

# **Arms Control and Confidence Building in the Middle East**

## Contributors

**W. Seth Carus** was a senior fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy when he worked on this project. He now works in the Office of the Secretary of Defense.

**Peter D. Constable** formerly headed the Multinational Force and Observers in the Sinai and is now associated with Search for Common Ground.

**Richard E. Darilek** is a senior staff member of the RAND Corporation.

**Charles Flowerree** is the former U.S. ambassador to the Conference on Disarmament.

**Geoffrey Kemp** is a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

**Michael Krepon** is the president of the Henry L. Stimson Center.

**Janne E. Nolan** is a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution.

**Alan Platt**, former senior official with the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, is a Washington-based consultant on international and security affairs.

**Brad Roberts** is the editor of the *Washington Quarterly*.

# Arms Control and Confidence Building in the Middle East

**Alan Platt, *Editor***

**Foreword by Ambassador Samuel W. Lewis**



**UNITED STATES  
INSTITUTE OF PEACE PRESS**

**Washington, D.C.**

The views expressed in this book are those of the authors alone. They do not necessarily reflect views of the United States Institute of Peace.

United States Institute of Peace  
1550 M Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20005

© 1992 by the Endowment of the United States Institute of Peace. All rights reserved.

First published 1992

Printed in the United States of America

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Arms control and confidence building in the Middle East / edited by Alan Platt.

p. cm.

“March 1992.”

ISBN 1-878379-18-6

1. Arms control—Middle East. 2. Middle East—National security.

I. Platt, Alan, 1944—

JX1974.A768835 1992

327.1'74'0956—dc20

92-18784

CIP

# Contents

Foreword	
<i>Samuel W. Lewis</i>	vii
Acknowledgments	ix
Abbreviations	x
Chronology	xi
1. Introduction	
<i>Alan Platt</i>	1
2. Prospects for Confidence- and Security-Building Measures in the Middle East	
<i>Richard E. Darilek and Geoffrey Kemp</i>	9
3. The Role of Aerial Inspections in Confidence Building and Peacemaking	
<i>Michael Krepon and Peter D. Constable</i>	43
4. Arms Control and the Proliferation of Ballistic Missiles	
<i>W. Seth Carus and Janne E. Nolan</i>	65
5. Chemical Weapons Arms Control	
<i>Charles Flowerree and Brad Roberts</i>	93
Notes	123



## Foreword

There are all too many reasons why arms control experts traditionally have focused little attention on the Middle East. Perhaps the most important is that the political terrain has seemed so unpromising. Yet this region remains unstable, afflicted with multiple conflicts that remain unpredictably explosive at best, and a ready market for the inflow of increasingly sophisticated weapon technologies. The 1991 Persian Gulf War and the widespread introduction of ballistic missiles and chemical weapons into the region only underscore this point.

Recognizing that the time was ripe for a new look at an old problem, the Henry L. Stimson Center initiated a project that brought together a number of arms control experts whose work has concentrated primarily on Europe. By refocusing their attention on the Middle East region, the project could draw on lessons learned from the East-West conflict during the Cold War. To situate the analysis within the political realities of the Middle East, the project director, Alan Platt, arranged for each chapter in this volume to be coauthored by a Middle East expert. This book is the result of that unusual cross-fertilization. The project was supported by a grant from the United States Institute of Peace as well as by funding from other sources.

This publication is one product of a much larger effort by the Institute to contribute through research, education, and public information to a more peaceful and durable order in the Middle East. In early spring 1991, the Institute established its Special Middle East Program in Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution to initiate several new project activities that complement the

expanded priority being accorded to Middle Eastern topics within the Institute's ongoing grant, fellowship, and in-house research programs. One initial activity was the convening in early 1991 of an expert study group to debate many of the arms control issues treated in this volume. Most of the authors participated in that group. A short report based on its initial sessions was widely disseminated in May 1991 to policymakers, the Congress, and the public.

This is the first book resulting from an Institute grant to be published by the USIP Press. It provides further evidence of the Institute's continuing effort to inform discussion and debate on how to counter regional and international conflicts in ways that will lead to a more peaceful world.

