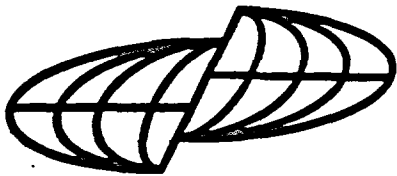


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**NEWS RELEASE**

February 16, 1990

**PROGRESS OF NEGOTIATIONS ON OPEN SKIES**

OTTAWA -- Following the conclusion of a major East-West ministerial gathering in Ottawa last Tuesday, officials from NATO and Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO) countries have begun the negotiation process to establish the outlines of an Open Skies regime.

Work began in earnest on Thursday with a plenary meeting and with the formation of four subsidiary working groups chaired respectively by Canada, The Netherlands, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria (see ANNEX for more details). These groups will report to the plenary session twice a week, on Tuesday mornings and Thursday afternoons, after which there will be a media briefing by the Secretary-General of the Conference Mr. Fred Bild in room 103 of the Government Conference Centre (a separate notice will be sent to the press gallery prior to each briefing).

The Open Skies Conference in Ottawa is likely to conclude on February 28. The negotiations between NATO and WTO countries are expected to be concluded and an agreement signed at a second Open Skies Conference, to be held in April-May of this year in Budapest, Hungary.

- 30 -

For more information, contact:

Ross Francis  
Conference Secretary  
991-1222

Marthe Saint Louis  
Deputy Conference Secretary  
991-1222

Dept. of External Affairs  
Min. des Affaires extérieures

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OPEN SKIES CONFERENCE

SUBSIDIARY WORKING GROUPS

SUBSIDIARY WORKING GROUP A

Chairman: Mr. John Noble  
Director General  
International Security and Arms Control Division  
External Affairs and International Trade  
CANADA

Topics for discussion:

- Aircraft and sensors
- Inspection of aircraft and equipment
- Role and status of observers on-board aircraft

SUBSIDIARY WORKING GROUP B

Chairman: His Excellency Neicho Neicher  
Minister  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
BUGARIA

Topics for discussion:

- Quotas
- Scope
- Limitations

SUBSIDIARY WORKING GROUP C

Chairman: His Excellency Jozef Sestak  
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary  
CZECHOSLOVAKIA

## Topics for discussion:

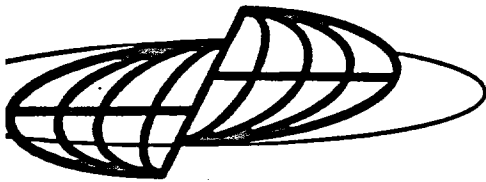
- Mission operations, including air safety rules
- Transits

SUBSIDIARY WORKING GROUP D

Chairman: His Excellency F.P.R. van Nouhuys  
Deputy Permanent Representative and Minister  
Plenipotentiary to the Permanent Mission of the  
Kingdom of the Netherlands to the North Atlantic  
Council at Brussels  
NETHERLANDS

## Topics for discussion:

- Type of agreement
- Open Skies consultative body
- Liability
- Status of crews
- Future measures



Document: ICO-CS-001

Open Skies Conference

DRAFT PROCEDURES  
FOR THE  
NEGOTIATION ON OPEN SKIES

CONFERENCE SECRETARIAT

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FEBRUARY 7TH, 1990



## PROCEDURES FOR THE NEGOTIATION ON OPEN SKIES

### I. Agenda for Ottawa

1. Formal opening. Address by a representative of the host country.
2. Formal presentation of national positions by Ministers or Heads of Delegation.
3. Negotiations for the establishment of an Open Skies regime.
4. Agreement on the level, agenda and dates of the second phase in Budapest.

### II. Work Programme

The timetable will be the following:

The Formal Opening will begin 12 February at 9:30 a.m. Agenda items 1 and 2 will be dealt with in Open Session.

Subsequent to the formal presentation of national positions, the conference shall be convened in closed session.

The plenary shall decide on the appropriate number and mandates of subsidiary working bodies.

The host government will ensure that arrangements are made so that either the plenary and one subsidiary working body or two subsidiary working bodies may meet simultaneously.

### III. Working Methods

With the exception of the Items 1 and 2, all business under the agenda will - unless agreed otherwise - be dealt with in closed plenary and in such subsidiary working bodies as are established by the plenary. The work of such subsidiary bodies will be guided by the plenary.

Decisions shall be taken by consensus of the participants. Consensus shall be understood to mean the absence of any objection by any participant to the taking of the decision in question.

The proceedings of the negotiation shall be confidential unless otherwise agreed at the negotiation.

Unless otherwise agreed, only accredited representatives of the participants shall have access to meetings.

During the plenary meetings, all participants shall be seated in the French alphabetical order.

#### IV. Languages

The official languages of the negotiation shall be: English, French, German, Italian, Russian and Spanish. Statements made in plenary and at formal meetings of the subsidiary working bodies in any of these languages shall be interpreted into the other official languages.

#### V. Role of the Chairman

The Chairman of the Ministerial meetings will be the representative of the host country. The chair at all other plenary meetings will rotate daily according to the French alphabetical order. The chairman for the first plenary meeting will be from Denmark.

The chairman of each plenary meeting shall keep a list of speakers and may declare it closed with the consent of the meeting. The chairman shall, however, accord the right of reply to any representative if a speech made following closure of the list makes this desirable.

If any representative raises a point of order during a discussion, the chairman shall give that representative the floor immediately. A representative raising a point of order may not speak on the substance of the matter under discussion.

The chairman shall keep a journal which shall record the date of the meeting, and the names of the chairman of the plenary and of speakers in the plenary. The journal shall be handed from chairman to chairman. It shall be made available only to participants.

The arrangements for the chairmanship of subsidiary working bodies shall be agreed upon in plenary.

#### VI. Decisions, Interpretative Statements, and Proposals and Related Documents on Matters of Substance

Decisions on matters of substance shall be attached to the journal. Interpretative statements, if any, shall be attached to the journal at the request of the

originator.

Formal proposals and related documents on matters of substance and amendments thereto shall be submitted in writing to the chairman and shall be registered at the request of the originator. They shall be circulated in writing to the participants.

#### VII. Financial Issues

The Government of Canada has offered to absorb the costs of holding the first phase in Ottawa. The common expenses of the negotiation of the second phase in Budapest will be distributed among the participating States in accordance with the attached scale.

#### VIII. Host Country Support

The governments of Canada and Hungary will provide security and other necessary support services for the negotiation in their respective countries. Each will appoint a Secretary-General to make and manage arrangements for the negotiation. The task of the Secretaries-General will include, in liaison with the appropriate host country authorities:

- a. to arrange accreditation for the participants,
- b. to manage the facilities of the negotiation,
- c. to ensure the security of, and control access to, the facilities and meetings,
- d. to employ and manage interpretation staff,
- e. to make available appropriate technical equipment,
- f. to ensure the availability of translation services in all official languages; the practical arrangements for their use being agreed at the negotiation,
- g. to make available to participants as necessary facilities for press briefings and to arrange appropriate media accreditation.

The Secretaries-General will act at all times in conformity with these rules of procedure.



## APPENDIX

### SCALE OF DISTRIBUTION

9.95% for	France, Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom, United States of America
6.25% for	Canada
5.0% for	Spain
3.85% for	Belgium, German Democratic Republic, Netherlands, Poland
2.25% for	Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Hungary, Norway
0.85% for	Greece, Romania, Turkey
0.65% for	Bulgaria, Luxembourg, Portugal
0.15% for	Iceland

This scale of distribution concerns only this negotiation and shall not be considered a precedent in other circumstances.

Account shall be rendered by the host country as soon as technically possible after the termination of a phase, and shall be payable within the shortest possible delay.

