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Distr. GENERAL

A/CN.10/77 25 April 1986 ENGLISH

ORIGINAL: CHINESE/ENGLISH/ RUSSIAN/SPANISH

DISARMAMENT COMMISSION

STUDY ON THE NAVAL ARMS RACE

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INTRODUCTION

1. On 12 December 1985, the General Assembly adopted resolution 40/94 F, the operative paragraphs of which, inter alia, read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"1. Notes with satisfaction the study on the naval arms race contained in the report of the Secretary-General;

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"3. <u>Commands</u> the study and its conclusions to the attention of all Member States;

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- "5. <u>Invites</u> all Member States to inform the Secretary-General, no later than 5 April 1986, of their views concerning the study;
- "6. Requests the Secretary-General to prepare for the Disarmament Commission at its substantive session in May 1986 a compilation of the views received from Member States regarding this issue;
- "7. Requests the Disarmament Commission to consider, at its forthcoming session in 1986, the issues contained in the study on the naval arms race, both its substantive content and its conclusions, taking into account all other relevant present and future proposals, with a view to facilitating the identification of possible measures in the field of naval arms reductions and disarmament, pursued within the framework of progress towards general and complete disarmament, as well as confidence-building measures in this field, and to report on its deliberations and recommendations to the General Assembly at its forty-first session;".
- 2. Pursuant to the above requests, the Secretary-General has to date received replies from Argentina, Bulgaria, China, Indonesia, Lesotho, Mexico and Sweden which are submitted herewith. Other replies will be issued as addenda.

ARGENTINA

[Original: Spanish]

[5 April 1986]

1. The study in question (A/40/535), carried out by you with the assistance of qualified governmental experts, is a valuable contribution by the United Nations to the clarification of an aspect of the arms race which had not previously been dealt with in the Organization. Consequently, it is a basic document which will undoubtedly help to direct greater attention to the subject and stimulate new approaches.

- 2. The Argentine Government considers that a current aspect of the increasing militarization of geographical space is the constant movement through the oceans and seas of surface vessels and submarines equipped with nuclear weapons.
- 3. These arms systems are intended to fulfil a tactical or strategic purpose in an armed conflict. Since nuclear-weapon submarines form part of the so-called "triad" of strategic forces, they are a constant threat to the coastal countries and regions involved. This aspect of the naval arms race has not been treated in sufficient depth in chapter VI of the study on implications for security and the peaceful uses of the seas. In the view of the Argentine Government, a special chapter should have been devoted to this subject, so that it could be treated with the emphasis and care that it deserves.
- 4. The United Nations Disarmament Commission will consider, "at its forthcoming session in 1986, the issues contained in the study on the naval arms race, both its substantive content and its conclusions, taking into account all other relevant present and future proposals", as requested in paragraph 7 of the aforementioned resolution.
- 5. The Argentine Government expects that this aspect of the question will be given appropriate consideration on that occasion.
- 6. The geographical spread of naval nuclear weapons increases the risk of nuclear war, extending it to all parts of the earth. This is another aspect of the subject which could be dealt with in a new study on the threat of nuclear war and the need to take steps to prevent it.

BULGARIA

[Original: Russian]

[8 April 1986]

- 1. The People's Republic of Bulgaria reaffirms its undiminished interest in the adoption of effective measures to limit the naval arms race and in the discussion, for these purposes, of ways and means of conducting the appropriate negotiations.
- 2. With the adoption of resolutions 40/94 F and 40/94 I, the United Nations General Assembly confirmed that this question has secured its rightful place in the agenda of the Assembly and that some progress has been made towards clarifying the positions of countries and defining the procedural framework for direct substantive discussion of the matter.
- 3. The replies given by a number of Member States to the Secretary-General and the discussions held in the Disarmament Commission and at the General Assembly during its fortieth session have shown that the majority of States Members of the United Nations regard the halting of the naval arms race as an urgent problem. It has been noted that the active build-up and use of naval armaments poses a serious threat to international peace and security, and therefore makes this issue a timely and imperative one.

