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Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988 [1 of 3], Image 1

Image ID: 15117244

[AC]

Wed., February 24, 1988 NY TIMES

Kissinger Balks at Treaty on Strategic Arms

By MICHAEL R. GORDON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 23 — Henry A. Kissinger, the former Secretary of State, told Congress today that the United States should not conclude a treaty reducing long-range nuclear weapons until progress is made toward a separate agreement on conventional arms in Europe.

"Further steps toward nuclear arms control should be coupled with measures to remove the Soviet conventional superiority overhanging America's allies," Mr. Kissinger told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Mr. Kissinger stopped short of saying that a treaty on long-range nuclear arms should be held in abeyance until the Russians actually cut their conventional arms in Europe.

Rather, he suggested that the United States should first wait to see if the Russians presented a realistic proposal for reducing conventional arms.

Backs Medium-Range Pact

"At a minimum, the United States should obtain a concrete Soviet scheme" about how to reduce conventional arms. He added that Soviet suggestions to reduce Soviet tanks in return for cuts in American tactical aircraft were unacceptable.

Mr. Kissinger, who appeared before the panel to discuss the recently completed agreement to ban medium- and shorter-range missiles based on land, gave a qualified endorsement of that treaty.

Repeating earlier arguments, Mr. Kissinger severely criticized the agreement for requiring the elimination of American missiles in Europe, which he said were valuable for military reasons and as a symbol of the American commitment to the defense of Europe.

But he then urged that the Senate approve the agreement anyway and said that the Senate should not attach amendments to the agreement that would require reopening the negotia-

Conventional arms cuts should also be pushed.

tain a lead in the number of missile warheads, though this American advantage was only temporary.

Reagan Remarks

As the Senate committee continued its hearings, President Reagan assured Western allies that the United States would keep its commitment to the defense of Europe.

"After all, our goal is not a nuclear-free, or a tank-free or an army-free Europe, but a war-free Europe," Mr. Reagan said in a speech on the United States Information Agency's Worldnet television network less than a week before his departure for a NATO summit meeting in Brussels. "Our troops will stay in Europe, a guarantee that our destiny is coupled with yours."

"Simply put, an attack on Munich is the same as an attack on Chicago," Mr. Reagan said, stressing the American commitment to Europe's defense. Asked about this remark at the hearing, Mr. Kissinger said: "That's the beginning of wisdom not the end of it. How you implement that statement is the test before us."

Mr. Reagan also reiterated a pledge to seek to reduce conventional forces and to seek a ban on chemical weapons and to negotiate a reduction in long-range arms. But he stressed American opposition to the "de-nuclearization of Europe."

The U.N. Today

General Assembly

COMMITTEE ON PEACEFUL USES OF OUTER SPACE: SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL SUB-COMMITTEE — 10:30 A.M. and 3 P.M.

COMMITTEE ON ELIMINATION OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN — 10 A.M. and 3 P.M.

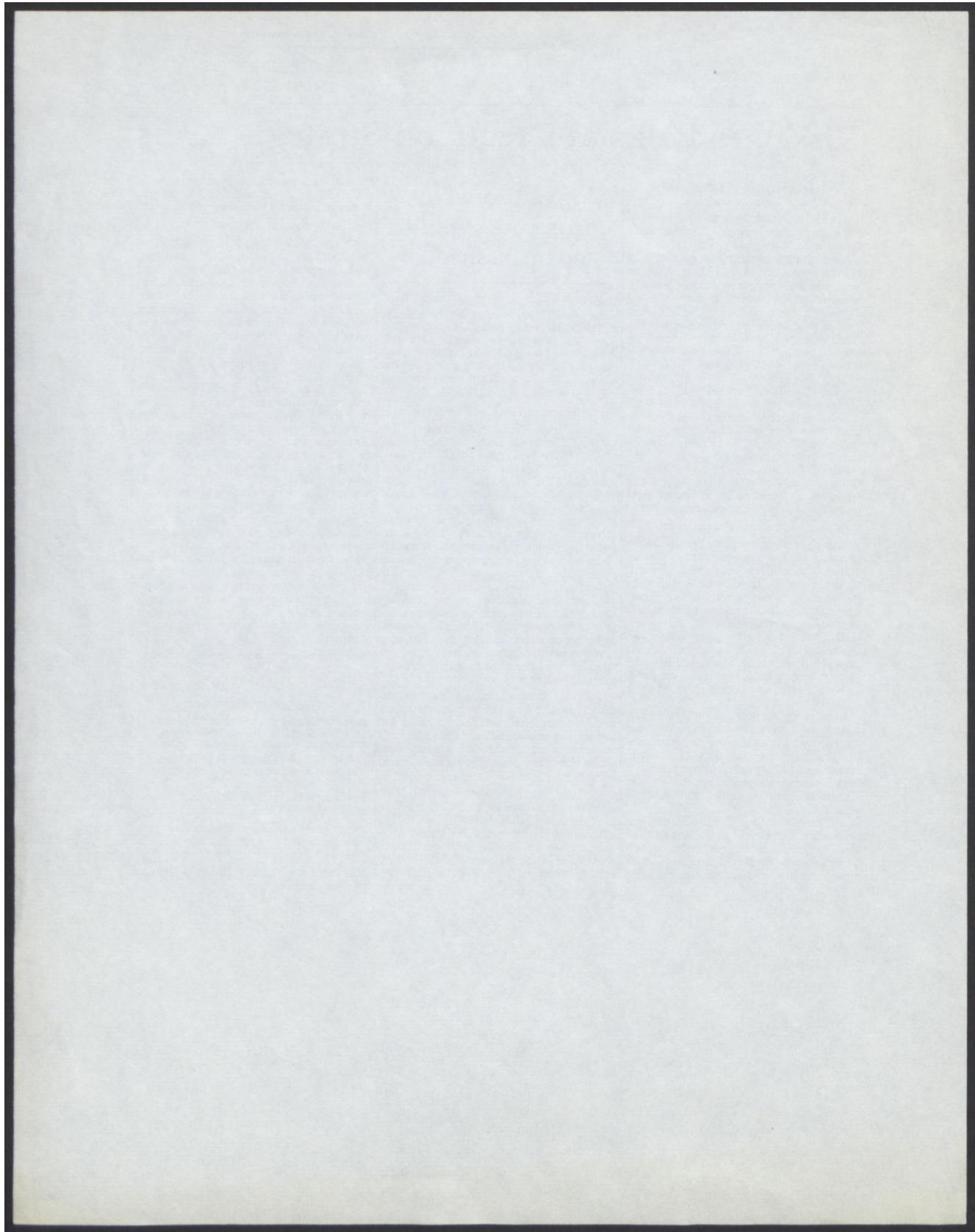
SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON U.N. CHARTER — 10:30 A.M. and 3 P.M.

Ticket information phone: 963-7113.
Tours are conducted 9 A.M.-4:45 P.M.

Job hunting? Check today's Times.

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 2

Image ID: 15117245



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 3

Image ID: 15117246

HAK's own
edits

EN 12

1 domestic capital and most of them are those leaders who have
2 been associated with pro-American positions all along. They
3 now face a domestic situation in which the opponents of the
4 original deployment feel justified by the evolution of
5 events, and their own supporters are dubious.
6 Now, they do not want to be in a position of attacking
7 the United States and thereby undermining the credibility
8 even further, and if one adds to ~~it~~ if one has to make a
9 distinction here between the Federal Republic and the
10 nuclear-armed states, specifically Great Britain and France,
11 my analysis of Great Britain and France is that they were so
12 shaken by the Reykjavik potential agreement that they would
13 rather see America remove its nuclear weapons than have us go
14 after their own, which they were afraid we might do ~~at~~ AFTER
15 Reykjavik.

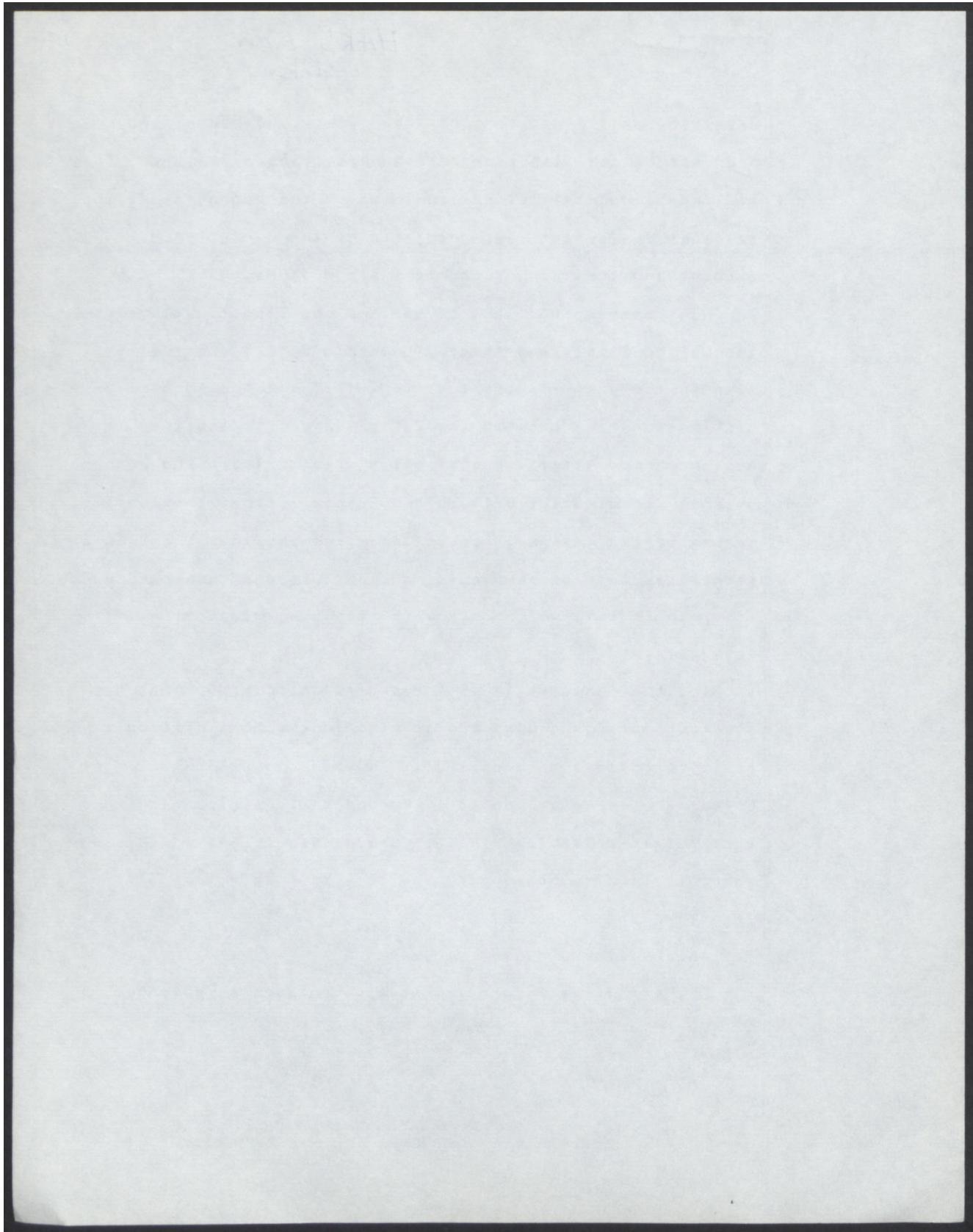
16 And the Germans, it is the pro-Atlantic group that has
17 the most serious doubts and is also in the most difficult
18 position to make them explicit. Nobody can ask to have the
19 United States keep weapons in Europe that America has
20 declared dispensable. This is the problem. And at this
21 point it is also no longer possible, so I am not arguing for
22 reversing the decision.

23 The Chairman: Thank you.

24 Dr. Kissinger: Sorry to have given such an extended
25 answer.

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 4

Image ID: 15117247



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 5

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1 that.

2 Senator Helms: So do I.

3 And you said that the fact that the U.S. strategic forces
4 are far away creates what you called a psychological and
5 political imbalance which is magnified by the Soviet presence
6 of superiority in conventional forces.

7 Dr. Kissinger: Correct. If NATO were one nation, then
8 the location of the strategic forces would be of purely
9 technical significance. And that is the situation in the
10 Soviet Union.

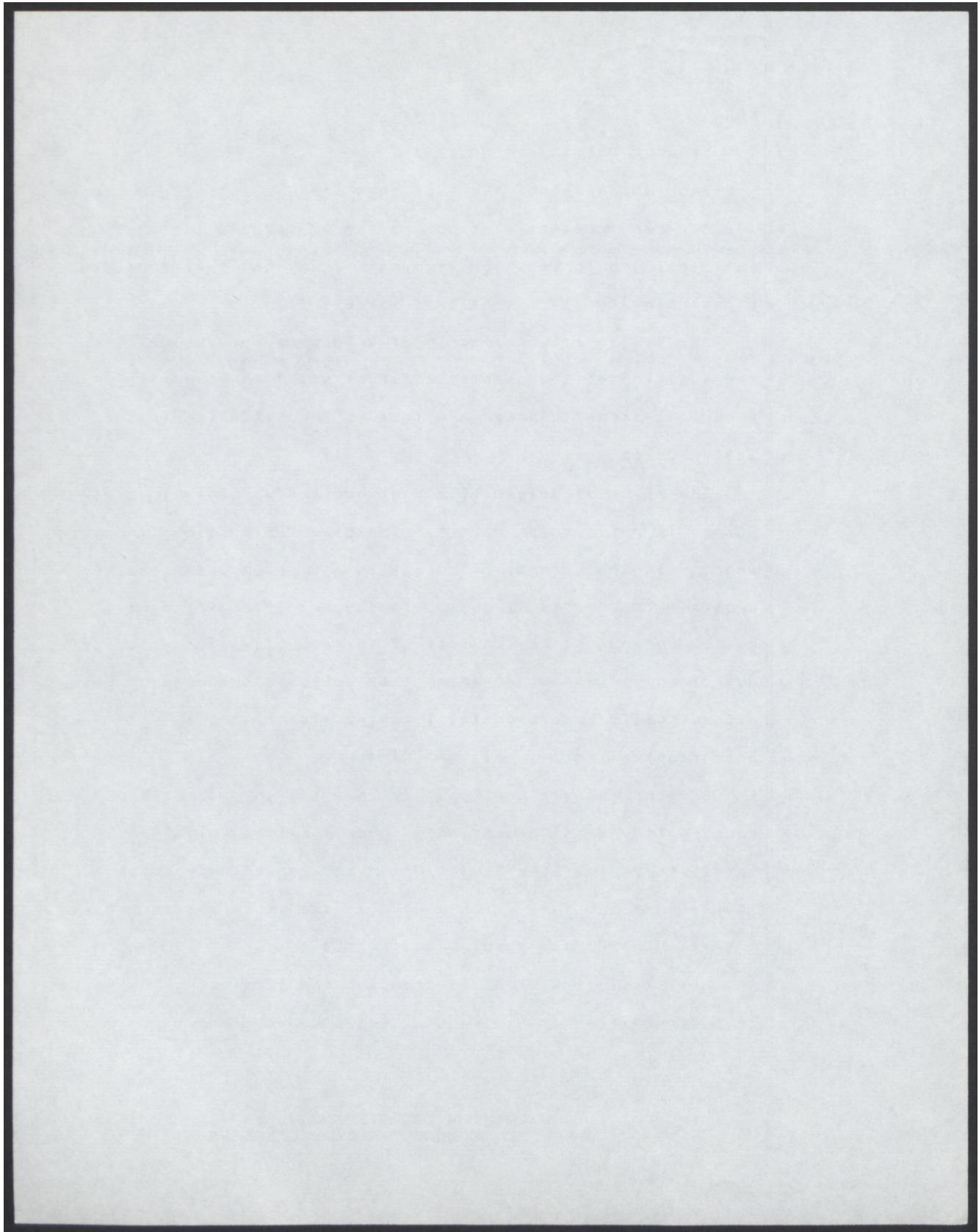
11 The place of origin of Soviet nuclear weapons aimed at
12 Europe is not a major matter. The place of origin of nuclear
13 weapons in the defense of Europe is a very important matter
14 because it affects, if these weapons are in a different
15 nation and out of any control of the countries concerned or
16 out of any situation in which they would become more or less
17 automatically operationally involved, it creates a
18 psychological imbalance.

