

## A nuclear pact looks likely on intermediate weapons

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

**T**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 II 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 apocalyptic 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-the-clock 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-

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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."

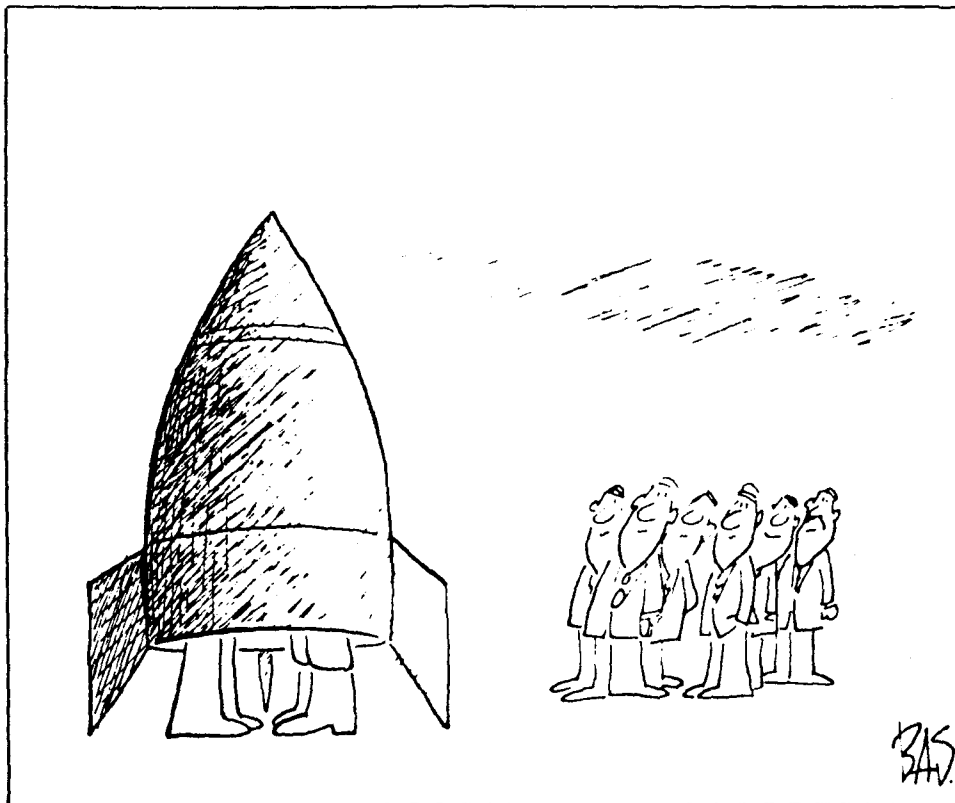
To the surprise and delight of peace lobbyists, however, Nunn has outflanked them on the left. In a September 1 letter to the president Nunn threatened to hold the treaty hostage if the administration did not abandon its "broad" interpretation of the 1972 ABM treaty. According to this interpretation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



ROTHCO



## Joel Bleifuss

Lincoln, and the country's most rightist intellects to be found on Capitol Hill. "I was reading an 1,100-page novel about Abraham Lincoln," he said. "I had never explained to *Newsweek* how much I loved Lincoln, but I told them when he worked in the White House, 'I don't own any of the works of Lincoln,'" said Clinton. "I told them that I gave it for clacking down on dissent, suspending habeas corpus, arresting officers and all those kind of things, and we would use it to soothe our own consciences. I think the explanation was considerably greater in Lincoln's case of rebellion against a man than in Nixon's case of leaving a bunch of rotters, and the Senate House and staging dramatic attacks. But the principle is the same—that you have to balance the need for individual freedom with the need for national security. The reason I had second thoughts on how far a government should go to make itself secure, especially since discovering that the Bush administration was tapping his phone."

Clinton, 47, is married (to a woman) and is training to be the Reagan administration's vice president. After the Iran-contra hearings it was reported that the senator had read about Lincoln's suppression of dissent during the Civil War, and consequently looked for some precedents. "I found precedent-setting examples of presidents who took power into their own hands."

James H. Brown, a former Oklahoma state legislator, is not the only former EPA official who has left the agency to find his fortune elsewhere. (See *These Times*, Sept. 9). Brown quit the job to blow the whistle on EPA administration. He told *These Times* what some other former EPA officials would not say: He is still at the EPA. Agency efforts to clean up the environment have failed, Brown says, because the woman he was photographed with in a Manhattan hotel turned out to be his wife. Brown says he was fired in 1977 under Jimmy Carter, is now a lobbyist for the American Chemical Waste Management Corp., EPA administrator for Region III (the Mid-Atlantic Area), under Carter, is now vice president for government waste management. Frank Moore, President Carter's assistant for domestic affairs, is now wooing the Democrats as a waste management lobbyist. (Jim Range, a former EPA administrator, is now Waste Management's Republican candidate for Congress.) Henry's EPA administrator for Region IV (the South) is now at the Environmental Services, a hazardous waste disposal firm. He can appointee Walt Barber, Burford's predecessor, now a waste management vice president. Kaufman, using the old agency's missionaries, explained the environmentalists' view: "A lot of these people come to town to do good and end up doing much, much, much worse. I see them come and I see them go. They're not interested in having power and getting rich. They're there to do good. It's a domestic version of Second Coming. It's not at all as last immoral."

Don Morris believes the *San Diego Sentinel* has insulted Pope John Paul II. He is calling the paper and columnist Bob Morris. Morris says that the pope would be making a guest appearance on his radio program. Morris is "a simple holy man who gets a little shaky" when asked about those "baggy vestments." Morris says he would like to marry Don Johnson and his wife. He says he is a priest for the *Broads Catholic*. "I find it extremely difficult to get one of the \$11 million she is seeking," he says. "I would like myself and all other 'ordinary Catho-

The U.S. military's official delegation made front-page news in the *Washington Post* and *Washington's* secret radar station at Fort Meade, Md., had opened up the site to counter Soviet claims that the installation violated the 1972 U.S.-Soviet arms-control pact. Accompanying the U.S. delegation was a 10-member team from the New York-based Arms Control Association, which helped organize the visit. The group included William K. Buchanan, the group's arms-control verification director, and its secretary, Jonathan Evan Maslow.

**-Maggie Garb**