at the same time introduces new legal concepts and regimes and addresses new concerns. The Convention also provides the framework for further development of specific areas of the law of the sea."¹² It is of vast importance internationally. As having noticed in several Mediterranean conflicts there is an unclear understanding and lack of strict enforcement, which is a chance for maritime interventions and invasions of marine borders. However, what the GA1 should engage in is the way it will be enforced in a stricter manner and the confrontation in cases of maritime invasions.

Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE)

The Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe has played an active role in the issue. OSCE's efforts to maintain good relations with nations that aren't part of the EU, despite that the OSCE itself is an EU organization, are remarkable. Prime

¹² "United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea." *International Maritime Organization*, <https://www.imo.org/en/OurWork/Legal/Pages/UnitedNationsConventionOnTheLawOfTheSea.aspx>.

examples are Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Morocco and Tunisia. Furthermore, it is noticeable if we have a look at the 4 aforementioned conflicts (Background Information section) that those examples are mostly countries that are in conflict with European countries e.g. Italy and Spain. The OSCE has, also, organized a number of conferences, in the vision of improving relations between nations. Such include the following: in Valletta in 1979, Venice in 1984, Palma de Mallorca in 1990 and Valletta in 1993. These meeting did not specifically tackle the lack of security, but the lack of co-operation, since the main goal was to discuss about cultural, economic, scientific and environmental issues, so as to improve collaboration. One of the most important actions by the OSCE is the “Questions relating to Security and Co-operation in the Mediterranean” chapter in the Helsinki Final Act, which was signed in 1975. It highlighted the importance of establishing communicative relations between non-EU countries and EU countries, since in most cases these are the two parties of a conflict. It also, stresses the importance of co-operation in other fields, such as the environment: “to intensify their efforts and their co-operation on a bilateral and multilateral basis with the non - participating Mediterranean States directed towards the improvement of the environment of the Mediterranean, especially the safeguarding of the biological resources and ecological balance of the sea, ..., to cooperate through competent international organizations and in particular within the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP);”¹³

TIMELINE OF EVENTS

Date of Event	Description of event
23 July 1923	The Treaty of Lausanne is signed in Switzerland, after a 7-month conference and thus the 1 st World War was concluded.
20 July 1932	The Montreux Convention is signed and applied by the League of Nations, prohibiting Turkey from remilitarizing the Straits.
2 March 1956	Morocco gains independence.
1960	Cyprus receives independence from Britain.
1974	The Republic of Cyprus is officially divided and split into two governments, the Greek and the Turkish.
1975	The United Nations Environmental Program Mediterranean Action Plan (UNEPMAP) is launched.

¹³ “Final Act.” HR, <http://www.hri.org/docs/Helsinki75.html#H1.3>.

1 August 1975	The Helsinki Final Act is signed after the long OSCE conference.
1979	The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), hosts a conference in Valetta.
9 December 1981	Adoption of the UN resolution A/RES/36/102 “Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security”.
10 December 1982	Regulation of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), which establishes a framework regarding marine activities and security.
20 December 1983	Adoption of the UN resolution A/RES/38/189 “Strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region”.
1984	The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), hosts a conference in Venice.
14 April 1987	Turkey applies for a membership in the European Economic Community (EEC), which is the predecessor of the European Union (EU).
1989	Establishment of the European Institute for the Mediterranean (IEMed) by the EU.
1990	The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), hosts a conference in Palma de Mallorca.
1993	The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), hosts a conference in Valetta.
December 1994	Launch of the Mediterranean Dialogue (MD) initiative by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.
29 November 2001	Adoption of the UN resolution A/RES/56/29 “Security and Cooperation in the Mediterranean region”.
9 January 2003	Adoption of the UN resolution A/RES/57/99 “Strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region”.
January 2008	Illegal trafficking in the Gaza strip-Egypt border.
13 July 2008	Formation of the Union for the Mediterranean (UfM) by the EU.

