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GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT

Curbing the naval arms race: limitation and reduction of naval armaments
and extension of confidence-building measures to seas and oceans

Report of the Secretary-General

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. On 20 December 1983, at its thirty-eighth session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 38/188 F, the operative part of which reads as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"...

"1. Appeals to all Member States, in particular the major naval Powers, to refrain from enlarging their naval activities in areas of conflict or tension, or far from their own shores;

"2. Recognizes the urgent need to start negotiations with the participation of the major naval Powers, the nuclear-weapon States in particular, and other interested States on the limitation of naval activities, the limitation and reduction of naval armaments, taking into due account the nuclear aspect of the naval arms race, and the extension of confidence-building measures to seas and oceans, especially to regions with the busiest sea lanes or regions where the probability of conflict situations is high;

"3. Invites the Member States to communicate to the Secretary-General not later than June 1984, their views concerning modalities for holding such negotiations;

"4. Requests the Secretary-General to submit to the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session a report based on the replies of Member States called for under paragraph 3 above;

"5. Decides to include in the provisional agenda of its thirty-ninth session an item entitled 'Curbing the naval arms race: limitation and reduction of naval armaments, extension of confidence-building measures to seas and oceans'."

2. Pursuant to that resolution, the Secretary-General has to date received replies from Argentina, Australia, Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Mexico, Poland, Swaziland, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which appear in section II of the present report.

II. REPLIES RECEIVED FROM GOVERNMENTS

ARGENTINA

[Original: Spanish]

[6 April 1984]

1. The Government of the Argentine Republic, a nation with a seaboard of more than 4,000 kilometres, attaches great importance to the conduct of negotiations for the purpose of limiting and reducing naval armaments with due regard to the nuclear aspect of the naval armaments race and hence also to the extension of confidence-building measures to seas and oceans.
2. At the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, the Argentine delegation cast its vote in favour of both resolutions 38/188 F and 38/188 G because of the extension, in both quantitative and qualitative terms, of the arms race, especially in respect of nuclear arms, to seas and oceans, which endangers international peace and security. There is thus an urgent need to negotiate restrictive measures for lessening the risks of a nuclear war of naval origin, limiting the maritime spaces in which nuclear weapons are deployed, consolidating the provisions of the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof (Assembly resolution 2660 (XXV), annex) and extending its scope to cover this new situation, furthering the process of nuclear disarmament, ensuring respect for the freedom of navigation and enhancing the security of coastal States and the regions involved as a whole.
3. The negotiations should cover the following aspects of the naval arms race:
 - (a) The movement of combat-ready naval forces through the seas and oceans with their full complement of armaments, including nuclear weapons;
 - (b) The deployment, transit and transport of nuclear weapons in the seas and oceans constituting a "geographical proliferation" thereof;
 - (c) The implications for international and regional peace and security of the spread and reinforcement of foreign naval bases in coastal and island areas;
 - (d) Shows of force as a means of pressure against sovereign States, threatening their vital interests in respect of security, independence and territorial integrity.
4. It is also necessary to keep in mind the detrimental effects of the naval arms race on the developing countries, in view of the fact that naval activities such as blockades, the establishment of exclusion zones and the carrying out of certain manoeuvres affect free navigation, fishing and other maritime activities normally connected with the exploration and exploitation of the resources of the sea.

5. It should be borne in mind that confidence-building measures are collateral disarmament initiatives and cannot be regarded as substitutes for specific action in that respect.

6. The negotiations referred to in resolution 38/188 F should be carried out in the only multilateral forum for negotiation on disarmament: the Conference on Disarmament at Geneva. Since, however, the agenda of that Conference already includes a large number of items, to which top priority is assigned, and in order to avoid overburdening the Conference, the item in question could be the subject of a preliminary analysis by the United Nations Disarmament Commission for a maximum period of two years. This analysis could be carried out on the basis of the study on the naval arms race provided for in General Assembly resolution 38/188 G which supplements resolution 38/188 F.

7. In this connection it is suggested that the study should include consideration of the following topics:

(a) World situation of the naval armaments race;

(b) Naval armaments race in the major military pacts;

(c) Analysis of the extension of the geographical ranges of the major military alliances;

(d) Measures for banning the manufacture of naval nuclear armaments and of weapons of mass destruction;

(e) Measures for neutralizing, minimizing and banning the emplacement of monitoring systems in or on the sea-bed and ocean floor;

(f) Measures for banning the transit and transport of nuclear weapons in international waters;

(g) Desirability of ensuring that all naval armaments put into operation have a system of deactivation which will disable them if they have not exploded;

(h) Measures for verifying the denuclearization of the sea-bed and ocean floor;

(i) Implications for international peace and security of the proliferation and reinforcement of foreign naval bases in coastal and island areas.