**ANNEX - OTTAWA STAGE**

**PROPOSED ALLOCATION OF TOPICS TO  
POSSIBLE SUBSIDIARY  
WORKING BODIES**

**A**

- Aircraft and Sensors
- Inspection of aircraft and equipment
- Role and status of observers on board aircraft

**B**

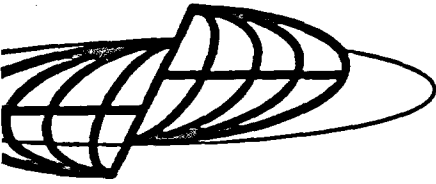
- Quotas
- Scope
- Limitations

**C**

- Mission Operations, including air safety rules
- Transits

**D**

- Type of Agreement
- Open Skies Consultative Body
- Liability
- Status of Crews
- Future measures



Document: ICO-CS-002

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Notes on Secretariat Services

for the

"Open Skies" Conference

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FEBRUARY 7TH, 1990



**Notes on Secretariat Services**

**for the**

**"Open Skies" Conference**

**OTTAWA**

**February 12th - 28th, 1990**

**1) LOCATION:**

Secretariat services are available in Room 161 on the First floor of the Government Conference Centre next to the Main Plenary Room. Please note that all Secretariat services are provided on a first-come, first-served basis.

**2) HOURS OF OPERATION:**

The Secretariat hours of operation are as follows:

February 12th - 14th	08:00 hours to 19:00 hours
February 15th - 16th	08:30 hours to 18:00 hours
February 19th - 23th	08:30 hours to 18:00 hours
February 26th - 28th	08:30 hours to 18:00 hours

**3) DAILY AGENDA:**

The Secretariat shall produce a Daily Agenda to include time, location, Chairman, agenda, submissions, proposals, amendments, etc., of meetings of Plenary and Sub-Plenary groups as the Chairman directs.

**4) DAILY JOURNAL:**

The Secretariat shall produce a Daily Journal for Plenary meetings. The Journal shall include time, location, Chairman, agenda, decisions, amendments, reservations, proposals, etc., as the Chairman directs. Journals may similarly be produced for meetings of the Sub-Plenary groups if required by their Chairmen.

**5) TRANSLATION:**

Documents to be tabled and included in the official Daily Journal shall be translated by the Secretariat into all six conference languages. In order to lend greater speed to the production of the Journal and to ensure greater accuracy of the translations, the Secretariat would urge delegates submitting



documents to provide as many languages as possible.

6) CLASSIFICATION OF DOCUMENTS:

The Secretariat shall have two types of classifications for documents:

i) "UNCLASSIFIED" - Means that the document is in the public domain and can be given to the media.

ii) "RESTRICTED/OPEN SKIES" or "RESTRICTED/OS" - Means that access to such documents shall only be available to official delegates of participating countries. These documents shall not be available to the media. They shall be safeguarded as sensitive material. All documents tabled with the Secretariat shall be labelled "RESTRICTED/OS", unless instructed otherwise by the delegation tabling the document. (Exception: Documents tabled during the open sessions (only) shall be labelled "UNCLASSIFIED", unless instructed otherwise by the delegation tabling the document.)

7) PRINTING:

The Secretariat has high speed printing facilities on Conference site for the benefit of delegates. The Secretariat shall be pleased to reproduce tabled documents, submissions, amendments, resolutions, etc. on a first-come, first-served basis.

8) RECORD OF THE PROCEEDINGS:

The Secretariat shall provide a "Record of the Proceedings" for the open Ministerial Sessions of the Conference. The Record shall be produced in Canada's two official languages - English and French. Delegations are requested to review each sessional text and to send any revisions to the Secretariat before 17:00 hours February 15th for inclusion into the final Record, which shall be distributed before the end of the Conference.

9) DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION:

The Secretariat shall provide a document distribution service in the Main Plenary Room and in the Sub-Plenary Room (the Sussex Room). To avail of this service delegations are requested to table documents with the Document Control Officers in Room 161.

10) INTERPRETATION:

The Secretariat shall provide simultaneous interpretation services (into all six conference languages) in the Main Plenary Room and in the Sub-Plenary Room. Should delegates speak from speaking notes or texts it is imperative that the Secretariat receive a copy to give the interpreters even if the text is not to be distributed to the whole Conference. Experience has shown that people who speak from a prepared text usually go too fast for



interpreters to follow, and the quality of the interpretation suffers if they do not have the text ahead of time. Copies of the texts should be given to the Document Control Officers in Room 161 who shall ensure that the interpreters receive the required number of copies.

11) EXTRA DOCUMENTS:

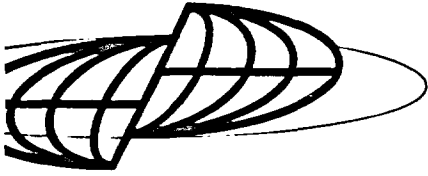
Delegates requiring additional documents or documents in other conference languages may obtain these documents from the Document Control Officers in Room 161 adjacent to the Main Plenary Room.

12) DELEGATION MAILBOXES:

The Secretariat has established Delegation Mailboxes next to Room 161 in the Secretariat Office area. Delegations are urged to monitor their Delegation's Mailbox to ensure that messages are received in a timely fashion.

13) SECRETARIAT STAFF:

Secretary General	Fred Bild	991-1222
Conference Secretary	Ross Francis	990-6683
-Assistant Conference Secretary	Peter Jones	990-6681
Deputy Conference Secretary	M. St. Louis	990-6684
Secretariat Officer	Stephen Trask	993-4562
Document Control Officers	Joanne Lacroix	990-6687
	James Wolfenden	990-6687



Document: ICO-CS-007

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AS OF FEBRUARY 16TH, 1990



Please note that any addenda, errata or deletions should be reported to the Document Control Officers in Room 161 (990-6687 or 991-0958) before 12:00 hours February 22nd, 1990.





Belgium

Senior Officials' Session - February 14-28, 1990

Head of Delegation:

- His Excellency Jan Bousse, Minister Plenipotentiary

Delegation:

- Mr. Louis Mouraux, Counsellor, Embassy of Belgium, Canada
- Mr. Rudi Schellinck, Embassy Adviser
- Major-Aviator Dries Wuyts, Military Expert, Belgian Armed Forces Staff
- Count John Cornet d'Elzius, First Secretary, Embassy of Belgium, Canada

Delegation Secretary:

- Count John Cornet d'Elzius

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## Bulgaria

Senior Officials' Session - February 14-28, 1990

Lead of Delegation:

- Mr. Neicho Neichev, Deputy Chief of Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Delegation:

- Mr. Kamen Petrov, Department of Defence
- Mr. Vladimir Sheitanov, Expert, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Mr. Peter Karlukovski, Counsellor, Embassy of Bulgaria, Canada
- Mr. Ivan Staykov, Second Secretary, Embassy of Bulgaria, Canada
- Mr. Venelin Stoytchkov, Second Secretary, Embassy of Bulgaria, Canada

Delegation Secretary:

- Mr. Neicho Neichev

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Canada

**Senior Officials' Session - February 14-28, 1990**

**Head of Delegation:**

- Mr. John J. Noble, Director General, International Security and Arms Control, External Affairs and International Trade Canada

**Delegation:**

- Mr. Ralph Lysyshyn, Director, Arms Control and Disarmament Division, External Affairs and International Trade Canada
- Mr. D.W. Dewar, Head, Policy Planning Team, National Defence Headquarters
- Colonel Alain Pellerin, Director, Nuclear and Arms Control Policy, National Defence Headquarters
- Colonel Terrence Humphries, Policy Planning Team, National Defence Headquarters
- Colonel H.G. Leitch, National Defence Headquarters
- Mr. Jason Reiskind, Legal Adviser, External Affairs and International Trade Canada
- Lieutenant Colonel Jacques Bailliu, Directorate of Nuclear and Arms Control Policy, National Defence Headquarters
- Mr. John Barrett, Arms Control and Disarmament Division, External Affairs and International Trade Canada
- Mr. Curt Brown, Air Traffic Control, Transport Canada

**Delegation Secretary:**

- Mr. John Barrett



Czechoslovakia

Senior Officials' Session - February 14-28, 1990

Head of Delegation:

- His Excellency Jozef Šesták, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary

Delegation:

- Colonel Jiri Diviš, Military Adviser
- Mr. Martin Džúr, Chargé d'Affaires, Embassy of Czechoslovakia, Canada

Delegation Secretary:

- Mr. Alexej Murin, Third Secretary, Embassy of Czechoslovakia, Canada

Denmark

Senior Officials' Session - February 14-28, 1990

Head of Delegation:

- His Excellency Jørgen Korsgaard-Pedersen, Ambassador, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Delegation:

- His Excellency Bjørn Olsen, Ambassador of Denmark to Canada
- Mr. Kim Vinthen, Head of Section, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Mr. Michael Borg Hansen, Head of Section, Ministry of Defence
- Major Poul Jarnum, Defence Command Denmark
- Mr. Ole Loewe, Counsellor, Embassy of Denmark, Canada

Delegation Secretary:

- Mr. Kim Vinthen

Federal Republic of Germany

Senior Officials' Session - February 14-28, 1990

Head of Delegation:

His Excellency Detlev Graf zu Rantzau, Ambassador, Federal Foreign Office

Delegation:

Mr. Günther Seibert, Minister Counsellor, Federal Foreign Office

Colonel Onno Oldigs, Federal Ministry of Defense

Lieutenant-Colonel Franz Badstoeber, Federal Ministry of Defence

Mr. Klaus Mische, Counsellor, Federal Ministry of Transport

Mrs. Annemarie Willinger, Secretary, Federal Foreign Office

Delegation Secretary:

Mr. Axel Saurer, Third Secretary, Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany, Canada

Other Members of the Delegation

His Excellency Wolfgang Behrends, Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to Canada

Dr. Norbert Klingler, Minister Counsellor, Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany, Canada

Lieutenant Colonel Hans-Jochen Annuss, Defence Attaché, Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany, Canada

Mr. Axel Saurer, Third Secretary, Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany, Canada

Mr. Hans Jürgen Härtel, Attaché, Federal Foreign Office



France

Senior Officials' Session - February 14-28, 1990

Head of Delegation:

Mr. Jacques Jessel

Delegation:

Amiral Doniol, Government Adviser for Defence, Ministry of Defence

Mr. Olivier Caron, Disarmament Division

Lieutenant-Colonel Simon, Army Staff, Ministry of Defence

Lieutenant-Colonel Sivot, Army Staff, Ministry of Defence

Delegation Secretary:

German Democratic Republic

Senior Officials' Session - February 14-28, 1990

Head of Delegation:

- His Excellency André Wieland, Ambassador of Disarmament

Delegation:

- Major General Günther Hiemann, Ministry of National Defence
- Dr. Klaus Kapr, Second Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Colonel Dieter Lorenz, Ministry of National Defence
- Mr. Günther Cawein, Counsellor, Embassy of the German Democratic Republic, Canada
- Mr. Bernd Hinzmann, Third Secretary, Embassy of the German Democratic Republic, Canada
- Major Walter Kalusche, Interpreter

Delegation Secretary:

- Mr. Bernd Hinzmann



Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Senior Officials' Session - February 14-28, 1990

Head of Delegation:

- Mr. D.J. Johnson, Counsellor, Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Delegation:

- Lieutenant Colonel C.B. Hughes, First Secretary, Foreign Commonwealth Office
- Mr. R.A.G. Hoskins, First Secretary, Ministry of Defence
- Wing Commander M. Young, Royal Air Force, Ministry of Defence
- Mr. I.A. Herdman, First Secretary, National Air Traffic Services
- Miss S. Church, Ministry of Defence, Defence Intelligence Secretariat
- Miss H.A. Brown

Delegation Secretary:

- Lieutenant Colonel C.B. Hughes

## Greece

### Senior Officials' Session - February 14-28, 1990

#### Head of Delegation:

- His Excellency Leonidas P. Mavromichalis, Ambassador of Greece to Canada

#### Delegation:

- His Excellency George Constantis, Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Greece at the I.C.A.O.
- Mr. Dimitrios Karamitsos - Tziras, Alternative Representative of Greece, I.C.A.O.
- Lieutenant Colonel K. Ioannis Ploumistos, Hellenic Air Force
- Mr. Gregorios Nanides, Alternative Representative of Greece, I.C.A.O.

#### Delegation Secretary:

- Mr. Constantin-John Rhallis, Counsellor, Embassy of Greece, Canada

#### Other Members of the Delegation

- Mr. Herakles Asteriadis, First Secretary, Embassy of Greece, Canada
- Mr. Panayotis Tsoukalas, Attaché, Embassy of Greece, Canada



Hungary

Senior Officials' Session - February 14-28, 1990

Lead of Delegation:

Mr. Tibor Tóth, Counsellor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Delegation:

Mr. Márton Krasznai, Senior Desk Officer

Major General István Schmidt

Mr. Gabor Menczel, Counsellor, Embassy of Hungary, Canada

Mr. Laszlo Komornik, Second Secretary, Embassy of Hungary,  
Canada

Delegation Secretary:

Mr. Márton Krasznai



Iceland

Senior Officials' Session - February 14-28, 1990

Head of Delegation:

- Dr. Gunnar Pálsson, Counsellor, MFA Reykjavík

Delegation:

- Mr. Stefán L. Stefánsson, First Secretary, Embassy of Iceland, United States of America (February 20-28)
- Mr. Thordur Örn Sigurdsson, Director, Air Transport and International Relations Department (Directorate of Civil Aviation)

Delegation Secretary:

- Dr. Gunnar Pálsson



## Italy

Senior Officials' Session - February 14-28, 1990

Head of delegation:

- His Excellency Valerio Brigante Colonna, Ambassador of Italy to Canada

Delegation:

- Mr. Fabio Migliorini, Minister Plenipotentiary, Political Affairs Branch
- Mr. Pier Benedetto Francese, Counsellor
- Colonel Francesco Gueli
- Colonel Giuseppe Cornacchia
- Lieutenant Colonel Michele De Dominicia
- Major Claudio Capocchi
- Major Alexandro Fantina
- Mr. Giovanni Gentili

Delegation Secretary:

- Mr. Gian Lorenzo Cornado, Second Secretary, Embassy of Italy, Canada

Luxembourg

**Senior Officials' Session - February 14-28, 1990**

**Head of Delegation (February 15-18):**

- Mr. François Bremer, Assistant Permanent Representative to NATO

**Head of Delegation (February 19-22):**

- Mr. Armand Clesse, Special Adviser to the Ministry of the  
Police Force

**Head of Delegation (February 22-28):**

- His Excellency Guy de Muyser, Permanent Representative to NATO

**Delegation:**

- (see above)

**Delegation Secretary:**

-



## Netherlands

### Senior Officials' Session - February 14-28, 1990

#### Head of Delegation:

- His Excellency F.P.R. van Nouhuys, Deputy Permanent Representative and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Permanent Mission of the Kingdom of the Netherlands to the North Atlantic Council at Brussels

#### Delegation:

- His Excellency J.F.E. Breman, Ambassador of the Netherlands to Canada
- Mr. C.W. Andreae, Head of Military Cooperation Section, Atlantic Cooperation and Security Affairs Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Mr. J.B. Veen, Directorate General Policy Affairs, Ministry of Defence
- Lieutenant Colonel E.H. Wemmerslager, Defence Staff, Ministry of Defence
- Ms. M.B. Bos, Third Secretary, Royal Netherlands Embassy, Canada

#### Delegation Secretary:

- Ms. M.B. Bos

#### Other Members of the Delegation

- Colonel Jan R. Zijlstra, Defence Attaché, Royal Netherlands Embassy, Canada
- Ms. Jacqueline Talmon, Member of Administrative Staff, Royal Netherlands Embassy, Canada

## Norway

### Senior Officials' Session - February 14-28, 1990

#### Head of Delegation:

- Mr. Arnt Rindal, Assistant Director General of Political Affairs

#### Delegation:

- His Excellency Jan E. Nyheim, Ambassador of Norway to Canada
- Mr. Kim Traavik, Director, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Lieutenant-Colonel Arne A. Eikhovd, Headquarters Defence Command Norway
- Lieutenant-Colonel Jon Reidar Holte, Defence Attaché, Embassy of Norway, Canada

#### Delegation Secretary:

- Mr. Vegard Ellefsen, Counsellor, Embassy of Norway, Canada

#### Other Members of the Delegation

- His Excellency Jan E. Nyheim, Ambassador of Norway to Canada
- Mr. Vegard Ellefsen, Counsellor, Embassy of Norway, Canada
- Ms. Anne L. Aas, Secretary, Embassy of Norway, Canada