- 4. Furthermore, many interesting proposals have been made by a number of States since the question of limiting the naval arms race was included in the agenda of the General Assembly. A study on the naval arms race has been completed by a group of United Nations experts (A/40/535). All of this represents a good basis for further intensive work on the subject.
- 5. For its part, the People's Republic of Bulgaria states that all the proposals which it has made in this area, either individually or together with other States, remain valid. It continues to subscribe firmly to the view that it is essential to discuss possible and initial steps for the commencement of negotiations with the participation of the major naval Powers, particularly the nuclear-weapon States, and other interested countries on the limitation and reduction of the naval presence and naval activities and to harmonize naval confidence-building measures and measures for disarmament.
- 6. At the same time, the Government of Bulgaria welcomes all other efforts aimed at achieving these purposes, and it considers the study on the naval arms race by the group of United Nations experts from this standpoint. The study could be used in the process of discussions and negotiations together with all existing or future proposals and documents. This view is reflected in General Assembly resolution 40/94 I. It should be noted that a similar approach is contained in Assembly resolution 40/94 F, on which Bulgaria cast a positive vote. The results of the study contain valuable observations which confirm the need for in-depth consideration of the naval arms race within the framework of the United Nations. In this respect, resolutions 40/94 F and 40/94 I complement one another.
- 7. In view of the requirements of the two General Assembly resolutions, Bulgaria believes that the Disarmament Commission should continue in 1986 its consideration of the problems of the naval arms race and ways and means of limiting it as a matter of priority, in an appropriate subsidiary body, with a view to identifying the scope and subject-matter of future negotiations. In accordance with General Assembly resolutions 40/94 F and 40/94 I, the Disarmament Commission should report on its deliberations and recommendations to the General Assembly at its forty-first session.
- 8. As a first step, in the view of the Bulgarian Government, substantive consideration could be given to the activities of naval forces and to certain confidence-building measures contained in the proposals made thus far by Member States and in the United Nations expert study, as well as in possible future proposals.
- 9. The following measures put forward in the United Nations study regarding the activities of naval forces could be the object of such consideration:
- (a) Withdrawal of vessels equipped with nuclear weapons from certain ocean and sea areas, particularly the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea;
- (b) Limitation and reduction of the military presence and military activities in appropriate areas, such as the Atlantic Ocean, the Indian or Pacific Oceans, the Mediterranean Sea or the Persian Gulf;

- (c) Withdrawal of guided-missile submarines from extensive areas of combat patrol and the restriction of their patrol areas to mutually agreed limits;
- (d) Various geographical restrictions on the holding of naval exercises and manoeuvres;
- (e) Ban on the establishment of new naval bases and the gradual elimination of existing ones in foreign territories;
- (f) Establishment of zones of peace or nuclear-weapon-free zones, mainly covering oceans and seas for example, the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean, the Baltic Sea, South-East Asia and the South Pacific.
- 10. The following confidence-building measures could also be considered in this connection:
- (a) The extension of present confidence-building measures to seas and oceans, particularly to areas with the busiest sea lanes;
- (b) Agreements not to increase the scale of naval activities in areas of tension or armed conflict;
- (c) The withdrawal of foreign naval forces to a prescribed distance from areas of tension or armed conflict;
 - (d) Restrictions on the use of naval bases in foreign territories;
- (e) International agreements to prevent incidents between naval forces on the high seas and in the airspace above, similar to the existing agreement between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America.
- 11. These steps would facilitate the identification of possible measures in the area of reducing naval armaments and disarmament which would subsequently become the subject of negotiations.
- 12. The People's Republic of Bulgaria believes that opportunities exist for moving forward in this complex but extremely important area, and expresses the hope that all States will show good will and constructiveness in tackling the issues of limiting the naval arms race.

CHINA

[Original: Chinese/English]

[14 April 1986]

1. The Chinese Government welcomes the study carried out by the Secretary-General with the assistance of an expert group on the question of the naval arms race in compliance with General Assembly resolution 38/188 G, and expresses its appreciation for the serious work conducted by the experts in a spirit of scientific approach and co-operation as well as for the completion of the study by the expert group (A/40/535).

