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GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT

Views of Member States on the study on all the aspects  
of regional disarmament

Report of the Secretary-General

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## I. INTRODUCTION

1. By resolution 33/91 E of 16 December 1978, the General Assembly decided to undertake a systematic study of all the aspects of regional disarmament and requested the Secretary-General to carry out the study with the assistance of a group of qualified governmental experts, appointed by him on a balanced geographical basis, and to submit it to the Assembly at its thirty-fifth session.

2. Pursuant to resolution 33/91 E, the Secretary-General appointed the Group of Governmental Experts on Regional Disarmament, which met from 18 to 22 June and from 8 to 12 October 1979 at Geneva, from 14 to 25 April 1980 in New York, and from 28 July to 8 August 1980 at Geneva. By a letter dated 8 August 1980, the Chairman of the Group of Experts transmitted to the Secretary-General the study (A/35/416) for submission to the General Assembly.

3. At its thirty-fifth session, the General Assembly adopted, under the item "General and complete disarmament", resolution 35/156 D entitled "Study on all the aspects of regional disarmament", the operative part of which, inter alia, reads as follows:

"The General Assembly,

...

"4. Invites all Member States to inform the Secretary-General, at the latest by 1 June 1981, of their views regarding the study and its conclusions;

"5. Requests the Secretary-General to transmit to the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session, for its information, the replies of Member States."

4. Pursuant to paragraph 4 of the resolution, by a note verbale dated 28 January 1981, the Secretary-General invited Member States to communicate to him by 1 June 1981 their views regarding the study and its conclusions.

5. The Secretary-General submits herewith the replies received from Member States.

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## II. REPLIES RECEIVED FROM GOVERNMENTS

### AUSTRIA

[Original: English]

[28 May 1981]

1. The realization that general and complete disarmament cannot be regarded as a goal to be achieved in the near future has induced the international community to seek progress towards disarmament through agreement on limited, definable subjects. Austria has always supported serious efforts in that direction: the elimination or limitation of certain types of weapons and disarmament on a regional level. Evidently, these efforts are not alternatives, but closely related and complementary. Apart from the truly comprehensive treaty on the Antarctic, all regional measures and projects under discussion comprise limitations on particular types of weapons, whereas many agreements prohibiting certain kinds of armaments have special relevance for specific regions. In this context, the regional approach constitutes a promising answer to the security problems of many nations.
2. It is the great merit of the study undertaken in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 33/91 E to provide the first systematic and comprehensive investigation of the different aspects of this subject. In addition to the detailed survey of past and present regional disarmament efforts, the study offers an analytical examination of the basic conditions and guidelines of the regional approach and, finally, a list of conceivable arms control and disarmament measures that lend themselves to a regional approach.
3. The Austrian Government fully shares the conclusion of the authors of the study that there is a vast potential for progress in disarmament if the global approach is supplemented with determined and systematic efforts at the level of different regions. This holds particularly true with regard to the European continent where the two military alliance systems are engaged in an ever more dangerous and wasteful arms race.
4. In this context, the massive concentration of conventional armed forces and armament in Central Europe has for many years been a matter of serious concern to Austria. Clearly it is in the interest of all countries in the region to achieve a reduction of these forces and establish a genuine balance at a lower level. It is therefore to be regretted that the Vienna negotiations on the mutual reduction of forces and armaments and associated measures in Central Europe have not, in more than seven years, produced any tangible results. Aware of the technical complexity of the subject-matter and the structural problems of the framework of these negotiations, the Austrian Government hopes that every effort will be made to overcome the obstacles to these negotiations.
5. An important contribution to regional efforts lies in the work carried out in the framework of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. Austria is convinced that the confidence-building measures can help to establish international security and stability by leading to greater openness and

predictability in the military field. This should result in an increase in mutual trust, which is the basis for effective arms-control and disarmament negotiations. In the view of the Austrian Government, the great and to a large extent unexplored potential of confidence-building measures warrants intensive efforts. A further step in this direction would be the convening of a conference on confidence- and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe. This conference should negotiate and adopt in a first phase a set of measures to build confidence and security. A second stage, taking into account the results of the first stage and upon a decision to be taken by a follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, would deal with questions relating to arms limitation and disarmament in Europe. Austria thinks that such a conference would open new perspectives for European arms control and disarmament.

6. The intensification of the arms race in long-range theatre nuclear weapons in Europe constitutes one of the major burdens in East-West relations and greatly exacerbates the nuclear threat in Europe. Austria has therefore welcomed the opening of preliminary talks on the subject between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in October 1980 and hopes for their early resumption.

7. In the view of the Austrian Government, the problems of disarmament in Europe are a good example of the necessity of regional efforts in this field. Serious action directed towards reducing the heavy concentration of nuclear and conventional forces and armaments should begin on the regional level. Such action would prove the political will of the countries concerned. A successful arms control process in Europe would then transcend regional boundaries and could lead to a world-wide relaxation of tensions. Failure to achieve this would, on the other hand, bring global disaster.

#### BELGIUM

[Original: French]

[26 May 1981]

1. Belgium has played an active role, in the Group of Experts established by General Assembly resolution 33/91 E, in the preparation of a study on all the aspects of regional disarmament.

2. The regional approach offers a framework for debate on all aspects of disarmament and a way of emphasizing the link between disarmament and security, which cannot be dissociated from its regional context. This approach should provide specific elements for the work of the United Nations relating to general and complete disarmament. It is not an end in itself, but rather a useful, indeed, essential step towards general and complete disarmament. It supplements rather than supplants the latter. The conclusions of the study are all the more valid since the current international climate is not propitious to global proposals. Belgium was thus gratified that, as a follow-up to the study, the General Assembly, at its thirty-fifth session, adopted by consensus on 12 December 1980 resolution 35/156 D, which invites all Member States to inform the Secretary-General, at the latest by 1 June 1981, of their views regarding the study and its conclusions.

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3. The study (A/35/416) not only contains an exhaustive analysis of progress made on the bases of the regional approach to disarmament but, in paragraphs 187 to 204, describes the possibilities of this approach in the fields of arms control and disarmament.

4. In paragraphs 157 to 179, the study also defines the concepts and principles on which any regional approach to disarmament should be based. Belgium wishes to draw attention to paragraph 247 of the study, which contains an appeal to regions to conclude the necessary arrangements and to create appropriate mechanisms in order to promote this particular approach to disarmament.

5. In this undertaking interested States might well draw on the progress achieved since 1959 and devise flexible and pragmatic solutions adapted to the peculiarities of each region. Finally, the regional approach guarantees the national sovereignty of States, since measures may be adopted only on the initiative of the countries in the region.

6. Belgium trusts that the General Assembly, at its thirty-sixth session, will carefully consider the report to be submitted to it by the Secretary-General on the basis of comments made by States on the study. Belgium also wishes the study on all the aspects of regional disarmament to be duly taken into account when the agenda of the second special session is drawn up, so that implementation of the study can be arranged at that session.

BYELORUSSIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

[Original: Russian]

[19 June 1981]

1. The value of a regional approach to disarmament is not in doubt. It is both logically obvious and proven by experience - the success of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe convened at the initiative of the socialist States, the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco), etc. Hence the Byelorussian SSR was interested in the study on all the aspects of regional disarmament.

2. At the same time, it must be clearly recognized that moves toward disarmament at the regional level cannot and must not supplant efforts aimed at universal and complete disarmament, disarmament on a global scale.

3. Regional level disarmament and the related negotiations must strictly comply with the principles laid down in the Charter of the United Nations, the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament, the Declaration on International Co-operation for Disarmament, and the Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade. One of the fundamental principles of regional disarmament has to be that of non-impairment of the security of the parties concerned. Effective moves towards disarmament are urgently required in regions where there is a dangerous build-up of arms or where the current situation poses a threat to international peace and security.

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4. The Byelorussian SSR is gratified that its approach to the problem of the regional aspects of disarmament, as set out by its Permanent Mission to the United Nations in response to the Secretary-General's questionnaire PO 132 of 4 January 1978 has been duly reflected in the study.
5. The socialist countries believe it is high time to progress from studies to concrete disarmament measures. They feel that the present study, given the requisite political will on the part of States Members of the United Nations, particularly the militarily powerful countries, can help to stimulate the campaign for genuine steps to limit the arms race and achieve disarmament at the regional level. Such steps are particularly needed in today's increasingly troubled international situation, when it is exceptionally important not to slacken but, on the contrary, to intensify the efforts of all peace-loving States in this direction, regionally and otherwise.
6. The Byelorussian SSR agrees with the conclusion, in paragraph 237 of the study, that political will is needed if determined and systematic efforts are to be made in the various regions. The socialist States have such political will, as evidenced by their many concrete and constructive initiatives on regional disarmament and the position they have adopted at the related talks.
7. The declaration by the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, adopted at the Political Consultative Committee meeting of 15 May 1980, presents a whole range of such initiatives.
8. Europe, where the armed forces and weapons of the two most powerful military and political groupings of States confront each other, is of special importance in the context of regional disarmament. The countries of the socialist community, of course, advocate disbanding military blocs and, as a first step in this direction, not expanding existing military blocs or creating new ones in Europe or on other continents.
9. It is hard to exaggerate the value of the proposal advanced by the Soviet Union at the twenty-sixth CPSU Congress for a significant extension of the areas covered by the confidence-building measures which have now been in effect in Europe, including the territory of the Byelorussian SSR, for more than five years thanks to Soviet efforts. The Soviet Union has expressed its willingness to extend these measures to the entire European portion of the USSR - on condition that a corresponding extension is made by the Western States as well - and its readiness to engage in specific talks on confidence-building measures in the Far East with all the countries concerned.
10. It has also proposed a moratorium on the deployment in Europe of new medium-range nuclear missiles by the NATO countries and the USSR, meaning a freeze, in both qualitative and quantitative terms, on existing levels of such weapons including, of course, United States forward-based nuclear weapons in the region. The moratorium could take effect immediately upon the commencement of negotiations on the issue, and remain in effect until the conclusion of a permanent treaty to limit or reduce such nuclear weapons in Europe.

11. Unfortunately, NATO circles have not so far evinced any real desire for serious talks to try and reach a solution on this vitally important problem. Talks on the limitation of nuclear weapons in Europe, which began in autumn 1980 on the initiative of the Soviet Union, have been broken off by the United States. The forces of militarism are still trying to undermine the strategic balance in favour of the United States by, among other things, deploying new missiles, targeted on the USSR and its allies, in Western Europe.

12. The Byelorussian SSR agrees with the conclusions of the study regarding the need for a continuous process involving multilateral efforts to set over-all goals, to determine the steps which might promote those goals and to identify and negotiate specific measures (para. 244); and the need to strengthen or create mechanisms, institutions or arrangements at the regional level which would allow initiatives to develop, concepts and approaches to be discussed and concrete steps to be negotiated (para. 247).

13. In keeping with this position, the socialist countries are firmly in favour of continuing the process begun at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, of a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe, and of an agreement between all the States participating in the European Conference not to be the first to use either nuclear or conventional weapons against each other. It is also essential to bring to a successful conclusion the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, at which the socialist States have repeatedly taken major steps to bring the parties closer together.

14. The socialist States, which have a high regard for the need to reduce military tension in the Mediterranean area, proposed an extensive programme of activities for this purpose in the declaration of 15 May 1980 by the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty.

