

recent past.¹²² The present Nordic governments, as well as the government of the Soviet Union, have shown increasing interest in such proposals over the past year or so, suggesting that they may be feasible within the foreseeable future. As recently as Mr. Gorbachev's July 1987 interview with the Indonesian newspaper, *Merdeka*, the Soviets proposed analogous measures for the North Pacific, presumably including its "Arctic" waters as well.¹²³ There appears to be less scope for such measures in other parts of the Arctic, however, such as the Polar Basin, where military operations are much less extensive and frequent and more covert, opposing forces do not generally come into such close contact with one another, and the opportunity for political intimidation of smaller states by means of peacetime military activity — the prevention of which is a prime goal of the CSCE-type measures — is not present.

There may well be scope in such regions for CBMs of the second type, however. The Soviet Union has repeatedly proposed such measures as restrictions on the operating areas of strategic missile-carrying submarines and heavy bombers. For example, the "Memorandum of the Soviet Government Concerning Urgent Measures to Stop the Arms Race and Achieve Disarmament," submitted to the UN in July 1968, called for the "immediate prohibition of flights by bomber aircraft carrying nuclear weapons beyond national frontiers" and the "cessation of patrols by missile-carrying submarines with nuclear missiles on board in areas where the borders of parties to such an agreement are within range of such missiles."¹²⁴ Such proposals were raised again by the Soviets during the early part of the

122. See, e.g.: Johan Jørgen Holst, "Arms Limiting and Force Adjusting Arrangements in the Northern Cap Area," *Cooperation and Conflict* 7, 1972, pp. 113-120; and Holst, "Prospects for Conflict Management and Arms Control in the North Atlantic," in: Christoph Bertram and Holst (eds.), *New Strategic Factors in the North Atlantic*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1977, pp. 133-138.

123. "Answers by M.S. Gorbachev to the Questions of the Indonesian Newspaper *Merdeka*," Soviet Embassy, Ottawa, *Press Bulletin* No. 113, 24 July 1987, pp. 3-4.

124. A/7134, 8 July 1968, reprinted in: US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, *Documents on Disarmament, 1968*. Washington: US Government Printing Office, September 1969, p. 468.