

- (90) After the flight plan, specifying, inter alia, the inspection team's choice of flight path, speed and altitude in the specified area, has been filed with the competent air traffic control authority the inspection aircraft will be permitted to enter the specified area without delay. Within the specified area, the inspection team will, at its request, be permitted to deviate from the approved flight plan to make specific observations provided such deviation is consistent with paragraph (74) as well as flight safety and air traffic requirements. Directions to the crew will be given through a representative of the receiving State on board the aircraft involved in the inspection.
- (91) One member of the inspection team will be permitted, if such a request is made, at any time to observe data on navigational equipment of the aircraft and to have access to maps and charts used by the flight crew for the purpose of determining the exact location of the aircraft during the inspection flight.
- (92) Aerial and ground inspectors may return to the specified area as often as desired within the 48-hour inspection period.

Between the termination of the Stockholm Conference in September 1986 and the opening of the Vienna negotiations on conventional arms reductions in March 1989, the Soviet Union has drastically revised its approach to ACD verification. On March 9, 1989, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, in his address to the official conference opening these negotiations, summarized the Soviet approach by stating that there was no verification method the USSR would not accept given reciprocity.

### **The Bush Proposal**

At Texas A&M University, on 12 May 1989, President Bush spoke of President Eisenhower's suggestion as a test of Soviet readiness to open their society. He suggested exploring the proposal once again "but on a broader, more intrusive and radical basis."

The Open Skies proposal which was elaborated subsequently by President Bush in Brussels, and which was endorsed in the NATO communique of 30 May 1989, constitutes a dramatic variant of the initial proposal. If agreed to, it would have the effect of opening the territory of North America, Europe and the Soviet Union to virtually unrestricted aerial surveillance. The theme of this initiative would be "openness" and "transparency" rather than "inspection" per se. It would specifically not be treaty related. Its major benefit would likely derive more from the confidence-building dimension than from the ACD verification benefits which might be forthcoming.