AUSTRALIA

[Original: English]

[4 April 1984]

Australia vigorously supports all efforts towards balanced, verifiable measures that serve to enhance international security and peace. This extends to

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measures to curb the naval arms race. Australia voted against resolution 38/188 F, however, on the grounds that future negotiations would be greatly assisted by a comprehensive study of the naval arms race rather than by launching prematurely into negotiations on a relatively new, technically complex area. Australia gave its full support to resolution 38/188 G, sponsored by Sweden, which proposed just such a study. Australia looks forward to examining the results of the study prior to considering the next step. Our view at this stage is that there may well be scope for the development of confidence-building measures related to the non-proliferation of certain technologies of maritime warfare.

BULGARIA

[Original: Russian]

[23 May 1984]

1. For the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the other socialist countries there are no more important and urgent tasks than averting nuclear war, halting the arms race, and achieving disarmament. In the modern world, lasting peace can be ensured only on a basis of joint steps designed to eliminate the increased threat of war and save mankind from self-destruction.
2. At the initiative of Bulgaria, in co-sponsorship with certain other countries, the General Assembly adopted resolution 38/188 F, entitled "Curbing the naval arms race: limitation and reduction of naval armaments, extension of confidence-building measures to seas and oceans".
3. In submitting this proposal the Government of Bulgaria was guided by the view that the effective closing of all channels of the arms race which is ruinous for mankind, and the elimination of all sources of the threat of war are required in the interests of peace and international security. This fully applies also to the naval arms race, which for decades has remained outside the framework of the general efforts to bring about disarmament.
4. The profound changes which have come about in the development of the operational capability of naval forces have made them global in nature and have increased their strategic role. The adoption of nuclear missiles as armaments has significantly increased the military importance of this branch of the armed forces.
5. New trends in the naval strategy of the United States in turn have stimulated the development of naval armaments. The qualitative leap in the development of armaments and in methods of waging war at sea and from the sea has even further increased the danger of war and threatens to destabilize the entire military strategic situation. New types of naval fleet units designed to carry out military operations in a number of explosive areas of the world, which in many cases are at a considerable distance from one's own shores, are being created or old ones are being modernized. The programmes for expanding the number of naval vessels of all the main classes, including aircraft carriers and the different types of support vessels, are proceeding at full speed.

6. The naval arms race, which has been thus accelerated, has led to a greater increase in military expenditures, which impose a heavy burden on all peoples of the world and divert considerable resources from social development programmes.

7. The increased naval presence and activities in a number of important areas of the world's oceans, particularly in areas of conflict and tension, are another essential aspect of the problem. The recent increase in the number of cases involving the use by the United States of naval formations as a show of force and as a means of interfering in the internal affairs of sovereign States, particularly developing countries, and threatening their vital interests, independence and territorial integrity has caused great alarm throughout the world. The mere presence of such large naval forces in explosive areas of the world could lead to a further aggravation of the situation in a given region.

8. The increased naval activity has an extremely adverse effect also on the security of the busy sea lanes which traverse these areas. The military presence in maritime transport areas increases the vulnerability of shipping and prevents the unimpeded use by all States of the seas and oceans for peaceful navigation and trade, and the exploration and exploitation of the inexhaustible wealth of the world's oceans for peaceful purposes.

9. The instances of the unilateral declaration of measures restricting free passage in the air and sea in certain areas where large United States naval forces are concentrated constitute a flagrant violation of generally accepted principles and norms of international law, particularly the 1958 Geneva Convention on the High Seas (A/CONF.13/L.53) and the 1944 Chicago Convention on International Civil Aviation. 1/ A large number of States are justifiably alarmed at the serious threat to their security caused by the proximity to their territory of numerous naval bases and strongholds of the imperialist Powers.

10. The growing danger of the increasing naval presence and activities is not limited to only one or two areas of the world's oceans. It is global in nature and includes all the main areas: the Atlantic, Pacific and Indian oceans, the Mediterranean Sea and the Persian Gulf.

11. The dangerous development of naval armaments cannot but give rise to serious concern among those who are sincerely interested in eliminating the threat to international peace and security, and achieving success in efforts to bring about disarmament. It is vitally necessary to undertake at the international level urgent measures to curb the naval arms race, and to limit and reduce naval armaments quantitatively and qualitatively while all that is still possible. Urgent steps to restore confidence in freedom of navigation and create conditions for substantially limiting naval activities must also be taken.