19 Senator Helms: Now, you say that the INF agreement
20 removes from West Germany only those missiles which can
21 retaliate against the Soviet Union and leaves only those
22 short-range missiles which would explode on German territory
23 and kill the German population, right?

24 Dr. Kissinger: That is creating the problem with respect
25 to modernization in the Federal Republic, correct.

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
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Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
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1 Senator Helms: And you said in your statement that this
2 will have a permanent impact upon West German politics,
3 creating pressures for the total denuclearization of West
4 Germany.

5 Dr. Kissinger: Correct.

6 Senator Helms: And finally, according to my notes, you
7 say that this political situation would create a "strain
8 within the Alliance."

9 Dr. Kissinger: It is a strange kind of strain because
10 nobody is prepared to make it explicit at this point.

11 Senator Helms: Correct. It certainly would create a
12 strain within the Alliance.

13 Is not West Germany, to be blunt about it, the key to
14 NATO's stability?

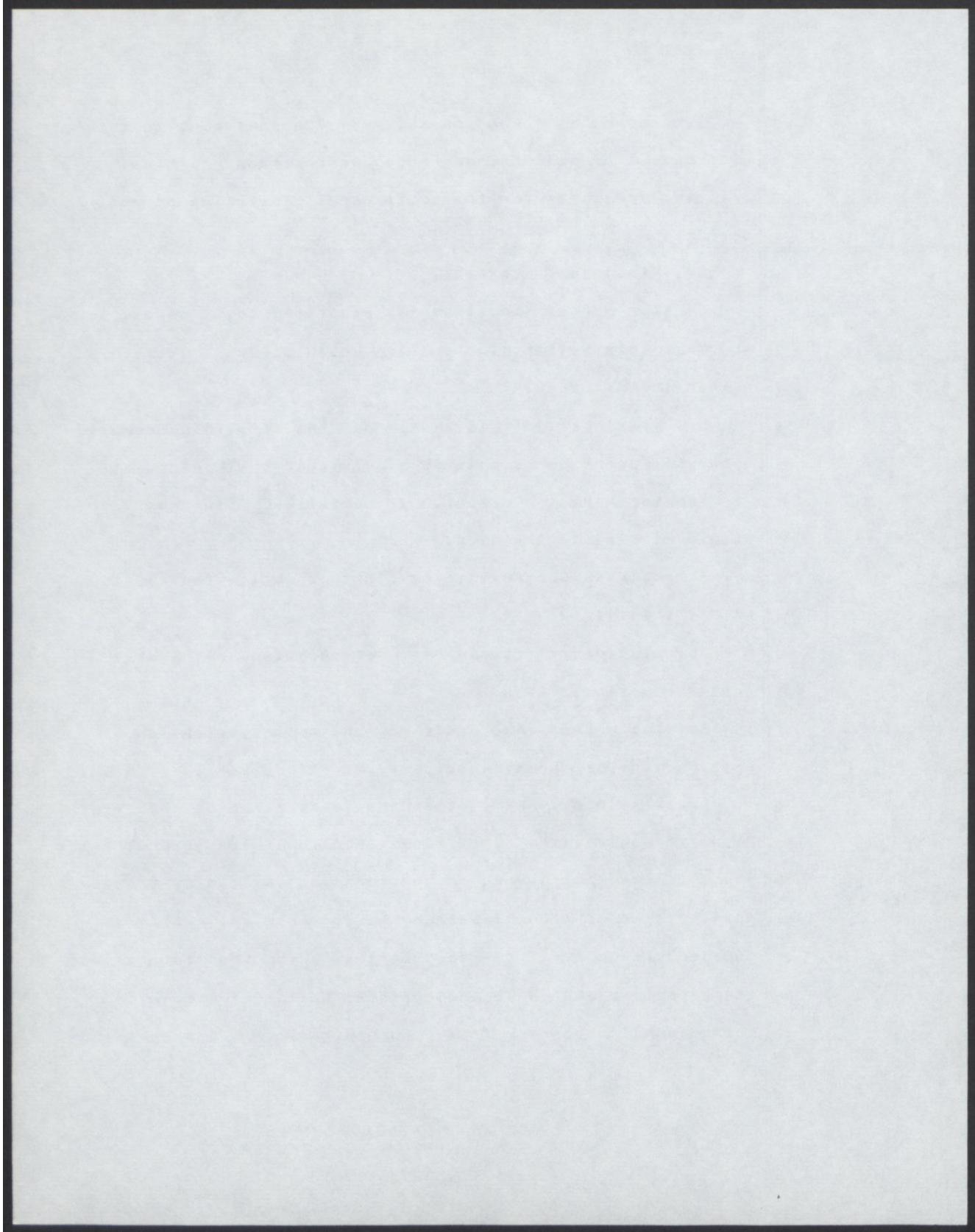
15 Dr. Kissinger: It has been so conceived in the whole
16 post-War period.

17 Senator Helms: And would not the denuclearization of
18 West Germany permanently cripple the effectiveness of NATO?

19 Dr. Kissinger: Well, the denuclearization of the Federal
20 Republic would almost inevitably lead to a kind of neutralism
21 which is the modern word for nationalism in Germany because
22 the denuclearization of Germany makes sense only if it is
23 coupled with a no-first-use doctrine, which then establishes
24 the principle that NATO would prefer to be defeated with
25 conventional weapons rather than use nuclear weapons which

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
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Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
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Image ID: 15117252

25 [CY]

1 Senator Sarbanes: You earlier said that ratifying the
2 Treaty could then prove disintegrating of the Atlantic
3 alliance.

4 Dr. Kissinger: No. If I said that, I misspoke. I said
5 not ratifying the Treaty would be disintegrative of the
6 Atlantic alliance.

7 I think negotiating the Treaty has created certain
8 strains in the alliance that are serious, even though they
9 are not very explicit. I do not believe they can be cured by
10 non-ratification.

11 And I think non-ratification would be truly
12 disintegrative of the Atlantic alliance today, not
13 ratification. It is not the ratification.

14 Senator Sarbanes: Is it likely in your view that failure
15 to ratify the Treaty would result in a situation in which the
16 INF weapons of the West would come out in any event and the
17 Soviets would be able to retain theirs?

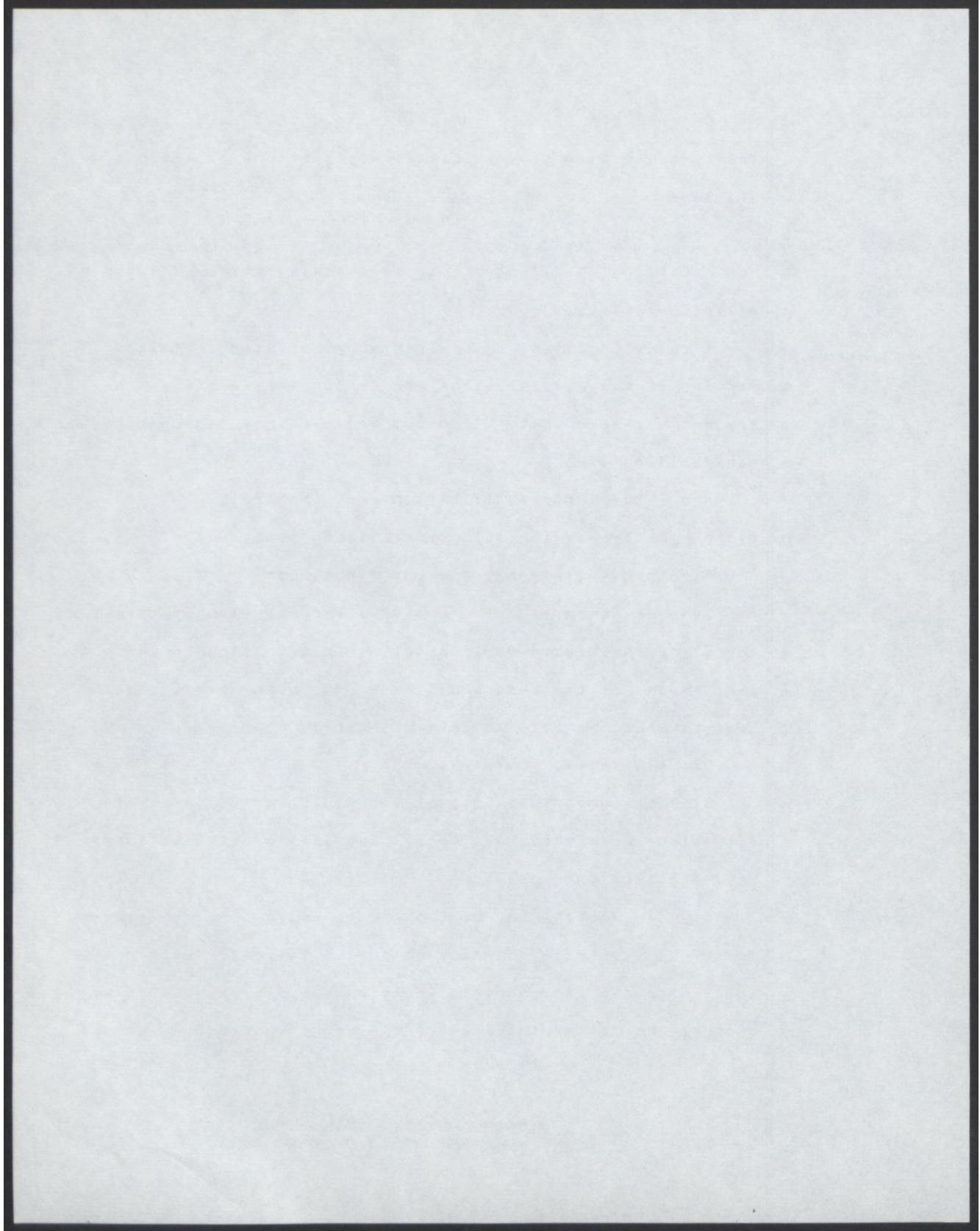
18 Dr. Kissinger: Correct.

19 Senator Sarbanes: So that you would end up in a
20 situation where they had theirs, but we did not have ours;
21 would that be the case?

22 Dr. Kissinger: One of two things would happen: either
23 ~~that~~ it would be entirely up to the Soviets. Either that
24 would happen or the Soviets would make a big demonstrative
25 gesture and remove their SS-20's without inspection and get

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
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Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
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Image ID: 15117254

26 IYB

1 the credit for having made a sacrifice for peace while the
2 United States has gone the opposite way.

3 So whatever happened, it would not be favorable to us.

4 Senator Sarbanes: Well, either of those developments I
5 take it you would regard as more negative for western
6 interests than the problems you see connected with ratifying
7 the Treaty, is that correct?

8 Dr. Kissinger: Correct.

9 Senator Sarbanes: To what extent does your concern about
10 the Treaty relate to a broader concern about what the west's
11 overall strategic doctrine is, particularly in the wake of
12 Reykjavik?

13 Dr. Kissinger: My basic concern is related to the
14 overall strategic doctrine and to a certain incoherence
15 between declaratory policy and action policy. And it is
16 accentuated by the events at and since Reykjavik.

17 Senator Sarbanes: What do you see the essence of that
18 problem as being?

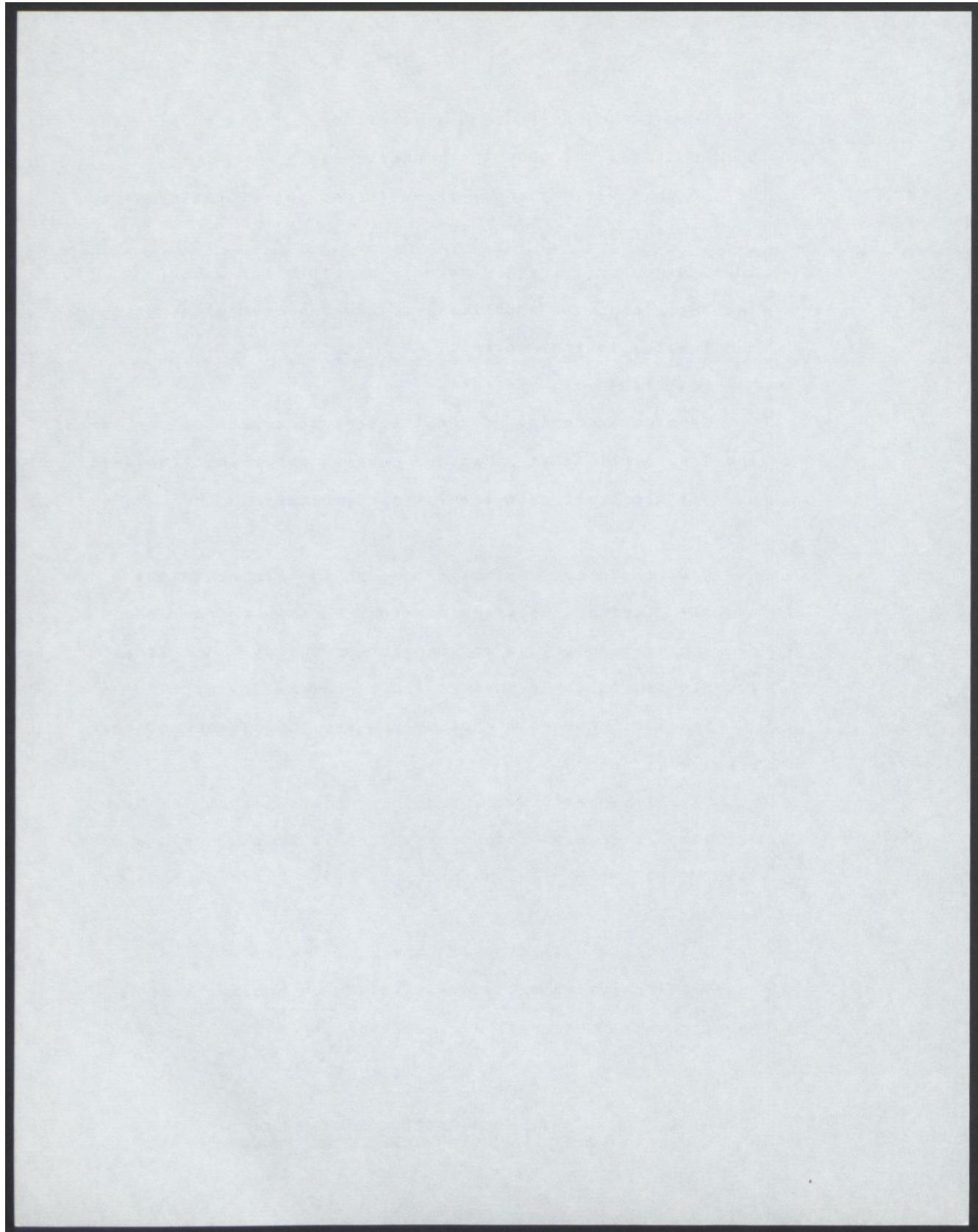
19 Dr. Kissinger: Well, I think the essence of the NATO
20 problem has several components. One is that since the early
21 days of NATO there has been a very heavy reliance on nuclear
22 weapons.

