

# Carter Is Pushing USSR To The Brink

The rash of U.S. armaments and strategic posture decisions announced or leaked after President Carter scotched the B-1 bomber in favor of the cruise missile has drawn the heaviest denunciations and warnings of war from Moscow since Carter took office.

At each development — the cruise missile, the July 7 report that a “neutron bomb” has already been tested, and revived talk of accelerating the MX mobile missile program — the Soviets snapped back a new charge that Washington is hell-bent on an arms race which puts a new SALT agreement out of the question.

Privately, Soviet officials indicate that it is not merely the pile-up of this hardware that alarms them, but the strategic posture it implies.

The cruise missile and the neutron bomb, both of which Secretary of Defense Harold Brown wants to deploy with NATO forces in Europe, are in the Soviet view weapons intended for theater nuclear confrontation. Their priority in Administration plans signals to Moscow that the U.S. is going full swing into “local nuclear war” scenarios on several fronts. Brown’s efforts to sell Europe the cruise and neutron bomb and Secretary of State Vance’s proclamation of a one-China policy, intended to win Peking’s firm alliance on a “second front” against the USSR, are bolstering this Soviet perception. At the point where the perception becomes an intelligence estimate that a “limited”

nuclear strike on the USSR or one of its allies is immediately imminent, then the most reliable defensive move under Soviet military doctrine is to launch a combined counterforce and countervalue first strike against the United States.

*Red Star*, the USSR Defense Ministry daily, published twin articles on July 3 to reveal just where Moscow is looking on the map. One of them reported how Brown, at the recent NATO Nuclear Planning Group meeting in Ottawa, bludgeoned the Europeans to accept the cruise missile. The second detailed Carter’s northern Asia policy of pressuring Japan to arm, take up the regional slack when U.S. forces in South Korea are reduced (to be shifted to the NATO front), and strike a formal alliance with China. The same day the government daily *Izvestia* warned that present U.S. policies could easily touch off a world war in the Middle East or Africa. As Henry Trehwitt of the *Baltimore Sun* commented this week that Soviet-American relations are at a 10-year low, Horst Sindermann, formerly Prime Minister of East Germany, told a Leningrad meeting of Warsaw Pact nation parliamentarians that if the “enemies of detente” are not stopped, the world is headed for nuclear catastrophe.

## “Dangerous Undertakings”

The rapid succession of Moscow’s statements in the past week is a grave record of how the Soviets are being

## Soviet Delegate: U.S. Forces Step Backwards At Belgrade

Yulii Vorontsov, head of the Soviet delegation at the present agenda talks for this fall’s Belgrade session of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), told a plenary meeting of the talks July 6 that “certain Western countries” had forced a step backwards in the deliberation. That afternoon, Vorontsov’s deputy Sharkov convened a press conference to single out the United States, not the Western European delegations, as the guilty party. A revised Soviet agenda proposal had been rejected, as the U.S. team insisted on its plan to provide for a full review of purported “human rights” violations in the past two years.

According to reports in the West German press, members of the U.S. group exploded in fury at the West Europeans — especially Bonn’s representatives — for not going along with Washington’s insistence on jeopardizing the CSCE with the “human rights” ploy. Bonn is “too susceptible to

Soviet arguments,” a Carter envoy reportedly complained.

On July 7, a meeting in Leningrad of parliamentarians from Warsaw Pact member nations concluded with an open call to the parliaments of all CSCE signatories. It urged struggle for disarmament, for preventing a new world war, and for broad economic and scientific cooperation. All of these tasks are vitally necessary for every nation, said the statement.

More than one speaker in Leningrad urged that the Belgrade agenda talks get the show on the road, since dickering there is delaying discussion on these priority topics. The *Financial Times* of London, however, has reported rumors among delegates at Belgrade that the meeting may be adjourned for the summer without agreement on an agenda for the autumn foreign ministers’ conference.

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*Sunday, July 3:* In *Pravda's* authoritative weekly review column, Oleg Skalkin reported Carter's decision on the B-1 bomber as a go-ahead for the cruise missile and a mere suspension of the bomber. Since the cruise had already been a major block in SALT, Skalkin asked, "Is the United States not deliberately trying to aggravate the difficulties in reaching a new Soviet-American strategic offensive arms limitation agreement?" Skalkin dispensed with every phony claim that Moscow has entered a negotiating process based on Carter's SALT proposals: "The course of events since Secretary of State Cyrus Vance's visit to Moscow (in March) has unfortunately only deepened doubts as to the sincerity of the American administration on this cardinal question."

