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## Senate Will Need Answers Before Ratifying SALT II

By SEN. BOB DOLE

A FEW weeks ago, a New York Times article told of a test flight of the SS-18, the Soviets' block-buster ICBM. The data the United States gathered on this test illustrated the Soviets' now place more warheads than ever on this weapon system. This violates our understanding regarding Soviet acceptance of the limits on MIRVs in the as-yet-disclosed SALT II Treaty. The missile reportedly demonstrated a capability for containing up to four additional warheads beyond the 10 previously demonstrated.

This is a serious incident with major implications for an expanded capability applied to their whole system would provide the Soviets with more than 1,300 additional warheads to be targeted against our land-based ICBMs, greatly compounding the current threat to our Minuteman missiles. This is only one of a number of significant problems associated with SALT II.

The SS-18 data came from the monitoring of a test flight which occurred before the fall of the Shah of Iran and the subsequent loss of our surveillance stations along the Iranian-Soviet border. Could we obtain information of this nature now, and in such detail, in light of recent events? This must be one of the overriding concerns when the SALT II Treaty finally comes before the Senate for ratification.

WHILE it is true the United States has alternative means for gathering intelligence information, are they adequate to make up for the loss of Iran? Our Big Bird Satellite, with its almost science-fiction-like accuracy and capability, has been of great benefit, but it too has

been compromised. Not only is it subject to possible Russian satellite-killer techniques, but its top-secret plans were sold to Soviet agents in the recent Kampiles espionage case.

Would a renewed access to intelligence bases in Turkey offset our loss? Will it take two months after the next missile test, as in this incident, before our intelligence community leaders have the information to make a determination as to our verifiability of any SALT II agreement? These questions are of vital importance for ratification of the SALT II agreement and to the national security of our nation as a whole.

Senator Dole of Kansas was the Republican candidate for Vice President in the 1976 elections.

national security of our nation as a whole. We must be able to verify all aspects of the SALT II Treaty to be sure that our strategic and national security interests are not endangered by any cheating on the part of the Soviets. This aspect of the SALT II debate cannot be overstated.

In the December missile test, the Soviets were reported to have relayed their telemetry in code, a practice we have insisted is incompatible with SALT verification; and an example of what must be prohibited in SALT II. Here again this is an issue of verification and touches upon our ability to monitor Soviet weapons tests flights. In the third incident, concerning the Backfire Bomber, which reportedly is not included in the SALT II agreements, there are reports that it has been tested with a Cruise missile. Again, this is a major escalation of Soviet capabilities and intentions.

WHY would the Soviet military do such things? Possibly these are signs that the Soviet leadership and the military are not in favor of the

more-restrictive requirements of the SALT II Treaty. They may also see the substantial opposition growing in Congress toward the SALT II agreements and therefore are enhancing their strategic capabilities on the premise that the treaty will fail. Meanwhile, the United States unilaterally terminates strategic programs to "illustrate our good faith."

All of these events lead to the conclusion that we must have an extremely verifiable treaty because we cannot just rely on trusting the Soviets alone. We must not delude ourselves that compliance with the treaty provisions will follow automatically under the "spirit" of arms control.

THE United States is at a crossroads and the entire SALT II process will determine the direction of American foreign policy for decades. If SALT II is not ratified, then we must make clear the positive alternative course for our future relations with the Soviet Union. If the SALT II Treaty is equitable in its terms, it ought to be in our interest to ratify it. But it must be verifiable without doubts and ambiguities.

We must have the ability to determine if the Soviets are testing or deploying the SS-18 with more than 10 warheads per missile; we must have the ability to determine if the Backfire Bomber is equipped with Cruise missiles and if it is being deployed such that it is capable of strategic strikes against the United States; and we must not tolerate Soviet practices having the effect of impairing national means of verification or otherwise interfering with our ability to monitor every aspect of Soviet compliance.