12. The countries of the socialist community have always actively sought to promote the formulation of measures to limit naval activities and curb the naval arms race. They have put forward a number of concrete proposals designed to achieve this goal.

13. The declaration of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, adopted on 15 May 1980, stressed that it was necessary "in the interests of peace and the

stabilization of the international situation, as well as in the interests of ensuring the safe and unimpeded use of major international maritime communications, to begin consideration, in such a forum as the United Nations, of the question of restricting and lowering the level of military presence and military activity in appropriate regions, whether in the Atlantic, the Indian or the Pacific Ocean, in the Mediterranean or in the Persian Gulf" (A/35/237-S/13948, annex II, p. 15). In the Prague Political Declaration of 5 January 1983 the States Parties called "for the opening of talks on the limitation of naval activities, on the limitation and reduction of naval armaments and on the extension of confidence-building measures to the seas and oceans" (A/38/67-S/15556 and Corr.1, p. 6). A number of individual and collective proposals from the socialist countries, which were put forward in order to reduce the level of military confrontation on the seas and curb the arms race in this area are also still applicable.

14. The Government of Bulgaria notes with satisfaction that this important and urgent question was further developed within the framework of the United Nations as a result of the adoption of General Assembly resolution 38/188 F. The inclusion of the question of curbing the naval arms race in the agenda of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly provides an opportunity for conducting a broad exchange of views on the ways and means of regulating the naval arms race or the international level in the interests of peace, international security, trust and co-operation among States throughout the world.

15. Bulgaria considers that at the current stage joint work could begin on preparing for and starting negotiations on the limitation of naval activities, the limitation of naval armaments and the extension of confidence-building measures to seas and oceans, especially to regions with the busiest sea lanes and regions where the likelihood of conflict situations is greatest. In resolution 38/188 F the General Assembly recognized the urgent need to start such negotiations.

16. In view of the nature of naval activities and armaments and the related security interests of a large number of States, all countries concerned, particularly States with large naval fleets and especially the nuclear Powers, must participate in negotiations on this set of questions. Bulgaria welcomes the readiness of the Soviet Union to participate in such negotiations, which was expressed in the letter dated 9 April 1984 addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, from the First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. A. A. Gromyko (A/AC.159/L.6; see reply from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics below). Positive responses from the other nuclear States, expressing their readiness to facilitate this effort through constructive participation in negotiations on this question would be of considerable importance for successfully curbing the naval arms race.

17. With regard to the nature and scope of measures to be considered and adopted at the proposed negotiations, General Assembly resolution 38/188 F and the ideas and proposals put forward by certain Member States contain a number of views on this subject. The comprehensive programme of concrete measures contained in the above-mentioned letter of the USSR offers promising prospects for constructively orienting the efforts of the international community towards curbing the dangerous naval arms race.

18. In full accordance with the fundamental provisions of General Assembly resolution 38/188 F, reaching agreement on the non-expansion of naval activities of States in areas of conflict or tension is one of the measures which should be given high priority. A situation in which the naval fleets of the great Powers are deployed for long periods far from their shores cannot be considered normal. It would therefore be advisable at future negotiations to seek a joint solution which would eliminate this situation. Steps to bring about withdrawal of ships equipped with nuclear weapons from certain areas of the world's oceans and to establish limits on the presence of certain types of ships into these areas would be an important stabilizing factor.
19. Efforts to curb the naval arms race and limit naval activities could be further expanded to include the immediate and effective limitation and subsequent reduction of naval armaments. Such measures, naturally, should include, for example, a limitation of the number of warships of the main classes.
20. Measures to limit naval armaments at the global level cannot, of course, be formulated and implemented without considering the efforts made in other directions to limit armaments which, to one degree or another, affect the naval forces of States.
21. Reaching agreement on confidence-building measures, the basic objective of which is to assist in averting conflict situations and strengthening the security of sea lanes, must occupy an important place in naval disarmament negotiations.
22. Independent efforts of countries in some areas of the world to reach agreement among themselves on certain measures for limiting various aspects of naval activities and armaments in those areas would make a valuable contribution to solving the general problem of curbing the naval arms race.
23. In view of the large number of States interested in solving the problem of naval disarmament, negotiations on this question must be sufficiently broad in scope and representative. From this point of view, consideration should be given to the possibility of starting such negotiations within the framework of the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva. Other possible approaches, including the holding of separate multilateral negotiations on this set of questions, could of course also be considered.
24. The complexity of the questions related to curbing the naval arms race cannot justify inaction. Experience has shown that by means of negotiations it is always possible to arrive at a mutually acceptable solution in the interests of peace and general security provided that all States concerned have the necessary political will and take a constructive approach.
25. Sound and effective agreements on limiting naval activities and armaments can be achieved only in accordance with the principle of the inviolability of the security of every State. In order to achieve success, it will be essential that all participants in the negotiations renounce efforts to achieve unilateral military advantages and superiority at the expense of other States or groups of States.