25 December 2015	The 70th Session of the United Nations (UN) General Assembly adopted the document titled "Transforming our World: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development" consisting of 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), including Article 17: "Partnership".
May 2020	Spain-Morocco migration crisis, due to the security relaxation of the borders.
12 August 2020	Turkish and Greek warship collision in the Mediterranean Sea.
21 February 2021	Egypt and Israel agree to connecting Israel's offshore Leviathan natural gas field to liquified natural gas (LNG) facilities in northern Egypt via an underwater pipeline in order to increase gas exports to Europe. ¹⁴
9 March 2021	The East Mediterranean Gas Forum is put into force, under the supervision of the European Union.
12-13 October 2021	OSCE conference with the topic: "Security and co-operation in the Mediterranean in light of the COVID-19 pandemic".

PREVIOUS ATTEMPTS TO SOLVE THE ISSUE

Union for the Mediterranean (UfM)

The first such initiative is the Union for the Mediterranean (UfM), established by the EU in 2008, whose goal is to enhance regional cooperation, dialogue and the implementation of concrete projects and initiatives.¹⁵ Since 2015, the Union holds annual sessions with the Foreign Ministers as the representatives of the countries that are parts of the UfM. Several issues are the topic of discussion, in order to enhance cooperation, such as socioeconomic and political challenges.

European Institute for the Mediterranean (IEMed)

Another EU initiative is the European Institute for the Mediterranean (IEMed), which aims to "generate knowledge for action for a peaceful, stable and prosperous Mediterranean where dialogue between cultures is a tangible reality". It was founded in 1989. The basic aim is to improve "mutual understanding, exchange and

¹⁴ This picture taken on Jan. 31, 2019, et al. "How Egypt Benefits from Gas Agreement with Israel." *Al*, <https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2021/02/egypt-israel-gas-agreement-leviathan-eastmed.html>.

¹⁵ "What We Do: The Work of the Union for the Mediterranean." *UfM*, <https://ufmsecretariat.org/what-we-do/>.

cooperation between the different Mediterranean countries, societies and cultures as well as to promote the progressive construction of a space of peace and stability, shared prosperity and dialogue between cultures and civilisations in the Mediterranean.”¹⁶ In order to achieve that, multiple and annual meetings have been held, in the past 2 decades.

Organization for Cooperation and Security in Europe (OSCE)

In addition, the Organization for Cooperation and Security in Europe (OSCE), held a conference in October of 2021, entitled “Road to resilience: post-pandemic recovery and security in the OSCE and Mediterranean regions”. The 2021 OSCE Mediterranean Conference will address the topic of “Road to resilience: post-pandemic recovery and security in the OSCE and Mediterranean regions”. The event shall start with a high-level political segment addressing “Security and co-operation in the Mediterranean in light of the COVID-19 pandemic”. Thematic sessions shall then tackle specific aspects, including promoting sustainable and “green” recovery, fighting pandemic-related transnational organized crime, and combating human trafficking in labor markets affected by the pandemic.¹⁷ (see further information in the Major Countries and Organizations section)

The Mediterranean Dialogue (MD)

Lastly, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) launched the “Mediterranean Dialogue”, in December of 1994, which is a partnership forum, aiming to contribute security and stability in NATO’s Mediterranean and North African regions, as well as promote good relations and understanding among the countries. There are also non-NATO members that take part in this initiative. These are the following: Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia.

UN Involvement

United Nations Environmental Program Mediterranean Action Plan (UNEPMAP)

The UN has also been relatively active countering this issue. A ground-breaking and not directly related to the issue initiative is the United Nations Environmental Program Mediterranean Action Plan (UNEPMAP). It was established in 1975. In 1976 a framework convention was established, regarding the protection of the Mediterranean Sea against pollution and two decades later (1992) it was amended. Its contents aim to enhance protection of biodiversity. What is matching to the issue,

¹⁶ “IEMed - the European Institute of the Mediterranean.” *EuroMeSCo*, <https://www.euromesco.net/institute/iemed-european-institute-of-the-mediterranean/>.