We must approach SALT II carefully, with verification and our national defense requirements firmly in mind. If we are to properly carry out our Constitutional mandate to advise and give consent,

## CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

Friday, April 20, 1979

### SALT and the Republicans

By Bob Dole

Myths currently fill the air concerning "Republican responsibility" in foreign affairs.

The cry is heard that Republicans have compiled a mixed record of their own in foreign affairs — from Iran to national defense to SALT — and thus should hush their criticism of this administration's performance.

But, if the Republican record from January, 1969, to January, 1979, was not letter-perfect, does this undercut our responsibility to seek the best foreign policy for America's future?

Moreover, the most recent Republican administrations emanated a sense of American purpose in the world: that of defending freedom and helping contribute to stability. The foreign policymakers of those days conveyed a sense of competence, of professionalism, of diplomatic skills which would come as a welcome change in these days of uncertainty.

Regarding Iran, the "intelligence failure" simply cannot be blamed on leaders out of office more than a year before events there broke. The essence of intelligence is up-to-date information on conditions as they then exist and are likely to break. Each group of policymakers must demand the best available data on its own. When surprises occur — as they are bound to — they must be handled competently without resorting to finger-pointing at visions from the past.

On Iran, the President was honest enough to reprimand the top intelligence officers he himself appointed. It is his apologists in the press who trace the failure back to previous administrations. The President has not done so.

On defense issues, it is true that the level of US military strength today was planned and funded under the Nixon-Ford administrations. Indeed, the President, Joint Chiefs of Staff, other national security leaders, and Republican leaders like myself believe it is sufficient for now, although just so, given the endless rounds of budget cuts pushed through the Congress by the Democrats during the past decade. But we also anticipate the future.

Many of us, Democrats and Republicans alike, and including outside parties and groups such as the joint chiefs, are concerned that this administration is failing to meet its responsibility to future presidents to give them the tools for energetic and potent American participation in the world. I have chosen to call this new community of interest "the new bipartisan" and I believe it is a necessary and healthy reaction to a situation where lead

ership and direction are sorely lacking. Cancellation of the B-1 bomber, cutoff of the Minuteman III missile production, delay of the neutron weapon, veto of legislation for a new nuclear-powered aircraft carrier, and a host of other actions taken by the Carter administration — none of these provide much consolation to those of us who share these concerns.

It is also claimed that SALT II cannot be criticized by Republicans since they began the SALT process, wrote SALT I, and negotiated parts of SALT II. This argument has a certain surface appeal. I, for one, fully supported and still support the idea of strategic arms limitations reached in a balanced and sensible manner. SALT I obviously was such an agreement and sailed through the Senate with but one or two dissenting votes. SALT II, as it was being negotiated a few years ago, was also such a treaty.

The Senate cannot judge the SALT II accord as yet since it has not been finalized. Suffice it to say, however, that the accord will have to be not only equal to the provision plan as negotiated through January, 1977, but actually better than the provisions negotiated by those Republican administrations.

Why is this so? Because the strategic environment today is fundamentally different, and decidedly more adverse, than that of the past administration. When SALT II was originally being negotiated, there were no thoughts at all of cancelling the B-1, no idea of shutting the Minuteman III production line, no idea of delaying and delaying the MX, and so forth.

The strategic situation on the Soviet side is also markedly different from that previously existing or anticipated. The number of Soviet MIRVed missiles is far greater, the Soviets' strategic buildup seemingly relentless, their advances in ICBM accuracy nothing short of staggering.

A SALT II equivalent to that negotiated until January, 1977, would be a SALT II far short of what's needed in this new and more ominous strategic environment. The reality of today's world is different from what it was two and a half years ago. We should recognize this fact and move on to other things. Mere partisanship is not enough. The stakes are too high to permit us to accept myths.

Senator Dole, a Republican from Kansas, was his party's 1976 vice-presidential candidate.