23 In fact, it started with the doctrine of massive
24 retaliation, which exclusively relied on nuclear weapons.

25 Nevertheless, there was a demand for the stationing of

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
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Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
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Image ID: 15117256

EY3

1 substantial American forces on the continent, even though in
2 terms of the military doctrine that was being pursued they
3 were not particularly necessary.

4 The reason they were there was as a kind of tripwire, to
5 guarantee that the United States would have no choice except
6 to engage itself, since the European allies had enough
7 experience from their own practice of allies left in the
8 lurch that they did not want to put us into that position.

9 So therefore there has always been a gap between the
10 conventional deployment in Europe and the doctrine which was
11 underlying it.

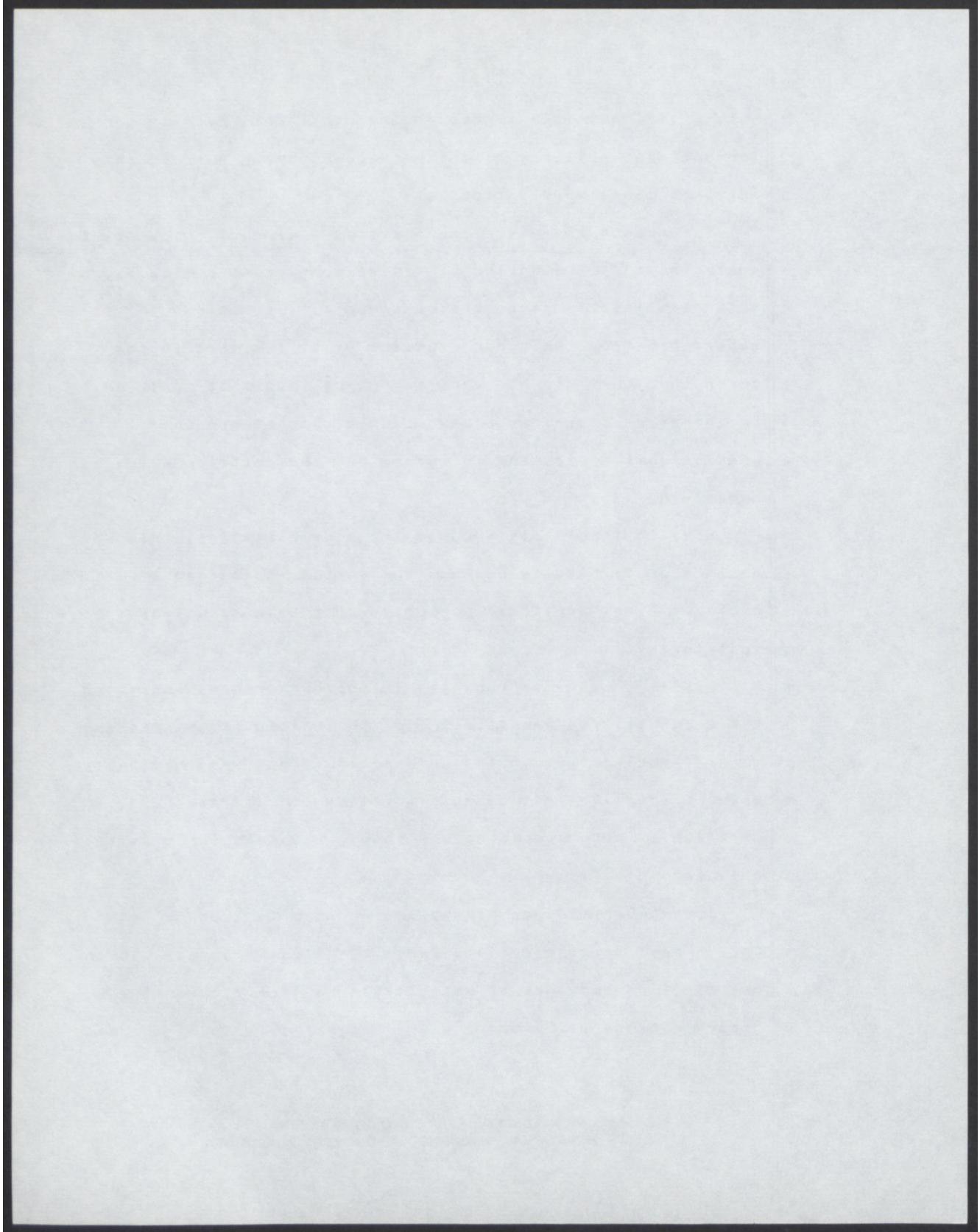
12 Now, in the fifties, up to the middle sixties, this was
13 not a huge difficulty because the United States had a vast
14 nuclear, first an atomic monopoly, then a vast nuclear
15 superiority.

16 But as the Soviet capacity in nuclear weapons increased,
17 the credibility of American -- of the United States risking
18 general nuclear war in the defense of Europe was inevitably
19 going to decline, not because American leaders are
20 unreliable, but because nobody should choose suicide as the
21 only form of military strategy.

22 But NATO has never been prepared to bite that bullet.
23 And to me, the intermediate range missiles in Europe had the
24 principal consequence of establishing a link between the
25 ground defense of Europe and the nuclear defense of Europe.

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
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Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
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Image ID: 15117258

EYD

1 Senator Sarbanes: Well now, you have recommended in the
2 past that, if the Europeans do not spend more on defense,
3 that we should take our troops out or take a significant
4 number of our troops out.

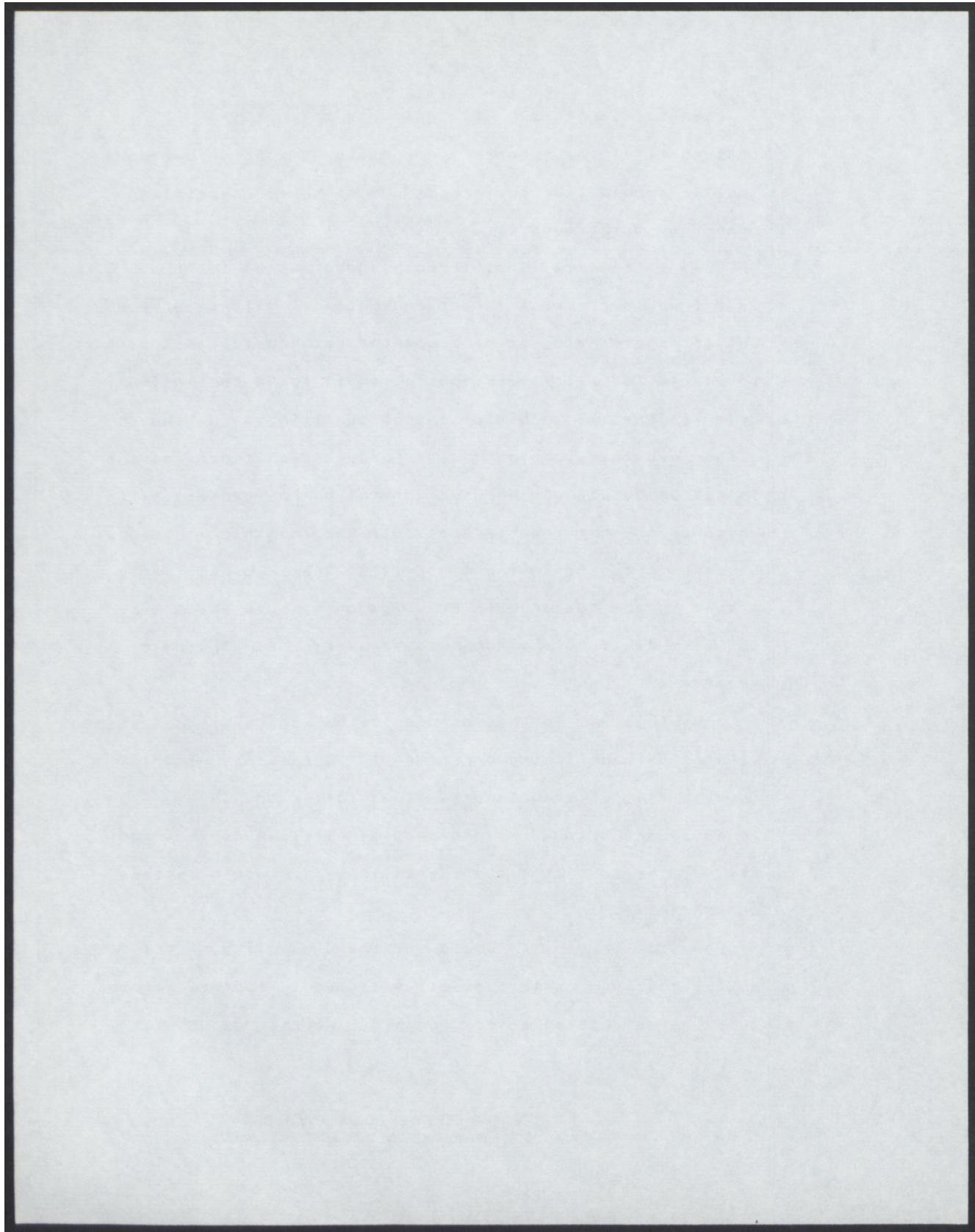
5 Dr. Kissinger: What I recommended was as follows. I
6 said I would prefer a larger conventional defense of Europe,
7 but if we are going to be suspended between forces that are
8 too large for a tripwire and too small for a conventional
9 defense, then we should do one of two things: We should
10 either get the approval of the Europeans that part of the
11 forces in Europe can be used for third area conflicts, in
12 which we are not then trapped into keeping them in Europe, as
13 we were forced to in the '73 crisis, where we had to fly all
14 around Europe to resupply an ally, or else in which two of
15 the five divisions be returned to America as strategic
16 reserves.

17 But this was in the absence of the nuclear redeployment.
18 we are now undertaking under the INF agreement. I think
19 under present circumstances, if we follow the INF
20 redeployment with a redeployment of American conventional
21 forces, the crisis of confidence in Europe would become
22 unmanageable.

23 Senator Sarbanes: Would not the decoupling effect of
24 taking that move with respect to troops in fact be greater
25 than any decoupling effect you are concerned about with

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
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Image ID: 15117259



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
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Image ID: 15117260

31

1 the inconsistencies that I have mentioned in reply to Senator
2 Sarbanes.

3 I believe in retrospect, although I did not, in fairness,
4 think so inevitably in '79 -- I started thinking so starting
5 about '81 -- I think the dual track decision was a mistake.
6 I think the intermediate range missiles should have been put
7 there on their merits and been coupled with both conventional
8 and nuclear disarmament or arms control in Europe.

9 But you are quite right, what happened was an inevitable
10 result of proposals, which in my view were probably made
11 largely for domestic considerations. It was easier to tell
12 one's public that one was prepared to withdraw all these
13 weapons, especially as one never believed the Soviets would
14 accept such a proposal.

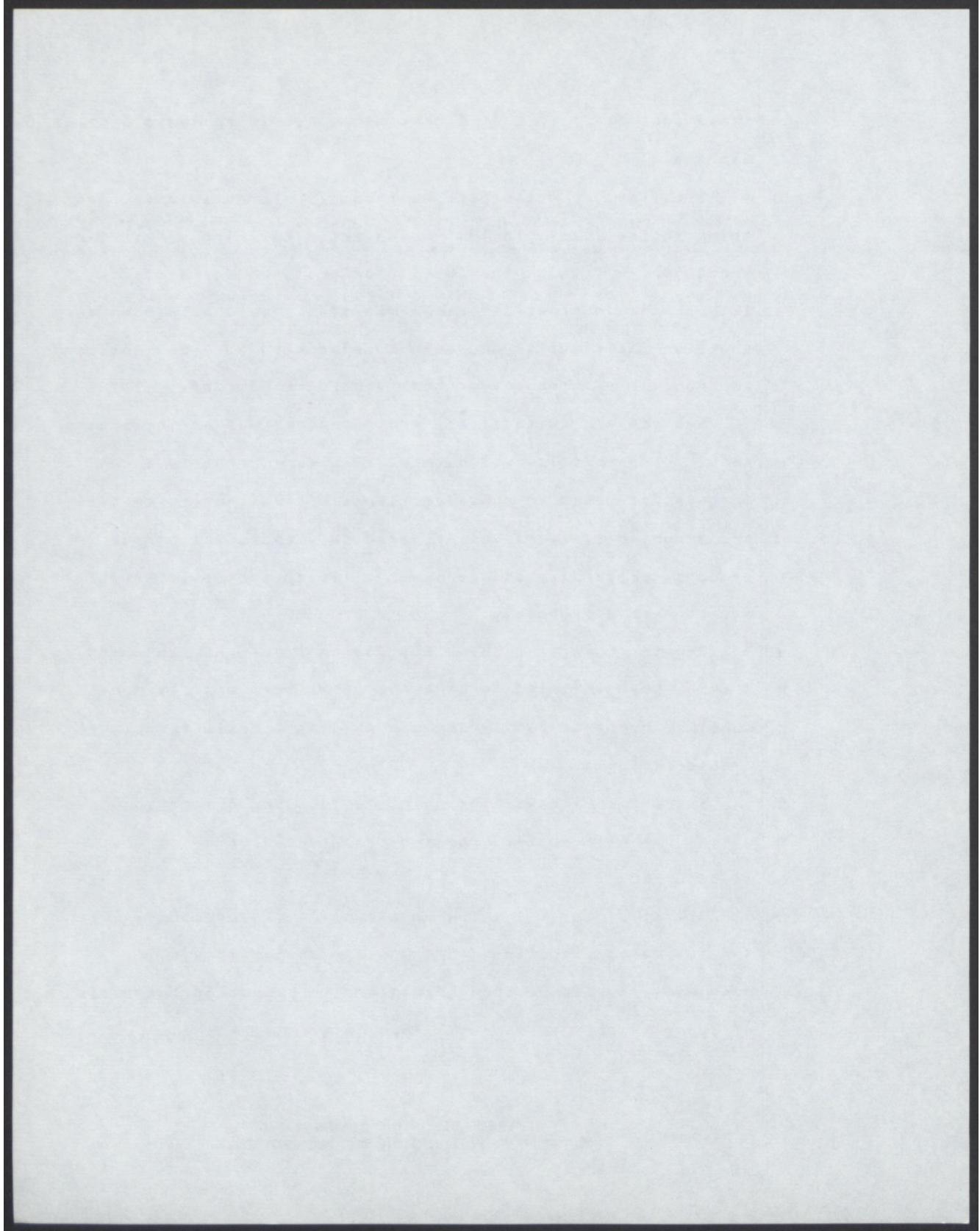
15 Senator Lugar: I think that is an important statement.
16 I think we have tried to make the point that what is done is
17 done; we ought to ratify and use this as a basis for other
18 considerations.