15. A major contribution to progress in disarmament at the regional level is the group of proposals by the Soviet Union on the hot-spot of the Persian Gulf. Rather than fomenting international tension as some Powers are doing under continued pretexts, it is proposed to dispel the military threat in the region by concluding an appropriate international agreement. With joint efforts and due regard for the legitimate interests of all parties, an atmosphere of stability and calm can be created in this region. It is possible to guarantee the sovereign rights of the States in the area as well as the security of naval and other communications linking it with the rest of the world.

16. Together with the other socialist countries, the Byelorussian SSR strongly supports the decision by the General Assembly to hold an international conference on the Indian Ocean in 1981, and is prepared to co-operate with other States in transforming the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. The unilateral suspension by the United States of its negotiations with the USSR on the limitation and subsequent reduction of military activity in the Indian Ocean is a matter for concern and alarm.



17. The proposed creation of a zone of peace in South-East Asia, and nuclear-weapon-free zones in Africa, the Near East, northern Europe and other suitable areas, also deserved all possible support. Such zones must be unambiguously free of nuclear weapons.
18. Success in regional disarmament could be encouraged to a significant degree by an over-all improvement in the international situation, by the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force, by an undertaking not to interfere in States' internal affairs and not to attempt to establish any form of supremacy or hegemony over them or include them in any Power's "sphere of interest", by respect for the non-aligned status chosen by the majority of States in Africa, Asia and Latin America and by the abandonment of attempts to inveigle them into the various Powers' military-political blocs.
19. The positions and initiatives adopted by the socialist States inside and outside the United Nations testify to their readiness for disarmament at all levels, the regional level included. The Byelorussian SSR shares the conviction that détente can be preserved and consolidated, and the goals of disarmament attained, if all States Members of the United Nations display a sense of responsibility, goodwill, devotion to the cause of peace and determination to defend it.

## CANADA

[Original: English]

[7 July 1981]

1. The study will be a valuable reference for officials, academics and others working on disarmament questions. It contains ideas which may be useful to States wishing to take regional disarmament initiatives to improve their regions' security.
2. States have already acceded to regional agreements for disarmament described in the study are to be commended. Those currently engaged in efforts to formulate other such agreements or extend existing ones should be encouraged. States in regions where tensions and/or relative levels of armaments are high should make every possible effort to settle disputes by peaceful means and to make progress on limiting armaments on an equitable and regionally agreed basis. Measures which increase confidence are particularly important in these regions.
3. In addition to Canada's general interest in improving international security, its desire to see progress in regional disarmament is heightened by its long-standing contributions to United Nations peace-keeping activities in various regions of the world.

CUBA

[Original: Spanish]

[28 May 1981]

1. In the vote, in 1978, on General Assembly resolution 33/91 E, which authorized the study on all the aspects of regional disarmament, the Cuban delegation abstained because it considered that the material and human resources to be invested therein could be used more rationally in attaining effective disarmament agreements.
2. The conclusions of the study stressed what has often been repeated in disarmament bodies with respect to the need for political will on the part of all States if any disarmament proposal is to be viable.
3. In the view of the Government of the Republic of Cuba, regional disarmament measures should take particular account of the special characteristics of each region, particularly those measures relating to the most serious threats to peace, security and stability in the region. Among these factors, particular importance is assumed by the existence of a network of foreign military bases throughout the world, which is still being completed and extended and which represents a serious threat to the independence and sovereignty of many States.
4. In addition, account should be taken of the existence in certain regions of nuclear weapon States which are pursuing a belligerent and threatening foreign policy, with the aim of maintaining their colonial and neo-colonial domination and imposing their hegemony.
5. Imperialism is expanding its military presence in the most diverse regions, forming rapid deployment forces, intensifying aerial espionage, carrying out threatening military manoeuvres, and preparing for direct military intervention at an appropriate time.
6. All regional disarmament measures should, moreover, take account of the principle of adequate security guarantees for the States of the region.
7. It is the view of the Government of the Republic of Cuba that the above factors must be taken into account above all else, if concrete results in the field of regional disarmament are to be achieved.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

[Original: English]

[24 April 1981]

1. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, together with the other countries of the socialist community, is of the view that the most pressing current task is to halt the arms race, especially in the field of nuclear weapons. It attaches great importance also to the achievement of progress in negotiations on other disarmament issues. The regional aspect, in our view, must in this context be given constant attention.

2. Priority in our efforts must be given to a substantial reduction of military tension, thus reducing also the possibility of confrontation between the military groupings of the Warsaw Treaty and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization facing each other in Europe in unprecedented concentrations. That is why Czechoslovakia has an exceptional interest in the achievement of a concrete agreement on the reduction of the level of the existing concentration of forces which we expect from the Vienna talks on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. On our part, we come every year with a number of proposals which often meet more than half way the positions of the Western participants, yet which, so far, have not met with an adequate response. The Soviet Union even made a goodwill gesture by withdrawing 20,000 soldiers and a corresponding number of tanks and other combat equipment from the German Democratic Republic, while the United States alone increased the manpower of its forces in the area of reduction by more than 24,000 soldiers. The key to progress in Vienna is therefore in the hands of the Western countries. That is why we expect that they either give a constructive response or put forward constructive proposals of their own that would make it possible to reach a mutually acceptable agreement. Another problem calling for immediate solution is that of medium-range nuclear missiles. The implementation of the NATO Council decision of December 1979 on the manufacture and deployment of 572 Pershing 2 missiles and cruise missiles in some countries of Western Europe would be an addition to the already existing United States forward-based systems. This structure represents a combined machinery of ground, naval and air forces directed against the Soviet Union and the European socialist countries.

3. The deployment of United States nuclear weapons in close proximity of the Czechoslovak border would constitute a substantial change not only in the balance of forces in that area but also a direct threat to Czechoslovakia's security. That is why we fully support the Soviet Union's proposal for both a quantitative and a qualitative freeze of the present levels of these weapons, including the forward-based nuclear systems of the United States in Europe. This moratorium would enter into effect from the beginning of the negotiations on this question and would remain in force until a permanent agreement was concluded on the reduction or limitation of these nuclear weapons in the European region.

4. The world public is also concerned about the substantial increase in the military presence of the United States in the region of the Indian Ocean, especially as far as military ships and aircraft are concerned. The United States' nuclear base on Diego Garcia continues to be expanded. The justification for increasing the United States' military presence there to safeguard the security of oil transportation routes is doubtful since the security of shipping lines can be safeguarded only by reducing, not by increasing, the military presence and activities by all parties.

5. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic encourages the long-term efforts by the United Nations aimed at transforming the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace and, in keeping with resolution 34/80 B, is in favour of convening a conference on the Indian Ocean at Colombo, Sri Lanka, still in this year, which should adopt measures for proclaiming the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. Czechoslovakia is of the view that to set preliminary conditions for holding the conference will not facilitate the solution of the task entrusted to it. A suitable basis for reaching progress

is provided by the Soviet proposal to all States concerned concerning mutual undertakings not to establish military bases in the Persian Gulf region and on adjoining islands and not to deploy any nuclear weapons there nor any other weapons of mass destruction; to respect the status of non-alignment of the States in the Persian Gulf region and not to involve them in military groupings whose members include nuclear States; to respect the sovereign right of the countries in the region to their own natural resources; and not to create any obstacles to normal trade and the use of shipping routes connecting the States of that region with other countries of the world.

6. At present, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic attaches extraordinary importance to the possibility of convening a conference on military relaxation and disarmament in Europe. The most practical and realistic way to achieve military relaxation and disarmament in the continent of Europe is, in our view, indicated in the proposal by the People's Republic of Poland for the convening of a conference on military relaxation and disarmament in Europe, contained in document RM/6 of the meeting held at Madrid of States signatories of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. Its good points are that it is concrete, does not give advantage to any side, does not set any preliminary conditions and fully respects both the letter and the spirit of the Final Act of the Helsinki conference.

7. The study by governmental experts on regional disarmament gives adequate attention to the proposals and initiatives submitted by the States signatories of the Final Act. In the meantime, their number has been further increased by new proposals formulated at the Twenty-sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union or submitted by signatory States in the course of the Madrid meeting. These questions relating to the most sensitive areas of international relations call for systematic attention by the international community. It is also necessary to start substantive constructive negotiations on a number of the issues mentioned, in accordance with the proposals submitted in that respect, to continue actively the negotiations that are already in progress and to strive, in the spirit of constructive international co-operation, for the achievement of tangible and positive results.

DENMARK

[Original: English]

[7 May 1981]

1. Denmark supported General Assembly resolution 33/91 E, which called for a United Nations expert study on all aspects of regional disarmament. The study, which was finalized last year and presented to the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly, represents an outstanding analysis of the regional aspect of disarmament and arms control issues.

2. Tensions and elements of conflict specific to particular regions are among the factors underlying the build-up of armaments in various parts of the world. It seems clear, therefore, that measures on a regional basis - under appropriate conditions - would be conducive to progress in the field of arms control and disarmament.

3. In the opinion of the Danish Government, the principles which should govern attempts to reach agreement on measures of disarmament on a regional basis, as rightly recognized in paragraphs 157 to 165 of the study, are those which are laid down, inter alia, in the Charter of the United Nations and in the final document of the tenth special session of the General Assembly and to which Denmark remains deeply committed.

4. As pointed out in the report (A/35/416), in paragraphs 187 to 195, cessation of the nuclear arms race is a matter of high priority and, while the responsibilities of the nuclear-weapon States in this respect must be recognized, some of the conceivable measures for nuclear disarmament may lend themselves to partial approaches on a regional basis.

5. Denmark fully endorses the statement in paragraph 193 of the report that nuclear-weapon-free zones is one domain in which the regional approach to disarmament has proved to be particularly attractive. Such arrangements, as illustrated in the case of the Treaty of Tlatelolco, could constitute a valuable contribution to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons to regions in which not all States have acceded to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. The initiative must emanate from the States of the region concerned and the establishment of the zones implies an agreement among those States on the scope and definition of the arrangement. In this respect, future initiatives for the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones should be guided by the comprehensive considerations thereon contained in the comprehensive study of the question of nuclear-weapon-free zones in all its aspects, submitted to the General Assembly in 1975. 1/

6. Among the conceivable measures which could be implemented in a regional framework, the important role which the regional approach can play in the conventional field of disarmament, as described in paragraphs 198 to 204 of the study, is reinforced by the fact that conventional weapons in many regions assume an important if not decisive role in the immediate security situations of the countries concerned. Conventional disarmament should be conceived in a comprehensive perspective while being to a large extent negotiated and implemented in a regional context.

7. As pointed out in paragraph 198 of the study, conventional disarmament is a field in which the number of possible measures and the scope for regional initiatives is virtually unlimited. This fact makes it even more necessary, as done

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1/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Supplement No. 27 A (A/10027/Add.1), annex I.

in the study, to categorize the various measures. The resulting analysis could make a valuable contribution to further considerations in the expert study on all aspects of conventional disarmament as approved by resolution 35/156 A. It is the hope of the Danish Government that the conclusions of the study on all the aspects of regional disarmament will be given the fullest attention when considering future regional initiatives for disarmament and arms control, and that the study will give impetus to new ideas for such initiatives.