26. The vital interests of all peoples of the world demand that the international community take decisive steps to limit the threat of war caused by the arms race on the seas and oceans and to strengthen peace and international security by all possible means.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

[Original: English]

[13 June 1984]

1. The Government of the German Democratic Republic considers measures aimed at limiting and reducing naval armaments and extending confidence-building measures to seas and oceans as necessary steps to avert the growing danger of war. The build-up of naval fleets and forces and the increase in naval activities have resulted in greater global and regional instability, causing great harm to the economic and social development of nations and posing a mounting threat to the security of peaceful navigation and the exploration and exploitation of marine resources.

2. Ensuring the peaceful uses of the oceans and the international sea lanes would be in the interests of all States and peoples. The growing international economic integration and the dependence of many countries on reliable supplies of raw materials and commodities by seaborne transportation make practical measures guaranteeing the conditions for peaceful co-operation in the uses of the seas and oceans an indispensable requirement which would benefit all States, irrespective of their social system. This presupposes that the maritime activities of States would be carried out in accordance with such principles as respect for independence and sovereignty, renunciation of the use or threat of force, inviolability of frontiers, territorial integrity, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and equality, as well as all other fundamental principles of relations between States.

3. It is irreconcilable with those principles that the leading Western Power, supported by some of its closest allies, has initiated a new lap of the naval arms race in its attempt to achieve military superiority in all fields. This fact was evident in:

(a) An increase in the number of warships through crash construction programmes, the recommissioning of mothballed warships, and the rapid modernization of warships in service, by equipping them with highly sophisticated weapons, including nuclear weapons;

(b) Constant and large-scale naval exercises, including the presence of ships carrying amphibious assault forces off the shores of other States;

(c) An increase in the permanent military presence in various regions of the seas and oceans, particularly in the vicinity of the busiest sea lanes or in regions of conflict, through the installation and expansion of bases;

(d) Direct use of naval forces to put pressure on sovereign States in particular developing countries, and to interfere in their internal affairs;

(e) The encouragement and support of measures to blockade vital ports of other States, particularly by the emplacement of sea mines;

(f) The planning, preparation and carrying-out of armed aggressions and interventions.

4. Those activities create permanent sources of danger in many regions. They cannot be legitimized by invoking alleged national security interests. The security interests of States call rather for dialogue and negotiation, in a constructive spirit and with the political will to achieve positive results, on steps designed to reduce military confrontation in the seas and oceans. A number of proposals have been put forward in this regard by the Warsaw Treaty States. For instance, they suggested in their Warsaw Declaration of 15 May 1980 that the limitation and scaling down of the levels of military presence and military activity in the Atlantic, Indian and Pacific oceans, the Mediterranean Sea and the Persian Gulf should be examined (A/35/237-S/13948).

5. The Government of the German Democratic Republic endorses the initiatives taken by the Soviet Union for drafting concrete measures in the context of Soviet-American negotiations on the limitation and reduction of strategic armaments and the limitation and subsequent reduction of military activities in the Indian Ocean.

6. In order to reverse the naval arms race, the Warsaw Treaty States, in their Prague Declaration of 5 January 1983, expressed themselves in favour of:

(a) Negotiations on the limitation and reduction of naval activities, on the limitation and reduction of naval armaments and on the extension of confidence-building measures to cover seas and oceans;

(b) The withdrawal of nuclear-capable vessels from the Mediterranean Sea and the non-deployment of nuclear weapons in the territories of the non-nuclear Mediterranean countries (A/38/67-S/15556 and Corr.1).

7. The German Democratic Republic, as a co-sponsor of resolution 38/188 F, has actively supported the call by the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session for the start of negotiations on the limitation of naval activities, the limitation and reduction of naval armaments and the extension of confidence-building measures to seas and oceans. The German Democratic Republic furthermore welcomes the far-reaching, constructive proposals by the Soviet Union for a halt to the naval arms race which were contained in the letter of 9 April 1984 from the Soviet Foreign Minister, A. A. Gromyko, to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, J. Pérez de Cuéllar (see under Union of Soviet Socialist Republics below).

8. In the view of the German Democratic Republic it is particularly urgent:

(a) Not to step up naval activities of States in regions of conflict and tensions;

(b) To agree on and put into practice confidence-building measures which aim to prevent situations of conflict and to strengthen the security of maritime shipping;

(c) To use all potentialities of a regional approach to the limitation of naval activities and naval armaments, inter alia, at the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe.