19 But I simply raise the point to gain the answer you have
20 given: Even if in 1979 the two-track decision was a mistake,
21 it occurred.

22 Dr. Kissinger: I think we are sliding dangerously into
23 the following situation. Originally, when NATO was
24 originally formed, weapons decisions were made on the basis
25 of security considerations. Then later on, arms control

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
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Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
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32

1 negotiations might or might not start, and then existing
2 weapons deployments were used in the bargaining that
3 followed, as is the case today with many of the strategic
4 forces.

5 In the late seventies, it developed that the Soviets
6 began to assert a right to comment and intervene in
7 unilateral NATO weapons decisions. And even though the
8 SS-20's had already been deployed without any *challenge* by the
9 West, NATO felt obliged to adopt a double track decision,
10 which meant that they would first negotiate with the Soviets,
11 which delayed the deployment by four years to begin with.

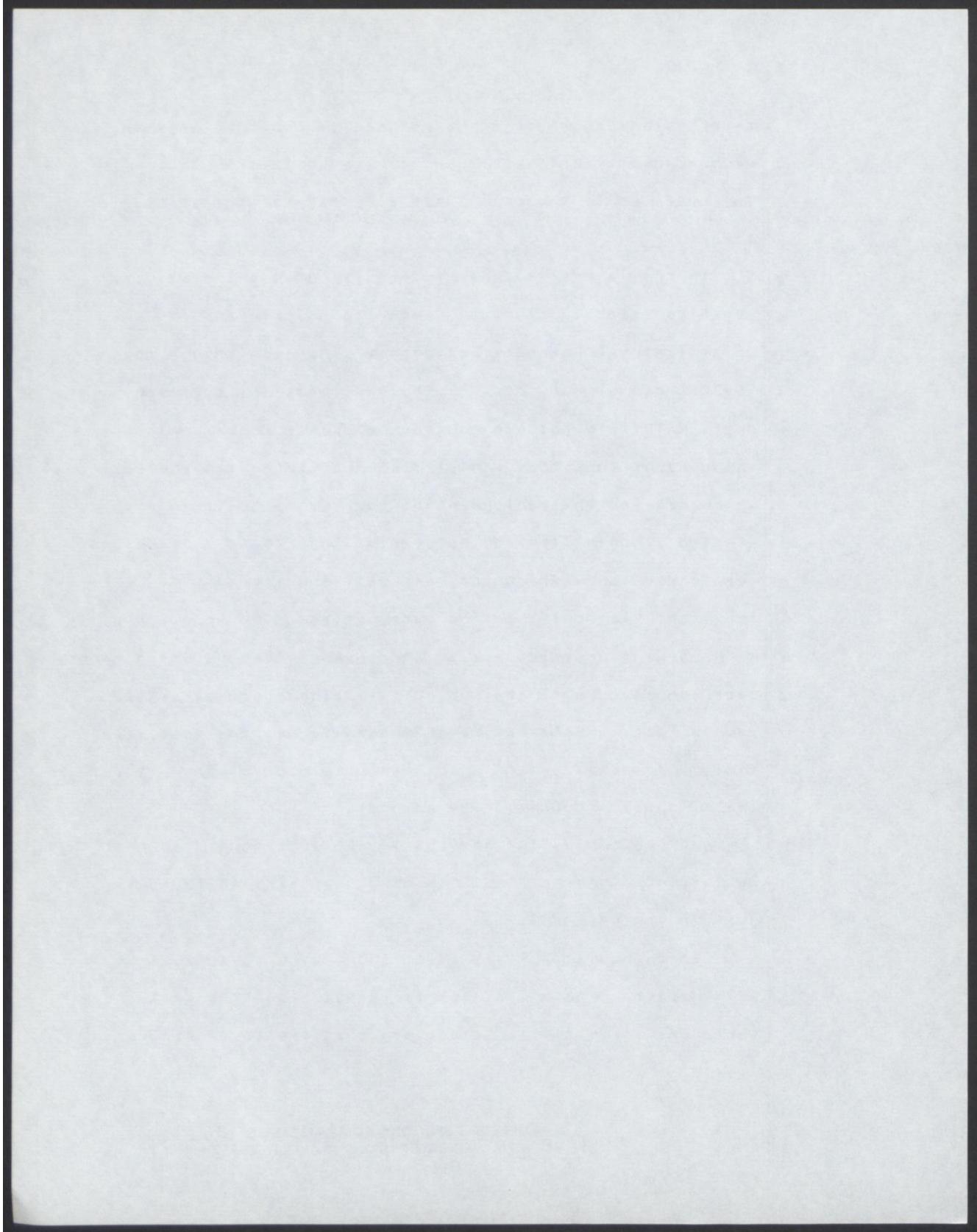
12 And it then created the premise that these two weapons
13 were equivalent, which they are not, and led almost
14 inevitably logically to the zero option. And we now see it
15 is happening with respect to short-range weapons which nobody
16 ever conceived were the subject of prior approval by the
17 Warsaw Pact, whether we could modernize weapons that were
18 already in Germany, that had been put into Germany without
19 the slightest opposition by anybody.

20 And gradually, the Soviets may be getting a veto over our
21 deployments through these domestic processes in the West, not
22 just in the United States.

23 Senator Lugar: Well, even if one were to agree that the
24 1979 decision was a mistake, is it not also true that it
25 would have been difficult to gain that degree of accord in

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
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Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
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Image ID: 15117264

34[EYJ]

1 to fulfillment.

2 I mention this because it seems to me that it is so
3 important to grasp the significance of your conclusion as to
4 what now as we review the difficulties.

5 Dr. Kissinger: I am very uneasy with what I see
6 happening. First of all, I think three years ago Chancellor
7 Kohl would have agreed to modernization of the Lances. It
8 would not have been any domestic issue at all. It would have
9 happened.

10 In fact, they agreed to it and many people were not even
11 aware that that decision had been taken. Now, I noticed in
12 some testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee,
13 one of the German witnesses who is ~~for~~ ^{for} the modernization
14 nevertheless felt that it had to be tied into an arms control
15 package that was geared to the removal of some of the nuclear
16 weapons, plus some other considerations.

17 And before we know it, we are going to have slid down the
18 road again where the principle of zero in the short range
19 field is accepted for some undefined quid pro quo, and then
20 we are well ~~under~~ ^{on the} way to the denuclearization of Germany,
21 which I think is a disaster for the West.

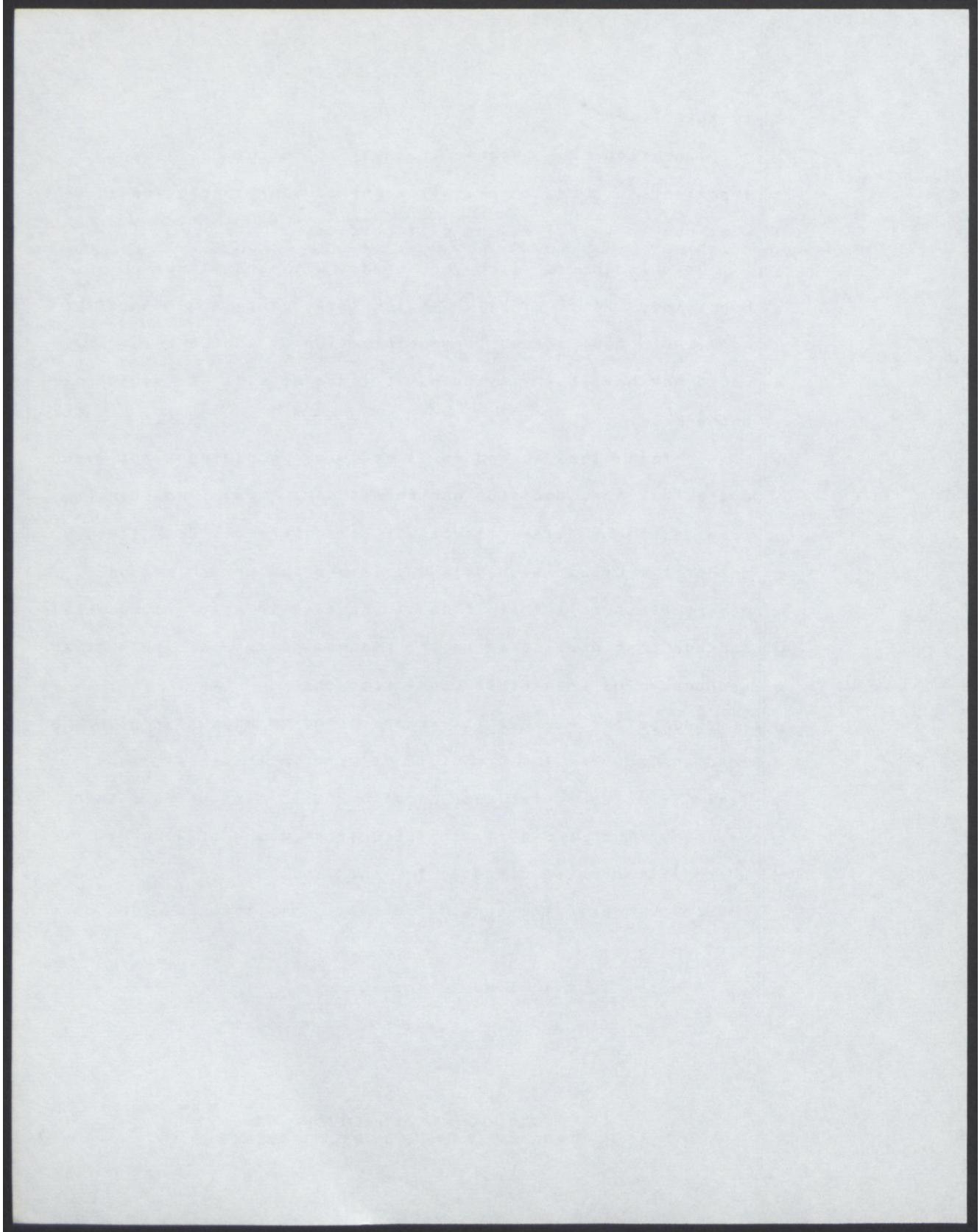
22 I would urge the greatest care at this time in going down
23 that road.

24 Senator Lugar: I would agree.

25 Let me just ask this question. With regard to our

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
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Image ID: 15117265



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988 [1 of 3], Image 23

Image ID: 15117266

1 European allies, we have made speculative judgments about
2 their politics, how they will react to this. What is your
3 own judgment about the willingness of Europeans to defend
4 themselves at this point?

5 Dr. Kissinger: I think one of the ~~good results of~~
6 potentially good results of Reykjavik and the INF agreement,
7 neither of which I would have recommended ~~if somebody would~~
8 ~~have asked me ahead of time, one of the good results~~ is that
9 the defense-oriented Europeans are now more willing to ~~think~~
10 to consider a common European defense effort, and to push
11 European unity into the field of defense.

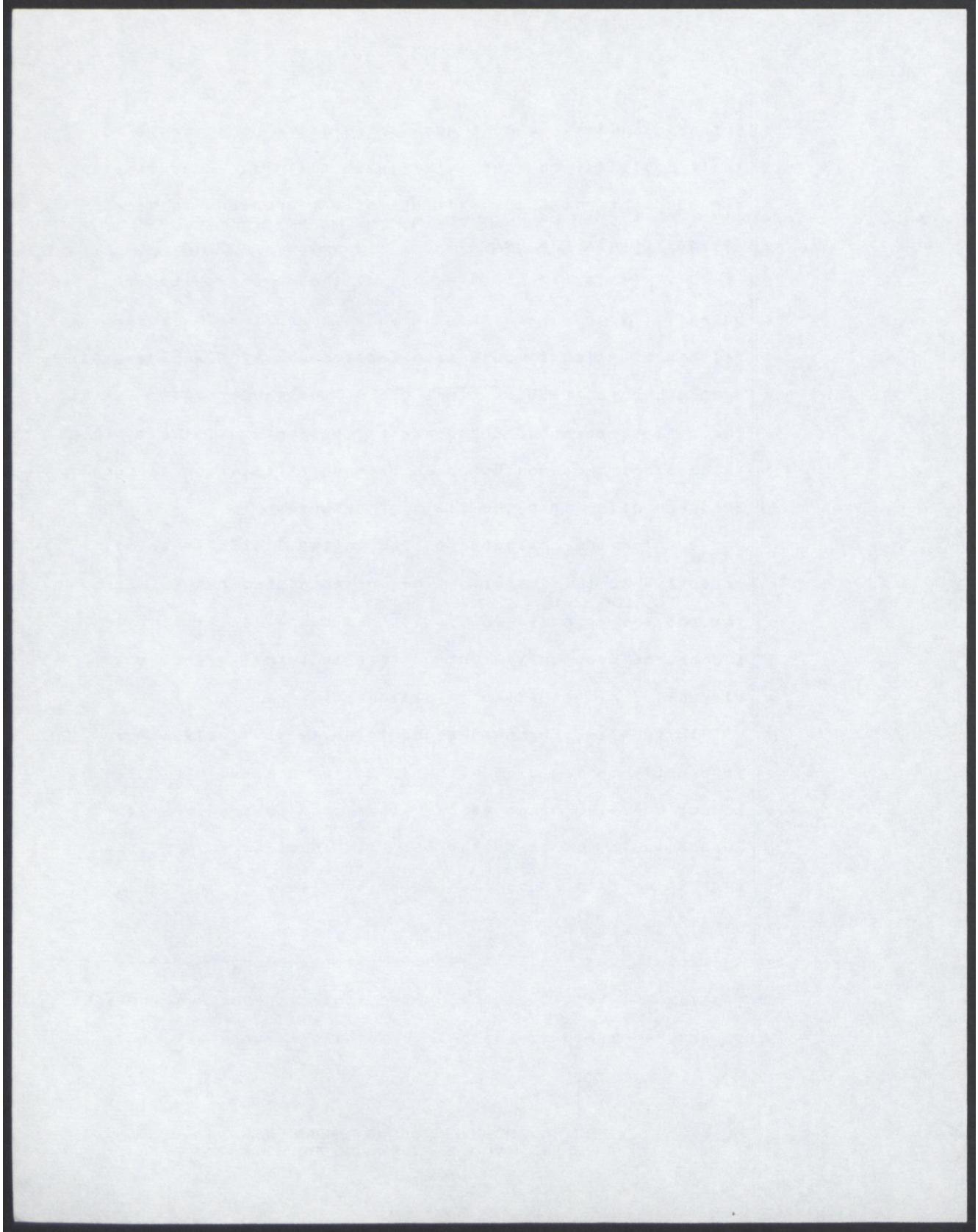
12 I think the challenge to the United States is to be
13 receptive to this effort. The United States has so far
14 favored European ~~the economic unity~~, but has been less willing to
15 support defense unity, out of fear that this might be
16 disruptive of the Atlantic alliance.

17 In my view, European economic unity is likely to be
18 inherently competitive with the United States. In defense, I
19 cannot conceive of an eastern threat to Europe in which
20 Europe would not be better off with American support than
21 without American support. So it is likely to bring us
22 together.