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- 2. The Chinese Government notes with satisfaction that the General Assembly, at its fortieth session, adopted with an overwhelming majority resolution 40/94 F concerning this report, which reflects the tremendous concern of the international community over the naval arms race. The comprehensive study in the report is helpful to all countries in acquiring a better understanding of the present state of affairs in the naval arms race and its impact. The proposals contained in the report regarding measures for verification of navals arms reduction, confidence-building and the qualitative limitation on the weapons systems merit consideration in the further discussion of these questions.
- 3. In analysing the present state of affairs in the naval arms race, the report pointed out that the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics were the only two countries possessing world-wide navies. While going all out in developing their conventional naval armaments, they are competing with each other in developing nuclear naval forces. The absolute majority of the world's total submarine-launched ballistic missiles are installed in the ballistic missile submarines of the United States and the Soviet Union. The possibility of their using nuclear weapons and their capacity for intervention against other countries have caused concern among the small and medium-sized coastal countries. The report is objective in giving such an analysis, which is in keeping with the present state of affairs in the naval arms race and shows that the United States and the Soviet Union should bear the main responsibility for it. The Chinese Government maintains that, as in other fields of disarmament, the two biggest naval Powers should take the lead in limiting and reducing their ocean-going nuclear and conventional offensive forces in the field of naval armaments control and reduction.
- 4. While welcoming the report, the Chinese Government also noted that it did not give ample and explicit exposition on some aspects pertaining to the naval arms race. For instance, it failed to single out clearly that the hegemonistic rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union is a factor contributing to the root cause of the naval arms race. Nor was the report adequate and clear in expounding on the fundamental difference between the efforts of developing coastal countries in their naval build-up against outside aggression and in defence of their maritime rights and interests on the one hand, and the naval arms race on the other.

INDONESIA

[Original: English]

[2 April 1986]

1. As an archipelagic State located at the intersection of the world's busiest shipping routes connecting two great oceans and continents, the sea for Indonesia is indeed an inherent part of its national existence. The nationhood of Indonesia is built on the concept of unity between its islands and the interconnecting waters. Those waters are regarded as unifying rather than disintegrative elements in safeguarding the national security and territorial integrity of the country. Unlike the vast majority of States, Indonesia's specific geographical configuration places it in a unique position in exercising its sovereignty over the waters within

the baselines, over the sea-bed and the subsoil thereof, the airspace above those waters as well as over the resources contained therein. Hence, in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea of 1982, Indonesia assumes special responsibilities regarding the maintenance and regulation of international maritime traffic through its waters, with a view to assuring continuous and expeditious international commerce and communication on the one hand, and maritime safety as well as environmental protection on the other. Particular emphasis is placed on the preservation of the natural environment of its waters owing to their crucial importance in the areas of food and energy production. As far as passage of nuclear powered and/or vessels carrying nuclear materials or weapons are concerned, certain limitations and precautionary measures are required owing to the potential for contamination of the natural environment and threat to life and property resulting from collisions or accidents involving such weapons. With regard to the seas beyond national jurisdiction, the assurance of their use exclusively for peaceful purposes, including the exploitation of natural resources for the benefit of mankind, constitutes an urgent necessity of our time.

- 2. For these reasons as well, Indonesia views with grave concern the increasing naval build-up and rapid development of new arms systems, especially maritime nuclear weapons. All of these have added a new and dangerous dimension to regional and international security which can have a significant detrimental impact on international maritime commerce and sea communications as well as on the economic exploitation of maritime resources.
- 3. Indonesia is therefore gratified that the study on the naval arms race contained in the report of the Secretary-General (A/40/535) has enhanced international understanding of the multifarious ramifications of the naval arms race and has helped to clarify issues of concern to many States. It represents an earnest endeavour to bring toegether different aspects of the naval arms race and to offer a balanced picture of the present situation. The report has provided useful information not only on the increasing role that navies are playing and the accelerated development of naval forces, but also on the resources of the sea and the vital importance they represent to humanity as a whole.
- 4. The study draws attention to new and particularly dangerous aspects of naval operations by identifying several technological innovations that have fundamentally altered the mode of naval warfare. Today, nuclear energy is used for propulsion purposes as well as for nuclear armed ICBMs on board nuclear—powered submarines, which constitute a significant proportion of the world's strategic capability. The electronic revolution has provided sophisticated equipment for navigational aids, satellites for naval communications and electronic countermeasures for evading detection, positions and movements, all of which are important facets of naval strategy. Moreover, highly advanced missiles and tactical nuclear weapons are now deployed on ships and naval aircraft. And in the near future, the world will witness the arrival of versatile, and highly accurate sea—launched nuclear armed cruise missiles. The geographical proliferation of such weapons at sea will further complicate the situation and will be at variance with the commitments undertaken in the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

