# **THESE TIMES**

## A nuclear pact looks likely on intermediate weapons

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### By John B. Judis

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HE U.S. AND SOVIET UNION ARE NOW LIKELY to sign an Intermediate Nuclear Force (INF) treaty—perhaps, when President Reagan meets Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachov later this fall. If ratified, the treaty will eliminate Soviet and American intermediate-range nuclear weapons. While these weapons make up only a small portion of the American and Soviet nuclear arsenals, the treaty would nevertheless have a significant impact on both U.S.-Soviet relations and domestic politics.

The treaty would lessen the probability of a nuclear war by removing the 108 Pershing Il missiles the U.S. has deployed in West Germany. Because of their proximity and accuracy, these missiles are capable of hitting Soviet command-and-control installations during a nuclear attack. If the threat of war loomed, the Soviet Union might be tempted to knock them out, while the U.S. would be tempted to launch them before they were destroyed.

The treaty would also establish a new plateau in Soviet-American relations, from which it might be possible to negotiate more wide-ranging agreements that included strategic weapons. And by signing a treaty with the Soviet Union, the Reagan administration would unwittingly undercut the kind of apocalyptical anti-communism that it has championed, a key premise of which was that Communists cannot be trusted at the negotiating table.

**Global-double-zero:** Successive developments this summer have made an agreement between the U.S. and Soviet Union likely. On July 22 Soviet leader Gorbachov accepted the American "global-double-zero" proposal for a total ban on intermediate weapons and for a ban on shorter-range (300-600 miles) as well as longer-range intermediate missiles. The Soviet agreement to a total ban removed an important roadblock.

Until July the Soviet Union had insisted on retaining 100 intermediate-range missiles in Asia. (The U.S. under this arrangement could station 100 missiles in Alaska.) But this meant that the U.S. and the Soviet Union would have to agree on the means of verifying that each side had deployed no more than 100 missiles. To the disquiet of some CIA as well as Soviet officials, the U.S. was proposing extremely intrusive verification measures that included around-the-clock on-site monitoring and surprise visits to missile sites, factories and other sensitive facilities.

The existence of the 100 missiles also meant that each side would be able to maintain the staff, facilities and spare parts to resume quickly higher levels of deployment if they decided to break out of the treaty.

By agreeing to eliminate intermediate missiles altogether, the Soviet Union made verification far simpler and removed fears of a quick breakout. On August 25 the U.S. responded to the Soviet concession with a plan for verification that eliminated round-theclock inspections and limited the number of surprise inspections. On August 26 West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl eliminated the last major obstacle to an agreement. He announced that if the U.S. and Soviet Union signed a treaty, West Germany would scrap the 72 Pershing IA intermediate missiles that it owns, and the U.S. indicated that it would scrap the American-owned nuclear warheads that go on these missiles.

According to Dunbar Lockwood of the Center for Defense Information, three remaining issues must be settled. The U.S. and Soviet Union still have to agree on what facilities to open to on-site inspection. The two sides must also agree on a schedule for dismantling the missiles. (The Soviet Union wants annual percentage reductions, while the U.S. wants the Soviet Union to eliminate first its numerical advantage over the U.S.) And both must agree on whether the West German promise to scrap its Pershing missiles will be included in the treaty. (The U.S. insists that the treaty is bilateral, while the Soviet Union says the missiles really belong to the U.S.)

If both sides want an agreement, these issues can be settled easily. But if either side wants to back out, any of them could furnish them with a pretext to do so.

Amendments and reservations: If a treaty is signed, it still has to be ratified by a two-thirds majority of the Senate, which has not ratified an arms treaty since the 1972 SALT treaty. The principal opposition to this one is expected to come from conservatives rather than liberals. Out of residual loyalty to Reagan and fear of public opinion, the conservatives will not try directly to defeat the treaty but will try to attach "amendments" or "reservations" to it. If these bear directly on the treaty's terms, the Soviet Union will have to accept them for it to take effect.

There are two types of conservative opposition to the treaty: a right-wing opposition and what might be termed conservative geopolitical opposition. The hard right, led by presidential candidate Rep. Jack Kemp (R-NY) and Senators Jesse Helms (R-NC) and Dan Quayle (R-IN), basically oppose any agreement with the Soviet Union. Kemp has called the treaty "a nuclear Munich that could imperil NATO's future."

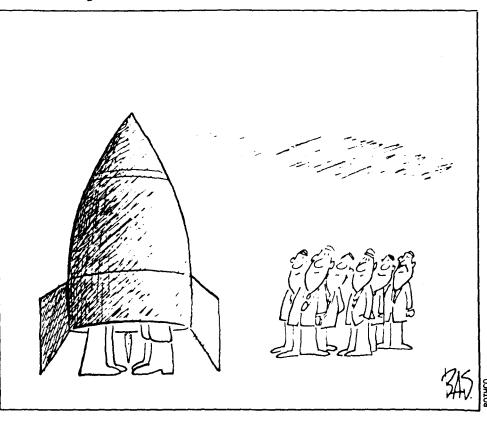
The hard right is focusing on whether the treaty is verifiable. "We don't think it is possible to verify the existence of small missiles," says the Heritage Foundation's Jim Hackett. "We don't think this treaty is verifiable, period."