*Tuesday, July 5:* When U.S. Ambassador to Moscow Malcom Toon requested a meeting after he was barred from making a Fourth of July "human rights" speech on Soviet TV, he was received for nearly two hours by President Brezhnev. Brezhnev handed Toon a letter for Jimmy Carter, the gist of which was released — in the style of open diplomacy — by the Soviet press agency TASS. Brezhnev blamed Carter for persistently seeking unilateral advantages under a SALT accord, citing the cruise missile decision.

*Thursday, July 7:* News media in the U.S. cited Congressional sources in confirmation of reports that the "neutron bomb," a warhead designed to kill people by radiation with little damage to buildings, has already been tested in Nevada. In the late afternoon, TASS charged that every arms decision taken by the U.S. government has obstructed SALT. With reference to the neutron bomb, the cruise, the Trident submarine, and the B-1 bomber, TASS commented that the U.S. is apparently seeking some "illusory military advantage" over the Soviet Union — "a tremendous undertaking."

*Friday, July 8:* An East German radio broadcast quoted "political observers" of the opinion that the U.S. will deploy the MX mobile missile for a first strike on the USSR. (Committee on the Present Danger leader Paul Nitze is urging that the MX is preferable to Carter's too light-handed cruise and Trident submarine programs.)

#### *Strategic Pandemonium*

With the initial shock of Carter's B-1 and cruise missile announcement, pandemonium broke loose in the U.S. Exchanges on op-ed pages around the country bore some resemblance to a debate on nuclear strategy, yet since the diverse monetarist factions here converge on a war confrontation course despite their brawling (see National Report), the question would seem to be only how soon we stumble into war. The *Washington Post* published a wild-eyed refutation by Stephen Rosenfeld of

Harvard Professor Richard Pipes' June *Commentary* feature on the Soviet war-fighting posture. Pipes, though professing himself an opponent of "utopian" military thinking and adducing the irrefutable testimony of Soviet generals that *they* are Clausewitzians, advocates a purely utopian program for this country: an arms buildup, more accurate missiles, civil defense construction, etc. Even General Keegan, the retired Air Force officer with a superior appreciation of Soviet technological advances and their military implications, appeared on the pages of the *New York Times*, only to lament that the cruise missile will not be carried by the B-1 bomber.

Carter and members of his immediate entourage, such as press secretary Jody Powell and SALT negotiator Paul Warnke, shredded their threadbare credibility with the astounding prediction that deploying the cruise and the neutron bomb will not effect SALT! Defying the unequivocal wires from Moscow, Warnke then told the *Boston Globe* July 7 that the B-1 bomber was dropped in order to bargain "reciprocal" reductions from the Soviets.

Warnke's bluff was exceeded only by the incredible Presidential Review Memo No. 10 (PRM-10), an "optimistic" strategic posture weeded out of a stack of 200 so-called posture packages by a taskforce of Brown, Vance, National Security Council head Zbigniew Brzezinski, Vice President Walter Mondale, and CIA director Stansfield Turner, with inspiration from Brzezinski's protege Samuel Huntington of Harvard. PRM-10, announced July 8, proclaims the dawn of "Era Two," a new age in which the Cold War and detente will proceed in imagined complementarity.

On Day One of Era Two, however, columnists Evans and Novak reported quiet Carter moves towards fighting a nuclear war in Europe, which will tend to bring curtains down on the new age very soon. Carter has appointed former Vietnam pacification director Robert Komer to assist Harold Brown in strong-arming Western Europe into accepting a NATO build-up and standardization of weapons. Komer's job is to "surmount Western European inertia" — the staunch opposition to these measures from the NATO allies.

West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, arriving this week in Washington as the spokesman for European opposition to Carter across the board, will reportedly have a plan for advancing the Central European troop cut talks (MBFR). If European "inertia" (sanity) is surmounted by Harold Brown's new team, and NATO acquiesces to the cruise, the neutron bomb, etc., then the MBFR will go the way of SALT.

—Rachel Berthoff