9. It appears indispensable to elaborate all these and other relevant measures in accordance with the principle of undiminished security for the parties involved, with due account taken of all factors which determine the relationship of forces at sea and of other types of armaments which have an impact on naval forces. All major naval Powers and other interested States should take part in negotiations on the limitation of naval activities and naval armaments. It should be considered whether it would be possible to conduct such negotiations in the context of the Conference on Disarmament at Geneva.

10. As regards resolution 38/188 G concerning the preparation of a study on the naval arms race, adopted by the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session, the German Democratic Republic holds the view that the value of such a study would be the greater the more it went beyond technical and legal issues and a mere comparison of data. Such a study should not only seek to reveal the dangers that emanate from the naval arms race, but should also clearly identify those main aspects on which urgent measures must be agreed on a priority basis. The study should be conducive to the earliest possible start of negotiations on the limitation of naval activities and naval armaments.

HUNGARY

[Original: English]

[12 June 1984]

1. The central concern of the foreign policy pursued by the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic is to make an active contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security, the removal of the danger of war threatening to destroy the whole world and the prevention of the arms race.

2. The Government of Hungary is concerned to see that the arms race and especially the nuclear arms race, its most dangerous form, is pursued in the naval field owing to the naval armaments of the United States and some of its allies. Particularly perilous is the continuing increase in the number of naval units carrying nuclear arms, stationed in crisis areas with attendant threats of interference. By deploying new naval units and building a whole series of naval bases, those countries have perpetuated the military threat and have increased tension in new areas. All these activities jeopardize the security of land-locked countries as well.

3. The Government of Hungary is convinced that these negative tendencies can be halted and reversed by the adoption of concrete measures such as concluding an

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agreement on the limitation of naval armaments in certain regions such as the Pacific Ocean, the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. Another significant step could be to prohibit the enlarging of naval activities in areas of conflict. It would also be appropriate to prohibit certain types of ship such as aircraft carriers from entering specific regions. All these steps could be combined with various confidence-building measures.

4. Regarding the above possible measures, the Hungarian Government considers it necessary for all significant naval Powers to adopt them and to participate in their elaboration, the governing principle being that such measures must not diminish the security of any State.

5. The Hungarian Government, being aware of the threat posed by the naval arms race to the peace of the world, welcomed the adoption by the General Assembly of resolution 38/188 F, entitled "Curbing the naval arms race: limitation and reduction of naval armaments, extension of confidence-building measures to seas and oceans" at its thirty-eighth session, and wishes to promote the implementation thereof by its political activity.

MEXICO

[Original: Spanish]

[21 June 1984]

1. Negotiations on the limitation and reduction of naval armaments should be held under United Nations auspices. Such negotiations should take into due account the nuclear aspect of the naval arms race.

2. As a first step, consideration could be given to talks among the major naval Powers, the nuclear-weapon States in particular, with the participation of a representative of the Secretary-General attending the talks; and later, an international conference, open to all interested States, could be convened.

3. Negotiations on curbing the naval arms race should include:

(a) Consider prohibition of the use of naval forces as an instrument of pressure to interfere in the internal affairs of other States and threaten their sovereignty, independence or territorial integrity;

(b) Restriction of military naval activities through the creation of maritime zones within which the rights of non-coastal States would be restricted;

(c) Reduction of military naval bases and any other type of port facilities on foreign territory;

(d) Adoption of confidence-building measures, such as prior notification of military manoeuvres, the presence of international observers during such exercises, and the notification of the passage of submarines, especially in regions where international tension is highest.

POLAND

[Original: English]

[24 May 1984]