#### ECUADOR

[Original: Spanish]

[30 March 1981]

... It is the view of the Government of Ecuador that the agreed norms on regional disarmament contained in the Ayacucho Declaration and in subsequent Andean Group Agreements are fully applicable and of immediate relevance.

#### FINLAND

[Original: English]

[23 June 1981]

1. There is a widening recognition of the fact that in several regions of the world the military build-up and the arms race have assumed proportions which have potentially dangerous implications for international peace and security, regional as well as global. The Government of Finland has therefore given its strong support to all efforts within the United Nations disarmament framework to enhance regional measures of disarmament. For the same reason it has participated in and also welcomed the study on all the aspects of regional disarmament, prepared by a group of governmental experts and contained in document A/35/416 of 8 October 1980.
2. While the most urgent disarmament issues are global in character, in particular the danger posed by nuclear weapons and the nuclear arms race, and regional approach may prove fruitful where proper political and geographical conditions exist.
3. A significant part of the arms build-up takes place in regional contexts. Regional arms races, involving even nuclear weapons or the building up of potential nuclear weapon capabilities, are intensifying. This in turn exacerbates already existing regional or local political tensions.
4. As the study emphasizes, the importance of a regional approach to disarmament derives mainly from such considerations. For the great majority of States, the perceived threats to their security and the need for military preparedness are primarily connected with conditions in their own region. Some of the problems which stand in the way of progress in disarmament are therefore regional in nature.

5. There is a vast and, to a large extent, unexplored potential for progress in disarmament if the global approach is supplemented with determined and systematic efforts at the regional level. Effective measures are particularly urgent in those regions, e.g. Europe, where there is a large accumulation of weapons.

6. The initiatives and proposals put forward for regional disarmament measures testify to the relevance of the approach. Yet the best evidence are the ongoing deliberations and negotiating processes that are focusing on various parts of the world. The Treaty of Tlatelolco, establishing a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Latin America, has proved successful. And there are other regional achievements. The trend to be encouraged is the growing interest of States in engaging themselves in meaningful deliberations and negotiations on regional disarmament measures.

7. The principles and guidelines to be applied in regional disarmament measures have been adequately outlined in the study. Suffice it here to underline only three major considerations. First, a disarmament measure confined to a region must be derived from the express will of each State of the region involved. It is for the participating States to determine the modalities to be applied in the disarmament measure.

8. Second, when the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament is being promoted by means of partial, geographically limited measures, they should be in accord with global disarmament objectives and should not stand in the way of progress of more general disarmament processes. Conversely, global or broader arms control plans should not unduly be invoked to hinder the advancement of regional measures.

9. And third, for a regional disarmament measure to fulfil its objectives, it is, in most cases, necessary to obtain the co-operation of third States that may influence the security situation of the region. Such a co-operation may include various involvements, such as assurances, commitments or readjustments of previous agreements.

10. The possibilities for outlining broad-based efforts for regional measures in each region should be examined on the basis of initiatives and co-operation of the States in the region and taking into account conditions prevailing there. The Finnish initiative for a disarmament programme for Europe, for example, calls for the examination of the possibilities for outlining such a broad-based effort.

11. During the past 20 years, most situations involving a regional arms build-up or arms races have been subjected to some form of arms control consideration. Equally, for most of the critical situations prevailing today there is a forum or process which may be used to promote regional disarmament. Among the initiatives and proposals for regional measures the following belong to the most important current processes.

(a) Europe

12. Disarmament in Europe, which of all continents has the greatest concentration of weapons on its territory, has been dealt with in two forums: the negotiations

on the mutual reduction of forces and armaments and associated measures in Central Europe and the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. So far the achievements in peaceful co-operation in Europe have not been translated into tangible measures of arms limitation and disarmament. On the contrary, the arms race, particularly the nuclear-arms race, has gained new momentum in the continent.

13. Developments in the nuclear field are the single most disturbing phenomenon in the European context. In this situation, negotiations are obviously needed. Steps towards negotiations on theatre nuclear weapons in Europe are clearly in the interest of all parties and the whole continent. Recent indications of preparedness for such steps are encouraging.

14. It is also encouraging to note the determined efforts currently being made in the follow-up meeting in Madrid of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe on a substantive and balanced document which would assure the continuation of the process of the Conference, including a mandate for a conference on disarmament in Europe. Such a result could be an important contribution towards preserving and strengthening détente and towards conditions necessary for continued negotiations on disarmament.

15. It is the view of the Government of Finland that special arrangements for arms control in the Nordic region of Europe would be both useful and conceivable. The goal of these arrangements, in conjunction with other measures concerning the whole of Europe, and in accordance with the security needs of all Governments concerned, would be to assure that the region would continue to remain outside the dangers of nuclear weapons and new nuclear-weapon technology.

16. Finland has endeavoured to contribute to the continued stability in Northern Europe and has, for example, suggested a Nordic arms control arrangement. A major element of stability in the region is the absence of nuclear weapons in the Nordic countries, the value of which has been repeatedly stressed by all Nordic Governments.

(b) Latin America

17. As one of the ongoing regional processes, the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco) is the only treaty establishing a nuclear-weapon-free zone in an inhabited region. As regional disarmament measures in general, the Treaty was conceived as a measure to strengthen the security of the States in the region while also strengthening international security in general and, in particular, contributing towards preventing the spread of nuclear weapons. The Treaty, although still short of full implementation, has proved an undeniable success.

(c) Indian Ocean

18. The concept of zone of peace has been proposed in several regional contexts. Most recently, the establishment of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean region has been intensively discussed within the United Nations. Such an arrangement, freely arrived at by the States concerned, could contribute to the security of the zonal



States as well as international peace and security as a whole. Several crucial issues, including the demilitarization of the zone, remain to be solved. The increased military presence of the leading nuclear Powers in the region, while obviously running counter to the very goal of a zone of peace, testifies to the urgency of this effort.

(d) Other zonal approaches

19. The establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones has already proved its viability, as discussed above, in the context of the Treaty of Tlatelolco. They should be based on arrangements freely arrived at among the States of the region concerned and should involve commitments by the nuclear-weapon States not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against the States of the zone and to respect the status of the zone. Recent discussion is proof of the continued topicality of the zonal approach as well as the proposals made for the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones in Northern Europe and elsewhere: the consideration of the establishment of such zones should continue to benefit from the comprehensive study of the question of nuclear-weapon-free zones in all its aspects, the United Nations study completed in 1975. <sup>2/</sup>

20. The General Assembly has discussed, inter alia, the proposals for the creation of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East and South Asia and for the denuclearization of Africa. Recent developments serve as a daily reminder of the dangers inherent in the possibility of the emergence of new nuclear-weapon States and underline the urgency of implementing those proposals.

(e) Conventional weapons and the regional approach

21. The qualitative and quantitative arms race in the field of conventional weapons - constituting the bulk of military expenditure in the world and a major burden to national economies - is a most immediate threat to security at the regional level. In this field, a variety of disarmament measures may have to be applied. Arrangements for mutual restraints and limitations in the transfer of arms to specific regions should be actively considered and pursued. Also regional arrangements to limit and reduce conventional armaments would be in the interest of the States of the region concerned by strengthening the security of the region at a lower level of armaments.

(f) Confidence-building measures

22. The practical application of the concept of confidence-building measures was first introduced in the context of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. The subject is currently under active consideration at the second follow-up meeting to that Conference. In a wider context, the question is being studied by a United Nations group of experts. States should consider, on a regional basis, arrangements of specific confidence-building measures as first

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<sup>2/</sup> Ibid.

steps to diminish the danger of armed conflicts resulting from the misunderstandings or misinterpretations of military activities. Such measures could include, inter alia, prior notification of military manoeuvres and movements and the exchange of military observers.

23. In conclusion, the Government of Finland believes that, as the regional security conditions vary from case to case, no general formula or preconceived pattern can equally satisfy all requirements. Consequently, the general approach presented in the study should be supplemented by studies conducted in specific regional or subregional contexts taking into account the security needs and characteristics of the region concerned. Furthermore, in order to promote progress towards regional disarmament, there should be an ongoing process to set over-all goals, to determine the steps that might promote these goals and to identify and negotiate specific measures. It would also be useful for regional States to seek agreement on over-all long-term disarmament objectives even if, at first, such objectives represent primarily an identification of problems and aims rather than of solutions and means. In addition to agreeing on a framework for regional disarmament negotiations, there is also a need for strengthening or creating institutional arrangements at the regional level. Such arrangements would set the process in motion and would allow initiatives to develop, concepts to be discussed and concrete measures to be negotiated.

FRANCE

{Original: French}

[26 June 1981]

1. France voted in favour of resolution 33/91 requesting the Secretary-General of the United Nations to undertake a systematic study of all the aspects of regional disarmament with the assistance of a group of governmental experts.
2. France is thus gratified that the study provided an opportunity for the General Assembly, at its thirty-fifth session, to solicit the views of Member States.
3. It is well known that France is in principle favourable to regional disarmament approaches. Any realistic appraisal of disarmament problems, in the current international context must involve consideration of regional measures. As the French Minister for Foreign Affairs recalled in the General Assembly, at its thirty-third session, it is at the regional level that "the exigencies of each State's right to security ... must be assessed". France has therefore examined this study with interest.
4. Being situated in a region characterized by a marked accumulation of conventional armaments, France could not fail to pay particular attention to those parts of the study relating to Europe.

5. It was a desire to remove the threat which such an accumulation of weapons represents for the continent that led France, at the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, in May 1978, to propose a European disarmament conference, currently under consideration at the Madrid Review Conference on the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. The experience of the Vienna negotiations on mutual and balanced force reductions in Central Europe reveals the limitations of an undertaking which, while striving to enhance security in a restricted zone in the centre of Europe, is based on concepts which in many respects are outmoded. Similarly, consideration of the security situation in Europe raises doubts about the possibility of achieving, in the absence of militarily significant confidence-building measures, any limitation of and reduction in armaments.
6. France welcomes the fact that the study stresses the fundamental importance of security requirements in all disarmament efforts, including regional disarmament. The right of all States to security is a general principle, respect for which implies balanced disarmament measures offering equal security at each stage of the reduction in the level of armaments.
7. One guarantee of equitable application of this principle in regional disarmament negotiations lies:
- On the one hand in respect for international law, including the freedom of sea and air communications and the free use of the high seas;
  - On the other hand in respect for the sovereignty of the States in the region under consideration, including in particular their right to individual and collective self-defence and, as stated in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, their "right to belong or not to belong to international organizations, to be parties or not to bilateral or multilateral treaties including the right to be or not to be a party to treaties of alliance", as well as their "right to neutrality".
8. Among the disarmament measures amenable to a regional approach and described in the last part of this study, those relating to nuclear weapons are accorded major importance. Certain measures, such as the establishment of denuclearized zones, are doubtless of great interest and, in this respect, the example of the countries of Latin America is encouraging. Nevertheless, France would stress that the limitation and reduction of nuclear arsenals cannot be tackled in an exclusively regional context, given the nature of such weapons and the current size of nuclear arsenals in the world.
9. This is particularly evident in the case of Europe, where it is impossible to ignore the role played by nuclear arms in the over-all balances which affect the security of the continent and thus to isolate, within the global nuclear balance, a "Euro-strategic" nuclear balance.
10. France shares the ideas relating to verification contained in paragraph 208 of the study.