Poland

**Senior Officials' Session - February 14-28, 1990**

**Head of Delegation:**

- His Excellency Stanislaw Przygodzki, Ambassador, Deputy Director of the Research and Programming Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

**Delegation:**

- His Excellency Alojzy Bartoszek, Ambassador of Poland to Canada
- Mr. Boguslaw Szklarczyk, First Secretary, Embassy of Poland, Canada
- Mr. Tadeusz Kurek, Chief Inspector for Air Traffic Control of Poland
- Lieutenant Colonel Waldemar Dziegielewski, Military, Naval and Air Attaché, Embassy of Poland, Canada

**Delegation Secretary:**

- Mr. Jacek Niedzielski

## Portugal

Senior Officials' Session - February 14-28, 1990

Head of Delegation:

- Mr. Francisco Henriques da Silva, Counsellor, Embassy of Portugal, Canada

Delegation:

- Mr. António Inocêncio Pereira, First Secretary, Embassy of Portugal, Canada
- Colonel Oliveira Simões, Military Adviser at Portuguese Delegation to NATO, Brussels
- Lieutenant-Colonel José Fragoso, Ministry of National Defence

Delegation Secretary:

- Mr. António Inocêncio Pereira

Romania

Senior Officials' Session - February 14-28, 1990

Head of Delegation:

- Mr. Gheorghe Tinca, Minister-Counsellor

Delegation:

- Mr. Ioan-Sebastien Anastasescu, Counsellor

- Colonel Arcadie Sasu, Expert

- Mrs. Paraschiva Badescu, Second Secretary

Delegation Secretary:

-



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Spain

Senior Officials' Session - February 14-28, 1990

Head of Delegation:

- His Excellency Antonio de Oyarzábal Marchesi, Ambassador, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Delegation:

- His Excellency Antonio J. Fournier, Ambassador of Spain to Canada
- Mr. Arturo Perez Martínez, Minister Counsellor, Embassy of Spain, Canada
- Mr. Julian Sevilla Suarez, Defence Attaché, Embassy of Spain, Canada
- Mr. José Matres Manso, Counsellor, Embassy of Spain, Canada
- Mrs. Cecilia Yuste Rojas, Director of Verification, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Lieutenant Colonel Julio Lopez Guarch Muro, Artillery, Ministry of Defence
- Lieutenant Colonel Ricardo Albert Puche, Air Forces, Ministry of Defence
- Major Ignacio Azqueta Ortiz, Air Forces, Ministry of Defence
- Major Fabian Sanchez, Military, Ministry of Defence

Delegation Secretary:

- Mr. José Matres Manso, Counsellor, Embassy of Spain, Canada

## Turkey

**Senior Officials' Session - February 14-28, 1990**

**Head of Delegation:**

- His Excellency Ali Tuygan, Ambassador of Turkey to Canada

**Delegation:**

- Mr. Ömür Orhun, Director General, Department of International Security Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Major General Oktay Karasoy, Chief, Plans and Policy Division of Air Force Command
- Mr. Sadi Çalışlar, Assistant Director General for International Security Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Brigadier General Kirisoglu, Representative of Turkish General Staff
- Mr. Huseyin Pazarci, Chief Legal Adviser of the Minister of Foreign Affairs
- Mr. Unal Marasli, Director General for Disarmament
- Mr. Tuluy Tanç, Counsellor, Embassy of Turkey, Canada
- Colonel Hasan Aksay, Military, Naval & Air Attaché Embassy of Turkey, Canada
- Colonel Kerim Özkeçecigil, Project Officer, Air Operations Section, Operations Department, Turkish Staff
- Major Kadri Deliorman, Project Officer, Disarmament and Arms Control Special Task Group, Plans and Policy Department, Turkish Staff

**Delegation Secretary:**

- Mr. Tuluy Tanç

**Other Members of the Delegation**

- Mr. Yalçın Erensoy, Counsellor, Embassy of Turkey, Canada
- Mr. Tuncay Senlen, Attaché (Administration), Embassy of Turkey, Canada
- Mr. Metin Bayulken, Secretary, Embassy of Turkey, Canada

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Senior Officials' Session - February 14-28, 1990

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- Mr. A.Y. Mazhosov

United States of America

**Senior Officials' Session - February 14-28, 1990**

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**Deputy Head of Delegation:**

- Mr. Mark Ramee, Deputy to the Ambassador

**Delegation:**

- Mr. Jeremy Curtin, Executive Secretary and Public Affairs Adviser, Office of the Under Secretary of State
- Mr. Peter Schoettle, Representative of the Department of State
- Colonel Thomas Speelman, U.S. Air Force, Representative of the Joint Chiefs of Staff
- Lieutenant Commander Frederick Shaheen, U.S. Navy, Special Representative of the Secretary of Defense
- Ms. Linda Tanzini, Representative of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency
- Mr. Charles Reavis, Representative of the Federal Aviation Administration
- Lieutenant Colonel Wesley Sullivan, Adviser, U.S. Air Force, Department of Defense
- Colonel James P. Kress, U.S. Army, Adviser, Department of Defense
- Mr. Sherwood McGinnis, Adviser, Department of State
- Mr. Sean Murphy, Legal Adviser, Department of State
- Mr. Joseph Pilat, Adviser, Department of Defense
- Mr. James F. Purdon, Adviser, Department of State
- Major Kevin Sheehan, Adviser, Department of State
- Mr. Jonathan Tucker, Adviser, Department of State
- Mr. David Webster, Senior Legal Adviser, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

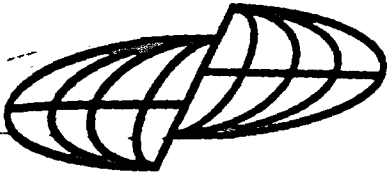
**Delegation Secretary:**

- Mr. Jeremy Curtin

**Other Members of the Delegation**

- Ms. Coreen Ricciardi, Secretary to the Head of Delegation, Department of State





DOCUMENT: ICO-CS-008

OPEN  
SKIES

**Open Skies Conference**

CIELS  
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SPEECH BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH AFFAIRS  
RT. HONOURABLE DOUGLAS HURD, CBE MP

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**United Kingdom**

FEBRUARY 12TH, 1990





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SPEECH BY THE FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY,  
RT. HON. DOUGLAS HURD, CBE, MP, AT THE OPEN SKIES CONFERENCE,  
12 FEBRUARY 1990.

May I say a warm word of thanks to the Canadian Government for their initiative in calling this meeting and for their hospitality. I know that talk of global warming can only be a relative thing in the middle of an Ottawa winter, but there is no doubt that this meeting represents a global warming of a different and wholly welcome kind.

President Eisenhower invented the idea of Open Skies 35 years ago during the Cold War. Then it seemed bold, imaginative and unrealisable. Today it is imaginative, desirable and about to happen.

An Open Skies agreement will mean saying to each other: you do not have to believe it when we say our military dispositions are entirely defensive - come and look for yourselves. We have nothing to hide.

There are technical problems to be resolved. We shall, for example, need to ensure that the quota system gives each country the chance to play an active part; that the system is compatible with the one we will apply in CFLE, and that it can be extended to other European countries who also wish to take part. But the will to reach agreement is there.

Open Skies is one aspect of a scene which has been transformed since the proposal was put forward by President Bush last May.

1989 was a year of revolutions - new faces, in each country, new voices, new constitutions, but a common theme. For years at Helsinki we worked to establish, with great difficulty, a charter of basic human rights for Europe. At the time it was an ambition which was worth stating but seemed far from reality. Now reality has arrived. The people of Eastern Europe demanded of their governments only the implementation of the principles which those governments had already agreed at Helsinki. The one country of Eastern Europe where change could only be brought about with bloodshed was the one country which had not signed the Final Document of the Helsinki process last year: the one government which was not prepared to concede even the principle of basic human rights to its citizens.

Now, as was inevitable, we enter a period of change so rapid that it brings with it fears of instability. But there are several reasons for optimism.



The first is that the East Europeans have seized their opportunity with courage and moderation. As Vaclav Havel said in his first speech as President of Czechoslovakia, he and others have made politics the art of achieving the impossible.