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- 5. While it is too early to assess the full impact of such improvements and future innovations, it is clear that they will accelerate the qualitative side of the naval arms race and radically transform naval capabilities. Notwithstanding the proper role of navies for legitimate security purposes the study also underscored that the development and modernization of naval forces by a handful of States has become a competitive spiral that carries grave implications for the security of all, particularly the non-nuclear States, as well as those with comparatively small naval forces.
- 6. The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea has introduced a series of major and interconnected new elements that represent an expression of the determination of States to find formulas of collective agreement designed to bring about the peaceful uses of the seas and their resources. Although some of these aspects have not yet received acceptance by all States, the implementation of the Convention will, nevertheless, have a far-reaching impact on the future conduct of maritime affairs.
- 7. In the context of the foregoing, the study has listed a number of possible measures for disarmament and confidence-building and offered various proposals for arms reduction and disarmament in the maritime domain. Indonesia endorses in particular, the two basic objectives for action that have been identified. First, achievement through negotiations of effective measures of nuclear disarmament, within the overall context of the arms race, and steps to achieve security and stability at significantly lower levels of conventional naval arms and armed forces. The second objective draws on the truism that security in the maritime environment is not simply military in nature but constitutes an integral part of other vital facets, such as food security, resources security, job security and ocean management security. Towards these goals, as well as to assure the rational and orderly exploitation of marine resources, the study proposed co-ordinated maritime policies, administrative machinery and policing mechanisms leading to generally acceptable management arrangements.
- 8. Indonesia favours an action-oriented approach to these issues and consequently supported General Assembly resolutions 40/94 F and 40/94 I. It therefore hopes that the study, as well as views received from Member States will stimulate discussions and future initiatives in the Disarmament Commission leading to the identification of possible measures in the field of naval arms reduction and disarmament, as well as confidence-building at sea. In this regard as well, Indonesia looks forward to the initiation of negotiations in any appropriate forum, including the possibility of convening an international maritime conference to deal comprehensively with all the issues involved.

LESOTHO

[Original: English]

[26 February 1986]

Lesotho has no views to express on the study at this stage.

MEXICO

[Original: Spanish]

[12 April 1986]

- 1. The Government of Mexico considers that the study on the naval arms race (A/40/535), prepared in accordance with General Assembly resolution 38/188 G, is a valuable working paper for the subsequent discussion of this very complex issue.
- 2. The Government of Mexico wishes to place particular emphasis on paragraph 316 of the study, which draws attention to the serious risks entailed by the nuclear aspect of the naval arms race, which tends to promote greater geographical dispersion of nuclear weapons, thus increasing the danger of nuclear war.
- 3. Although the study states that the use of naval forces in self-defence is justified, the Government of Mexico feels it necessary to re-emphasize that Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations cannot be interpreted as authorizing the use of nuclear weapons.
- 4. Considering that the naval arms race endangers international security and directly jeopardizes the peaceful use of the seas, the Government of Mexico reaffirms the validity and importance of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea with regard to the peaceful use of the oceans and the peaceful development and exploitation of their resources.
- 5. In view of the necessity of increasing security in the oceans and ending the naval arms race, the Government of Mexico deems it essential that the major Powers begin negotiations with a view to reducing naval forces, particularly nuclear forces.
- 6. The Government of Mexico considers that this issue should be considered in greater depth, and agrees with the view of the Group of Experts that it would be useful to hold a conference on the subject, as suggested in paragraph 325 of the study referred to above.

SWEDEN

[Original: English]

[10 April 1986]

1. The Swedish Government has followed developments in naval forces and naval armaments with increasing interest and concern. Sweden's answer to the note of the Secretary-General circulated to Member States in preparation for the Twelfth Special Session of the General Assembly, the second special session devoted to disarmament, underlined the fact that the naval arms race had been neglected in disarmament negotiations and that relatively few concrete measures in this field had been taken since the Second World War. In addition, the Third United Nations

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Conference on the Law of the Sea had reached agreement on a comprehensive régime for the world's ocean and sea areas, thus facilitating possible negotiations on naval arms limitation. For these reasons, Sweden highlighted the naval arms race as an issue ripe for further study and consideration.