23 And I hope, and I have no reason to doubt that this is
24 ~~the view, I hope~~ that the United States supports efforts to
25 strengthen the U.S.-European union and efforts by France and

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
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Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
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Image ID: 15117268

CYD

1 Dr. Kissinger: In the early seventies we were not
2 actually negotiating any significant reductions. We were
3 negotiating ceilings on forces. SALT I established the
4 ceiling approximately where it was in the unilateral programs
5 of the two sides, and there were no significant reductions
6 envisaged at the time.

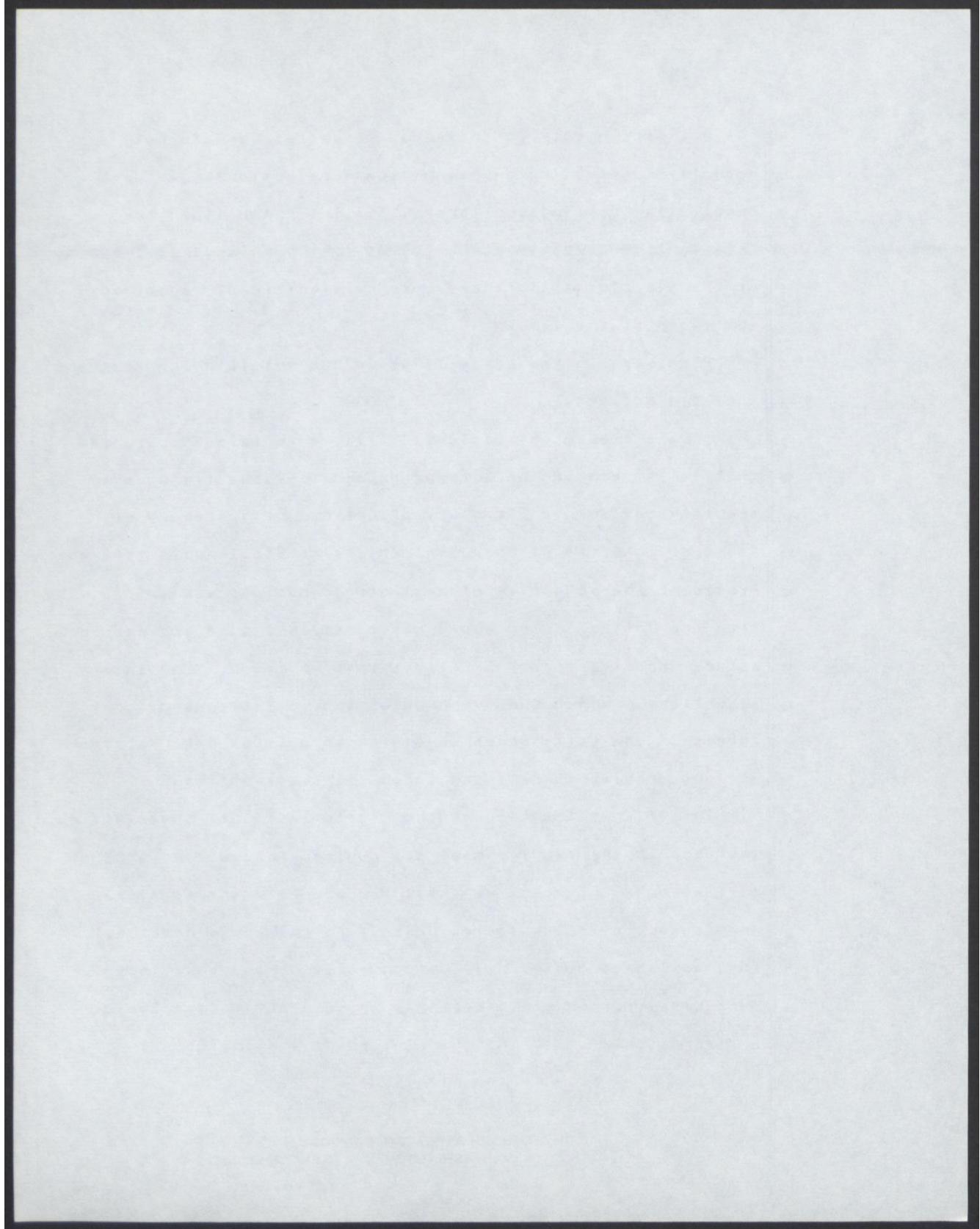
7 Moreover, in the early 1970's we had multiple warheads and
8 they did not yet.

9 In the current situation, I believe we face the problem
10 that it is becoming harder and harder to visualize what a
11 security advisor or Secretary of Defense or Secretary of
12 State or Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff would tell a
13 President the objective of a strategic nuclear war initiated
14 from the United States would be in response to a conventional
15 attack, and therefore, I believe that we are heading into a
16 situation in which the overhang of the Soviet conventional
17 forces on the territories adjoining them is becoming a more
18 serious problem than it was in the early seventies.

19 In 1973, at the time of the Middle East war, there was an
20 increase in the readiness of our nuclear forces. At that
21 time we had, I forget, we still had a very vast superiority
22 in warheads over the Soviet Union. In the early nineties
23 this would not necessarily not only not be the case, but our
24 land-based forces would probably be vulnerable to a Soviet
25 nuclear attack and without a reciprocal ability to hold

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
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Image ID: 15117269



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
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Image ID: 15117270

EYD

1 Dr. Kissinger: I would have to know what it is that is
2 supposed to be restrained before I could make a judgment on
3 it.

4 Senator Cranston: Yes, of course you would.

5 One question, if we did seek to link conventional
6 progress to fulfillment of a START treaty, that could cause a
7 long delay in getting to it with Gorbachev, as you
8 know, has made some interesting statements about a desire to
9 redress the imbalance and to make asymmetrical adjustments in
10 Europe in conventional forces.

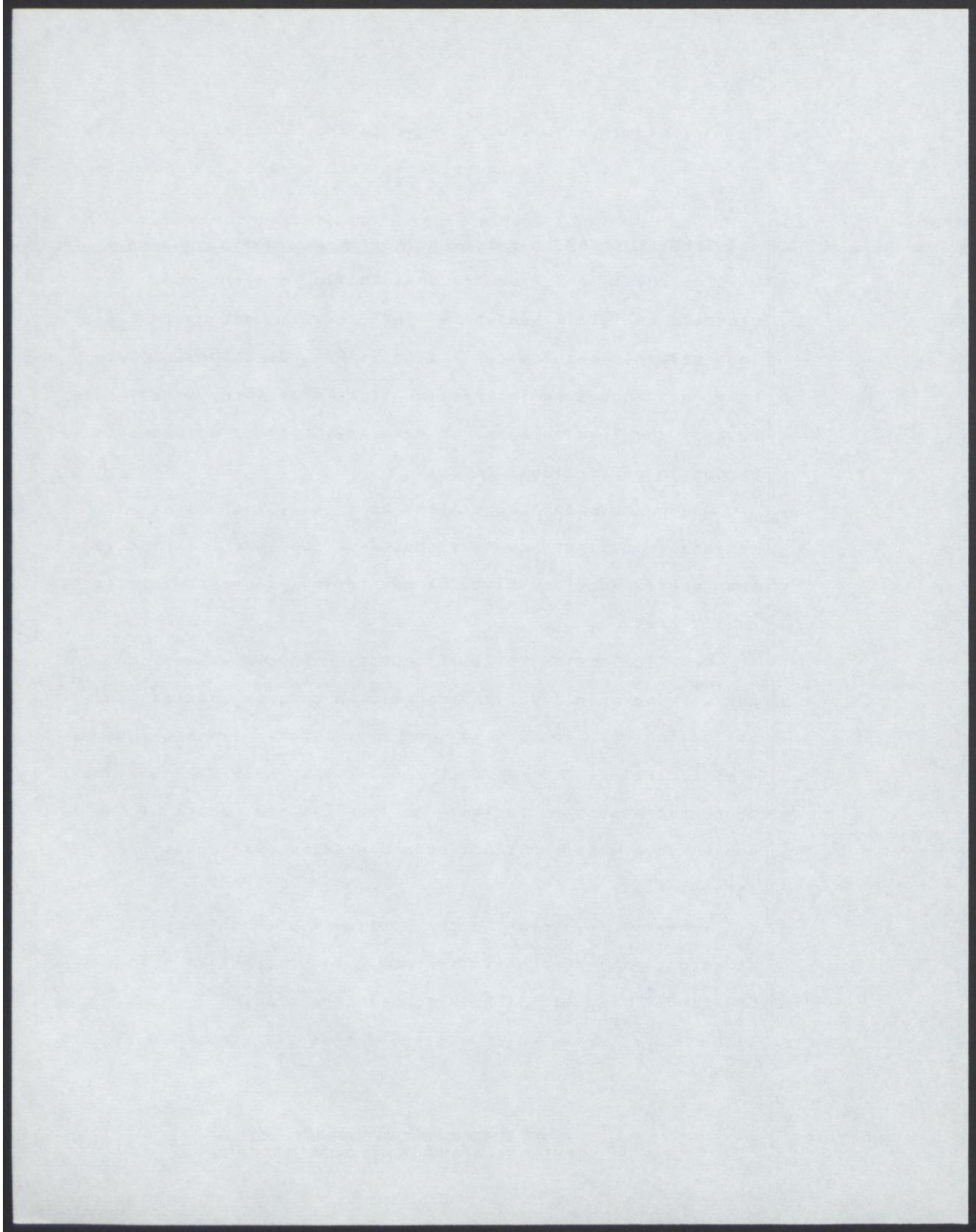
11 Do you have any suggestions as to how, with some
12 reasonable dispatch and swiftness, we can come to grips with
13 that and explore and find out how serious those statements
14 really are?

15 Dr. Kissinger: Well, of course, ~~I have been working, I~~
16 ~~was working when I was an academician on arms control since~~ ^{more}
17 its beginning. But I think ~~you will agree, both~~ students of
18 arms control will agree that studies that have been made have
19 concerned almost exclusively nuclear matters, and that the
20 conventional issue has not been addressed with equal
21 seriousness.

22 ~~I have only, speaking for myself, I have only myself~~
23 started thinking about it recently, and I received some
24 briefings, for which I hold no brief, but which I found
25 rather impressive, which suggested that the imbalance in

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
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Image ID: 15117271



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988 [1 of 3], Image 29

Image ID: 15117272

[LY]

1 Europe is such that reductions of less than five to one in
2 our favor in the conventional forces would actually make the
3 situation worse. I have not made these studies myself, but
4 ~~they were done by serious people.~~

5 Now, even if one negotiated specific reductions, one
6 would have a massive problem of verification, and one would
7 have to determine what is one talking about? Do these forces
8 have to be disbanded, do they have to be moved to another
9 part of Soviet and Western territory? Any force that is
10 ~~demobilized, that is, reduced in Germany or in Europe would~~
11 ~~probably have to be~~ ^{western} ~~demobilized.~~
12 place you can put them in Germany or the low countries that
13 would provide an adequate buffer.

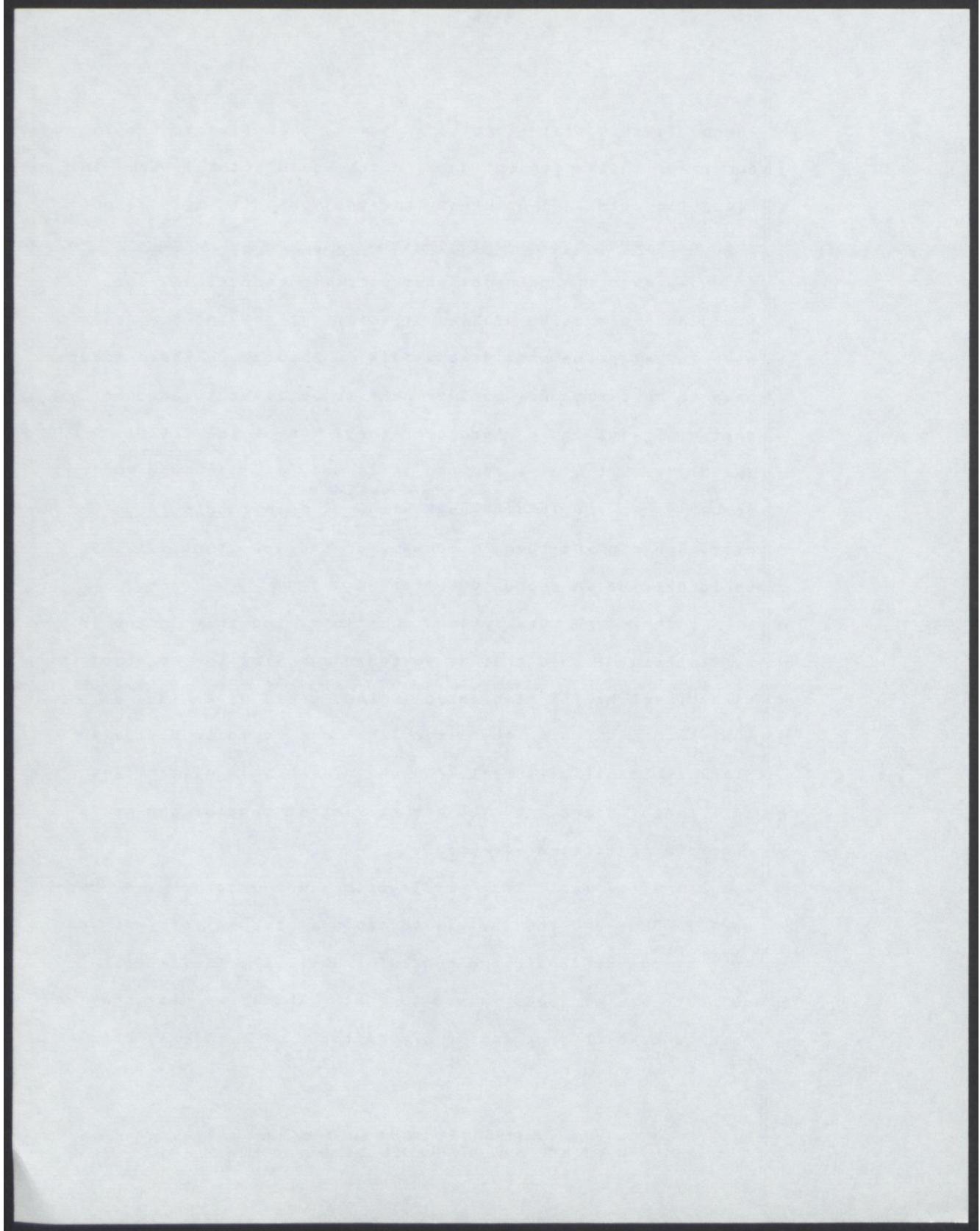
14 So these are very serious questions, and this is why in
15 my statement I said that if we could agree as to a concept
16 without yet having negotiated it that gives us an idea of
17 what such a balance would look like, one could proceed with
18 START, which is different from what I wrote in my article.