The second lies in the enormous and welcome changes under President Gorbachev's leadership in the Soviet Union. It is a tribute to him - and to our colleague Eduard Shevardnadze - that they saw clearly the need for radical economic and political change. They have led a revolution from the top and have encouraged, rather than blocked, reform within Eastern Europe.

The third is the steady and positive response of the West. There has been rejoicing, but no crude triumphalism. We want to help forward the process of reform. We have no desire to exploit, for our own advantage, the tensions which go with rapid change.

Political change is taking place in a framework of far-reaching but orderly and negotiated disarmament. The first step to stability in Europe is to reduce the most threatening categories of military equipment in Europe. An agreement on conventional forces in Europe will do this dramatically. It will do more: it will regulate where equipment may be deployed and (through the important 30% sufficiency rule) who may deploy it. The agreement will also establish the climate and the basis for further negotiations.

I see two main areas where we should be able to make useful progress at Ottawa:

- first, we are well on the way to agreement on the definition of ground force equipment, and on the complex regime of zones and storage. We should confirm that we all accept the ideas which emerged last week in Vienna, and instruct our negotiators to finalise agreement as soon as possible.

- second, on that basis, we can set the framework for solving the difficult issues of aircraft, helicopters and personnel. Political choices will have to be made. The West has accepted the Eastern proposal that aircraft should be covered in the agreement. I hope that our Eastern partners will be prepared to accept the logic of their own position - that all land-based combat aircraft should be included. These are the aircraft which could pose a threat to the other side. If this point of principle is agreed, it should be possible to meet Eastern concerns about basic trainers and the separate status of certain air defence forces.

Without pretending that agreement is yet in the bag, we should start to think about the future of conventional arms control beyond the agreement we hope to reach this year.

We hear much talk of a peace dividend, not always well defined. There is the dividend which flows from successful disarmament - and by successful, I mean disarmament achieved by negotiation after orderly thought between neighbours and allies about the real needs of their security. No-one wants to spend more on armaments than the minimum needed for that security, and as these changes establish themselves and the military threat diminishes, there will be savings to be harvested, beginning with the CFE agreement later this year. But even more important is the dividend which comes from greater security based on growing trust between states.

Suspensions can be reduced. Governments which have scrapped and snapped at each other for decades can now work together against, for example, pollution, drug trafficking, and terrorism. We need to concert our work so that we earn both kinds of peace dividend.

I believe that we should launch immediately after the CSCE Summit later this year continuing consultations among all the countries concerned, with a view to new negotiations on an agreed basis as soon as possible. We should focus on both types of dividend - on the political, as well as the military, goals of arms control. Those negotiations should be closely supervised at the political level and involve participation by Ministers, where necessary.

I mention the CSCE framework because these negotiations may well not be bloc-to-bloc as so often in the past. The Warsaw Pact is changing beyond recognition. It will be for the individual member countries to decide on the future of the Warsaw Pact and on troop strengths and dispositions on their territory.

NATO too is changing. The political side of its work will continue to build up. But there are certain constants which are vital to the stability of Europe as a whole. These include the presence of significant stationed forces - including US, Canadian and British - on the continent of Europe; an integrated NATO command; and a sensible mix of nuclear and conventional forces. They also include continued membership of NATO by a united Germany - and we of course support what has been said about this by the Government of the Federal Republic. The members of NATO are very conscious that the security concerns of others are also affected. We share the wish to respect those concerns.

While defence and disarmament arrangements are the core of stability and confidence in Europe, they are only a part of the broader economic and political picture. The CSCE has always been about strengthening openness and trust. Its political work will be more important in the new Europe. We favour a Summit, carefully prepared, at which the CFE agreement would be signed and a number of confidence-building measures agreed.

It will be for the CSCE Summit to set work in hand which will help make freedom, democracy and the rule of law secure and permanent in Europe through the CSCE framework. We should have more economic cooperation as markets open up. We have already made practical proposals. With the United States we launched last summer a proposal on free elections. We have put forward a proposal on respect for the rule of law. The forthcoming meeting in Copenhagen of the Conference on the Human Dimension, and the Summit, are opportunities to secure agreement to our ideas.

Until now, the CSCE has been a mechanism for trying to build common ground and agreed standards between conflicting systems. I hope CSCE can become one means of entrenching democracy and free institutions throughout a Europe secure, stable and free of confrontation.

I believe that we might consider a role of conciliation for CSCE. As the confrontation between East and West recedes, we see and upsurge of nationalist feeling in its place. It is as if the Cold War had anaesthetised some of the ancient emotions of European states. Nationalism can be a great creative force for pride and achievement. It can also create the kind of bitterness and jealousy which virtually destroyed Europe in the First World War. The success of the European Community has, I believe, solved that problem in part of Europe. No-one now argues about Alsace-Lorraine or Schleswig-Holstein. We may perhaps need a means of trying to ensure that any future disputes and difficulties elsewhere can be identified and conciliated before they get out of hand. It might be one of the aims of the new process alongside the normal procedures of the United Nations.

The Community offers an example of how countries can work together in a common legal framework, with convergent economic policies and a shared political dialogue. The Community does not offer itself on a take it or leave it basis to the countries of Eastern Europe. They are not ready, either politically or economically, for full membership. That day may come. What the Community now offers does not foreclose the possibility of eventual membership. We offer enthusiastically the kind of help and association which the countries of Eastern Europe need now. The relationship between them and the Community will develop as their democracy becomes entrenched and as they establish free market economies.

The Canadian Government were prescient in calling this meeting. It could not be more timely. It forms part of a fairly complex jigsaw of arrangements. Although fitting the pieces together may be hard, the pieces are all there. This meeting may be looked back on as the first of a new era in which confrontation is replaced by cooperation and in which together we manage the problems of peace and prosperity.



Document : ICO-CS-011

(REVISED)

**Open Skies Conference**

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HIMMEL

BASIC ELEMENTS PAPER ON

OPEN SKIES

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**Warsaw Treaty**

CIELOS  
ABIERTOS

FEBRUARY 12TH, 1990



## BASIC PROVISIONS OF THE OPEN SKIES AGREEMENT

The member states of the Warsaw Treaty attach great importance of principle to the transition from individual confidence building measures, openness and glasnost in international affairs in general - and in the military sphere in particular - to a broad-scale policy that would become a component of a comprehensive system of international security, a vital factor in the real strengthening of confidence and the enhancing of predictability of activities of states and one of the components in the progress towards disarmament. Proceeding from this fundamental position, the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty are in agreement with the "Open Skies" concept put forward by US President George Bush on May 12, 1989, and are of the opinion that its implementation can become a real contribution to strengthening confidence between countries. They also hold that such openness cannot be selective or limited - it must be operative everywhere. For this reason, the establishment of an Open Skies regime could become part of a global system of strengthening confidence and of reducing the military threat and the risk of war - a system that would embrace not only the skies but also the land, the seas and oceans as well as space. An agreement of this kind will be the first step in the context of a broader solution to the problems of the transparence of military activities in other spheres.

### II. Principles

The "Open Skies" regime should conform to the following principles:

- observation flights should be conducted on the basis of reciprocity and equality by combat unarmed aircraft;



- the regime parameters should ensure equal rights of the parties to the information;
- the regime should not be used to the detriment of the security of either party;
- the regime will be subject to certain agreed restrictions, but such restrictions should be minimal.

### III. Aims

The main aims of the "Open Skies" regime could be:

- strengthening confidence between the participating states;
- reducing the military danger;
- ensuring the predictability of the military activities of the participating states;
- contributing to the process of arms limitation and disarmament and verifying compliance with the obligations undertaken in this area.

### IV. Participants and Territorial Scope

1. Initially the "Open Skies" regime could involve the Warsaw Treaty and NATO member states. Other states may also adhere to it.

2. The "Open Skies" regime shall encompass the territory of all the participating states, including the island territories belonging to them. Given the occurrence of military activities beyond the national territories, those participating countries with military bases abroad would enter into negotiations, as far as possible while the agreement is being worked out, with the aim of deciding the issue of covering by the regime their military bases in third countries not participating in the regime, with the agreement of those countries.

#### V. Flight Quotas

1. Provision will be made for approximately the same number of flights between the countries of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, the USSR and the USA. Flights will be allocated by agreement within an alliance. At the same time active and passive quotas would be established.