1. Pursuant to General Assembly resolutions 38/188 G and F, the Government of the Polish People's Republic has the honour to submit the observations set out below.
2. Poland wishes to reaffirm its repeatedly voiced determination to contribute to the consolidation of peace and international security which, in its view, continue to be threatened in the main by the nuclear arms race rampant today in all environments, including the seas and oceans.
3. As a maritime State, Poland takes direct and invariable interest in the freedom of the high seas, in the security of international shipping routes indispensable for the promotion of mutually advantageous international co-operation, as well as in the establishment of conditions conducive to the peaceful exploitation of marine resources in the waters, on the sea-bed and the ocean floor and in their subsoil.
4. The growing role of naval armaments in the United States, which are designed to gain all-round military superiority, as well as the evident intensification of the use of naval forces by the United States and some of its allies of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) as an instrument of a policy of blackmail, pressure and interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States, especially the developing ones, underscore the urgent need to redouble efforts with a view to halting the arms race. This goal can be attained through an agreement on specific measures to reduce navies and limit their destabilizing activity.
5. While firmly supporting all efforts with a view to halting the naval arms race, the Government of Poland also appreciates the initiative pertaining to the preparation by an international group of experts of a comprehensive study on the naval arms race.
6. Approaching that complicated issue from different angles, such a study could contribute to a better understanding of the essence of the naval arms race, as well as its implications for international security, for the freedom of the high seas and for the exploitation for peaceful purposes of marine resource deposits on the sea-bed and the ocean floor of all seas and oceans. At the same time it must be underlined that the preparation of the said study would not at this time constitute the most effective way of seeking to curb the naval arms race.
7. The Government of Poland strongly believes that genuine results in this regard can be expected only by undertaking appropriately prepared bilateral or multilateral negotiations. Any initiative paving the way to such negotiations, on the basis of equality and equal security, is sure to be accorded Poland's full support.
8. In this context, the Government of Poland wishes to recall and reaffirm the validity of the relevant proposals of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty

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contained in the Declarations of the Consultative Political Committee of 15 May 1980 and 5 January 1983, which were made in the interests of peace, stabilization of the international situation and ensuring unhindered use of international shipping routes.

9. Poland proceeds from the assumption that the halting of the naval arms race and - in a longer perspective - specific disarmament measures in that field would represent a major contribution to the consolidation of peace and the international security. The key issue in that regard continues to be, in particular, the question of curbing the nuclear naval arms race. The negotiations on the limitation of naval activities and the reduction of naval armaments could conceivably be conducted within the framework of the Conference on Disarmament at Geneva in conformity with the recognized principles of such negotiations. The success of such negotiations would depend, of course, on the involvement in and constructive approach to the negotiations of all naval States, especially all the nuclear-weapon Powers.

10. At the same time, it will be appreciated that there exist possibilities of conducting, under the aegis of the United Nations, regional or subregional negotiations with the participation of all interested States, as exemplified by the efforts pursued within the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean. Pursued in compliance with the principles of equality, reciprocity and undiminished security of either side, such negotiations could, without prejudice to bilateral or multilateral efforts on a global scale, represent a major step towards halting and limiting naval armaments or, for that matter, towards the extension of confidence-building measures relative to naval activities to specific areas of the seas and oceans. Such measures could cover the frequency and size of naval manoeuvres, including those involving fleets, naval air force and marines units. They should also provide for the need to withdraw foreign naval forces to a specified distance from regions of armed conflicts or international tension.

11. The Government of the Polish People's Republic would also like to draw attention to the need for States to approach in a positive manner the commitment, reaffirmed in the Final Declaration of the Second Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof, 2/ concerning further measures in the field of disarmament for the prevention of an arms race on the sea-bed and the ocean floor and their subsoil. The elaboration of an agreement in that regard would be possible, with proper advantage taken of the experience accumulated by States in the course of negotiation of the said Treaty. The indispensable first step in that direction, however, should be an immediate acceptance of the Treaty by the States that have not yet become parties, particularly those possessing nuclear weapons or other weapons of mass destruction.

SWAZILAND

[Original: English]

[1 August 1984]

The Government of Swaziland, in the case of limitation and reduction of nuclear weapons, supports international peace initiatives, including the halting and reversal of the arms race be they nuclear or naval armaments.

UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

[Original: Russian]

[30 April 1984]

1. The Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic believes that, given the present sharp deterioration in the international situation brought about by the forces of imperialism, no task is more important than that of taking urgent steps to avert the threat of nuclear war, normalize relations between States and return to a policy of détente. Efforts to halt and reverse the arms race are of the highest importance in this connection. There is a need for genuine and effective measures aimed at the speedy reduction of armaments, particularly nuclear armaments.
2. To that end, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have put forward a large number of serious proposals and proposed a series of major initiatives in virtually every field. The undertaking by the Soviet Union not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, the call for condemning nuclear war and declaring it a crime against the world's peoples, the proposals to impose a freeze on nuclear weapons, to avert an arms race in outer space and to conclude a treaty on the mutual non-use of force and the maintenance of peaceful relations between States parties to the Warsaw Treaty and States members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and many other initiatives have met with great interest and approval the world over and at the United Nations in particular. The recent Soviet proposal for agreement on the joint recognition of norms for relations between nuclear-weapon States and on making those norms binding is also very important.
3. Given the growth of naval forces, a significant role in efforts to avert war could be played by the limitation of naval activities and naval armaments.
4. In the recent past, there have been increasing instances of the use of navies in the most diverse regions of the world - the Caribbean basin, the South Atlantic, the Persian Gulf and the Pacific Ocean - as a means of interfering in the internal affairs of independent countries, exerting pressure on them, preserving colonial domination and committing acts of naked aggression and intervention. Such a use of naval forces also creates obstacles to the peaceful utilization of the sea and marine resources and threatens the security of peaceful navigation and freedom of the seas.

