

## IV Constraining Proliferation: Verification Regimes for Multilateral Agreements

### Past Verification Regimes

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The Antarctic Treaty, the earliest of the post World War II arms limitations agreements, was signed in 1959 by 12 nations. It is an agreement of major significance: it demilitarized a continent and assured its cooperative exploration by providing for information exchanges, notifications, and on-the-ground and aerial inspections. It is an example of a multilateral agreement which demilitarized a region (in this case a continent) in order to prevent tension rather than waiting to negotiate weapons reductions or eliminations after deployment occurred.

The Outer Space Treaty, negotiated to support a UN General Assembly resolution, was modeled on the Antarctic Treaty in that its provisions seek to prevent exploitation and international tensions before they exist by restricting certain military activities in outer space and on celestial bodies. The verification regime for the Outer Space Treaty permits OSIs with advance notice for safety purposes, on the moon and other celestial bodies, but not on the national territory of the signatories.

The Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America — also known as the Treaty of Tlatelolco — seeks to avoid conflict by obligating 23 Latin American countries not to acquire or possess nuclear weapons, nor to permit the storage or deployment of nuclear weapons on their territories by other countries. This Treaty resulted in the creation of the first nuclear-weapon-free zone. Verification of the Treaty provisions require signatories to negotiate agreements with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) for application of its safeguards to their nuclear activities. A General Council also has the power of carrying out special inspections under certain conditions. Four countries (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Cuba) have yet to make the Treaty operative.

Another regional agreement, the Treaty of Raratonga, establishes a nuclear weapons free zone in the South Pacific. Like the Treaty of Tlatelolco, it relies on the IAEA to verify the

non-diversion of nuclear material to nuclear explosives through the full use of its capabilities, including special inspections.

Since its entry into force in 1970, the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), the cornerstone of international efforts to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons, has been signed by over 150 parties. The IAEA and its safeguards system provide verification support for the Treaty. Signatories to the NPT, with the notable exception of Iraq and possibly North Korea, have made it the most widely adhered to arms control agreement in history.

The Seabed Treaty, following on the model of the Antarctic, Outer Space, and Latin American Nuclear Free Zone Treaties, seeks to prevent the introduction of international conflict and nuclear weapons into an area free of them. Verification of the Treaty is to be undertaken by parties to the agreement, using their "own means" of observation; with the assistance of other parties; or through appropriate international procedures within the framework of the UN. Limited OSIs on the seabed are possible, after certain procedural consultations take place.

Multimethod, interlocking verification procedures were adopted to ensure compliance with the Sinai I Agreement of 1974, the Sinai II Agreement of 1975, and the Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty of 1979. These methods included ground-based early warning systems, aerial and satellite reconnaissance, and on-site inspection undertaken by both third parties and the parties themselves. The verification system was technologically-intensive so that it could operate with a minimum of personnel without sacrificing effectiveness. The system was also flexible in that its mission could be modified to reflect inspection and compliance requirements in new agreements. The synergies associated with this multimethod verification system could well provide the impetus for future regional arms limitation agreements.

The U.S. Senate adopted a resolution in 1973 calling for an international agreement "prohibiting the use of any environmental or geophysical