19 Senator Cranston: You are talking of concept and not a
20 concrete negotiated agreement.

21 Dr. Kissinger: Yes, but I would like ~~but what can one~~
22 ~~do? I would ask~~ the Soviets to table a proposal of what they
23 mean by conventional arms control. Where are their units
24 going to be, who does away with what? And if we hear that we
25 have to take all our strike aircraft out of Europe in return

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 30

Image ID: 15117273



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 31

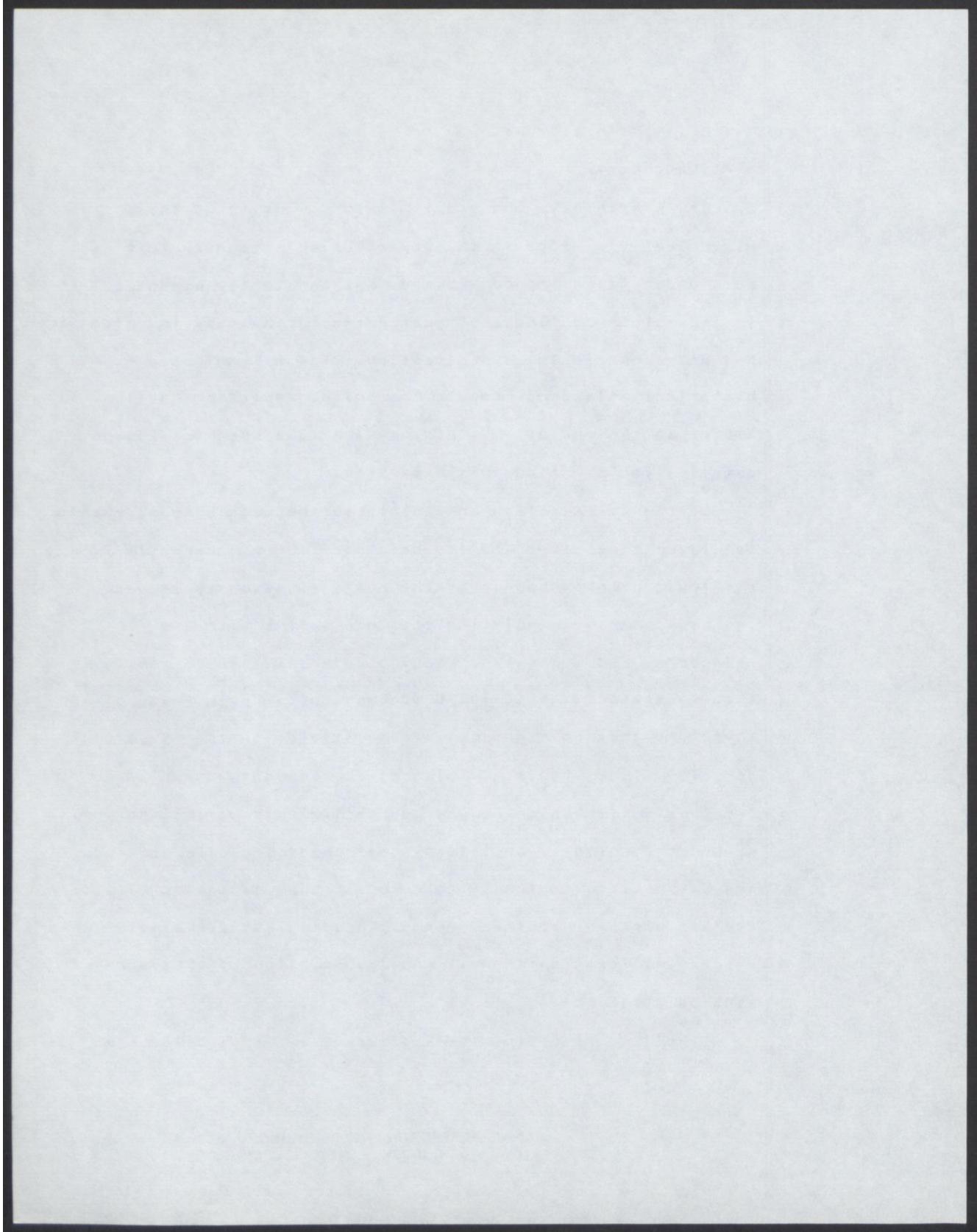
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CYJ

1 Dr. Kissinger: No.
2 [Laughter.]
3 Dr. Kissinger: The problem seems to me to be this.
4 Historically we face in the Soviet Union a country that has,
5 both under tsars and commissars, has constantly expanded. It
6 is impossible to find a 50 year period of history in which it
7 has not expanded in some direction. And if you get a
8 historical atlas and compare the Soviet empire or Russian
9 empire at the end of ^{any century} starting with 1603 when the Romanovs
10 came in, you can find this expansion.
11 So how to establish an equilibrium between a country that
12 is eleven times ours and its neighbors is an inherently
13 difficult problem and is at the heart of security issues.
14 Now, I am not insisting that one begins with its
15 neighbors, and I know that many people say, and correctly,
16 that Russia and the Soviet Union have often been invaded and
17 therefore they have a peculiar sensitivity on the issue of
18 security. But Angola and Nicaragua are about as far away
19 from the Soviet Union as you can get in this world, and it is
20 my understanding, I am told by governmental people whom you
21 have a better opportunity to question than I, that a billion
22 dollars worth of arms was sent to Angola last year, ~~less~~^{plus}
23 Russian military personnel, and \$600 million of arms were
24 sent to Nicaragua.
25 I hold no brief for these figures, but they have been

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 32

Image ID: 15117275



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 33

Image ID: 15117276

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1 come up with it. But it cannot go on that everything on our
2 side of the line is subject to undermining and everything on
3 their side of the line is sacrosanct without sooner or later
4 leading to a confrontation which is in nobody's interest.

5 ~~That is my concern.~~

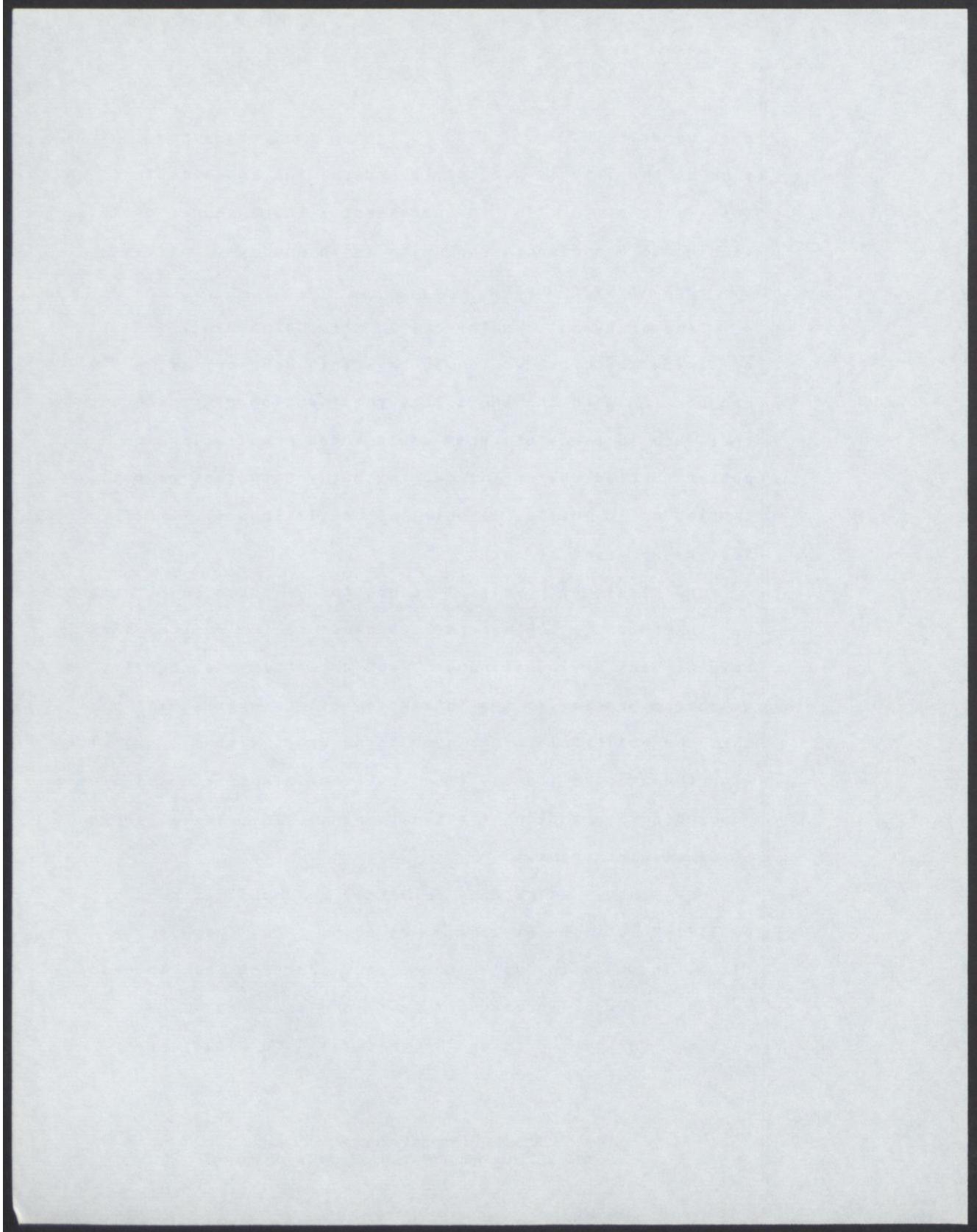
6 Senator Evans: Would you, in terms of timing, in terms
7 of timing and type, would you have this done now or in
8 conjunction with the INF treaty ratification or subsequent to
9 that, and in terms of type, would these negotiations be
10 better carried on, or the debate that you suggest be better
11 carried on in public, in private negotiations with the
12 Soviets, or part of each?

13 Dr. Kissinger: Well, I do not think it can be, it cannot
14 be linked to the INF agreement because of the reasons that I
15 have already given, although I would certainly personally
16 welcome ~~a Senate, if the Senate saw fit to express its view~~
17 that the political issues need to be dealt with side by side
18 with the weapons issues, I believe that might be helpful as a
19 nonbinding expression of a Senate consensus, ~~or as a binding~~
20 ~~of Senate consensus.~~

21 Now, should it be done privately or should it be done
22 publicly? I think ~~it depends~~ on both. Now, there is a
23 ritual in which so-called third area conflicts are on every
24 agenda of every Secretary of State and of every summit
25 meeting, but my impression is that they are almost never

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 34

Image ID: 15117277



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 35

Image ID: 15117278

50 CYJ

1 decoupling now if it was an either/or situation then?

2 Dr. Kissinger: Well, this was not an article, this was a
3 transcript of an extemporaneous speech I gave to a conference
4 in Brussels, and I think you will agree that when you read
5 that speech, that 99 percent of it deals with the declining
6 credibility of strategic nuclear forces, and an appeal to
7 Europeans to face the facts of the eighties and nineties.

8 The 30 years was given by the editor of that journal. I made
9 no such claim, I hope not, anyway, in the speech.

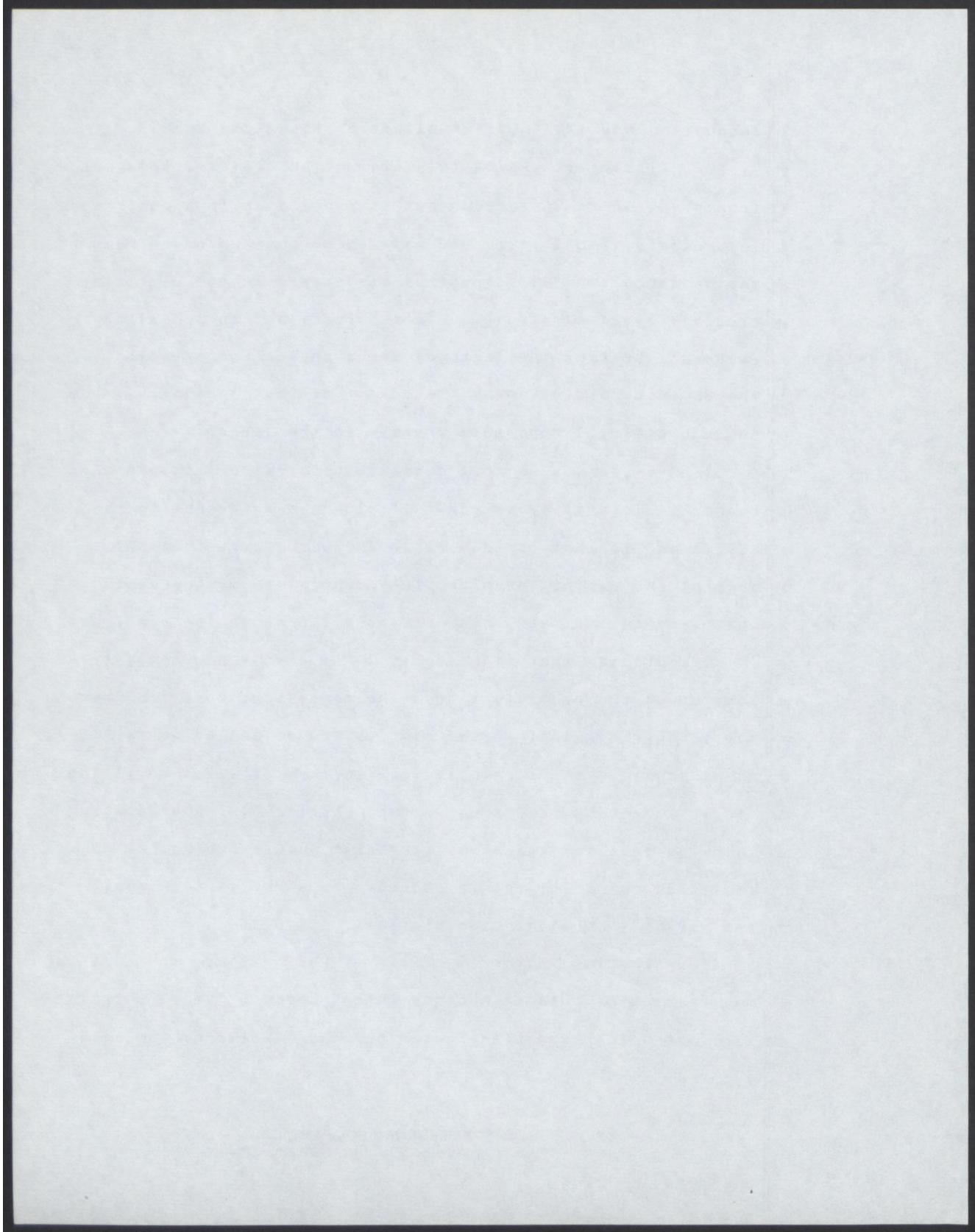
10 I have been asked that question before, so I have had a
11 chance to look at my speech. I think the reference to the
12 SS-20s and to what is now called INF was a parenthetical
13 comment and was not even remotely central to my argument,
14 which indicated that I had not thought through the problem.

15 I would say that starting in 1981, when I had thought
16 more about the problem, I took the consistent position that
17 the decoupling, that in the sixties and seventies we still
18 had a considerable strategic superiority, at least until the
19 middle seventies, and then we had a period of grace because
20 thinking does not adjust to strategic and technological
21 realities as rapidly as it should. So we still got credit
22 for having a strategic superiority.