¹⁷ “2021 OSCE Mediterranean Conference.” *OSCE*, <https://www.osce.org/event/2021-osce-mediterranean-conference>.

is the effort to ensure environmental safety, during the exploitation of natural resources, such as petroleum. Even though it is not a direct measure to promote cooperation, building up environmental-protection patterns, will lead to establishing cooperative production relations between and among nations, because of the similar characteristics they pose e.g. climate. It is also crucial, bearing in mind, the environmental effect of the accelerating exploitation of natural gas, in the Mediterranean region and thus a means, through which cooperation will be significantly empowered.

[A/RES/36/102 “Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security”](#)

Moreover, there is a variety of resolutions that the UN has passed. In December of 1981, resolution A/RES/36/102 “Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security” is adopted. Despite its international character, it is of vast importance, since the operative clauses, refer to the use of force and violation of sovereignty, which directly affect the issue in the Mediterranean. The content of this resolution mostly aims to emphasize the UN Charter, imply the forbiddance of force, as well highlight the importance of peace talks and negotiations.

[A/RES/38/189 “Strengthening of security and cooperation in the Mediterranean region”](#)

In December of 1983, resolution A/RES/38/189 “Strengthening of security and cooperation in the Mediterranean region” is adopted. It draws attention to the connection between international security and Mediterranean security and thus we understand the importance of establishing security in the region as a step towards international security. Moreover, suggestions regarding cooperation in other fields e.g. technology and science, could be a measure towards communicative relations, as mentioned in the resolution.

[A/RES/56/29 “Strengthening of security and cooperation in the Mediterranean region”](#)

Following that in November of 2001, A/RES/56/29 “Strengthening of security and cooperation in the Mediterranean region” is also passed. The main purpose of it is to combat terrorism and trafficking, as well as the elimination of economic and social disparities, in order to achieve coordinated and cooperative development. It is, furthermore, implemented that only through such relations, will it be able to establish patterns to ensure security.

[A/RES/57/99 “Strengthening of security and cooperation in the Mediterranean region”](#)

Lastly, in January of 2003 A/RES/57/99 “Strengthening of security and cooperation in the Mediterranean region” is adopted. It is basically a recall of the aforementioned resolution (A/RES/56/29) and thus has the same intentions. This, also, works as a

means of highlighting the importance of continuous effort, both by the UN and the Mediterranean nations themselves, in order to combat the issue.

2030 Sustainable Development Agenda of the UN, article 17

Moreover, in the scope of the implementation of the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda of the UN, article 17 is also vastly important referring to partnership, which is one of the issues that need to be addressed throughout debate. Partnership is of major importance in the Mediterranean region, since through the establishment of mutual relations, will security and cooperation be ensured.

Memorandum of Understanding on development cooperation, illegal immigration and trafficking, fuel smuggling and reinforcement of border security (MoU)

The Memorandum of Understanding on development cooperation, illegal immigration and trafficking, fuel smuggling and reinforcement of border security (MoU) was signed in 2nd of February in 2017. It examines the case of Italy and Libya's conflict through 8 Articles. The most vital part of the Memorandum are Articles 1 and 2, which refer to the commitments of each state in partnership. Of course, during debate, delegates should not proceed to resolving the individual conflicts, including Italy-Libya's, but focus on the big picture, which is how to resolve issues that are common in the Mediterranean conflicts. Ergo, studying the approach of the Memorandum is crucial, so as to imply these solutions to the general issue, being how to ensure security and cooperation in the Mediterranean, as a whole.

POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

Establishment of supervised negotiation patterns and peace talks

The establishment of a negotiation system is the most important among the solutions, as any other problem, is the result of lack of communication and will be resolved through it. In order to ensure sufficiency and efficiency of negotiations, supervision is necessary. However, supervision must be conducted by an international, objective and unbiased organization, like the UN. Through it discussion has to be established upon already existing attempts to resolve the issue, whether that is a treaty referring to a certain conflict (e.g. Treaty of Lausanne), or the general manner of the Mediterranean conflict.