5. The Ukrainian SSR therefore favours curbing and reducing the levels of naval presence and naval activity, especially in areas where the probability of conflict situations is high, and favours limiting and reducing naval armaments.
6. Unfortunately, the many proposals put forward by a number of States, including the socialist States, for applying such measures to various regions - the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean Sea, the Pacific and Atlantic oceans and the Persian Gulf - in which the busiest sea lanes lie, have not yet elicited a favourable response from the United States and some of its allies; on the contrary, those countries are embarking on a new stage in the naval arms race and expanding their permanent presence in the most remote seas and oceans.
7. In this connection, the Ukrainian SSR endorses resolution 38/188 F adopted by the United Nations General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session which, inter alia, recognized "the urgent need to start negotiations with the participation of the major naval Powers, the nuclear-weapon States in particular, and other interested States on the limitation of naval activities, the limitation and reduction of naval armaments, taking into due account the nuclear aspect of the naval arms race, and the extension of confidence-building measures to seas and oceans, especially to regions with the busiest sea lanes or regions where the probability of conflict situations is high".
8. All the major naval Powers and other interested States should participate in such negotiations, which could be conducted within the framework of the Conference on Disarmament at Geneva or take the form of separate multilateral negotiations. This must not, of course, hinder the possible consideration of such questions in the negotiations between nuclear-weapon States.
9. We believe that, as a first step, it would be useful to reach agreement not to expand naval activities in areas where a danger of conflict exists. The withdrawal of ships armed with nuclear weapons from certain regions of the world's oceans, the elimination of situations in which the warships of major naval Powers remain in remote regions for prolonged periods and the imposition of restrictions on ships of various types sailing in certain regions would all help to create a more stable situation.
10. Another urgent question is that of the limitation and reduction of naval armaments - for instance, the limitation and subsequent balanced reduction of the numbers of vessels of the main classes in the order of battle of the navies of the major naval Powers, giving priority to those classes of vessels which have an especially destabilizing effect and are most frequently used to exert pressure on sovereign States. The question of foreign naval bases must also be addressed.
11. It would be desirable to consider possible regional measures for dealing with these problems and also the question of extending confidence-building measures to seas and oceans, especially to regions with the busiest sea lanes.
12. The Ukrainian SSR believes that in the course of such negotiations, the following must be strictly observed: the principle of equality and equal security for all parties, the need to take due account of all factors which have a bearing on naval forces, and the principle that no one's security should be impaired.

13. In the view of the Ukrainian SSR, the study on the naval arms race proposed in resolution 38/188 G must first and foremost help to ensure that the above-mentioned negotiations are successful and achieve genuine results. It must not be a substitute for those negotiations or serve as a pretext for avoiding them. Consequently, it must make clear the danger of the naval arms race, its destabilizing effect and the threat which it poses to international peace and security. If the study simply enumerated data on naval forces and naval armaments or merely described methods of comparing them, its usefulness would be open to question.

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

[Original: Russian]

[10 April 1984]

1. The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics considers the primary task of its foreign policy to be that of preventing a nuclear catastrophe and bringing about a genuine turn for the better in the dangerous course of world events. It has recently taken a number of major initiatives aimed at the attainment of that goal. Of special importance among them is the Soviet Union's proposal for norms to govern relations between the nuclear Powers. Agreement on the recognition of such norms by all nuclear Powers and on making them binding would serve the interests not only of those Powers but of all the States of the world. The proposal also relates to resolution 38/75 of 15 December 1983 on the condemnation of nuclear war, adopted by the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session on the basis of a draft submitted by the USSR, and to Soviet proposals concerning the freezing of nuclear weapons and the prevention of an arms race in space, also approved in the United Nations.
2. Effective practical steps for arms reduction, especially nuclear arms reduction, are what is now needed in order to avert the threat of war hanging over mankind and to improve the international situation.
3. An important contribution to the cause of preventing war could be made by curbing the arms race in the seas and oceans. The further increase in naval fleets and the intensification of their activities are fraught with the danger of destroying the stability that now exists on a global scale and within individual regions, and are leading to a significant diversion of resources from constructive purposes. This tendency has a negative effect on the security of peaceful navigation and on the investigation and exploitation of marine resources, whose value to mankind is growing ever greater. There are also increasingly frequent instances of the direct use of naval forces by certain Powers to exert pressure on sovereign States, especially developing States, to interfere in their internal affairs, to commit acts of armed aggression and intervention and to preserve the remnants of the colonial system.
4. As is known, the Soviet Union, independently or together with other socialist countries, has proposed reaching agreement on many specific measures relating to the reciprocal limitation of the activities of naval fleets and to the limitation