### The Washington Scene — busy week for Dole

## SALT meeting raises doubts from Dole

By Jean Christensen

WASHINGTON (HNS) — Here are some Washington items of interest to Kansans:

### Doubts on SALT

Last week — Easter recess — was quiet in Washington, with all but two of the Kansas Congressional delegation back home in Kansas and the others in Europe. Not much news drifted back from Kansas, but some came from Paris and Geneva.

Sen. Bob Dole, R-Russell, was busy in Geneva, holding meetings with officials involved in Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. Law of the Sea negotiations, and Multilateral Trade Negotiations, and issuing statements through his office in Washington.

The senator, who with 11 other Republican senators issued a statement recently about his concerns about the SALT talks, said after meeting with Soviet and American negotiators in Geneva that he is "more concerned than ever" about whether the treaty will contain sufficient "verification provisions."

Dole believes these provisions are necessary for the U.S. to adequately monitor what the Soviet Union is doing with strategic arms.

Although he says he is uncommitted on the treaty, the senator made stronger statements against it than he has previously.

"I agree that we need an arms limitation treaty, but I remain unconvinced that we need this treaty, especially if verification remains a major problem, which seems very likely," he said.

He said Europeans he has talked to are skeptical about the SALT II treaty and any treaty that places Europe in jeopardy "would be viewed with alarm by our allies and should be overwhelmingly rejected by the United States Senate."

### Law of the sea

Also from Geneva, Senator Dole issued a statement praising Ambassador Elliott Richardson for doing "an excellent job" at the Law of the Sea conference.

Richardson served in three Cabinet posts under former Presidents Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford.

The negotiations are important, Dole said, because, among other things, they are determining who will have access to the mineral resources on the sea floor.

The U.S. has a technological lead and could begin commercial mining of the copper, manganese, cobalt and nickel nodules on the ocean floor in the 1980s, Dole said.

He said he told negotiators he hoped the U.S. would be given "the opportunity to utilize its technological abilities to provide world markets with these previously unavailable resources."

### Trade agreements helpful

Senator Dole said after meeting with U.S. trade negotiators in Geneva that the recently completed international trade agreements should provide increased export opportunities for the civil aircraft industry in this country.

The agreement would eliminate duties on civil aircraft and parts, reduce technical barriers to exports and increase U.S. ability to sell this country's aircraft to foreign airlines.

The trade agreements, which affect most agricultural and industrial products imported and exported by the U.S., still must be approved by Congress.

### More gasohol

Sen. Bob Dole's office announced last week that the senator plans to introduce a bill that would aid in the construction of 12 more gasohol plants.

The 1977 farm act provided loan guarantees of up to \$15 million each year for four pilot energy projects that will convert agricultural products into fuel and other energy sources. The Commodity Credit Corporation has funded the four projects, two of which are to be constructed by Kansas firms.

### Side trip to Italy

While in Europe, Senator Dole and his wife, Elizabeth Hanford Dole, were to travel to Castel d'Aiano, Italy, where the senator was wounded during World War II, on April 14, 1945.

Dole was a platoon leader in the 10th Mountain Division, leading his squad in an attempt to wipe out a deeply entrenched German machine gun nest. Two of his companions were killed by mortar shells and his radioman was wounded by

a hail of machine gun fire, according to an account released by the senator's office.

Dole dragged the wounded radioman to cover, and left a shell hole to get close enough to toss a hand grenade into the German nest. He was hit by machine gun bullets and mortar fragments and blown back into the shell hole.

His arms and legs paralyzed, Dole waited for medics to arrive. His right shoulder and arm were shattered, neck vertebrae were

fractured and his spinal cord was damaged. Dole was hospitalized for 39 months in Italy, Africa, Florida, Kansas and Michigan until he regained partial use of his left arm.

He was awarded a Bronze Star with cluster for his "persistence, fearless leadership and personal daring" and promoted to captain. For those wounds and another a few days earlier, Dole earned two Purple Hearts.

The visit was his second to the battlefield site since the war.

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