If the treaty comes to the Senate, Hackett and other conservatives will support an amendment that is being prepared by Quayle's staff. The amendment would accelerate the deployment of tactical ballistic missiles, remove certain kinds of Cruise missiles from the treaty's purview and stipulate that the treaty's means of verification not set a precedent for other arms agreements.

The conservative geopolitical opposition, led by former President Richard Nixon and former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, is more sophisticated. Both have argued that the real purpose of the American deployment of Pershing and Cruise missiles in Western Europe was not to counter the Soviet SS-20s, but rather to preserve the credibility of a West European nuclear response to a conventional Soviet attack. Without American missiles in Europe, West European and Soviet leaders would have to assume American willingness to precipitate a global holocaust in response to a Soviet invasion of Europe.

This argument has history on its side. The threat of SS-20s was largely introduced to convince the public of the need to deploy missiles. The deeper rationalization was to prevent Western Europe from being "decoupled" from American nuclear deterrence.

Nixon and Kissinger, recently retired NATO Commander Bernard Rogers, Ret. Lt. Gen. Brent Scowcroft, Rep. Les Aspin and others have argued that an INF agreement must be supplemented by a NATO commitment to achieving equality in conventional arms with the Warsaw Pact powers, whether through a military buildup or through negotiated reductions. They argue that NATO's conventional forces can then provide a deterrent to Soviet invasion.



Nixon and Kissinger have proposed that the INF agreement include a commitment to negotiating conventional arms reductions. And conservatives in the Senate might try attaching such an amendment to the treaty. Last spring Sen. Sam Nunn (D-GA), chairman of the Armed Services Committee, proposed that the INF treaty include an "escape clause" that would allow the U.S. to abrogate the treaty if the Soviet Union continued to maintain its edge in conventional arms.

**INF and ABM:** Peace movement lobbyists in Washington are in the unfamiliar position of backing a treaty worked out by the Reagan administration. At a May 19 meeting, representatives of SANE/Freeze, Physicians for Social Responsibility and several other groups shocked officials from the White House and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency when they suggested working together to get the treaty ratified.

Enthusiasm for it is widespread. John Isaacs, the legislative director of the Council for a Livable World, says he has no misgiv-

#### Enthusiasm for a pact is widespread. Principal opposition comes from conservatives rather than liberals.

ings about it. "I'll support anything that gets rid of some dangerous weapons. And we can build on it with a new administration in 1989." The slogan adopted by SANE/Freeze toward the treaty is "Don't stop now."

To the surprise and delight of peace lobbyists, however, Nunn has outflanked them on the left. In a September 1 letter to the president Nunn threatened to hold the treaty hostage if the administration did not abandon its "broad" interpretation of the 1972 ABM treaty. According to this interpretation testing of Star Wars systems is permitted under the treaty.

The administration has based its reinterpretation of the ABM treaty not on its actual language nor on public statements of Soviet and American officials but on what the administration claims is contained in its negotiating record, which remains classified. Nunn wrote that if the administration continues to adhere to this mode of interpreting the ABM treaty he will not be able to evaluate the INF treaty without seeing *its* secret negotiating record.

"Since the negotiating record would be the focus of the Senate ratification debate," Nunn wrote, "I also see no alternative to appropriate declassification and public access."

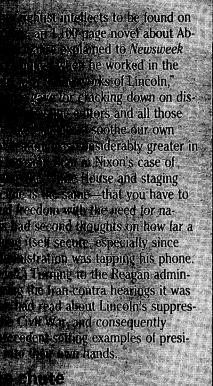
He insinuated that the review of the sixyear record could greatly delay treaty consideration. "The Senate will have to review the negotiating record very carefully, and that will obviously be time-consuming."

Nunn does not really want the administration to make its negotiating record public, but he does want it to withdraw its specious reinterpretation of the ABM treaty. Nunn has done precisely what Gorbachov would have liked to do. Nunn's ploy not only dramatizes the administration's continuing recalcitrance on the larger strategic issues, but it also provides Senate liberals with the means of countering hard-right attempts to cripple the treaty.

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#### **Joel Bleifuss**



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#### Americanization of the Western **European soul**

Vermont journalist Reto Pieth visited his native Switzerland this summer and filed this report.

Western Europe is becoming increasingly Americanized. This transformation is seen nowhere more clearly than in the use of American English in everyday commercial language.

In Switzerland you need not know any of the four national languages in order to understand product names, advertising slogans and business mottoes. Most of these phrases are in English.

When Switzerland's largest department store chain, Migros, launches a new product, it habitually gives it an English name. Asked why his corporation did so, a Migros executive said products with English names simply sold better than products with German or Swiss-German names (the language spoken by two-thirds of the Swiss population). This is also true for Germany and the Benelux countries. Product names are often in English, even when it would be possible to name the new product in the native language. It seems that despite the political disagreements that Western Europeans have with U.S. policies, America-the "Land der unbergrenzten Träume" (land the second se

#### Socialist mayor takes on hospital industry

The nation's only socialist mayor, Burlington, Vermont's Bernard Sanders, is battling the state's largest hospital in a court case that could affect the health-care industry nationwide.