Regional surveillance and security of borders

Bearing in mind that most of the ongoing conflicts include the issue of invasion of borders, due to the unclear understanding of them and the lack of security, placement of troops or the establishment of Buffer Zones, like the ones in Cyprus, in cases where bordering is complex (e.g. Spain-Morocco), is crucial. Furthermore, the use of means of technology could be a smart solution, which could also minimize violence by security forces, as it has been observed. Hence, means of emergent technology could

be used for training of security forces, as well as vigilance and enforcement in such regions.

It is of major importance to understand that the security of borders and combatting illegal trafficking of people and goods must work on two main axes. The first one is gaining clear understanding of the borders, which can be conducted by the enforcement of already existing conventions and frameworks. However that is not the responsibility of the 1st committee of the General Assembly. What can be proposed by the GA1 is the request for stricter enforcement of already existing convention, such as the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea. The second axis has to be safeguarding the borders practically, through government forces, like the military and placement of troops, or the supervision of borders by an objective organ. Hence, what could be proposed is the establishment of a UN organization/organ/forum to uptake border surveillance objectively, alongside any measure that will be placed by each nation's government to improve border security.

Distribution of migrative populations

Considering the various mass immigration waves, as well as their effect on the country that receives them, the establishment of sustainable patterns for their circulation, but mostly their security is vital. For this reason, measures on ensuring their well-being, are a responsibility of the humanitarian committees, but ensuring security for the nation is the responsibility of the GA1. Seeing as illegal trafficking and immigration is a common phenomenon in the Mediterranean, what can be implemented is the security of borders. In that way, the dangers of migration will be minimized, including the destabilisation of the country that receives the migration waves, as well as any other good that could be illegally trafficked with people. There are various ways to achieve security, whether that is executed by the nation itself (e.g. placement of troops) or an objective international organization, such as the UN.

Reconsideration of already existing measures and stricter enforcement

As presented in the Previous Attempts to Solve the Issue section, as well as the way countries have responded to the issue, especially those that are engaged in conflicts in the Mediterranean region. For instance, the already existing forums of discussion etc could be improved, through the addition of new countries or increased frequency in meetings. Furthermore, the establishment of sanctions for already existing conventions could be a feasible solution. The most important convention regarding which sanctions should be proposed is the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.

United Nations Conventions on the Law of the Sea

Bearing in mind that the UNCLOS is the most important document, on which safeguarding the marine borders will be based, amendments on it could be proposed. Hence, gaining clear understanding of the marine borders is the first step, which is

also crucial. Sanctions for nations that do not abide by the UNCLOS, through invasions of borders, are needed. Considering that there is an unclear understanding of the marine borders in the Mediterranean region, as well as a lack of confrontation in incidents where nations ignore the UNCLOS, leading to marine interventions or illegal activities (e.g. trafficking) or militarization.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dalay, Galip. "Turkey, Europe, and the Eastern Mediterranean: Charting a Way out of the Current Deadlock." *Brookings*, Brookings, 28 Jan. 2021, www.brookings.edu/research/turkey-europe-and-the-eastern-mediterranean-charting-a-way-out-of-the-current-deadlock/.

European Parliament. [www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2015/536331/EPRS_STU\(2015\)536331_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2015/536331/EPRS_STU(2015)536331_EN.pdf).

Gavouneli, Maria. "Whose Sea? A Greek International Law Perspective on the Greek-Turkish Disputes." *Institut Montaigne*, Institut Montaigne, 1 Sept. 2021, www.institutmontaigne.org/en/blog/whose-sea-greek-international-law-perspective-greek-turkish-disputes.

"Intervention Definition & Meaning." *Merriam-Webster*, Merriam-Webster, www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/intervention.

"Jurisdiction Definition & Meaning." *Dictionary.com*, Dictionary.com, www.dictionary.com/browse/jurisdiction.

"Jurisdiction Definition & Meaning." *Merriam-Webster*, Merriam-Webster, www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/jurisdiction.

Liberto, Daniel. "What Is an Embargo?" *Investopedia*, Investopedia, 7 Dec. 2021, www.investopedia.com/terms/e/embargo.asp.

"Maritime Security: What Is Maritime Security?" *MITAGS*, 25 June 2021, www.mitags.org/security-guide/.

