

of other States Parties ...". Some non-aligned countries — in fact nearly all of them — have objected to the concept of "reciprocity". That objection would be perfectly justified if the expression "reciprocity" within the context of the Soviet draft meant "open to other parties also having installations on the sea-bed or the ocean floor". If, on the contrary, it meant "open to the other parties to the treaty, without discrimination among them", then the concept would appear to us quite acceptable. In any case I believe that the meaning of the concept—"reciprocity" in this context could be clarified so as to avoid any ambiguity.

65. The analysis and criticisms of this concept of reciprocity have given rise to interesting discussions, especially within the group of non-aligned countries, concerning the whole problem of control. The dominating theme in those discussions was the possibility that some international body might take charge of verification so that States having fewer resources would not have to resort to the help of powerful States in order to ascertain whether there had been a violation of obligations under the treaty.

66. The creation of an international body to exercise this function of surveillance on the sea-bed and the ocean floor appears to me unrealistic. Its establishment would be disproportionate to the kind of surveillance required, to the existing circumstances and to the environment in which the surveillance was to be carried out. Moreover, in a field in which there are — and will be for a long time — only two super-Powers capable of carrying out those very costly operations, the most effective system of control — and the most economical for the rest of the world — would consist in their reciprocal surveillance.

67. Nor does it seem to me practical to lay down in the treaty the general obligation to assist any State requesting assistance for the control of compliance with the obligations. As the representative of the United States pointed out:

"A formal requirement to assist any complaining State could not be accepted without examining the possible need for criteria in the treaty to establish that a prima facie case had been presented that would justify the effort and expense, and perhaps even the hazards, of a verification operation." (ENDC/PV.421, para.50)

I believe the adequate solution might be that, so far as the need arises, the different groups of States could, outside the general treaty, conclude agreements among themselves to assist each other in the tasks of verification of compliance with the obligations of the treaty.

68. The difference between the Soviet and the United States drafts is that the former — leaving aside for the present the question of reciprocity — provides for total free access to any installations on the sea-bed, while the United States does not accept unconditional verification but merely lays down the right of the parties to observe the activities of other States on the sea-bed and the ocean floor, with the undertaking to consult each other and to co-operate to endeavour to solve any problem that may arise. The United States draft does not recognize the right to inspect installations of other parties except that in order, for instance, to verify whether some installation might, because of its configuration, contain a rocket for the launching of nuclear weapons, account would be taken of the characteristics of the installation, such as openings or gates to facilitate launching, which would not escape observation.

69. The reasons adduced for not accepting a system of unconditional verification is that there are many claims of national jurisdiction over the sea-bed and the ocean floor — unlike the moon — and the growing scientific, industrial and commercial utilization of the sea-bed and the ocean floor, besides the cost of the gigantic technical problems which that kind of inspection would raise in the hostile environment of the sea-bed and the ocean floor. These reasons, though important, do not appear to us sufficient to make us discard the principle of free access and confine ourselves to mere observation.