11. All disarmament measures, whether at the global or regional level, assume a minimum level of confidence among the participants. In such conditions, the quest for adequate verification measures, including those using the most modern techniques which could, if necessary, be implemented at the international level, would appear to constitute an essential dimension of any attempt to limit arms and to achieve disarmament.

12. In conclusion, France trusts that this study will be the prelude to new initiatives by States to strengthen security in the different regions of the world.

GERMANY, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF

[Original: English]

[7 May 1981]

1. Germany supported and co-sponsored resolution 33/91 E in which the General Assembly decided to prepare a study on the limitation and reduction of armaments at the regional level.

2. The Secretary-General introduced on 8 August 1980 the study on all the aspects of regional disarmament (A/35/416) which had been drawn up by a group of experts, including one German scientist, under the chairmanship of Belgium. It was approved by resolution 35/156 D. The German Government welcomes the fact that a fundamental study on all the aspects of regional disarmament is now drawing the attention to this issue of growing importance. The study not only shows the results which have already been achieved, such as the Treaty of Tlatelolco, and initiatives already undertaken, but also indicates the preliminary steps, special conditions and the framework for further negotiations in order to achieve progress in this field.

3. The conclusions of the study not only mention "the unexplored potential for progress in disarmament" (para. 237) provided that further systematic efforts are undertaken at the regional level; they also state clearly that "lack of progress at the global level should not impede efforts at the regional level" (para. 238). Conventional disarmament, despite the great impact of nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation, rightly deserves appropriate attention on its own.

4. The German Government is aware of the fact that the expert group, taking into account its mandate, could not engage in a more concrete analysis elaborating on specific disarmament measures for individual measures for individual regions. However, as paragraph 247 of the report points out, "experience shows that the existence of institutional frameworks has sometimes promoted initiatives and helped to sustain efforts, even when difficulties were encountered".

5. The German Government thus appreciates the contribution of the study as a valuable instrument to promote the vital commitment to regional disarmament.

## GREECE

[Original: French]

[31 March 1981]

1. Greece has taken note with satisfaction of the excellent study on all the aspects of regional disarmament prepared by the Group of Governmental Experts, pursuant to resolution 33/91 E adopted on the initiative of the Belgian Government.
2. In view of the importance of the study in question and that of regional disarmament in the context of a global solution to the problem of disarmament, of which it constitutes a significant stage, the Greek Government proposes that this item be included in the agenda of the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

## IRELAND

[Original: English]

[17 June 1981]

1. Ireland supported resolution 33/91 E in which the General Assembly decided to undertake a systematic study of all aspects of regional disarmament and requested the Secretary-General to carry out this study with the assistance of a group of qualified governmental experts appointed by him. The study, which was presented to the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly, contains a comprehensive analysis of the subject of regional disarmament and in the view of the Government of Ireland constitutes a significant contribution to the task of achieving substantive disarmament measures.
2. Over the years the Government of Ireland has supported all proposals for practical measures of disarmament and, pending the adoption of such measures, it will encourage every effort to control and limit the further growth and development of armaments. Ireland strongly favours the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control which the General Assembly adopted in 1961 as the ultimate aim of the disarmament process. In the meantime Ireland recognizes the wisdom and desirability of achieving other more limited measures since it believes that the final objective of general and complete disarmament can be attained only through a steady process of reaching agreements wherever possible and of building on these.
3. The regional approach to disarmament as outlined in this study deserves the serious attention of the international community. As well as providing a useful guide to existing regional disarmament measures and proposals, the report sets out principles and guidelines and identifies practical approaches for achieving real progress in disarmament.
4. The report rightly attaches the highest priority to the cessation and reversal of the nuclear arms race and underlines the fact that the quantitative and qualitative development of nuclear arsenals, as well as the possibility that more

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countries might acquire nuclear weapons, poses the greatest threat to the survival of mankind. Consequently, all practical measures in this area, including the establishment of nuclear-weapons-free zones, assume a special importance. Indeed, as is clear from paragraph 87 of the report, the concept of establishing nuclear-weapons-free zones is one which Ireland has long promoted. The Government of Ireland remain convinced that the establishment of such zones can make a significant contribution to the cessation of the nuclear arms race and to the achievement of the objectives of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

5. The study also stresses the important role which the regional approach can play in the field of conventional disarmament. Paragraphs 198 to 204 of the report indicate a number of practical measures which could usefully be developed in this area. The Government of Ireland considers that particular attention should be devoted to efforts to reach agreement on the non-introduction of new weapons, the reduction of armed forces, limiting offensive capabilities, the control and regulation of the trade in conventional weapons and further restrictions and prohibitions on certain weapons which have particularly cruel or indiscriminate effects.

6. The Government of Ireland believes that the adoption of such measures could help to avert the consequences of the conventional arms race and release resources for more productive ends, with particular reference to the needs of the developing world.

7. Ireland welcomes the publication of this report and trusts that its conclusions will, in the words of paragraph 243 "stimulate a process of thinking, analysis and, as appropriate, concrete negotiation in each region". Ireland believes that the report provides the basis for a fruitful discussion of the regional approach to disarmament at the second special session of the General Assembly to be devoted to disarmament in 1982.

#### ISRAEL

[Original: English]

[3 June 1981]

1. Israel welcomed General Assembly resolution 35/156 D and voted for it. Disarmament and arms control measures are not only of concern to major Powers but are also of vital interest to small countries in the regional context. The global approach can only be usefully supplemented with efforts on the regional level. Lack of progress in world disarmament should not impede, but only encourage this approach. Israel has, therefore, always supported the principle of regional disarmament as the most practical way. It can serve in a double capacity, as an end in its own right and as a means to attain, finally, global disarmament.

2. The study on all the aspects of regional disarmament (A/35/416) is thus opportune. For its part, Israel finds itself fully in sympathy with the ideas set out in paragraph 238 of the study. In particular, Israel concurs with the view

that progress in regional disarmament and measures to build confidence among the States of a given region could create conditions that would promote disarmament and the relaxation of tension at the global level. As observed in that paragraph, such progress would also diminish the likelihood of the regions concerned being drawn into or becoming the object of wider, extraterritorial confrontations.

3. It is regrettable that promising developments in the regional aspect of the control of conventional weapons are to be found only in Latin America where, for instance, an example has been set for the world to follow as regards the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone.

4. Recent experience in the relaxation of international tension clearly underscores the importance of the establishment of confidence-building measures within the context of regional arrangements for disarmament. Such arrangements are especially necessary wherever conflict situations exist. A fundamental prerequisite for the achievement of effective results in regional disarmament is the existence of a political will on the part of the opposing sides to come to terms with each other.

5. On a practical level, Israel has proposed the establishment of regional disarmament commissions, composed of all Member States in the region, the task of which would be to review ideas and proposals for intergovernmental regional agreements on arms reduction and control. These commissions should address themselves, inter alia, to finding appropriate solutions to two specific problems related to a comprehensive programme for disarmament:

(a) To create by common agreement of all Member States of the region the necessary modalities for the limitation of military budgets in conformity with resolution 33/67;

(b) To implement within a regional basis the terms of the decisions adopted by the General Assembly during its tenth special session in paragraph 93 of the Final Document with reference to confidence-building measures (see A/CN.10/1, p. 28).

6. Besides that, Israel has given effective testimony to its views on the prevention of a regional horizontal nuclear arms race by submitting at the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly a draft resolution on the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region of the Middle East (see A/C.1/35/L.8).

7. That draft resolution called, inter alia, upon all States of the Middle East and non-nuclear-weapon States adjacent to the region to convene at the earliest possible date a conference with a view to negotiating a multilateral treaty establishing a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East.

8. Israel will continue to support appropriate initiatives in the United Nations and elsewhere for the reduction of international tension by measures aimed at regional disarmament, freely arrived at through negotiations by all States of the region concerned.

ITALY

[Original: English]

[1 June 1981]

1. Italy supported and co-sponsored resolution 33/91 E of 16 December 1979 which, for the first time in the United Nations framework, called attention to an issue which had not been adequately discussed previously: that of the limitation and reduction of armaments at the regional level.
2. Consequent to that resolution, on 8 October 1980, the Secretary-General introduced a report entitled "Study on all the aspects of regional disarmament". That report, prepared with the assistance of a group of experts under the chairmanship of Belgium, was subsequently approved by the General Assembly in resolution 35/156 D.
3. In all probability, this study is the most comprehensive that has been elaborated so far on the subject of regional disarmament. It provides, among other things, a detailed illustration of the main initiatives put forward in the field of regional disarmament, indicates some of the questions to be examined and solved as a preliminary step towards the definition of substantive regional measures and delineates some of the general principles which could constitute the framework for any future negotiations in this field.
4. The conclusions of the study include some useful indications on the positive effects which could derive from the regional approach in certain sectors, specifically in those where it is more difficult for the international community to arrive at global agreements or arrangements. Thus, for the solution of the problem of nuclear non-proliferation, measures of a local character, such as the creation of denuclearized zones when the necessary conditions are met, could make a strong contribution. Similarly, the issue of conventional disarmament could also be effectively addressed at the regional level, where negotiations might be aimed at achieving, for example, balanced reductions of armaments and forces in order to enhance security at the lowest possible level of such forces.
5. More generally, the study's conclusions serve to demonstrate the flexibility of regional disarmament measures whose precision and efficacy are indispensable for the solution of problems in areas of particular complexity.
6. Through its breadth of scope and attention to detail, the study provides a significant theoretical contribution towards the enhancement of the "regional instrument". Moreover, it constitutes a point of reference for the further development of existing initiatives and the analysis and evaluation of future proposals.



## JAPAN

[Original: English]

[25 June 1981]

1. Japan welcomes the completion of the study on all the aspects of regional disarmament which was undertaken by the Secretary-General with the assistance of a group of qualified governmental experts appointed by him, in accordance with resolution 33/91 E which, upon the initiative of Belgium, was adopted at the thirty-third session of the General Assembly;
2. Japan strongly hopes that the international community, while placing the highest priority on nuclear disarmament, will work untiringly within various forums in the field of disarmament toward realizing, step by step, concrete disarmament measures which are feasible under the prevailing international circumstances and which are equitable and reciprocal in nature.
3. In accordance with the above-mentioned fundamental position, Japan believes that all possibilities should be explored in order to promote disarmament and that, together with a global approach, it is meaningful to explore where appropriate the possibility of a regional approach, depending on the nature of the regional disarmament measures envisaged.
4. Japan considers it significant that the study points out the usefulness of efforts at the regional level on the questions of the prevention of nuclear proliferation and the international transfer of conventional weapons from the viewpoint of a regional approach.
5. Although the study contains various valuable and general suggestions on regional disarmament, Japan holds the view that the promotion of any disarmament measures, as long as they are closely related to the exercise of sovereignty and the maintenance of the security of each State, should be made on the basis of an agreement among the countries concerned. Especially in taking a regional approach, full consideration should be paid to the characteristics, including the political situation, of the region concerned. Such an approach must also be based on the voluntary initiatives taken by the States of the region. It should also be pointed out that for such initiatives to be taken, trust among States within the region must be created. Considering that the peace and security of one region of the world is directly linked to that of another region, as well as to that of the world as a whole, due attention should be paid to the effect such initiatives for a particular regional disarmament measure would on the peace and security of other regions as well as the world as a whole. Such measures should also be consistent with the spirit and provisions of the United Nations Charter and established international law. In this connexion, the regional approach to disarmament must take into account the over-all balance composed of nuclear and conventional forces. It is also important that regional disarmament should be accompanied by effective verification measures.