"Solidarity Definition & Meaning." *Dictionary.com*, Dictionary.com, www.dictionary.com/browse/solidarity.

"Transnational Crime." *Obo*, www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780195396607/obo-9780195396607-0024.xml.

“Treaty of Lausanne.” *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., www.britannica.com/event/Treaty-of-Lausanne-1923.

“United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.” *International Maritime Organization*, www.imo.org/en/OurWork/Legal/Pages/UnitedNationsConventionOnTheLawOfTheSea.aspx.

“What Is Operational Security? the Five-Step Process, Best Practices, and More.” *Digital Guardian*, 1 Dec. 2020, digitalguardian.com/blog/what-operational-security-five-step-process-best-practices-and-more.

“Spain and the Mediterranean.” *IEMed*, <https://www.iemed.org/publication/spain-and-the-mediterranean/?lang=ca>.

Nato. “Mediterranean Dialogue.” *NATO*, 12 July 2021, https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_52927.htm.

“NATO Focused Security Patrols in Western Mediterranean.” *Mc.nato.int*, <https://mc.nato.int/media-centre/news/2021/nato-focused-security-patrols-in-western-mediterranean>.

https://www.iai.it/sites/default/files/mediterranean-paper_03.pdf

“United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.” *International Maritime Organization*, <https://www.imo.org/en/OurWork/Legal/Pages/UnitedNationsConventionOnTheLawOfTheSea.aspx>.

KABIS-KECHRID, Laura Lale. “Conflicts in the EastMed: From Germany's and France's Conflicting Strategies to a Dual Approach.” *Afficher La Page D'accueil Du Site*, <https://www.ifri.org/en/publications/briefings-de-lifri/conflicts-eastmed-germanys-and-frances-conflicting-strategies-dual>.

(www.dw.com), Deutsche Welle. “Germany Urges End to Military Exercises in the Mediterranean as Turkey Announces Drills: DW: 27.08.2020.” *DW.COM*, <https://www.dw.com/en/germany-turkey-greece-cyprus-military-maneuvers/a-54716535>.

“2021 OSCE Mediterranean Conference.” *OSCE*, <https://www.osce.org/event/2021-osce-mediterranean-conference>.

“Front Page.” *IEMed*, <https://www.iemed.org/>.

“The Return of Italy to the Mediterranean.” *IEMed*, <https://www.iemed.org/publication/the-return-of-italy-to-the-mediterranean/>.

“The Role of Turkey in the Eastern Mediterranean Conflict Zone: A Country Transformed and a Glimpse into the Future – Thrasyvoulos Terry Stamatopoulos.” *EΛΙΑΜΕΠ*, 15 Oct. 2021, <https://www.eliamep.gr/en/publication/%CE%BF-%CF%81%CF%8C%CE%BB%CE%BF%CF%82-%CF%84%CE%B7%CF%82-%CF%84%CE%BF%CF%85%CF%81%CE%BA%CE%AF%CE%B1%CF%82-%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B7%CE%BD-%CE%B6%CF%8E%CE%BD%CE%B7-%CF%83%CF%8D%CE%B3%CE%BA%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%85/>.

“Turkey 'Doesn't Accept International Law' over Eastern Mediterranean.” *Euronews*, 22 Apr. 2021, <https://www.euronews.com/2021/04/22/turkey-doesn-t-accept-international-law-over-eastern-mediterranean-greece-s-fm-tells-euron>.

“Turkey in the Mediterranean: Influence on European Policies.” *IEMed*, <https://www.iemed.org/publication/turkey-in-the-mediterranean-influence-on-european-policies/>.

<https://www.ceps.eu/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/PI2021-09-Turkey-and-the-Eastern-Mediterranean.pdf>

WP Post Author Andrew R. Novo , et al. “The Eastern Mediterranean - Time for the U.S. to Get Serious.” *CEPA*, 29 Mar. 2021, <https://cepa.org/the-eastern-mediterranean-time-for-the-u-s-to-get-serious/>.

