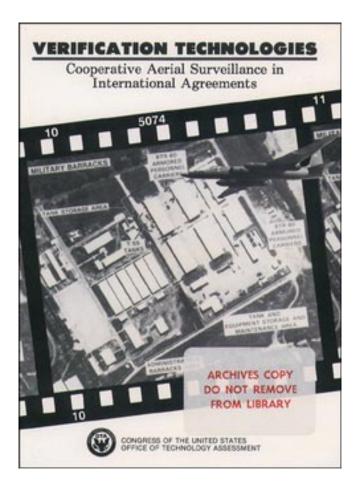
Verification Technologies: Cooperative Aerial Surveillance in International Agreements

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## Foreword

In the changing geopolitical environment of 1989, President George Bush revived and amplified President Dwight D. Eisenhower's 1955 "Open Skies" proposal calling for mutual aerial surveillance of NATO and Warsaw Pact territories. Meanwhile, Conventional Armed Forces in Europe Treaty negotiators were considering aerial inspections as one measure for monitoring arms reductions. Although neither of these applications of cooperative aerial surveillance have yet been agreed to, negotiations continue on both. Recently, nations without access to the kinds of national technical means of verification available to the United States and the Soviet Union have shown interest in reciprocal overflights as a means of building confidence among international neighbors.

This report examines the potential and limitations of cooperative aerial surveillance as a means of supporting the goals of a variety of international agreements. It surveys the types of aircraft and sensors that might be used. It reviews the status of and issues raised by the Open Skies Treaty negotiations as an extended example of an aerial surveillance regime. The report concludes with a quantitative analysis of one possible use of cooperative overflights: the search for potential arms control violations.

In 1989 the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and House Committee on Foreign Affairs asked OTA to undertake an assessment centering on the technologies and techniques of monitoring the prospective START Treaty. In its request, the Committee on Foreign Affairs also called on OTA to address the ". . . newer technologies that can be brought to bear on such cooperative verification measures as reamed on-site inspections, manned perimeter and portal monitoring, and unmanned on-site monitoring. The Committee added that "it would be useful to place these technologies in the broader context of verification technologies and methods." Since aerial surveillance is a potentially significant means of arms control monitoring, this report is one response to the latter request. (Another, *Verification Technologies: Managing Research and Development for Cooperative Arms Control Monitoring Measures*, was published in May 1991.)

The larger assessment has also produced two other, classified, reports: Verification Technologies: Measures for Monitoring Compliance With the START Treaty was delivered in the summer of 1990 and its unclassified summary was published in December 1990; Monitoring Compliance With Limits on Sea-Launched Cruise Missiles was delivered in the summer of 1991, with an unclassified summary scheduled for publication later in the year.

In preparing this report, OTA sought the assistance of several individuals and organizations (see "Acknowledgments"). We very much appreciate their contributions. As with all OTA reports, the content remains the sole responsibility of OTA and does not necessarily represent the views of our advisors or reviewers.

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NOTE: OTA appreciates and is grateful for the valuable assistance and thoughtful critiques provided by the advisory panel members. The panel does not, however, necessarily approve, disapprove, or endorse this report. OTA assumes full responsibility for *the* report and the accuracy of its contents.

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# Acronyms Used in Text

ACV	—Armored Combat Vehicle, cf. AIFV,
	APC, and HACV
AIFV	—Armored Infantry Fighting Vehicle,
	cf. ACV, APC, and HACV
APC	
APC	—Armored Personnel Carrier, cf. AIFV,
	ACV, and HACV
ATTU	—Atlantic Ocean to the Ural Mountains
	(Region)
CCD	-Camouflage, Concealment, and
	Deception
CD	—Conference on Disarmament
CFE	-Conventional Armed Forces in Europe
CSBM	—Confidence- and Security-Building
CODM	Measures
COOF	111cubulob
CSCE	Conference on Security and
	Cooperation in Europe
EMCON	—Emissions Control
GLCM	—Ground-Launched Cruise Missile
HACV	-Heavy Armored Combat Vehicle, cf.
	AIFV, APC, and ACV
ICAO	—International Civil Aviation
leno	Organization
ICDM	—Intercontinental Ballistic Missile
ICBM	
IIRS	—Image Interpretability Rating Scale
INF	—Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces
IRBM	—Intermediate-Range Ballistic Missile
	-

JSTARS	—Joint Surveillance and Tracking
JOTAKO	Reconnaissance System
MAD	•
MEL	—Magnetic Anomaly Detector
	—Mobile-Erector-Launcher, cf. TEL
MRBM	—Medium-Range Ballistic Missile
NATO	-North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NTM	-National Technical Means
OSI	-On-Site Inspection
POE	—Point of Entry (Exit)
RDA	-Restricted Deployment Area
RPV	-Remotely Piloted Vehicle, cf. UAV
RV	—Reentry Vehicle
RVOSI	-Reentry Vehicle On-Site Inspection
SALT	—Strategic Arms Limitations Talks
SAR	—Synthetic Aperture Radar
SIGINT	—Signals Intelligence
SLAR	—Side-Looking Airborne Radar
SNF	-Short-Range Nuclear Forces
START	-Strategic Arms Reductions Talks
TEL	—Transporter-Erector-
	Launcher, cf. MEL
TERCON	A —Terrain Contour Matching
TLE	—Treaty-Limited Equipment, cf. TLI
TLI	—Treaty-Limited Item, cf. TLE
UAV	—Unmanned Aerial Vehicle, cf. RPV
WTO	—Warsaw Treaty Organization