2. Observation of the territory of several member states of one alliance would be allowed in the course of one flight, with the agreement of these states.

3. No more than one observation flight will be carried out at a time over the territory of each participating state.

#### VI. Aircraft

The best solution from the point of view of the "Open Skies" regime would be to create an agreed composition fleet of observation aircraft, as will be indicated in an appropriate appendix to the



agreement. Observation aircraft could also use mixed flight crews and mixed teams of observers. The representatives of the observed country would be able to observe the activity of the members of the flight crews and of the observation teams. Where agreed, the aircraft forming part of the fleet of aircraft of an agreed composition could be based on the territory of any states party to the regime.

### VII. Observation Equipment

1. The aircraft will be outfitted with observation equipment. The best solution would be to equip the aircraft with either uniform equipment or with observation equipment agreed upon on the basis of categories and technical characteristics, as set out in an appropriate appendix to the agreement. The observation equipment to be used will be available to all participants in the agreement.

2. The equipment installed on the aircraft would not include equipment for the transmission of observation data by radio channels.

3. The observation equipment would only be allowed to operate when the aircraft is in the observed area.

### VII. Inspection of Aircraft

Before an observation flight, a joint inspection of the aircraft might be carried out with the aim of verifying its flight readiness and in order to ascertain that the only equipment present on board is that agreed for purposes of the regime.

## **IX. Flight Procedures**

1. Observation flights will be carried out in strict accordance with a flight plan to be approved by the observed country and taking into account the safety requirements and flight systems in force in that country.
2. In the case of flights over areas not covered by radar systems the observation aircraft will be monitored by the air traffic control services via radio contact.
3. Provisions would be made to prohibit unsanctioned alterations in the flight plan of observation flights and to prohibit repeated flights over one and the same point in the observed area.
4. Notification of an observation flight would be furnished at least twenty-four hours before the aircraft departs for the country to be overflown.

## **X. Results from the Overflights**

1. The results of the observations would be processed on the ground at a fixed facility by mixed groups of specialists using processing equipment, the composition of which would be agreed upon.
2. The information on the results of the overflights must be accessible to all participating states on an equal basis.

### **XI. Limitations to Be Set on the Regime**

The question of the possible closure to overflights by observation aircraft of given areas, assuming timely notification regarding such areas including those in use for exercises hazardous to overflights, spacecraft launching sites, test flight corridors, etc., would be the subject of discussions. A special regime would be established with respect to such facilities as nuclear power stations, large chemical plants and certain other facilities. The special regime in such cases would mean alternation of the observation plan in order to ensure the safety of the aircraft and the facilities mentioned.

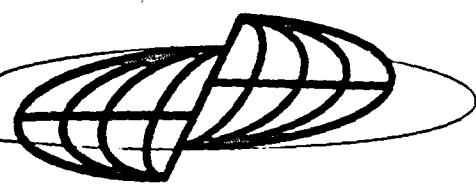
### **XII. Type of Agreement**

The "Open Skies" regime would be established through a multilateral agreement concluded by the parties thereto.

### **XIII. The Consultative Body and Further Steps Following the Conference**

To promote the objectives and the implementation of the "Open Skies" regime, the participating states will establish a body which will concern itself with questions related to observance of the provisions of the agreement, clarification of ambiguous situations, settlement of disputes and adoption of measures essential to the enhancement of the efficacy of the regime. The body will also deal with matters concerned with further steps to be taken towards the working out of measures dealing with openness of military activities following conclusion of the "Open Skies" agreement as well as with questions of the coordination of this agreement with other international agreements in the arms limitation and disarmament.





Document : ICO-CS-014

**Open Skies Conference**

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NATO BASIC ELEMENTS PAPER  
ON OPEN SKIES

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**NATO**

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FEBRUARY 12TH, 1990



## OPEN SKIES: BASIC ELEMENTS

### I. Introduction

1. On 12th May 1989, President Bush proposed the creation of a so-called "Open Skies" regime, in which the participants would voluntarily open their airspace on a reciprocal basis, permitting the overflight of their territory in order to strengthen confidence and transparency with respect to their military activities.

This proposal expanded on a concept that had already been proposed during the 1950s but had failed to reach fruition because of the unfavourable international political climate prevailing at the time.

Today, this new initiative has been made in a very different context as openness becomes a central theme of East-West relations and the past few years have been marked by important advances in the areas of confidence-building and arms control.

2. The provisions for notification and observation of military activities specified in the Helsinki Final Act were strengthened and made obligatory by the Stockholm Document concluded by the CDE in 1986.

With respect to arms control, in 1987, the INF Treaty, apart from its immediate goals, represented a very important precedent because of the extent of its verification provisions.

All this leads one to expect today that even more spectacular advances will be achieved in the near future. In particular, a two-pronged effort is under way in Vienna: on the one hand, to deepen the measures for confidence-building and transparency among the 35 countries of the CSCE, and on the other, to reach an unprecedented agreement between the countries of the Atlantic Alliance and the Warsaw Treaty Organization on the elimination of large numbers of conventional arms.

Furthermore, one awaits important developments in other sectors of disarmament such as chemical weapons and the Soviet-American strategic arms negotiations.

3. All of these agreements will naturally require their own verification regimes, often of a highly intrusive nature. Moreover, the specific provisions of

each verification treaty will be supplemented by the habitual means by which countries verify compliance with agreements (national technical means).

It seems useful, however, particularly in the prevailing context of improved East-West relations, to reflect on other ways of creating a broadly favourable context for confidence-building and disarmament efforts.

In this context, the Open Skies concept has a very special value. The willingness of a country to be overflown is, in itself, a highly significant political act in that it demonstrates its availability to openness; aerial inspection also represents a particularly effective means of verification, along with the general transparency in military activities discussed above.

This double characteristic of an Open Skies regime would make it a valuable complement to current East-West endeavours, mainly in the context of the Vienna negotiations but also in relation to the other disarmament efforts (START, chemical weapons).

It would seem desirable to focus now on the European region, while also including the entire territories of the Soviet Union, the United States, and Canada. Accordingly, we will be ready to consider at an appropriate time the wish of any other European country to participate in the Open Skies regime. This element could be complementary to their efforts at confidence-building and conventional arms control and would conform to the objectives of those negotiations.

4. To this end, the Open Skies Regime should be based on the following guidelines:

- The commitment of the parties to greater transparency through aerial overflights of their entire national territory, in principle without other limitations than those imposed by flight safety or rules of international law.
- The possibility for the participants to carry out such observation flights on a national basis or jointly with their allies.
- The commitment of all parties to conduct and to receive such observation flights on the basis of national quotas.

- The establishment of agreed procedures designed to ensure both transparency and flight safety.
- The possibility for the parties to employ the result of such overflights to improve openness and transparency of military activities as well as ensuring compliance with current or future arms control measures.

## II. Purpose

The basic purpose of Open Skies is to encourage reciprocal openness on the part of the participating states and to allow the observation of military activities and installations on their territories, thus enhancing confidence and security. Open Skies can serve these ends as a complement both to national technical means of data collection and to information exchange and verification arrangements established by current and future arms control agreements.

## III. Participation and Scope

Participation in Open Skies is initially open to all members of the Atlantic Alliance and the Warsaw Treaty Organization. All territories of the participants in North America and Asia, as well as in Europe, will be included.

## IV. Quotas

1. Open Skies "accounting" will be based on quotas which limit the number of overflights. The quotas will be derived from the geographic size of the participating countries. The duration of flights can also be limited in relation to geographic size. For larger countries, the quota should permit several flights a month over their territory. All of the parties will be entitled to participate in such observation flights on a national basis, either individually or jointly in co-operation with their allies.

2. Effective implementation of a quota system requires agreement that a country will not undertake flights over the territory of any other country belonging to the same alliance.

3. Quota totals for participating states should be established in such a manner that there is a rough correspondence between totals for NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization and, within that total, for the USSR and the North American members of NATO.

4. Every participant, regardless of size, would be obligated to accept a quota of at least one overflight per quarter.

5. Smaller nations, that is, those subject to the minimum quota, may group themselves into one unit for the purposes of hosting Open Skies overflights and jointly accept the quota that would apply to the total land mass of the larger unit.