- 2. During the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, Sweden introduced a draft resolution (A/C.1/38/L.57) which was adopted by the General Assembly on 20 December 1983 as resolution 38/188 G. In that resolution, the Secretary-General was requested to carry out a study on the naval arms race, naval forces and naval arms systems. In its statement introducing the resolution, Sweden emphasized that the build-up and the development of naval arms systems, especially during recent years, had added new dimensions to the problems of international security. Concern was expressed about the effects this could have for the civilian uses of the high seas, as well as for the fact that the greater part of the naval armaments and the naval forces were unaccounted for in the arms limitation and disarmament context. It was also underlined that a study on the development of naval forces and armaments would enhance international understanding of the issues involved. It was stated that an additional aim of the study should be to facilitate the identification of possible areas of disarmament and confidence-building measures in this field.
- 3. In April 1984, when the Swedish Government, in accordance with paragraph 2 of resolution 38/188 G, presented its views on the scope of the study, it declared that the study ought to consider a number of complex issues. Some aspects that should be specially dealt with were the latest developments in naval forces, earlier attempts to achieve naval disarmament and arms limitation and the legal context. It was further stated that the identification of possible areas for disarmament and confidence-building measures would be of great importance in further consideration of the problems of the naval arms race by the General Assembly and in appropriate negotiating forums.
- 4. According to the Swedish Government, the study on the naval arms race (A/40/535) constitutes a thorough review of the complex issues involved. The group of governmental experts has succeeded in writing a comprehensive text of highly informative quality. The study could therefore become a significant contribution to the consideration of questions relating to naval forces and naval armaments.
- 5. Sweden welcomes the analysis made in chapter I of the study of the importance of the sea, its uses and resources to the whole of mankind. As is emphasized in the study, a major proportion of world trade goes by sea, fisheries provide a vital source of protein and an increasing amount of the world's energy supplies are derived from the sea. As technology develops, so will the means of further developing the mineral resources of the sea-bed and the sea itself. At the same time, the military capabilities of the naval forces seem to have increased. The risk that conflicts of interest between naval activities and non-military uses of the sea could give rise to security threats or infringements on the freedom of navigation becomes evident.
- 6. The description in chapters II and III of the study of the development of naval capabilities, naval forces and naval arms systems is of great interest. For Sweden, a country situated in the vicinity of the North Atlantic area and having

the longest coast of the States in the Baltic sea area - two sea areas that have become of increasing strategic interest to the two major military alliances - the proliferation of nuclear weapons at sea highlighted in the study, gives rise to mounting concern. Sweden agrees with the view expressed in the study that the threat represented to international stability by the fact that a significant proportion of the world's nuclear capability is sea borne, and the continuing development of sea-launched strategic missiles, be they of ballistic or cruise missile types with improved guidance and greater accuracy, makes even more urgent the need for successful bilateral and multilateral negotiations leading to effective measures of nuclear disarmanent. Another source of concern is the large number of tactical nuclear weapons at sea. Such weapons may be on board a variety of ships, submarines, aircraft and helicopters of the navies of the five nuclear-weapon States. In the near future, the situation will be made more complex by the entry into operational service of versatile, comparatively inexpensive, highly accurate sea-launched anti-ship missiles. Sea-borne cruise missiles and anti-ship missiles, able to carry either conventional or nuclear warheads, will greatly complicate verification procedures and, therefore, the difficulties of negotiating effective measures of disarmament. However, no effort must be spared to try to solve these difficulties and create conditions conducive to disarmament negotiations comprising all nuclear weapon systems.

- 7. In chapter IV of the study, which deals with applications and uses of naval capabilities, the role of technology is stressed. Sweden shares the view, expressed in the study, that technological breakthroughs in the field of strategic anti-submarine warfare, i.e., capacity to detect and trail strategic submarines on patrol, could have highly destabilizing effects. If the invulnerability of strategic submarines were to be endangered, this could have serious consequences for strategic stability. Thus, pending agreements on strategic arms reductions, joint efforts should be made to control potentially destabilizing technological developments.
- 8. The overview of the maritime legal context given in chapter V of the study is commendable. As is concluded, the security régime at sea is based on three pillars of international law: the general restrictions on the use of force, customary law of the sea and arms limitation and disarmament treaties agreed between States. Sweden is of the view that the entry into force of the Convention of the Law of the Sea will give additional support to this structure. There has been a significant difference between applying arms limitation and disarmament agreements to sea areas as compared to land areas because of different legal régimes. The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, however, provides a legal basis for discussing arms limitation and disarmament at sea. From this follows that it is essential that any new measures agreed on, or any new treaty negotiated, should be in harmony with the general international law of the sea.
- 9. The study mentions some further developments of international law that could be undertaken. These include the consideration of making multilateral the existing bilateral agreement between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America on the prevention of incidents on and over the high seas; continuing negotiations on further measures for the prevention of an arms race on the sea-bed in accordance with article V of the Sea-bed Treaty; and giving full effect to the nuclear-weapon-free régime of the Antarctic Treaty. The Swedish Government is in agreement with the recommendations of the study on this point.