NETHERLANDS

[Original: English]

[27 May 1981]

1. The Netherlands supported resolution 33/91 E of 16 December 1978, which requested the Secretary-General of the United Nations to carry out with the assistance of a group of qualified experts a comprehensive study of all the aspects of regional disarmament.

2. Consequent to that resolution, the Secretary-General submitted on 8 October 1980 a report entitled "Study on all the aspects of regional disarmament". The report usefully provides, among other things, a wide inventory of the main initiatives that have been or might be undertaken in the field of regional disarmament. It constitutes an important contribution to the thinking on regional disarmament and should give impetus to existing and new efforts in various regions of the world. The conclusion in the report that where the political will is available, numerous possibilities for regional disarmament, both nuclear and conventional, do exist, should be emphasized.

3. Since tensions and inducements of conflict are in many cases linked to specific regions and thus form a basis for many efforts of building up conventional armaments, with an increasing danger of escalation towards the nuclear option, it appears logical that efforts in the direction of regional disarmament under appropriate conditions merit serious consideration and encouragement.

4. The Netherlands also agrees that regional measures of arms control and disarmament can positively contribute to national and regional security, while also constraining the arms race in general and furthering international peace and security. In this context, regional disarmament can be considered as complementary to world-wide measures of arms control and disarmament.

5. With regard to regional aspects of disarmament, the Netherlands considers that the initiative for regional arrangements should come from within the region itself, that such an initiative should be sufficiently supported by the States in the region, especially by all militarily significant States among them, and that States outside the region should not take advantage of such arrangements or otherwise contravene the objectives thereof.

6. In this context, the Netherlands also stresses the importance of verification since it feels that balanced and adequate measures of verification tailored to each specific regional arrangement are likely to eliminate distrust and to build confidence between the nations concerned.

7. The Netherlands hopes that the study on all the aspects of regional disarmament will prove an important step towards further investigation, new ideas and enhanced initiatives for disarmament and arms control on the regional level.

## NORWAY

[Original: English]

[25 June 1981]

1. Norway supported resolution 33/91 E which requested the Secretary-General to carry out an expert study on all the aspects of regional disarmament.
2. This study was presented to the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly and represents a useful basis for further initiatives in this area. Such initiatives could further facilitate the achievements of global disarmament measures.
3. Norway therefore supports the idea that efforts toward regional disarmament in the nuclear as well as the conventional field should be seriously considered as measures to enhance security on the national, regional and global levels.
4. Initiatives for regional arrangements should come from the States belonging to the region and otherwise be governed by the principles laid down in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Final Document of the tenth special session of the General Assembly.
5. In this connexion, Norway considers that the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones on the basis of arrangements freely arrived at among the States of the region concerned constitutes an important disarmament measure.
6. The conventional arms race is also a domain in which the inclusion of a regional aspect in the approach to disarmament is especially interesting.
7. It is the hope of Norway that this important study on all the aspects of regional disarmament will serve as a valuable basis for new ideas on disarmament and arms control on the regional level.

## PAKISTAN

[Original: English]

[22 July 1981]

1. The Government of Pakistan welcomes the timely completion of the study on all the aspects of regional disarmament (A/35/416) by the governmental group of experts appointed by the Secretary-General. Most international conflicts originate from regional causes and involve States of that region. Apart from the unique case of Europe, several other regions, such as the Middle East, southern Africa and South Asia, have experienced tensions and conflicts for the past several decades. The evolution of disarmament agreements in these regions would be an important contribution to regional and international peace and security and to the promotion of the economic and social development of the countries in these regions. Pakistan shares the over-all conclusion of the study, in paragraph 237, that "given the political will, there is a vast and, to a large extent, unexplored potential for

progress in disarmament if the global approach is supplemented with determined and systematic efforts at the level of the different regions". This study is the indispensable first step towards fully exploring and exploiting this potential.

2. The study has adopted the empirical approach to draw its conclusions. The review of past and present experience relating to regional disarmament is not only interesting and illustrative, but lends the weight of realism to the study's conclusions and recommendations for further efforts in this field.

#### Concept and objective of regional disarmament

3. The study has contributed to clarifying a number of conceptual issues. Paragraph 139 quite rightly underlines that the most important objective of the regional approach to disarmament is to promote peace and security within the region concerned as well as globally. The integral relationship between regional and global disarmament efforts is, of course, universally acknowledged. Progress in disarmament at the global level will facilitate regional disarmament efforts. However, the absence of progress at the international level is no justification to avoid the consideration of disarmament possibilities at the regional level. Similarly, no one can deny that the initiative for regional disarmament measures should come from among the States of the region concerned. However, it must also be emphasized that every State in a region has an obligation, under the Charter of the United Nations, to contribute actively to the maintenance of peace and security and, therefore, to the control of armaments, within its own region. The world organization has a legitimate interest in promoting measures of disarmament at the regional and global level.

4. We share the conclusion of the study that in the context of disarmament a "region" would need to be defined flexibly. Basically, a "region" must be conceived in the context of the immediate military, political and economic interaction between a number of States in a given geographical and historical perspective.

#### Principles and guidelines for regional disarmament

5. The study has made a useful contribution by identifying certain principles which are relevant to disarmament negotiations at the regional level. These principles and guidelines should be further crystallized and elaborated. On the basis of the study's analysis, the following fundamental propositions should be endorsed as having general relevance to all endeavours for regional disarmament: (a) the right of each State to maintain a level of forces essential for its security has been recognized especially in the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament (resolution S-10/2). This does not imply a mere freezing of the status quo, since in many instances the prevailing situation is extremely disadvantageous to some of the States in various regions; (b) thus, a necessary corollary to the above is that a military balance must be ensured in each region which provides each State in that region with a reasonable capability for self-defence. For the purpose of determining such a balance, various factors would need to be taken into account, including the capacity of each of the States concerned for the indigenous production of

armaments, the level of the transfer and acquisition of arms, the technological capacity of the armaments acquired by various regional powers and other relevant factors; (c) the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament recognizes the special responsibilities of the "nuclear-weapon States and other military significant States" to promote disarmament. This responsibility of States which are in a preponderant military position to initiate and promote arms limitations should also be recognized in the context of regional disarmament.

#### Scope of regional disarmament measures

6. We agree with the study's conclusion that the concept of disarmament in a region must be broadly defined to include measures for the restraint and reduction of armaments as well as to build mutual trust and confidence among the States of the region. In many instances, regional disarmament could proceed in a step-by-step process beginning with modest measures to enhance confidence and proceeding to more ambitious schemes for arms control and disarmament.

#### Confidence-building measures

7. Pakistan endorses the general conclusion of the study that the existence of a climate of mutual trust and confidence is an important prerequisite for meaningful agreements on regional disarmament. Such trust and confidence can only be created once mutual disputes in a region are resolved by peaceful means on the basis of the principles of the United Nations Charter; where each State in the region demonstrates an abiding commitment to the principles concerning mutual respect for State sovereignty and independence and non-interference in each other's internal affairs and when foreign intervention and aggression against regional States by external powers has been eliminated.

#### Possible areas of regional disarmament

8. The study has discussed the possibility of regional disarmament in all the areas covered by the Final Document of the special session and by the "elements" of the comprehensive programme on disarmament, prepared by the Disarmament Commission. This discussion has brought forth certain interesting ideas which could be further explored. However, it seems apparent that at the present juncture, the regional approach to disarmament would be most relevant in relation to nuclear and conventional weapons.

#### Regional approach to nuclear disarmament

9. Two distinct kinds of negotiations can be envisaged with regard to nuclear disarmament in the regional context.

- (a) Control, reduction and elimination of nuclear weapons in regions where they are deployed

10. At present, nuclear weapons are deployed only in North America, Europe and parts of Asia. The study has outlined the initiatives and efforts deployed with

regard to the control and reduction of nuclear armaments in Europe. A regional approach to nuclear disarmament may prove more efficacious than bilateral negotiations between the super-Powers since they would enable the regional States to reflect their security perceptions and could take into account the size of the conventional weapons and forces of the opposing groups of States. This does not, of course, derogate from the role of the Committee on Disarmament to conduct negotiations on nuclear disarmament nor decrease the primary responsibility of the two leading nuclear Powers to take the lead in promoting nuclear disarmament.

11. As indicated in the study, negotiations for the elimination of nuclear weapons from various proposed "zones of peace" also form part of the regional approach to nuclear disarmament. The efforts being deployed in the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean to ensure, inter alia, the elimination of nuclear weapons from the Indian Ocean will determine the viability of further endeavours relating to other areas of the world where the creation of "zones of peace" may be contemplated.

(b) Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons in regions where they do not exist

12. The General Assembly has repeatedly emphasized that the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in various regions of the world provides a most effective means of preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons and enhancing the security of the States of the region from threats emanating from within and outside the region. The example of the nuclear-weapon-free zone in Latin America provides a most useful illustration of the efficacy of the regional approach to non-proliferation. If flexibly and realistically developed in various regions, especially by eliminating the discriminatory features of the present non-proliferation régime, the modality of nuclear-weapon-free zones can yield a much wider commitment for the goal of nuclear non-proliferation. The objective of creating nuclear-weapon-free zones in the regions of Africa, the Middle East and South Asia has assumed particular significance for both regional and international peace and security.

Regional approach to conventional disarmament

13. Pakistan agrees with the conclusion of paragraph 198 of the study that the "cessation of the conventional arms race is a domain in which the inclusion of a regional aspect in the approach to disarmament is particularly important". Current conflicts are waged with conventional weapons which account for more than three quarters of the global resources expended on armaments. What is more, apart from the major Powers, most nations acquire armaments in response to threats or the perception of threats to their security emanating within their own regions. Disproportion in the level and sophistication of conventional armament between States in a region cannot but increase the possibilities of conflict and the emergence of the policies of intervention through domination and aggression. Thus, a primary objective of conventional disarmament in a regional context must be to bring about and maintain a military balance and equilibrium at progressively lower levels of armaments.

14. It must be, of course, recognized that the greatest concentration of conventional weapons is in the same region, Europe, which is the focus of the nuclear arms race. The regional approach is thus apposite with respect to Europe since it provides the possibility of simultaneous and related consideration of the nuclear and conventional factors in the balance of forces in that region. Progress in the negotiations which are under way or envisaged in Europe would also facilitate negotiations in other regions of the world.

15. However, in those regions where conflicts and tensions are escalating, such as the Middle East, South Asia, South West Asia and South East Asia, it is imperative that the States concerned take the initiative to reverse these trends, to undertake measures to build mutual trust and confidence and to avoid an unnecessary and debilitating arms race.

16. It is self-evident, however, that these States could be encouraged to adopt such a course of action if extraregional Powers were to withdraw the armed forces that are on the territories of some of the regional States in contravention of the principles of the United Nations Charter. Moreover, those States which are suppliers of conventional armaments could also play a positive role by ensuring that their policies do not lead to the creation or perpetuation of a military disequilibrium in any particular region.