and reduction of naval armaments, and also on appropriate confidence-building measures both as a whole and with respect to individual areas, whether in the Indian, Atlantic or Pacific oceans, in the Mediterranean Sea or in the Persian Gulf. These proposals remain in effect.

5. The Soviet Union has actively striven for the formulation of measures aimed at curbing the naval arms race on a bilateral basis as well, in particular within the framework of Soviet-United States talks on the limitation and subsequent reduction of military activities in the Indian Ocean, and in the context of the limitation and reduction of strategic weapons.

6. However, owing to the position taken by the United States of America and a number of its allies, the process of solving the problems related to the limitation of the naval arms race has thus far failed to come off dead centre. The facts indicate that, counting on the attainment of military superiority in every field and the possibility of the mass use of force even in the most remote areas of the earth, the United States of America has begun a new round of the naval arms race. New ships equipped with the most modern means of destruction are being built and commissioned, and old ships are being taken out of mothballs and equipped with similar weapons. The constant naval presence of the United States in various oceans and seas is increasing, and the infrastructure of bases for its maintenance is being expanded.

7. The USSR welcomed the appeal made by the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session for a start to negotiations on the limitation of naval activities, the limitation and reduction of naval armaments and the extension of confidence-building measures to seas and oceans, especially to regions with the busiest sea lanes or regions where the probability of conflict situations is high. The USSR, for its part, is ready to take part in such negotiations. As an urgent step, it might be possible to agree, for example, that States would not expand their naval activities in areas of conflict or tension.

8. Moreover, it is desirable to seek solutions that would avoid a situation in which the naval fleets of the great Powers are at sea for a long time far from their own shores. It might also be useful to take such steps as withdrawing vessels equipped with nuclear weapons from certain ocean and sea areas, establishing limits for the presence in those areas of vessels of various classes, and so on.

9. The USSR could go even further towards the direct and effective limitation of naval armaments. Such measures could include, for example, limitation of the number of warships of the principal classes. Consideration should at the same time be given to the placing of limits on anti-submarine forces and weapons, as well as to measures concerning naval bases in foreign territories. Subsequently, consideration could be given to the balanced reduction of the numbers of vessels in the combatant arm of the fleets of the great Powers. This applies particularly to such vessels as aircraft carriers, which have a highly destabilizing effect and are used for the demonstration of force and as an instrument for exerting pressure on independent States.

10. It could be of great political significance to achieve agreement on and the

implementation of confidence-building measures, which help to avert conflict situations and to strengthen the security of sea communications. All the necessary measures should of course be elaborated and implemented in accordance with the principle of not harming the security of anyone, with due account being taken of all factors that determine the relationship of forces at sea, as well as other ways of limiting weapons which affect naval forces in one way or another.

11. The possibilities of a regional approach to limiting naval activities and naval armaments should be fully utilized.

12. In the course of the negotiations the Soviet Union is also ready to consider the measures needed to ensure the mutual confidence of States in fulfilling their obligations.

13. In the opinion of the Soviet Union, all the major naval Powers and other interested States should take part in the negotiations on limiting naval activities and naval armaments. From this angle, it might be possible to consider conducting the negotiations in the context of the Conference on Disarmament at Geneva. The Soviet Union, however, is also ready to study the possibility of holding separate multilateral negotiations on this whole range of questions. Moreover, it proceeds from the principle that holding multilateral negotiations on the limiting of naval activities and naval armaments should not serve as an obstacle to the consideration of these questions at negotiations among the nuclear Powers.

14. As to the study on the naval arms race called for in General Assembly resolution 38/188 G, the Soviet Union is of the opinion that the study should not only reveal the dangerous nature of such an arms race and its adverse effect on international peace, security and economic development, but should also help in arriving at tangible areas of agreement. The value of the study would be undermined if it led only to the gathering of information on naval armaments, the description of their technical details, the methods of comparing naval forces, and so on. Furthermore, the study should not serve as a pretext for delaying the start of practical negotiations or as a substitute for them.

Notes

1/ United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 15, p. 295.

2/ See Second Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof, Final Document (SBT/CONF.II/20) (Geneva, 1983), Part II.