23 But starting in the eighties, it was obvious, at least to
24 me, that the strategic nuclear threat based on weapons that
25 were based in the United States or at sea would no longer be

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 36

Image ID: 15117279



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 37

Image ID: 15117280

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1 Dr. Kissinger: Well, Walter Slocombe is a man of
2 extraordinary intelligence whom I have known since he was a
3 student at Harvard and I was a young professor there, and for
4 a brief period he either worked on my staff or as a
5 consultant to my staff.

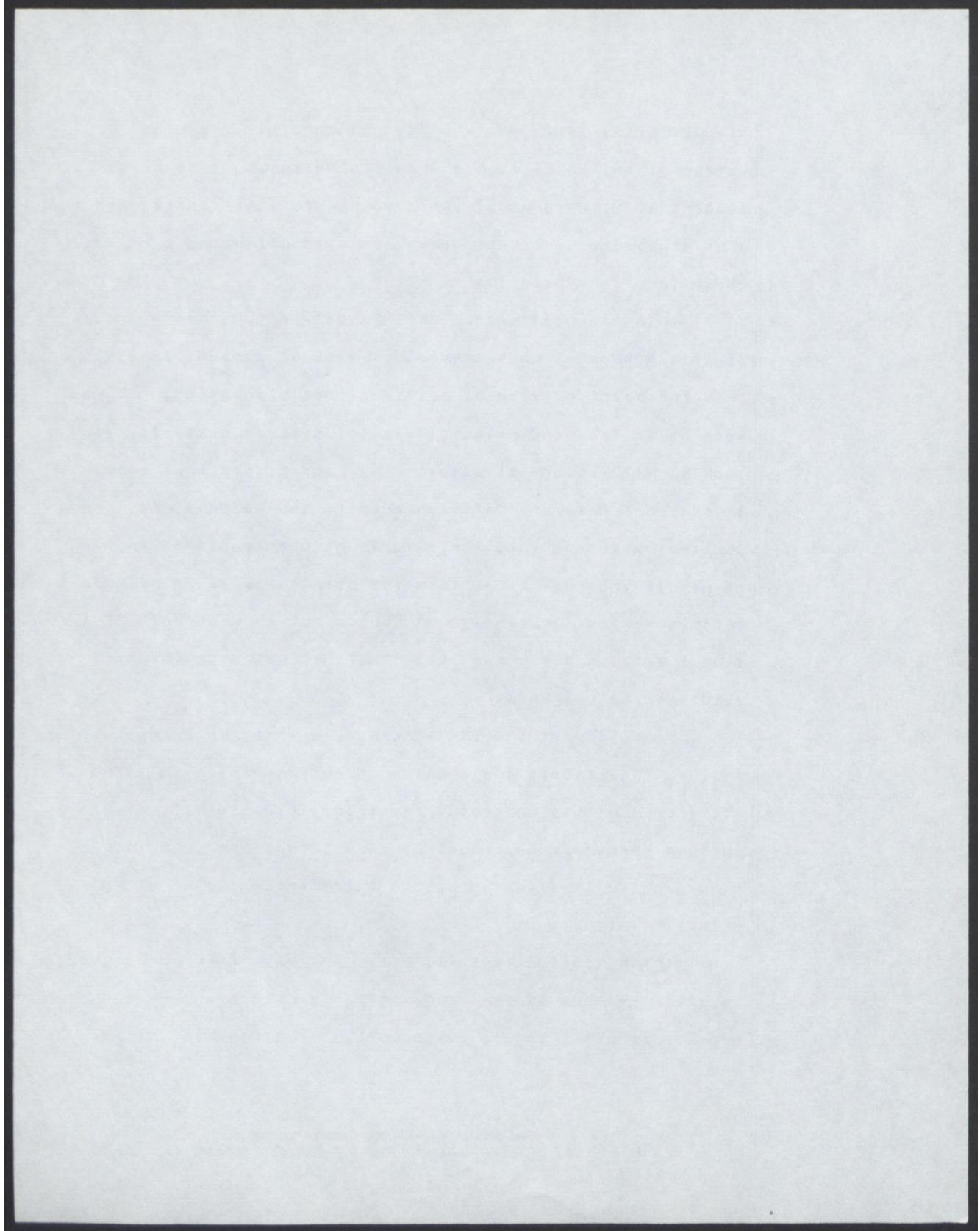
6 I think the difference here is between whether you look
7 at this problem from the point of view of systems analysis or
8 from the point of view of political decisionmaking. If you
9 look at it from the point of view of systems analysis, you
10 look at NATO as one strategic area, and within that context,
11 it does not make any difference where the weapons are
12 located, assuming that there is a uniform readiness to use
13 them. If you look at it from the point of view of political
14 decisionmaking, however, then you do not look at NATO as a
15 single area, and you know that there is not a uniform
16 readiness to use them.

17 The utility of the INF weapons stationed in Europe was as
18 follows. Certainly one should not put the issue in terms of
19 total credibility and total incredibility. It will move
20 through shades, many shades of grey before one gets into a
21 black and white situation. One therefore talks about
22 relative weights.

23 I think a situation will arise or has arisen or is about
24 to arise -- this is again one of those grey areas -- in which
25 honesty requires one to say that the decision, if anything,

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 38

Image ID: 15117281



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 39

Image ID: 15117282

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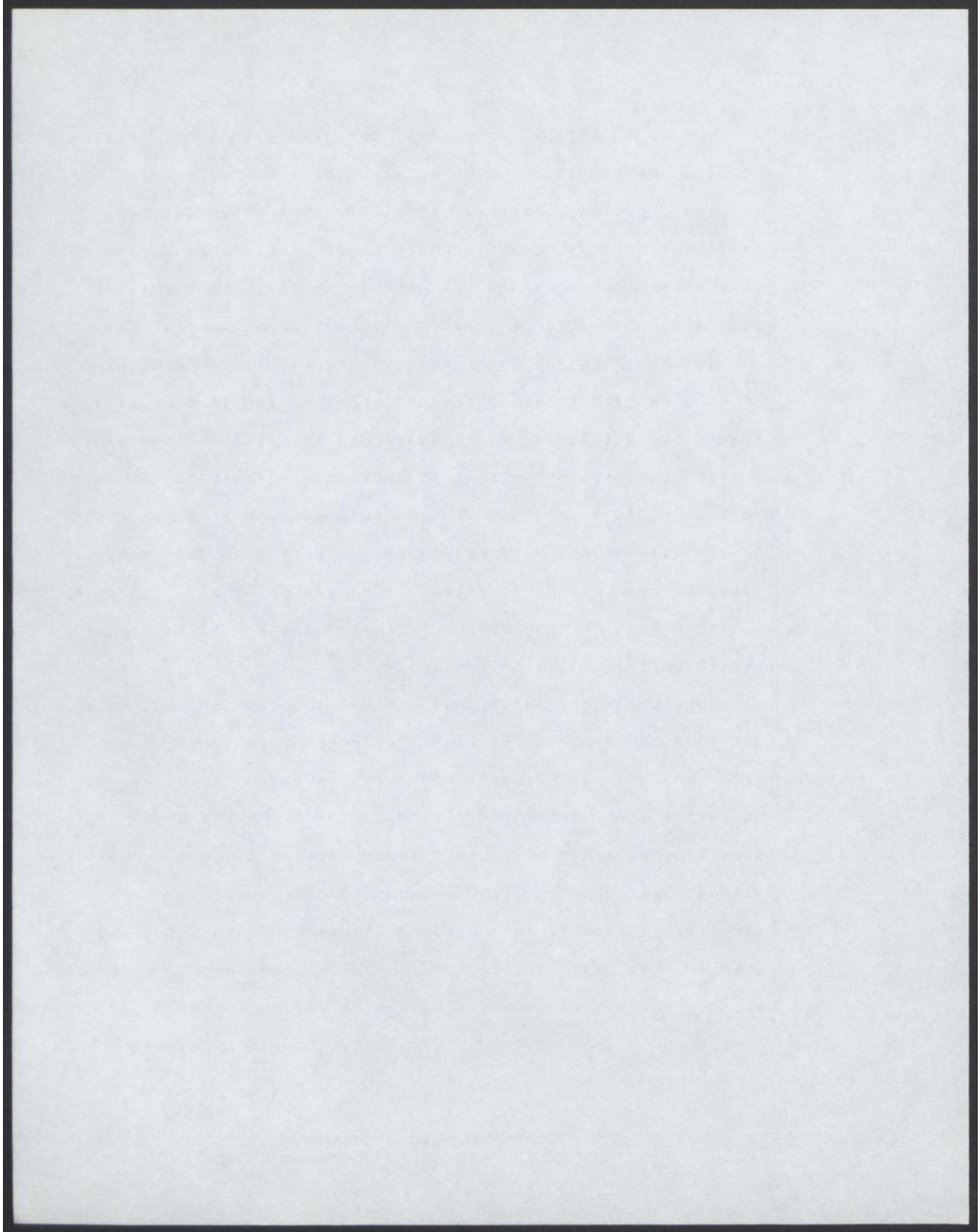
1 It is left to a formal political decision with a lot of time,
2 it will not be easy to make an argument for the use of
3 strategic nuclear weapons, especially when they have been
4 designed, partly, frankly, under congressional pressures, in
5 such a way that they are not useful for military targeting
6 but largely for bringing about cataclysmic outcomes.

7 ~~so that even the overrunning~~ Certainly the overrunning
8 of American forces would create a presumption that we will do
9 something, but Secretary McNamara has said that he had made a
10 private decision -- he said so publicly -- never to recommend
11 to the President the use of strategic nuclear weapons, or for
12 all I know, of any nuclear weapons. There have been many
13 flat statements to that effect. Chancellor Schmidt has said
14 publicly that he had made the private decision to surrender
15 before anything like this happened.

16 Now, these are facts that one has to keep in mind. The
17 presence of the intermediate-range weapons in Europe was a
18 crude way by which a Soviet leader, looking at them, had to
19 calculate that whatever foolishness the Americans might
20 commit, they would not permit those weapons to be overrun
21 without having authorized somebody to fire them. If they
22 were fired, even if they attacked these weapons, then, and
23 even if they got 95 percent of them, the remaining 5 percent
24 would do huge damage in the Soviet Union, that they could not
25 accept while leaving the United States undisturbed, and

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 40

Image ID: 15117283



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 41

Image ID: 15117284

CYD

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1 The Chairman: The Committee will come to order. The
2 Chair recognizes the Senator from Kansas, Mrs. Kassebaum.

3 Senator Kassebaum: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Dr.
4 Kissinger, I would like to ask a couple of questions on
5 verification and compliance.

6 You were instrumental in negotiating SALT I and really
7 ever since then we have been concerned about verification.

8 We have argued the merits or demerits of the Standing
9 Consultative Commission. Under the INF Treaty there is a
10 call for the Special Verification Commission.

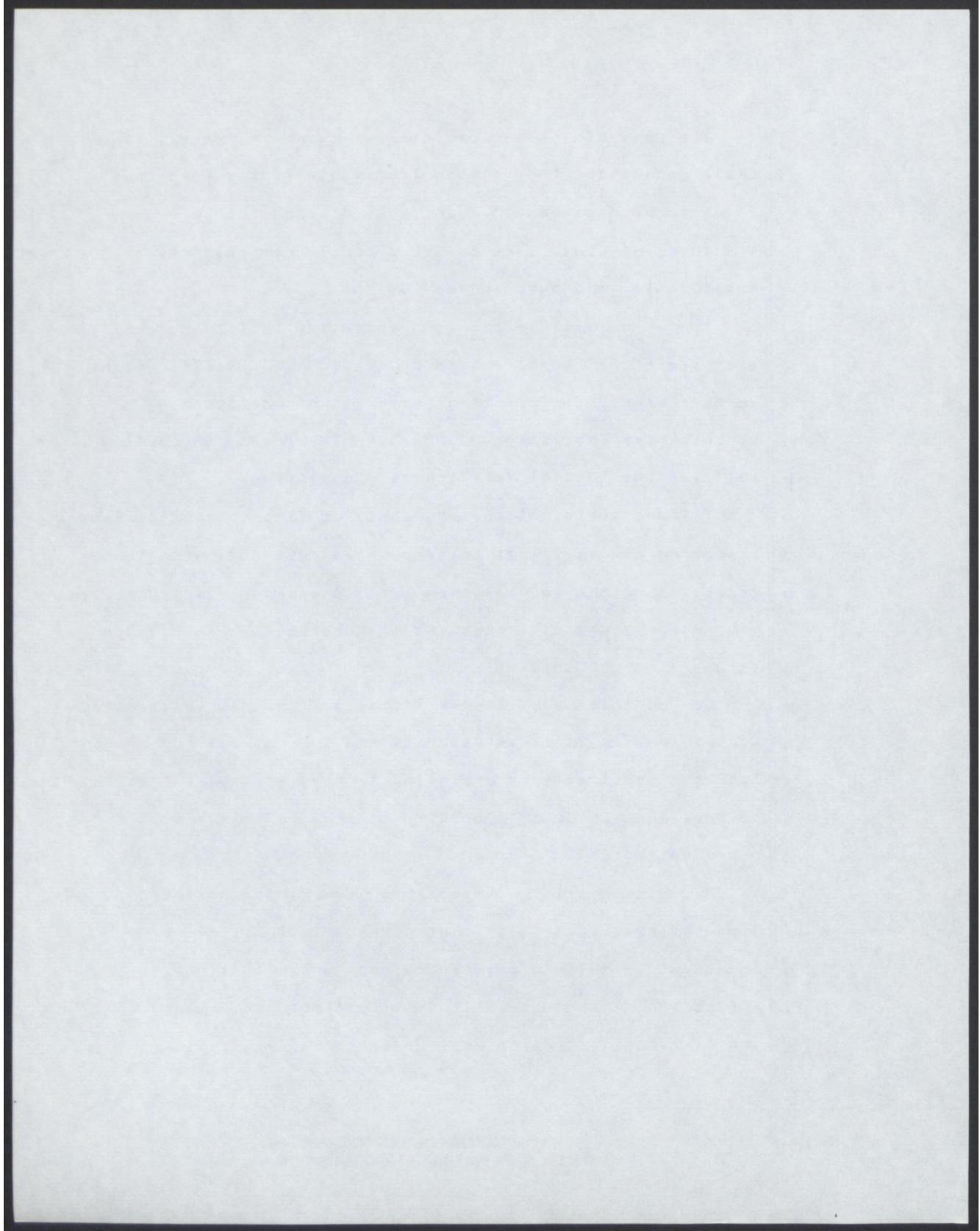
11 I found quite interesting what you said in your statement
12 regarding new verification procedures must deal with three
13 issues, and then you lay them out. I was wondering what, in
14 your view, you would recommend in handling the compliance
15 issues in the future.

16 Do you think that the verification, the new Verification
17 Commission, as it is structured, has some merit? Or do you
18 feel that basically we are going to have to have the ability
19 to know what we want to do with it once we feel there is
20 non-compliance?

21 Dr. Kissinger: Let me make a general a observation. As
22 I have viewed these arms control negotiations, every
23 agreement is sold to the Senate and to the public with the
24 proposition that there will be very fierce insist on compliance and
25 that the Administration will be extremely vigilant. And this

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 42

Image ID: 15117285



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 43

Image ID: 15117286

1 is very sincere.

2 Then opponents of the agreement often use verification as
3 an issue, first to question it, when it is up for
4 ratification, and afterwards to try to find violations. Now,
5 some of these violations are genuine violations and some of
6 them are technical violations.