#### Pakistan's initiatives for regional disarmament in South Asia

17. For several years, Pakistan has been advocating the imperative of maintaining a military balance in the region of South Asia which could enable the countries to maintain their security at the lowest possible levels of armament. Pakistan is ready to participate in a dialogue of States in South Asia with a view to strengthening security through elimination of military threat to each other's sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity. This would enable the regional States to dedicate their resources and energies in a greater measure to the task of economic development and social uplift of their peoples. Pakistan has made appropriate suggestions in this regard on a bilateral basis and hopes for a positive outcome.

18. Pakistan also emphasizes the sovereign right of every country to acquire military equipment for self-defence. Pakistan's own legitimate concerns in this regard have been accentuated by the deteriorating security climate in the region as a result of the induction of military forces of a super-Power into Afghanistan.

19. At the same time, Pakistan remains convinced that the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia is a feasible objective which deserves the support of all the States in the region and of all the nuclear-weapon Powers. Pakistan stands ready to enter into immediate consultations, as recommended repeatedly by the United Nations General Assembly, for the creation of this zone.

Follow-up of the study on all the aspects of regional disarmament

20. The study has been limited, by its terms of reference, to submitting conclusions and recommendations that are general in nature. Pakistan would like in particular to endorse the following conclusions of the study: (a) that the general approach which has been adopted in the study needs to be supplemented by analyses of possible disarmament steps, conducted region by region (para. 234); (b) that there is a need to create and strengthen mechanisms or institutions at the regional level which would "allow initiatives to develop, concepts and approaches to be discussed and concrete steps to be negotiated" (para. 247); and (c) that the United Nations system can provide invaluable advice and assistance in the entire process of regional disarmament (para. 250).

21. After its in-depth examination of the study on all the aspects of regional disarmament, the next session of the General Assembly could, inter alia:

(a) Endorse the importance and efficacy of the regional approach to disarmament;

(b) Approve a number of objectives and principles which should guide disarmament negotiations in various regions;

(c) Authorize the more detailed analyses of the possibilities of regional disarmament in specific regions as recommended by the study;

(d) Urge States in various regions to take initiatives, or to respond to existing initiatives, relating to disarmament in their regions.

POLAND

[Original: English]

[8 June 1981]

1. Poland has welcomed with attention and interest the decision of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly to undertake a study of all the aspects of regional disarmament. The study itself, to whose preparation also Polish experts had contributed, has met with positive assessment and the endorsement of its principal conclusions.

2. The undertaking of the study was yet another indication of the broad interest taken by Governments and public opinion at large in the issue of regional disarmament, including the specific proposals, initiatives and suggestions pertaining to the development of the measures of regional disarmament that had been put forward to date. For reasons which are all too obvious, the question of regional disarmament belongs also among the principal points of interest of Poland's foreign policy dedicated to efforts aimed at the consolidation of peace and international security and the promotion of effective disarmament.



3. Hence, the Government of the Polish People's Republic has welcomed with satisfaction the preparation of an authoritative United Nations study which, apart from providing a historical record of facts pertaining to the origin and development of the concept of regional disarmament as well as recalling the diverse initiatives and specific proposals submitted by Governments since the Second World War, attempts to define certain general concepts of "regionalism" for the benefit of States either engaged in disarmament negotiations or contemplating new initiatives in that respect.

4. Those parts of the study which refer to the question of European security, the balance of forces on that continent as well as efforts pursued by a number of States to promote regional or subregional disarmament in Europe, represent a particularly valuable contribution to the investigation of contemporary and past negotiations in that regard.

5. The Government of the Polish People's Republic notes with satisfaction the penetrating presentation of the initiatives in that regard submitted by Poland, especially underlining the role of the proposals, known as the Rapacki Plan, for an atom-free zone in Central Europe combined, as it was, with the reduction of conventional forces, as well as the plan for a nuclear freeze in the same area. The study is also to be commended for the attention it paid to the negotiations on the mutual reduction of forces and armaments and associated measures in Central Europe. Poland invariably seeks to contribute to the overcoming of the impasse in these talks and to achieving an appropriate agreement in the belief that the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe would represent an effective step towards enhancing the security of States of that region.

6. Poland notes with gratification that the study provides a well-documented record of new concepts and efforts in the field of regional disarmament. As it is well known, in connexion with the work of the Madrid meeting of the States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the Government of Poland, together with those of other socialist States, has put forward specific proposals with a view to extending political détente to the military sphere in order to avert the emergence of a threat of war or conflict in an area of vital importance for international security at large. The Polish proposal to convene in Warsaw a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe signals a new stage in the efforts to promote confidence and, in time, to obtain tangible results in Europe-wide disarmament. It goes without saying that the Government of the Polish People's Republic stands ready to consider any steps lending themselves to mutual negotiation which, without affecting the existing balance of forces in Europe, could contribute to the consolidation of European security. In this context Poland resolutely supports the efforts which many States are pursuing in Madrid and elsewhere, also in Vienna, with a view to elaborating agreements on regional measures. In this regard, particular attention should be paid to the proposals put forward recently by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in particular its readiness to extend the zone of application of military confidence-building measures to the entire European part of its territory, on the condition of a corresponding extension of the zone of application of confidence-building measures by the Western countries, and to introduce

a moratorium on medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe. They offer a chance of working out enduring guarantees of European security opening up a new chapter in regional disarmament negotiations.

7. Having analysed the conclusions of the study, the Government of the Polish People's Republic fully subscribes to the view that there is a need to establish a mutual link between measures of regional disarmament and general and complete disarmament. The global dimension of regional measures is particularly striking in the light of the postulates to limit strategic arms and check the further acceleration of the arms race in the field of Eurostrategic systems. It is also corroborated by the United Nations endeavours to work out and effectively implement a comprehensive programme of disarmament. The recalling in the study of a list of possible regional measures as well as the recognition of the important role of public opinion and of the need to prepare societies for life in peace also deserve attention. The latter, as it will be appreciated, is also essential in the preparation of societies for disarmament, as envisaged in the relevant United Nations stipulations and declarations.

8. The Government of the Polish People's Republic strongly believes that the various aspects of regional disarmament referred to in the study should be further pursued, analysed and assessed from the point of view of their feasibility. This implies the need for determined research and information work, also with the participation of the United Nations, and the examination of the specific conditions obtaining in those regions which appear ripe for regional disarmament. This involves, in the first place, those parts of the world which at present are most vital for staving off the catastrophe of war, preserving universal peace and consolidating détente.

#### ROMANIA

[Original: French]

[8 June 1981]

1. The Socialist Republic of Romania, a country with a deep-seated attachment to the concept of disarmament, first and foremost nuclear disarmament, is keeping up its activities in the United Nations and other international forums with a view to bringing about genuine progress along the path to the attainment of those two goals. The problem area of disarmament, currently one of the most burning international issues, occupies pride of place in the foreign policy of Romania, which over the years has put forward numerous proposals for practical steps towards the implementation of effective disarmament measures.

2. Romania supported the proposals made at the United Nations concerning the preparation of studies on the subject of disarmament, in the belief that consideration of the multiple aspects of disarmament can help to mobilize the political will of Governments to make resolute progress towards disarmament measures and to identify ways and means of realizing the yearnings of the peoples.

3. In Romania's opinion, the study on all the aspects of regional disarmament prepared under United Nations auspices, is a response to the need to encourage any activity aimed at halting the arms race and achieving disarmament, and building a peaceful world without arms and without war.
4. The study has analysed and thereby highlighted topics of major importance for the definition of the concept of regional disarmament, the relationship between that concept and general disarmament, the significance of confidence-building and related disarmament measures, etc.
5. The statements, the data, and the conclusions reached by the study highlight the particular avenues which regional disarmament, both nuclear and conventional, opens up as a prelude to general disarmament.
6. In the opinion of the Romanian Government, the analysis of armaments in general, the emphasis on their harmful and dangerous effects, and the appeal for the adoption of genuine disarmament measures, are all positive contributions to the implementation of the goals of the second disarmament decade and the preparations for the second special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament, to be held in 1982.
7. In view of the above considerations, the interest of States Members of the United Nations and the need to keep world public opinion informed would be served by giving the study as wide a distribution as possible.
8. The Romanian Government wishes to reiterate that the proposals it submitted in the document entitled, "The position of Romania on the problem of disarmament, and particularly nuclear disarmament, and the establishment of lasting world peace" (A/C.1/1066 of 30 October 1975), which contained a series of proposed disarmament measures, are still as timely as ever and equally applicable at the regional level.
9. The measures proposed by Romania at the special session of the General Assembly in 1978 included the freezing and reduction of military budgets to achieve reductions of at least 10 to 15 per cent by 1985, part of the funds saved thereby to be used to set up a United Nations Development Fund for the least-developed countries; the freezing of military forces and armaments at the 1978 levels in preparation for their gradual reduction, so that by 1985 reductions ranging from 10 to 15 per cent will have been effected - the most substantial being in those countries with the largest military forces; a firm commitment by all States not to station further troops and armaments in the territories of other States; the phasing out of the activities of the military blocs as a transitional measure towards their simultaneous dissolution; military disengagement on the frontiers between States by the creation of security zones of 15 to 20 kilometres in width; and an enhanced role and responsibility for the United Nations in the achievement of disarmament.
10. At the same time, major importance would be attached to the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones of peace and international co-operation in various parts of the world. To this end, Romania reiterated its proposal that the Balkans should become a zone of good-neighbourliness, peace and broad co-operation, free of nuclear weapons, military bases and foreign troops.

11. In view of the place and role occupied by Europe in the pattern of international relations and the fact that the largest military forces are concentrated on the European continent, the Romanian Government believes in the need to assign priority to measures for military disengagement in Europe as a step towards disarmament on that continent. To this end, Romania submitted to the Madrid meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) a proposal to convene a conference on confidence-building and disarmament in Europe as part and parcel of the multilateral process begun by CSCE. It would be devoted to the consideration and adoption of measures aimed at confidence-building among States and military disengagement and disarmament, and would thereby contribute to the achievement of the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control. At the same time, Romania proposed the immediate adoption of new measures to increase confidence, stability and security on the European continent.

12. These measures refer to the commitment of States not to carry out multinational manoeuvres on the vicinity of the frontiers of other CSCE participating States, thereby helping to eliminate any cause for concern and to build up confidence in their mutual relations, as well as to the commitment to freeze their military budgets pending the conclusion of an agreement to reduce them, and to refrain from establishing new military bases and deploying nuclear weapons or more troops in the territory of other States in Europe; to notify all other participating States of any large-scale military manoeuvres on their territory in Europe, and to notify all other participating States of any single or joint air or naval manoeuvres taking place on their territory in Europe, as well as in the adjacent maritime or air space.

13. Believing as it does that the non-use of force or threat of force must become an effective rule of international relations and must be fully observed in all inter-State relations world-wide, Romania has proposed the calling of a meeting of experts of all CSCE participating States to draw up a treaty on the non-use of force or threat of force.

14. The Romanian Government is convinced that through the concerted efforts of all States and peoples it will prove possible to achieve the vitally important goal of general disarmament and, within that context, disarmament on the European continent where, in this century alone, two world conflagrations have broken out.

RWANDA

[Original: French]

[29 June 1981]

1. The Rwandese Government believes that all the peoples of the world have a right to peace, security, and economic and social progress. It has repeatedly expressed its concern at the ever-growing danger to humanity posed by the frantic race to acquire arms of all sorts and its detrimental effects on the economic and social development of all nations, particularly the smallest and poorest among them.