V. Aircraft

The country or countries conducting an observation flight would use unarmed, fixed-wing civilian or military aircraft capable of carrying host country observers.

VI. Sensors

A wide variety of sensors would be allowed, with one significant limitation - devices used for the collection and recording of signals intelligence would be prohibited. A list of prohibited categories and types of sensors will be agreed among the participating states which will be updated every year.

VII. Technical Co-operation among Allies

Multilateral or bilateral arrangements concerning the sharing of aircraft or sensors, as well as the conduct of joint overflights, will be possible among members of the same alliance.

VIII. Mission Operation

1. Aircraft will begin observation flights from agreed, pre-designated points of entry and terminate at pre-designated points of exit; such entry and exit points for each participating state will be designated by that state and listed in an annex to the agreement.

2. The host country will make available the kind of support equipment, servicing and facilities normally provided to commercial air carriers. Provision will be made for refuelling stops during the overflight.

3. An observing state will provide 16 hours notification of arrival at a point of entry. However, if the point of entry is on a coast or at a border and no territory of the receiving state will be overflown prior to arrival at the point of entry, this pre-arrival period could be abbreviated.





4. The crew of the observation aircraft shall file a flight plan within six hours of its arrival at the point of entry.

5. After arrival and the filing of a flight plan, a 24 hour pre-flight period will begin. This period is to allow time to determine that there are no flight safety problems associated with the planned flight route and to provide necessary servicing for the aircraft. During this pre-flight period the aircraft will also be subject to intrusive but non-destructive inspection for prohibited sensors and recorders.

6. Prior to the flight, host-country monitors will be able to board the observation aircraft. During the flight they would ensure that the aircraft is operated in accordance with the flight plan and would monitor operation of the sensors. There would be no restrictions on the movement of the monitors within the aircraft during flight.

7. The flight will be from the agreed point of entry to an agreed point of exit, where the host country observers would depart the aircraft. The points of entry and exit could be the same. Loitering over a single location will not be permitted. Aircraft will not be limited to commercial air corridors. Observation aircraft may in principle only be prohibited from flying through airspace that is publicly announced as closed to other aircraft for valid air safety reasons. Such reasons would include specific hazards posing extreme danger to the aircraft and its occupants. Each country will make arrangements to ensure that public announcements of such hazardous airspace are widely and promptly disseminated; each country will produce for an annex to the agreement a list of where these public announcements can be found. The minimum altitudes for such flights may vary depending upon air safety considerations. The extent of ground control over aircraft will be determined in advance by agreement among the parties on compatible rules such as those recognized by ICAO. In the application of these considerations and procedures, the presumption shall be on behalf of encouraging the greatest degree of openness consistent with air safety.

8. The operation of the Open Skies regime will be without prejudice to states not participating in it.



IX. Mission Results

The members of the same alliance will determine among themselves how information acquired through Open Skies is to be shared. Each party may decide how it wishes to use this information.

X. Transits

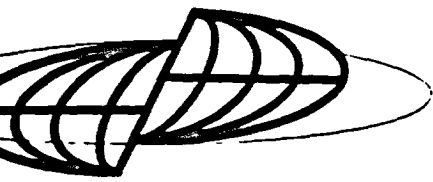
A transit flight over a participating state on the way to the participating state over which an observation flight is to be conducted shall not be counted against the quota of the transitted state, provided the transit flight is conducted exclusively within civilian flight corridors.

XI. Type of Agreement

The Open Skies regime will be established through a multilateral treaty among the parties.

XII. Open Skies Consultative Body

To promote the objectives and implementation of the Open Skies regime, the participating states will establish a body to resolve questions of compliance with the terms of the treaty and to agree upon such measures as may be necessary to improve the effectiveness of the regime.



Document: ICO-CS-020

**Open Skies Conference**

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OPEN SKIES AND THE NEW  
ERA IN SECURITY

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НЕБО

**United States**

CIELOS  
ABIERTOS

FEBRUARY 12TH, 1990



I want to begin by expressing my gratitude to our Canadian hosts. Mr. Prime Minister, you, your Secretary for External Affairs Joe Clark and others in the Canadian delegation championed the Open Skies concept from the beginning. This important initiative owes much to your long and hard work, and the President and I are very appreciative.

Two months ago, I took a good look through a newly chipped hole in the Berlin Wall. I saw a great city striving to be reborn and beyond it whole nations seeking to reclaim their freedom and independence. This past week, I returned to Central and Eastern Europe -- to see the walls falling across the continent, from Prague in the West to Bucharest in the East. Freedom is on the march, drawing strength from the resilience of the human spirit. Yet, the hard task of moving from revolution to democracy still lies ahead, and we should remain vigilant and active in our support.

The revolutions of 1989 are both exhilarating and sobering. Exhilarating, because the walls that have so long divided East from West have now been breached and the prospect of a new era of peace and cooperation stretches before us. Sobering, because after the fall of totalitarianism's illegitimacies, we face the great challenge of building an enduring peace in a Europe both whole and free. Our challenge is to construct a new and enduring European security system.

As I stressed in Prague last week, new security arrangements -- the military aspect of the equation -- must proceed apace with and complement the political and economic revolutions in Central and Eastern Europe. It is imperative that we move quickly to finalize agreements that codify stabilizing military changes. In this way, we can lock-in strategic changes and guarantee that our basic security principles are bound into practice through effectively verifiable agreements. We want to make this new day of freedom as difficult as possible to reverse.

In our view, new European security arrangements must promote two fundamental principles of strategy and arms control: stability and predictability.

Stability requires military forces and policies such that no state can gain by striking first. A stable security system requires a balance in capabilities so as to prevent premeditated, blitzkrieg-style attacks. Its focus is military capability.

Predictability requires sufficient openness, transparency, and even candor so as to prevent misperception, miscalculation, and military myopia. We need to open military activities to outside scrutiny, thereby preventing a slide into inadvertent or accidental war during the fog that often enshrouds a crisis. Here the focus shifts to the point where military capabilities intersect with political intentions. Predictability and openness can also restrain the escalating spirals of distrust, fueled by secrecy, that are the invariable precursors of crisis itself.



We need to promote both strategic stability and predictability in the New Europe. Neither alone is sufficient. By focusing on both, we can build a security system with mutually-reinforcing components. In this new order, confidence can replace fear, trust can overcome distrust, and knowledge can transform ignorance.

The Western approach to the negotiations on conventional forces in Europe (CFE), augmented recently by President Bush's proposals on manpower and aircraft, is designed to promote stability. In combination with new NATO proposals on tanks, armored personnel carriers, and helicopters, the President's manpower and aircraft initiatives move us closer to resolving many of the key remaining differences in the CFE negotiations.

Last week, President Gorbachev moved toward our position on manpower, abandoning overall ceilings on all forces. But his response in equating U.S. and Soviet forces in Europe does not acknowledge that U.S. forces outside this limit would be an ocean away, whereas large numbers of Soviet troops would remain in the European part of the USSR.

NATO also has made a new proposal on aircraft that accepts a number of points in the Pact position. So far, however, the Soviet Union has not responded to our efforts to close this issue. Indeed, its position sets a ceiling that would require the West to add about 2,000 new NATO aircraft in order to reach equality, hardly a step toward arms reduction. We must redouble our efforts on this subject. Disagreements over aircraft limits must not prevent us from signing a CFE agreement this year.

To promote predictability, President Bush last spring judged that the time was ripe to revive and extend the Open Skies idea -- a concept first broached by President Eisenhower but rejected by the Soviet Union.

While the CFE negotiations are the primary means to codify strategic stability in the New Europe, Open Skies can and should become a key component of our efforts to increase predictability while also supporting stability. Complementing confidence building measures that we are considering as part of the CSCE process, Open Skies can make a decisive contribution in creating an open and transparent military and political environment in Europe.

Consider what Open Skies could accomplish. Under the Western approach, states will be able to see more clearly -- literally -- the actions and even intent of others, whatever the time of the day, whatever the weather. A state will not be able to practice and exercise for offensive, aggressive attacks with the help of a traditional ally -- a closed society. Neighbors

will be able to fly over troop movements, lowering the possibility of a surprise attack. And by improving assessments of a potential adversary's capabilities and likely intentions, Open Skies can reduce miscalculations and misperceptions -- and in doing so, alleviate those fears that are oftentimes the source of escalating tension.