Samuel W. Lewis, President  
United States Institute of Peace

# Acknowledgments

I am grateful to the United States Institute of Peace for providing the bulk of financial support that has made this volume possible. I also wish to thank the Henry L. Stimson Center (a nonprofit, nonpartisan institution devoted to public policy research), the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the W. Alton Jones Foundation, and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund for their support. Finally, I want to thank in particular Michael Krepon, president of the Stimson Center, who has provided encouragement and wise counsel throughout this project. Of course, the opinions, findings, and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this publication are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Institute or any other organization.

Alan Platt

# Abbreviations

ABM	Anti-Ballistic Missile
ACDA	Arms Control and Disarmament Agency
CBM	Confidence-building measure
CD	Conference on Disarmament
CFE	Conventional Forces in Europe
CPC	Conflict Prevention Center
CSBM	Confidence- and security-building measure
CSCE	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
CWC	Chemical Weapons Convention
FBIS	Foreign Broadcast Information Service
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
INF	Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces
MBFR	Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction
MFO	Multinational Force and Observers
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NPT	Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
NTM	National technical means
OSI	On-site inspection
SALT	Strategic Arms Limitation Talks
START	Strategic Arms Reduction Talks
UNDOF	UN Disengagement Observer Force
UNIFIL	UN Interim Force in Lebanon
UNIIMOG	UN Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group

# Chronology

- 1958      Surprise Attack Conference held in Geneva
- 1962      Cuban Missile Crisis  
            Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee meets
- 1963      Washington and Moscow agree to set up hot line and to  
            ban nuclear testing in the atmosphere
- 1963–67   Yemen Civil War
- 1967      Six Day War
- 1968      NPT signed
- 1968–70   War of Attrition
- 1969–72   SALT I
- 1971      Agreement on Measures to Reduce the Risk of Outbreak  
            of Nuclear War signed
- 1972      ABM Treaty signed  
            Incidents at Sea Agreement signed  
            Biological Weapons Convention signed
- 1973      Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War signed  
            Negotiations begin in Vienna to reduce both NATO and  
            Warsaw Pact conventional force structures in central  
            Europe  
            October War between Egypt and Israel

## xii Chronology

- 1974 Israel and Syria agree to on-site challenge inspections of their forces in the Golan Heights by the United Nations  
Nine Canadians killed when UN aircraft shot down by Syria  
Vladivostok Accords signed
- 1975 UN aerial photographic coverage of the Sinai extended indefinitely  
Helsinki Final Act of the CSCE signed
- 1976 Syria and Israel agree to red-line agreement concerning Lebanon
- 1977 Anwar Sadat visits Jerusalem
- 1979 Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty signed  
SALT II Treaty signed  
Soviet Union invades Afghanistan
- 1980 Iran-Iraq War breaks out
- 1984 Facsimile transmission capability added to U.S.-Soviet hot line
- 1986 U.S.-Soviet INF Treaty signed  
Stockholm Document on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures signed
- 1987 Agreement signed to establish nuclear risk reduction centers in Washington and Moscow  
Missile Technology Control Regime established
- 1988 Iraq admits to using chemical weapons in Iran  
Presumed chemical weapons plant discovered in Rabta, Libya
- 1989 CSBM talks begin in Vienna  
Negotiations on CFE begin  
Gorbachev's UN speech emphasizes East-West arms control  
Canberra Government-Industry Conference against Chemical Weapons

- 1990 CFE treaty produced  
Vienna Document on CSBMs signed  
Charter of Paris agreed to  
Iraq invades Kuwait
- 1991 Persian Gulf War  
Australia Group agrees on list of chemical weapons pre-  
cursors to come under export control  
Bush and Gorbachev propose initiative for elimination  
of short-range nuclear forces  
Big Five arms suppliers meet in Paris and London to dis-  
cuss arms sales policies  
Middle East peace talks begin in Madrid
- 1992 U.S. Senate ratifies CFE treaty  
Open Skies Treaty signed  
Big Five arms suppliers meet in Washington  
START treaty concluded  
Multilateral talks on Middle East regional issues, includ-  
ing arms control, begin