“The US in the Eastern Mediterranean Region.” *Royal United Services Institute*, 1 June 2021, <https://rusi.org/explore-our-research/publications/commentary/us-eastern-mediterranean-region>.

“The Current Situation in Tunisia.” *United States Institute of Peace*, 30 Oct. 2020, <https://www.usip.org/publications/2020/10/current-situation-tunisia>.

“The Current Situation in Libya.” *United States Institute of Peace*, 6 Jan. 2021, <https://www.usip.org/publications/2020/12/current-situation-libya>.

“EU Immigration and Asylum Law and Policy Droit Et Politique De L'immigration Et De L'asile De L'ue.” *The Italy-Libya Memorandum of Understanding: The Baseline of a Policy Approach Aimed at Closing All Doors to Europe? – EU Immigration and Asylum Law and Policy*, <https://eumigrationlawblog.eu/the-italy-libya->

[memorandum-of-understanding-the-baseline-of-a-policy-approach-aimed-at-closing-all-doors-to-europe/](#).

“Italy Found Its Way Back into Libya.” *Atlantic Council*, 16 Apr. 2021, <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/menasource/italy-found-its-way-back-into-libya/>.

“Med: More than 23,000 People Returned to Unsafe Libya This Year, Arrivals to Italy on the Rise, over 1,000 Lives Lost at Sea, Rescues in the Alboran and Western Med.” *European Council on Refugees and Exiles (ECRE)*, <https://ecre.org/med-more-than-23000-people-returned-to-unsafe-libya-this-year-arrivals-to-italy-on-the-rise-over-1000-lives-lost-at-sea-rescues-in-the-alboran-and-western-mediterranean/>.

“Tunisian, Italian FMS Discuss Developments in Libya.” *Anadolu Ajansı*, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/africa/tunisian-italian-fms-discuss-developments-in-libya/2190106>.

(www.dw.com), Deutsche Welle. “EU Seeks Migration Deals with Libya and Tunisia: DW: 20.05.2021.” *DW.COM*, <https://www.dw.com/en/eu-seeks-migration-deals-with-libya-and-tunisia/a-57592161>.

“Timeline: The Six Day War.” *NPR*, NPR, 4 June 2007, <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=10694216>.

This picture taken on Jan. 31, 2019, et al. “How Egypt Benefits from Gas Agreement with Israel.” *Al*, <https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2021/02/egypt-israel-gas-agreement-leviathan-eastmed.html>.

Al Jazeera. “Israel, Egypt Leaders Meet to De-Escalate Gaza Tensions.” *Israel-Palestine Conflict News | Al Jazeera*, Al Jazeera, 14 Sept. 2021, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/9/14/israel-egypt-leaders-meet-to-de-escalate-tensions-with-gaza>.

“Blockade of Gaza Strip.” *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., <https://www.britannica.com/place/Gaza-Strip/Blockade>.

“Gamal Abdel Nasser.” *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Gamal-Abdel-Nasser>.

“Six-Day War.” *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., <https://www.britannica.com/event/Six-Day-War>.

09, Bridget RyderJune, et al. “How (and Why) 8,000 Migrants Breached the Spanish-Moroccan Border - and What It Says about Europe's Migration Crisis.” *America Magazine*, 9 June 2021, <https://www.americamagazine.org/politics-society/2021/06/09/spain-morocco-north-africa-ceuta-migrant-crisis-240821>.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L6tJ-mvhznU>

“The Reasons behind the Spanish-Moroccan Crisis.” *The Washington Institute*, <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/reasons-behind-spanish-moroccan-crisis>.

Torreblanca, José Ignacio. “This Time Is Different: Spain, Morocco, and Weaponised Migration.” *ECFR*, 26 May 2021, <https://ecfr.eu/article/this-time-is-different-spain-morocco-and-weaponised-migration/>

“Final Act.” *HR*, <http://www.hri.org/docs/Helsinki75.html#H1.3>.

Background Paper OSCE Relations with Mediterranean
<https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/7/0/12481.pdf>.

U.S. Department of State, U.S. Department of State,
<https://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/arab-israeli-war>.