Today, there is general recognition of what we have long believed, that security is indivisible: All of us must feel and be secure for all others to be secure. President Gorbachev has also stressed the reciprocal nature of international security, rejecting the Stalinist concept that Soviet security depends upon everyone else's insecurity. I think it is fair to say that we all believe that increased openness and transparency in military matters provide the most direct path to greater predictability and reduced risk of inadvertent war.

Make no mistake about the implications of what we consider here today. Open Skies is potentially the most ambitious measure to build confidence ever undertaken. It has revolutionary ramifications. Soviet and East European surveillance aircraft would become a common sight in the skies over Central and Western Europe and North America. American and West European aircraft would be an equally common sight in the skies over Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. An Open Skies regime would, therefore, provide a tangible and powerful symbol of the emerging East-West cooperation that our publics could readily see and understand.

Open Skies is also an integral part of our vision of a new Europe, a Europe whole and free and belonging to a larger commonwealth of free nations. The new European security system that complements a new age of political and economic freedom will be based on the principles of national sovereignty and voluntary cooperation. It will operate within the framework of the 35-nation Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization will also play an important new role in coordinating political initiatives, like Open Skies, as we work with our allies to ensure a stable transition to new security arrangements.

The significance of this initiative is that it is an inherently cooperative measure that both demands and builds trust. National technical means of monitoring are fine, but they are strictly unilateral. A state's decision to open its airspace to another state's surveillance aircraft is a highly significant cooperative political act in and of itself.

Last December, my NATO colleagues and I reached agreement on the "basic elements" of an Open Skies regime. Our paper sets out a number of guidelines underlying the NATO approach to Open Skies. Its essential tenet is the commitment of the parties to permit overflights of their entire national territory, with no limitations other than those imposed by the inevitable need for flight safety and the rules of international law.



The NATO proposal has three essential features: it embodies openness; it is effective; and it is workable. Open Skies is not a mere symbolic gesture. It can be a path, one among many, to a new era in East-West relations.

Real openness -- that means all territory being open to observation, consistent with safety.

Effectiveness -- that means openness even at night, or on cloudy days, and that means the right to use any technology that will do the job, understanding that these devices can be inspected by the country being overflown.

Workability -- that means working out practical arrangements for national overflights. No unwieldy new bureaucracies are needed. If countries want to share resources, that would, of course, be fine. If they want to fly their own unarmed aircraft, planes they have been trained to use, that is also fine. Flexibility is the key.

We have proposed a concept for the future. It is not just a bloc-to-bloc idea. Indeed, we are prepared to expand the regime to all 35 CSCE states once the regime has been established. In ten years, the regime may be finding uses that we cannot even imagine today.

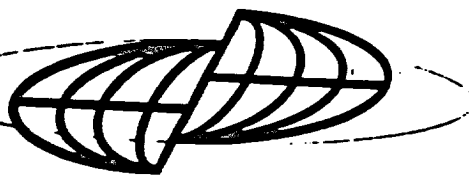
### Conclusion

Open Skies is a test of our willingness to cooperate in building a new and better world for ourselves and our children -- a stable and predictable security environment that allows each nation to pursue its own destiny in peace, without fear of aggression or intimidation, an environment where dangerous capabilities are controlled and fears alleviated.

Together, we must seize this rare opportunity to remodel the political and strategic architecture of the New Europe.

As I said in Prague last week, if 1989 was the year of sweeping away, 1990 must become the year of building anew. As we enter the last decade of the twentieth century, we are already tearing down the walls that have so long divided us. And, as those walls go down, new and enduring security arrangements should go up in their place. Open Skies and CFE can do the job.

Now is the time to put them in place.



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Open Skies Conference

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ABIERTO

FEBRUARY 13TH, 1990



## "OPEN SKIES" COMMUNIQUE

At the invitation of the Government of Canada, the Foreign Ministers and senior representatives of the Governments of Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Spain, Turkey, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and the United States of America met in Ottawa February 12-14, 1990 to begin negotiation of "Open Skies". Also present at the Ministerial Session were observers of other CSCE states.<sup>1</sup>

The Ministers welcomed the accelerating trend toward openness and the reduction of international tensions. In this context, they noted that although an "Open Skies" regime is neither an arms control nor a verification measure per se its successful implementation would encourage reciprocal openness on the part of participating states. It would strengthen confidence among them, reduce the risk of conflict, and enhance the predictability of military activities of the participating states. Finally it would contribute to the process of arms reduction and limitation along with verification measures under arms limitation and reduction agreements and existing observation capabilities. The Ministers noted further that the establishment of an "Open Skies" regime may promote greater openness in the future in other spheres.

Believing that an effective "Open Skies" regime would serve to consolidate improved relations among their countries, the Ministers therefore agreed on the following:

- The "Open Skies" regime will be implemented on a reciprocal and equitable basis which will protect the interests of each participating state, and in accordance with which the participating states will be open to aerial observation. The regime will ensure the maximum possible openness and minimum restrictions for observation flights;

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Those present as observers were Austria, Cyprus, Finland, Ireland, Monaco, Sweden, Switzerland and Yugoslavia.

- . Turkey reserves her position on the status and representation of Cyprus.

- Each participating state will have the right to conduct, and the obligation to receive, observation flights on the basis of annual quotas which will be determined in negotiations so as to provide for equitable coverage;
- The agreement will have provisions concerning the right to conduct observation flights using unarmed aircraft and equipment capable in all circumstances of fulfilling the goals of the regime;
- The participating states will favourably consider the possible participation in the regime of other countries, primarily the European countries.

The Ministers expressed their gratitude to the Government of Canada for organizing this conference and welcomed the invitation of the Government of Hungary to a second part of the conference to conclude the negotiation in Budapest this spring.





Document : ICO-CS-040

**Open Skies Conference**

COMMUNIQUE ON CFE AND CSCE

**Conference**

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FEBRUARY 13TH, 1990



The Foreign Ministers and senior representatives of the Governments of Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Spain, Turkey, the United Kingdom, the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, meeting in Ottawa at the invitation of the Government of Canada, gathered on the margins of the Open Skies Conference on February 13, 1990 to review progress in the Negotiation on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe.

The Ministers welcomed this meeting as an opportunity to review and assess progress in the negotiations and provide impetus to their successful conclusion. They welcomed in particular an agreement reached in Ottawa between the USA and the USSR on the reduction of their stationed forces in Europe.



Convinced that a CFE agreement would strengthen stability and security in Europe through the establishment of a stable and secure balance of conventional armed forces at lower levels, the Ministers agreed that the negotiation in Vienna should proceed as expeditiously as possible. For this purpose, the Ministers also agreed that negotiators in Vienna should be encouraged to develop solutions designed to overcome remaining obstacles, especially in those areas where new elements have been put forward recently:

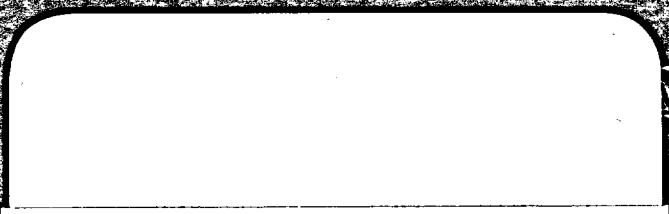
- aircraft
  
- regional limitations, differentiation and storage
  
- helicopters
  
- tanks and armoured combat vehicles.

The Ministers recognized that the essential elements for a CFE treaty are now on the table in Vienna, though much remains to be done, in particular to develop an effective verification regime.

The Ministers expressed their willingness to give simultaneously impetus to the CSBM negotiations. They emphasized their shared commitment to achieving a CFE agreement as soon as possible in 1990, and agreed on the principle of holding a CSCE summit meeting this year. They stressed the need for timely and thorough preparation for such a meeting through appropriate consultation among the 35 participating states.

They affirmed their interest in continuing the conventional arms control process, taking into account future requirements for European stability and security in the light of political developments in Europe.

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