At issue is whether the Medical Center Hospital of Vermont (MCHV) can convince the courts that the hospital is a "charitable" institution. The fight began last April, when for the first time in the hospital's nearly 100-year history it received a property tax bill from the city of Burlington.

MCHV says that if the tax is imposed, the average cost of patient care would increase by \$300. But Assistant City Attorney John Franco argues that the \$2.8 million tax is "just a drop in the bucket" in MCHV's projected \$5 million profit for next year. "The argument that the hospital will have to increase patient costs because of the tax is just absurd," Franco says. "They could pay the tax and still have a profit."

In June, MCHV sought an injunction to prevent the city from collecting the tax. Instead it got the promise of a speedy trial. The Chittenden County Superior Court is expected to rule on the case this month. Both sides have promised to take the case to the Vermont Supreme Court.

of unlimited dreams)-casts a spell that can be harnessed to sell products.

In advertising American English is almost like a second national language in Western Europe. It is not unusual to see an advertising slogan entirely in English. And looking at the help-wanted ads in Switzerland and Germany, the positions listed are often in English. "Product manager," "group product man-ager," "art director," "marketing assistant," "EDP-coordinator," to name a few. Other English terms like "human factor," or "software" or "highlights" abound. Businesses and their advertising departments have also started to create hybrid languages, combining English and German terms or creating German versions out of English names. For instance, ads talked of sales jobs in "Nonfoodbereiche" (nonfood departments) or positions in "Rechnungswesen/Controlling" (accounting and controlling).

The American English invasion of Western Europe is partly a reflection of the predominance of American technology (such as computers, which created new terms like "hardware" and "software" and new positions whose names are often not translatable into other languages.) But it is also that American business practices are conquering many parts of the world. For example, the current craze in Western Europe to make public radio and television stations pri-NAMES AND ADDRESS OF A DESCRIPTION OF A DE

"What gives this case national importance is that the Medical Center Hospital of Vermont is not unusual," Sanders says. He adds that if hospitals are run like businesses, they should be treated as such.

The hospital claims to be a charitable institution that last year provided \$1.5 million, or 1.4 percent of its patient services, in free care. Hospital spokeswoman Andrea O'Connor says MCHV has "no strict guidelines" for distributing charity care because the hospital "just doesn't want anyone to slip through the cracks."

But when the case came to court, MCHV was unable to provide any records of its charitable services. The judge therefore ruled there was no evidence of free health care at MCHV.

Attorney Franco says, "There was a lot of reason to believe they had puffed the numbers and that a lot of the so-called free care was bad debt."

Vermont law defines a charitable institution as one whose income is derived "mainly from public charity." Of MCHV's \$113 million 1986 budget, \$300,000 came from donations.

According to MCHV's annual reports, up until World War II the hospital was supported primarily by donations. But with the expansion of health insurance, including Medicare and Medicaid, MCHV's revenues increasingly came from in-

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vate or to establish new local, commercial stations was inspired by U.S. broadcasting practices.

And American corporate style, as developed by prestigious U.S. business schools, is likewise taking over. Erstwhile stodgy and traditional Western European corporations have been transformed into go-getting, visible, publicity-minded firms where the bottom line, market share and continuous growth are the corporate creed.

Advertising, marketing, direct mailing, give-aways, public relations and business hooplas are commonplace. Venerable art museums have started to court corporate sponsors, as as have equally venerable symphony orchestras. Such sponsorships have further Americanized Western Europe. Where once business and the corporate world were discreet, they have now become visible, determining the pulse of life and the thinking of many people.

Reacting to this American influence, the French government has directed public institutions to use certain French words in place of their English counterparts-such as "commission de chef de file" for management fee. There is nothing wrong with curtailing the use of English when counterparts in the native language can be readily found. But does that address the deeper problem-the Americanization of the European soul?

-Reto Pieth

surance companies and the state and federal governments.

"This hospital, along with most hospitals, evolved from a place of charity to a place of business," Franco says. "Now there is more money lost in taxes than in free care claimed provided."

While MCHV says that all profits are rolled into the next year's budget to "reduce patient costs," the city claims that MCHV's profit margin is tied directly to the salaries of the hospital's executive officers. MCHV has refused to publicize the administrative salaries saying it would be detrimental to MCHV's opposition to an effort to unionize hospital staff.

But MCHV did turn salary records over to the court. Franco says that in 1986, salaries of MCHV's president and top administrators increased by 25 percent, while staff salaries rose 5 percent.

Beyond the struggle over property taxes, Sanders says the central issue in the case is a hospital's relationship to the community it serves. "Right now," he says, "the medical center functions like a private country club." The board of trustees ismade up of what he calls "the local elite making decisions behind closed doors." Ideally, says Sanders, the case should force MCHV to establish policies that meet the needs of the people of Burlington.

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