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2. It is scandalous, at a time when the international community aspires to peace and détente and when two thirds of humanity wallow in abject poverty, to see fabulous sums being spent daily to build up arsenals of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction.
3. The Rwandese Government remains firmly convinced that those sums ought to be devoted to assisting the least-developed countries and to socio-economic projects to improve the living conditions of the under-privileged of this world.
4. Accordingly, Rwanda assesses positively the efforts of the international community to date, be they among the various individual States or within the United Nations, to end the proliferation of weapons of all kinds, with a view to general and complete disarmament under effective international control.
5. In this connexion, the convening in June 1978 of a special session of the General Assembly devoted exclusively to disarmament, the decision to proclaim the years 1980-1990 a disarmament decade, and the plan to convene in 1982 a second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, together with a world disarmament conference, all represent praiseworthy initiatives on the part of the Organization. Initiatives of this kind deserve to be supported by all peace-loving countries and should evoke a response, first and foremost, from the major military Powers, whose responsibility in the process of general and complete disarmament must be clearly emphasized.
6. Likewise, the Rwandese Government cannot but rejoice at the welcome initiative of the General Assembly in requesting the Secretary-General of the Organization, by resolution 33/91 E, adopted at its thirty-third session, to carry out a study on a regional approach to the disarmament problem.
7. The Rwandese Government considers that world-wide efforts to achieve general and complete disarmament are not in themselves sufficient to attain the desired goal; they sometimes prove to be ill suited to the specific circumstances prevailing in a given region. Though the efforts undertaken in various regions must be broadly in harmony with those undertaken world-wide, the geo-political conditions prevailing from region to region are sufficiently different to leave plenty of room for independent initiatives and actions in each region. In this way, the regional approach to disarmament can assume particular importance.
8. The regional approach to the disarmament problem therefore deserves support because it offers the advantages of greater pragmatism and better adaptation to specific circumstances, while at the same time contributing to the achievement of the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament.
9. There is therefore no doubt that this study, spotlighting as it does efforts made so far to halt the arms race in the various regions of the world, the merits of a regional approach to disarmament, the principles which must guide such an approach, and suggestions for conceivable measures in each region, provides valuable, handy guidance for States wishing to launch disarmament initiatives in their regions.

10. Rwanda consequently cannot but welcome the undertaking of such a study as a basis for current and future regional disarmament initiatives; the views and conclusions of the study coincide fully with the Rwandese Government's own assessments.

#### SOUTH AFRICA

[Original: English]

[4 February 1981]

The study on all the aspects of regional disarmament will be brought to the attention of the South African Government.

#### SPAIN

[Original: Spanish]

[11 June 1981]

1. We cannot fail to recognize the major effort made by the Group of Experts which prepared the study and the high quality and usefulness of the results achieved. The study offers an excellent overview of the status of the issue and, at the same time, opens up encouraging prospects for progress along the thorny path towards disarmament. The comments made here are intended to help ensure that the study bears good fruit. Since its basic approach is one of constructive analysis, we shall adopt the same approach in our comments.
2. Above all, the study shows the extreme usefulness of considered analysis of the elements forming the substratum of disarmament - disarmament being understood in the wide sense described in paragraph 145 - as an instrument with which to design effective measures.
3. While the study clarifies and reassesses the concept of "region" for the purposes of disarmament - that being its primary objective - it also points to the ambiguities and imprecisions of various kinds which will have to be cleared up in order to arrive at a definition of a particular region in a specific disarmament context. The analysis of this core question in document A/35/416 calls for special praise. It might be wise, then, to explore this matter more deeply along the lines indicated in the document. In addition to the imprecision or flexibility factors in the concept of "region" mentioned in the study, it might perhaps be useful to take into account in this respect the phenomenon of superimposition of regions: in other words, cases where a particular area or territory may belong to several regions for disarmament purposes, each of which has different and even contradictory characteristics.
4. It would likewise seem to be essential, in defining a specific region for disarmament, to take into consideration the interrelationships with other regions, or with other territories or areas, which may not, however, present the characteristics of a region. Paragraph 137 of the study makes reference to this

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issue. We believe it would be wise to pursue this to the point of identifying a minimum of such interrelationships sufficient to permit an assessment of the true meaning of a specific disarmament scheme in terms of a specific region's security.

5. As to the fitting of regional disarmament into a global context, which the study repeatedly and rightly mentions, it would probably be easier if it incorporated the phenomenon of the gradual shrinking of the world's strategic dimensions which, by inducing a correlative trend towards the broadening of strategic dimensions in regions of certain types, not infrequently leads to extreme cases where regions are virtually global in compass.

6. Finally, the originality and particular value of the regional approach to disarmament not only does not preclude but definitely calls for the clarification of certain interrelationships with a view to preserving some balances which guarantee its effectiveness in practice. The interregional relationship has already been mentioned together with the region-world relationship. To these we must add the regional disarmament-security relationship, the decisive nature of which needs no emphasizing, since the touchstone of any disarmament plan is its capacity to create greater security. While we do not overlook the unknown factors of the difficulties this relationship implies, we must point out here that the study on regional disarmament needs to be complemented by an evaluation - or at least by some guidelines - showing what it means in terms of security.

#### SWEDEN

[Original: English]

[5 June 1981]

1. In the view of the Swedish Government, the study provides a useful analysis of the various problems related to regional disarmament and also recapitulates proposals and suggestions in this field made at different times by different countries.

2. Certain important relationships are highlighted in the report, such as that existing between global and regional disarmament measures as well as between nuclear and conventional armaments in a specific region. These matters have lately been stressed not only in the context of the United Nations, but also in the negotiations in Madrid following the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe concerning the convening of a conference on disarmament in Europe.

3. The study must be considered somewhat traditional, however, in that it provides few new insights and does not suggest new measures in order to facilitate future discussions in the field of regional disarmament.

4. Confidence-building measures are an important aspect of regional disarmament. The role of such measures in reducing fears of unexpected attacks and as a kind of bridge-building for real disarmament measures could have been analysed in some greater depth.

5. In summary, the study on regional disarmament is, in the Swedish Government's opinion, a valuable piece of documentation, which can serve as a reference for future regional efforts to bring about concrete agreements on confidence-building and disarmament measures.

UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

[Original: Russian]

[7 July 1981]

1. The Ukrainian SSR has taken note with satisfaction of the "Study on all the aspects of regional disarmament" prepared by the Group of Governmental Experts and believes that it could help to stimulate States' efforts to achieve real movement towards limiting the arms race and bringing about disarmament at the regional level. Of course, the underlying requirement for progress in disarmament, including disarmament in each individual region, has always been that all States, especially the militarily powerful ones, must have the political will to attain those goals.
2. Substantial progress towards disarmament is becoming particularly urgent just now, as militarists in the Western countries have set out to undermine détente and speed up the arms race so as to destroy the established military strategic balance and to secure military supremacy for the NATO bloc. It is their fault that progress has been halted or even reversed in virtually all the main areas of negotiation on arms limitation and disarmament.
3. As a European State Member of the United Nations, the Ukrainian SSR accords particular attention to the adoption of effective measures to reduce military confrontation in Europe - a continent where world wars have twice flared up within the life span of a single generation. The Soviet Ukraine's deep interest in achieving specific disarmament measures on a European scale was stressed, as elsewhere, in the reply dated 17 April 1978 of the Ukrainian SSR to the Secretary-General's questionnaire on the regional aspects of disarmament, contained in document A/S-10/8, pages 46-47. It is a matter for satisfaction that the study accords proper attention to past and present efforts by States at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe to bring about a mutual reduction in armed forces and weapons in Central Europe and establish nuclear-weapon-free zones on the continent.
4. The Ukrainian SSR, like the other socialist countries, has been consistent in calling for limitation of the arms race and for disarmament, and for the strengthening of peace and security, at the regional and other levels. It firmly supports the Soviet Union's proposals for military détente in Europe, including the idea that the participants in the European Conference should undertake not to be the first to use either nuclear or conventional weapons against each other and not to extend existing or create new military blocs in Europe or on other continents.



5. Discussions on the range of questions relating to limiting the arms race as it affects Europe, along the lines proposed by the socialist countries, could take place as a specially convened conference, which would provide extra opportunities for confidence-building among States and promote the cause of military détente.

6. The socialist countries are striving to make headway in the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and weapons in Central Europe. They have taken significant steps to bring the positions closer together. But their Western partners have been dragging out these discussions over successive years, while at the same time building up their military potential in Europe. The Ukrainian SSR feels that it is entirely inadmissible to drag out any further such important talks on the limitation of armed forces and weapons.

7. In recent years, confidence-building measures in the military sphere have been taking place in the territory of the European States, including the western regions of the Soviet Union, in accordance with a decision taken at the European Conference. These measures extend to notification of military exercises involving land forces and inviting observers from other countries. The Soviet Union, of course, has expressed its willingness to go beyond this and provide notice of naval and airborne exercises as well as major troop movements. The proposal put forward at the Twenty-sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, calling for a significant extension of the area in which confidence-building measures would apply, represents a new and important step towards consolidating the foundations of peace in Europe. The Soviet Union has announced that it is ready to extend such measures to the entire European portion of the USSR - on condition that there is a corresponding extension of the zone on the part of the Western States.

8. The Ukrainian SSR attaches particular importance to the major issue of reaching an understanding on medium-range nuclear missiles. The Twenty-sixth Congress of the CPSU produced a major proposal - for a moratorium on the deployment of new medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe by the NATO countries and the USSR. The thrust of the proposal is that both sides should halt moves to increase the number and sophistication of existing systems in Europe and, in the course of negotiations, agree on the levels that each may possess in future. Putting this business-like proposal into effect has been made difficult by the stance taken by the United States and other NATO countries, whose ambition is to impose limits on Soviet medium-range missiles only, while leaving American forward-based nuclear weapons in parentheses. Furthermore, they are set on carrying out at any cost their plans to deploy new American nuclear missiles in Europe. Such an attitude fundamentally contradicts the principles of equality and equal security.

9. The Soviet Union's proposals for turning the Mediterranean into a zone of lasting peace and co-operation follow directly from moves to limit the arms race and build confidence between the various States in Europe. This would involve international agreements on the the following issues:

- The extension to the Mediterranean area of the military confidence-building measures which have already proved their worth in international dealings;

- An agreed reduction in armed forces in the region;
- The withdrawal from the Mediterranean of vessels carrying nuclear weapons;
- An undertaking not to deploy nuclear weapons on the territory of non-nuclear Mediterranean countries; and
- A commitment by the nuclear Powers not to use nuclear weapons against any Mediterranean country which does not permit the deployment of such weapons on its territory.

10. Reducing military tension, curbing the arms race and promoting disarmament in other parts of the world such as the Far East, the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf are also, the Ukrainian SSR believes, matters deserving the closest scrutiny. New and constructive proposals for strengthening peace in these areas were made at the Twenty-sixth Congress of the CPSU. The Ukrainian SSR is in favour of holding the international Conference on the Indian Ocean which has been scheduled by the United Nations for 1981. The establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones could also play an important role among regional moves towards military détente.

11. The Ukrainian SSR will continue to welcome any steps aimed at limiting the arms race and achieving disarmament at either the global or the regional level.

#### UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

[Original: Russian]

[11 June 1981]

1. The Soviet Union has noted with interest the study on all the aspects of regional disarmament prepared by a group of qualified governmental experts appointed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations (A/35/416). It feels that, with requisite political will on the part of the States Members of the United Nations, particularly the militarily powerful countries, the study can help to stimulate efforts to achieve genuine movement towards arms limitation and disarmament at the regional level.

2. The USSR is gratified to note that its attitude to the question of the regional aspects of disarmament, as set forth in the communication on this matter from its Permanent Mission to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General on 12 April 1978 (document A/S-10/8, pp. 48-49) has been duly reflected in the study. For example, the study stresses in its conclusions that effective measures of disarmament are particularly urgent in those regions where there is a large accumulation of weapons and/or where situations persist which endanger world peace and security.

3. The Soviet Union has repeatedly stressed that diminishing the danger of war and curbing the arms race are tasks which are now of especial importance and urgency. In today's increasingly troubled international climate, it is extremely important not to slacken but, on the contrary, to stimulate efforts in this direction by all peace-loving States. Obviously, this also applies to States'

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efforts at the regional level. In this regard, the Soviet Union shares the view put forward in the conclusions of the study that the development of specific regional arms limitation and disarmament measures must take place in a regional framework and on the basis of regional initiatives.

4. The Soviet Union itself has consistently called for practical moves to limit the arms race and promote disarmament at the regional level, and has proposed initiatives on the subject. For example, it has announced its support for the conclusion among all the States participating in the European Conference of a treaty on the non-first use of nuclear as well as conventional weapons. It has also made a proposal not to expand existing military blocs or create new ones, whether in Europe or on other continents.

5. The USSR has proposed a conference to discuss and settle the issues of military détente and disarmament in Europe. The early convening of such a conference would help to enhance security on the European continent. In this connexion, one cannot but agree with the conclusion drawn by the study on all the aspects of regional disarmament that there is "a need for strengthening or creating mechanisms, institutions or arrangements at the regional level which would allow initiatives to develop, concepts and approaches to be discussed and concrete steps to be negotiated".

6. The USSR is not relaxing its efforts to make headway at the Vienna talks on reducing armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. In this case the socialist countries have gone more than half-way to meet their Western partners. But the Western countries continue to drag out these negotiations while at the same time expanding their military potential in Europe. Indeed, the Western participants in the Vienna talks have been going round in a circle for seven years with only one aim - to obtain information on the socialist States' armed forces and their make-up - and in no way responding to the constructive steps taken by these States to meet the Western position.

7. Thanks to efforts by the USSR, confidence-building measures in the military sphere between States participating in the European conference have now been going on for over five years on the territory of European States, including the western region of the USSR. A new and important proposal was put forward at the Twenty-sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, calling for a substantial expansion of the zone in which such measures are applied. The USSR expressed its willingness to extend them to the entire European portion of the Soviet Union - on condition that there was a corresponding expansion of the zone on the part of the Western States. This move by the Soviet Union represents a substantial contribution to the campaign for a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe.

8. As a result of dangerous moves by NATO designed to undermine the military equilibrium on the European continent, the task of holding back the nuclear arms race in the region has recently become particularly critical. Unfortunately, the talks on limiting nuclear weapons in Europe, begun in late 1980 at the initiative of the Soviet Union, have been broken off through no fault of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is in favour of their immediate resumption without any kind of preconditions.

9. At the Twenty-sixth CPSU Congress, the USSR made yet another important proposal - for agreement on an immediate moratorium on the deployment of new medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe by both the NATO countries and the USSR, meaning a freeze on such missiles, in terms of both numbers and sophistication, at their current levels including, naturally, the forward based nuclear missiles of the United States in the area. Such a moratorium would help to create a more favourable atmosphere for talks.

10. However, this constructive initiative has run up against serious obstacles owing to the position of the United States and other NATO countries, which are putting off a business-like discussion on limiting nuclear weapons in Europe and are set on carrying out their plans to deploy new American nuclear missiles on the continent at any price.

11. The USSR favours moves to reduce military tension in the Mediterranean region. It proposes a wide-ranging programme of activities for this purpose, including proposals to extend confidence-building measures to the Mediterranean region, reducing armed forces there, withdrawing military vessels carrying nuclear weapons from the Mediterranean, and undertaking not to deploy nuclear weapons on the territory of either European or non-European non-nuclear countries in the Mediterranean. Thus its activities are consonant with the ambitions of other countries and peoples which favour the establishment of a zone of peace in the Mediterranean.

12. The Soviet Union feels that the time has come to take concrete steps to ease the situation in the Far East, with its neighbouring Powers of the USSR, China and Japan. To this end, it recently offered a new proposal - specific negotiations on confidence-building measures in the Far East with all the countries concerned, arguing that the development and adoption of confidence-building measures in the region - taking its special features into account, of course - could prove very useful in consolidating the foundations for universal peace.

13. The USSR has invariably supported the ambition of the littoral States of the Indian Ocean to turn the region into a zone of peace in which all foreign military bases would be dismantled and no one would threaten the security, independence or sovereignty of the littoral countries. It engaged in bilateral talks with the United States to this end in 1977-1978, but these were broken off by the Americans. The USSR supports and is active in the preparations for the international Conference on the Indian Ocean which the United Nations has scheduled for 1981. It is prepared to do all it can to promote the transformation of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace.

14. An increasingly dangerous focus of international tension is developing in the Persian Gulf region owing to the concentration there of a large number of military vessels and an intensified arms build-up by Powers situated thousands of miles away, under the contrived pretext of "defending their vital interests"; the USSR has proposed to the United States and all other Powers with an interest in the matter that they should reach an understanding on the following mutual undertakings: not to establish foreign military bases in the Persian Gulf region or the adjacent islands; not to deploy there nuclear or any other kind of weapons of mass

destruction; not to use or threaten to use force against the countries of the Persian Gulf region or interfere in their internal affairs; to respect the non-aligned status chosen by the States of the Persian Gulf region and not inveigle them into military groupings with the participation of the nuclear Powers; to respect the sovereign right of the States in the region to their natural resources, and to pose no obstacles or threats to normal commercial exchanges or the use of naval communications linking States in the region with other countries around the world. An understanding of this kind in which, naturally, the States of the region themselves would also be participants having full rights, would be in line with their vital interests, as it would amount to a firm undertaking to protect their sovereign rights and security.

15. An important role among regional measures for military détente and disarmament can be played by the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones. The Soviet Union continues to advocate the establishment of such zones in various parts of the world. It is essential that they be truly free of nuclear weapons; and that the corresponding agreements contain no loopholes for violating the non-nuclear status of the zones, in addition to complying fully with the generally recognized principles of international law.

16. The Soviet Union bases its foreign policy on the idea that defending peace is the most important task confronting all the peoples of our planet. The measures which it suggests in relation to regional disarmament are directed towards precisely this end.

UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND

[Original: English]

[13 May 1981]

1. The United Kingdom supported General Assembly resolution 33/91 E which established the United Nations study on all the aspects of regional disarmament. The United Kingdom believes that the study represents a significant contribution to the debate on arms control and disarmament issues. The study, in addition to a detailed description of regional disarmament measures to date, contains useful definitions and clarification of principles to be applied to regional disarmament efforts. As paragraphs 157-162 of the study recognize, the principles to be employed in attempts to agree upon measures of disarmament on a regional basis are those which are derived, *inter alia*, from the Charter of the United Nations and the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the United Nations devoted to disarmament (resolution S-10/2). The United Kingdom reaffirms its commitment to those principles, while recognizing that there may be further considerations to be taken into account in attempting to establish regional measures of disarmament.

2. The study also records the important role which regional measures of disarmament can play in the limitation of conventional armaments. The United Kingdom would like to draw attention to paragraph 241 of the study which states "whereas the catastrophic consequences of nuclear war are common knowledge, the scale of destruction which would be brought about if the most advanced conventional

armaments now available were used in war is not always sufficiently appreciated. ... Moreover, the social and economic burden associated with the arms race is predominantly - and for most countries exclusively - related to the conventional component of the global arms race. For these reasons conventional weapons should receive due emphasis in regional disarmament efforts". The study continues, in paragraph 243, "an important task at present is to stimulate a process of thinking, analysis and, as appropriate, concrete negotiation in each region". To this end the United Kingdom would also draw attention to the recommendation in paragraph 247 of the study which states "to set in motion processes in each region to meet the above aims and in order to give to regional disarmament efforts the necessary thrust and continuity, there may be a need for strengthening or creating mechanisms, institutions or arrangements at the regional level which would allow initiatives to develop, concepts and approaches to be discussed and concrete steps to be negotiated". The United Kingdom is encouraged to see that in some regions of the world mechanisms and institutions for the discussion of problems on a regional basis have recently been established or revived. The United Kingdom believes that through such discussion can come stability and a greater mutual understanding of the interests and problems of States. From such stability and understanding can come the necessary trust on which disarmament efforts might be based. The United Kingdom hopes that those consultative bodies which have been established will proceed to consider arms control and disarmament proposals of relevance to their particular region, thus giving practical effect to the proposals set out in the study.

## UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

[Original: English]

[1 July 1981]

1. The creation of a secure, peaceful and stable world order is a goal the world community of nations continues to strive towards, but remains far from achieving. Progress towards it has not been, nor is it likely soon to become, free from difficulties and set-backs. Unfortunately, there are those who demonstrate by their actions, in contrast to their words, that they do not share a commitment to that goal.
2. Recently, one major Power resorted to direct military occupation of a Member State of the United Nations. It has since engaged in thinly-veiled threats of direct intervention in the internal affairs of another Member State. These actions, accompanied, as they have been, by the relentless continuation by that State on a course of massive and unparalleled expansion of its military forces, have rendered progress towards arms control and disarmament measures at both the global and regional levels more difficult.
3. Despite these difficulties, it is important that Governments remain alert to opportunities, where they may exist, for exercising mutual restraint and strengthening the fabric of international security. A regional approach can in some circumstances offer such opportunities. The United States has consistently given its support to realistic and effective initiatives, including arms control

and disarmament measures, taken within various regions aimed at the easing of tensions. The United States has also supported the study of regional arms control and propagation of the practical experience gained in this field.

4. In its approach to the subject of regional disarmament, the United States believes it is essential to begin from the fundamental principles contained in the Charter of the United Nations. This is recognized in the study prepared by the governmental experts, under the direction of the Secretary-General, which points out that regional measures must conform to international law and take into account other legal obligations previously assumed by participating States.

5. The expert study effectively demonstrates that, without in any way shifting attention from the overriding importance of nuclear disarmament measures or global initiatives, States within a given region can serve the needs of their people, as well as the world community, through agreeing among themselves on measures to limit or control arms or to build mutual trust through greater openness and exchange of information. The report's discussion of the relationship between regional arms-control efforts in differing areas and between regional efforts and those undertaken on a world-wide basis is most useful in this respect. It rightly points out the reciprocal obligations between States parties to a regional agreement and other States outside the region. The former must take into account the implications of the agreement for the security of third parties, while those outside the region must respect the agreement and co-operate as appropriate in its implementation.

6. The United States hopes that States will study carefully the Secretary-General's report with a view to applying the principles and experiences contained in it in the development of realistic and effective initiatives to improve mutual co-operation and security within their regions.

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