ARMS CONTROL DIGEST



Export Limitations on Missiles

After four years of negotiations, Britain, Canada, France, Italy, Japan, West Germany, and the United States announced agreement on 7 April to limit the export of certain missiles and their associated technologies. This is the first agreement to concentrate on limiting the systems capable of *delivering* nuclear weapons, as opposed to attempting to limit material and technology used to develop nuclear *explosives* and warheads.

The seven nations have agreed not to export missiles or other unmanned vehicles capable of carrying a five hundred kilogram warhead and travelling more than three hundred kilometres. This approximately corresponds to the weight of an unsophisticated nuclear device and the minimum distance thought to be militarily significant. These missiles will not be exported, even if their stated use is peaceful, unless there is a binding government-to-government agreement stipulating that they will not be used to carry nuclear warheads. The supplying nation is responsible for enforcing the missiles' end-use.

Complete systems such as ballistic missiles, space-launch vehicles, sounding rockets, cruise missiles and drones are thus banned for export. Sub-systems are also controlled. No installations for producing such missiles can be exported under any circumstances and an extensive list of technologies to be controlled is also part of the agree-

ment. Certain other technologies will be reviewed on a case by case basis.

Nuclear Testing

During March the USSR announced a shift from its previous testing policy. The Soviet Union proposed beginning simultaneous negotiations on verification measures that will lead to the ratification of the Threshold Test Ban Treaty (TTBT) and Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty (PNET), along with negotiations on lower limits on the size and frequency of nuclear tests. The previous Soviet position had been that negotiations on a comprehensive test ban should take precedence.

Although the shift in the Soviet position brings it closer to the US position, the US has rejected the Soviet offer. The US position is that the Soviet Union must agree to further verification measures on the TTBT and PNET before additional limitations on testing can be negotiated. A complete ban on testing is still considered the ultimate goal, but US administration officials have stated that as long as there are nuclear weapons they will need to test.

On 13 January 1987 President Reagan sent the two existing treaties (PNET and TTBT) to the Senate for approval but attached provisions that required agreement with the Soviet Union on advanced verification measures. The treaties have been before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and have yet to go to the full Senate.

The Soviet Union has also offered (17 April) an exchange of nuclear tests. The offer would entail each side travelling to the other's test site, and detonating and measuring a nuclear test there. Insufficient knowledge of the geological nature of the Soviet test site has been a problem in verifying the yield of Soviet tests. An exchange of tests would be an important step forward in the calibration of the test sites. The offer is being explored by the two sides at talks in Geneva.

Chemical Weapons

Negotiations for a ban on chemical weapons are continuing at the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva. Substantial progress has been made since President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev stated their desire for a chemical weapons agreement at their 1985 Summit. According to reports from the CD the agreement under consideration would establish an agency along the same lines as the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) that would oversee the dismantlement of the weapons and act as an enforcement mechanism.

If agreement is reached, the weapons and their manufacturing sites would be destroyed over a ten-year period. The Soviet Union announced during the last week in April that it had stopped production of chemical arms and was constructing a facility to destroy the weapons it had stockpiled. The United States extended an invitation to the Soviet delegation to visit its destruction and storage facilities in Utah.

France has stated that it will go ahead with plans to acquire new chemical weapons and that it will want to maintain them over the ten years the Soviets take to destroy their stocks. This has caused some concern within NATO, especially in West Germany where the weapons would likely first be used. West German officials have already asked the United States not to deploy its new chemical weapons on German territory.

United Nations inspectors visited Iraq in April to investigate Iraqi claims that Iran had been using chemical weapons. The UN team stated that there was evidence some Iraqi troops had been ex-

posed to chemical attack but found no conclusive evidence demonstrating that Iran had used the weapons. The inspection team also stated that Iraq has used chemical weapons against Iranian civilians. This is the first time an inspection team has visited Iraq. The team has previously gone to Iran twice to investigate allegations of Iraqi use of chemical weapons.

Conventional Arms Reductions in Europe

Representatives from the twenty-three NATO and Warsaw Pact nations have been meeting in Vienna in an effort to establish a mandate for negotiations that will act as a follow-on from the Conference on Disarmament in Europe (also known as the Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe – CCSBMDE) process that concluded in September 1986.

Statements from Vienna indicate that France is in favour of holding the new talks within the larger framework of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE). This would involve thirty-five European nations including the neutrals and nonaligned. A few of the neutral states insist that they should have a seat at the table and France prefers this format because it allows individual states to put forward their own positions. The US has proposed a bloc-to-bloc format (similar to the existing Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction talks in Vienna which have gone on without success for fourteen years) involving only NATO and Warsaw Pact member states. In this framework, negotiating positions would be uniform within each bloc. Some form of a compromise where the neutral and non-aligned members of the CSCE would be kept up to date on the negotiations or could act as observers may be possible.