- 10. Chapter VI, inter alia, points to the implications for the world's security of the burgeoning quantitative and qualitative developments taking place in the world's navies. The increased deployment of tactical nuclear weapons at sea also gives rise to new problems and deep concern. These weapons create extremely complex verification problems. The theoretical possibility of using tactical nuclear weapons in a military encounter without direct damage to civilian life or property may increase the likelihood that they actually will be used. Thus, they could bring about a lowering of the nuclear threshold and consequently have implications for international security as a whole.
- 11. Sweden welcomes the fact that the study underlines that small—and medium—size coastal States have a legitimate claim for a reasonable "seaboard security" and should not be subjected to power projection originating from naval activities by significant naval Powers. As is noted in the study, the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea includes balanced provisions which would meet security needs of both flag States and coastal States provided they are strictly implemented. Sweden agrees with the statement in the study that, in the light of the provisions in the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea to promote freedom of navigation and protection of international shipping routes, the harmful impact of naval activities that curtail the free and open use of sea lanes and fishing grounds cannot be overemphasized.
- 12. Chapter VII of the study contains a comprehensive review of possible measures of disarmament and confidence-building. As the study has shown, the topics involved are complicated and often interrelated. Negotiations of disarmament and confidence-building measures at sea will be of a complex nature, as naval forces should be considered in an overall military context. As in all arms limitation and disarmanent agreements, appropriate verification and complaints procedures are essential. The appropriate negotiating forum must be chosen with care on a case-by-case basis.
- 13. As concerns confidence-building measures, these must be designed to contribute to mutual confidence, lessen military confrontation and strengthen security for all. In the view of the Swedish Government, it is important that the set of measures adoptd be conducive to disarmament negotiations. The aim of any negotiated effort should be to achieve improved security at a lower level of armaments.
- 14. Sweden has traditionally advocated more openness in military matters. This, of course, also applies to military activities in the sea areas. Sweden thus recommends that different measures of information and observation be a centerpiece in any international endeavour to consider confidence-building measures at sea. The main objective should be to improve predictability by removing to the extent possible such features of military deployment and activities which may be conceived of as potentially threatening. In addition, it is important to consider appropriate measures of constraints on such activities.
- 15. The task of the international community should now be to identify possible areas for negotiation and to allocate them to appropriate forums. Sweden will actively support all constructive efforts to initiate such negotiations. The

United Nations has a central role and a primary responsibility in the sphere of disarmament. Furthermore, it would seem natural to consider, in due time, the issue of the naval arms race within the framework of the Disarmament Conference at Geneva. As a first step, however, a thorough analysis of the topics involved at the United Nations Disarmament Commission (UNDC), with a view to achieving a consensus on which areas would possibly be suited for negotiation and how to proceed on these, should, in Sweden's view, be undertaken. This could provide a solid background for further consideration of the subject at the Third Special Session of the General Assembly devoted to Disarmament (SSOD III). It is hoped that SSOD III should be able to agree upon a set of globally applicable general principles and guidelines for measures of disarmament and confidence—building at sea.

- 16. If the overall principles of a global character are most suited for discussions in the United Nations, many concrete measures of naval disarmament and confidence-building could be more effectively dealt with in other forums. Thus, limitations of all types of sea-borne nuclear missiles should be made an integral part of the bilateral negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union. Measures of notification and observation at a regional level, in the naval context, should, as far as Europe is concerned, be discussed within the framework of the Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, currently taking place in Stockholm. A modernization of the laws of sea warfare could be dealt with in separate forums. When it comes to strengthening existing legal régimes, e.g., the future review conference of the Sea-Bed Treaty could provide a suitable forum for further considerations.
- 17. To conclude, the Swedish Government wishes to express its gratitude to the group of governmental experts who prepared the study on the naval arms race for having produced a highly readable and comprehensive report that will be of great assistance in future discussions and negotiations relating to naval disarmament.