7 And so very soon a defensive cast of mind develops in the
8 Administration in office when it is confirmed with technical
9 violations ^{inflamed} ~~to the effect~~ that it is being harassed. Then the whole debate
10 goes off the deep end. Because there are some violations
11 that are not threatening to the agreement, and not intended
12 to be.

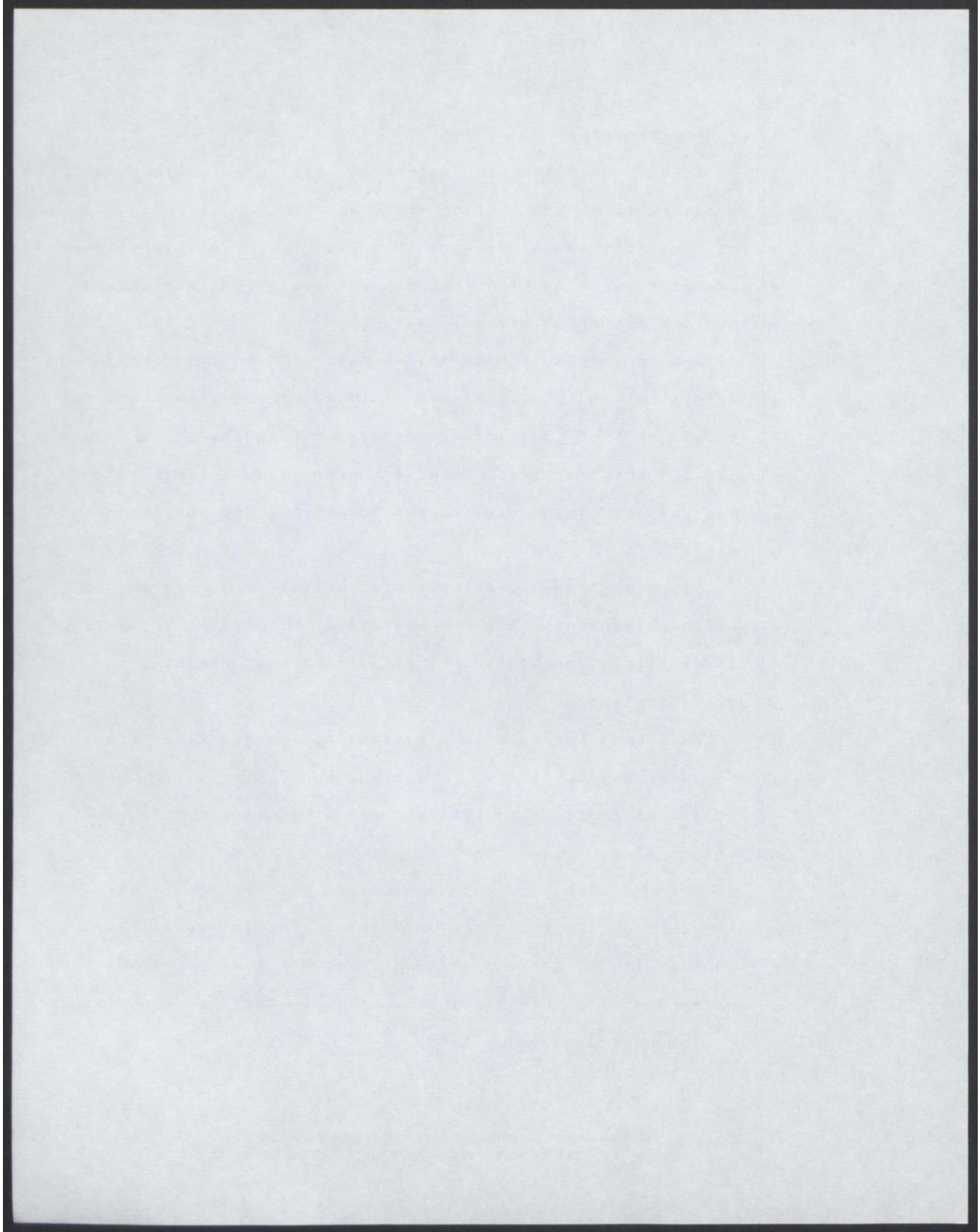
13 I remember one apparent violation that occurred when I
14 was in government where the Soviets were building in every
15 missile field one additional silo. And that amounted to
16 about 60 silos.

17 Now, that looked like a violation. On the other hand,
18 they were saying this was a command and control silo. And I
19 would have to go on television and say ~~express my doubts~~ it is a command and
20 control silo.

21 Then somebody would say, would it not be nice to have a
22 Secretary of State who does not defend the Soviets? My view
23 was that if the Soviets wanted to violate the agreement, they
24 would not build one silo in each field. And what would they
25 do with 60 additional silos?

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 44

Image ID: 15117287



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 45

Image ID: 15117288

CYD

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1 permit us to put Pershings and GLCMs back into Europe. So
2 that we have practically no equivalent countermeasures left.
3 These are things to analyze.

4 Now, with respect to this new procedure, we have to take
5 care that particular slogans do not become a substitute for
6 concrete action. We have talked ourselves into the
7 importance of on-site inspections. And we think this is a
8 great success that we have achieved, some on-site
9 inspection.

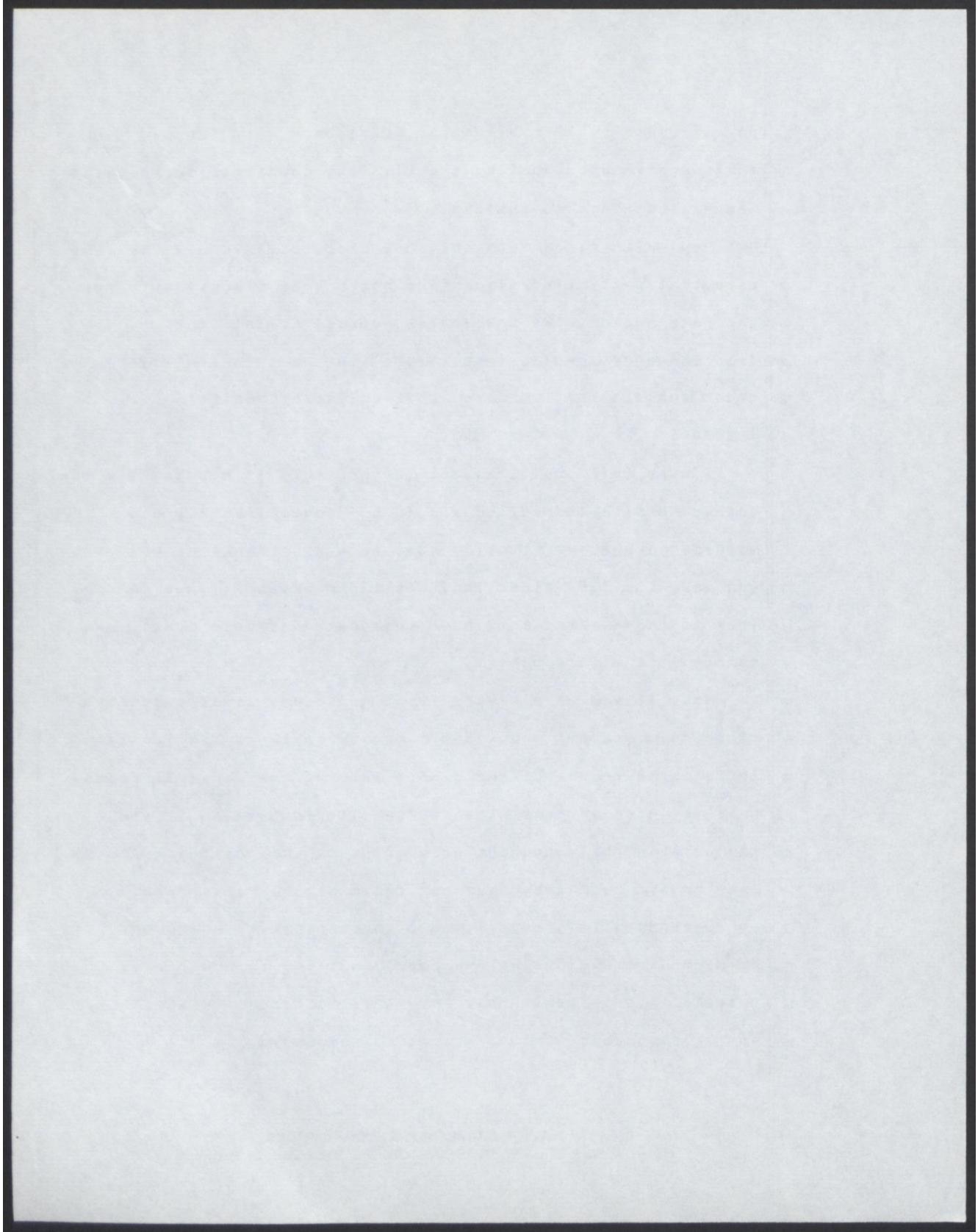
10 I must tell you, I am not so sure this is necessarily the
11 case. On-site inspection should be judged like any other
12 method, on what it actually adds to our national means. Now,
13 you take the INF inspection. As I understand it, we can only
14 look at those areas they have designated as base areas. We
15 cannot look at the others.

16 Now, if you have a very large house and it is suspected
17 of being a weapons depo, and somebody says you can look at
18 those three rooms but you cannot look at the other 25 rooms,
19 have you made progress towards on-site inspection if you
20 cannot even challenge the original data they give you and go
21 into areas which they have not designated as base areas?

22 Secondly, is the question of bureaucratic management. It
23 is my understanding that we need about 600 to 700 people to
24 operate this system. Now, they have to report to somebody.
25 And this somebody has to report to somebody.

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 46

Image ID: 15117289



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 47

Image ID: 15117290

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1 And how are you going to get it to the attention of the
2 top people who have to make the assessment? And how can you
3 keep it from the endless controversies that arise between
4 those who want to maintain the agreement and therefore lean
5 over backward in one direction, and those who want to scrap
6 the agreement and may lean over too far in the other
7 direction?

8 I do not want to be misunderstood. I am not against
9 on-site inspection. But we ought to analyze on-site
10 inspection the same way, there is nothing sacrosanct about
11 it.

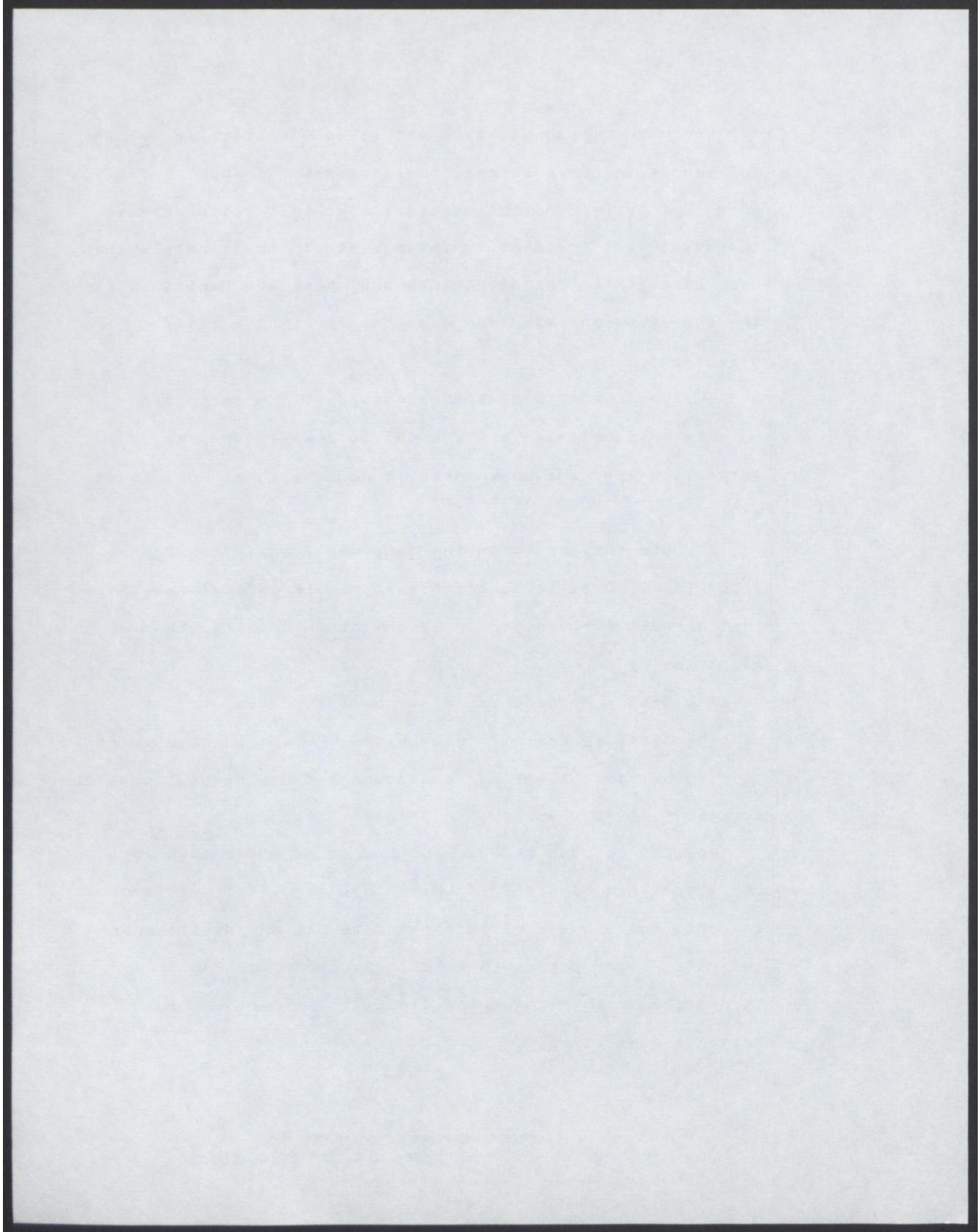
12 I would analyze it in the same way I analyze national
13 inspection. Does it meet the three criteria that have been
14 that are put forward here? Or any other criteria that we
15 might set up?

16 And are we running the risk now that we may get 50
17 percent START agreement? Now, with INF, all we need to do is
18 to find out that there is no weapon, but how do you count 50
19 percent? It is a much more stringent system.

20 Now, do we need 5,000? And how do we build them into our
21 decision-making system? I think this requires some careful
22 thought, and I would be interested to get an intelligence
23 analysis of the degree to which they think, by what
24 percentage do they think the on-site system of INF adds to our
25 national capacities.

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 48

Image ID: 15117291



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 49

Image ID: 15117292

1 certainly understand the degree to which they have
2 modernized.

3 But likewise, we have had the introduction of the F-16,
4 the introduction of the F-15, we have had the introduction of
5 the multiple-launch rocket systems, we have had the best
6 sensor system in the world with the AWACs, plus in 1973, as I
7 know you recall, we had significant troop problems by virtue
8 of the concentration on Vietnam. There were drug problems,
9 race relation problems, equipment shortages, and so forth.

10 Those, all of those issues having changed and our own
11 generals, admirals, et cetera, arguing that there is now a
12 neutrality, I wonder where you feel that there is not that
13 neutrality? Where specifically is this imbalance?

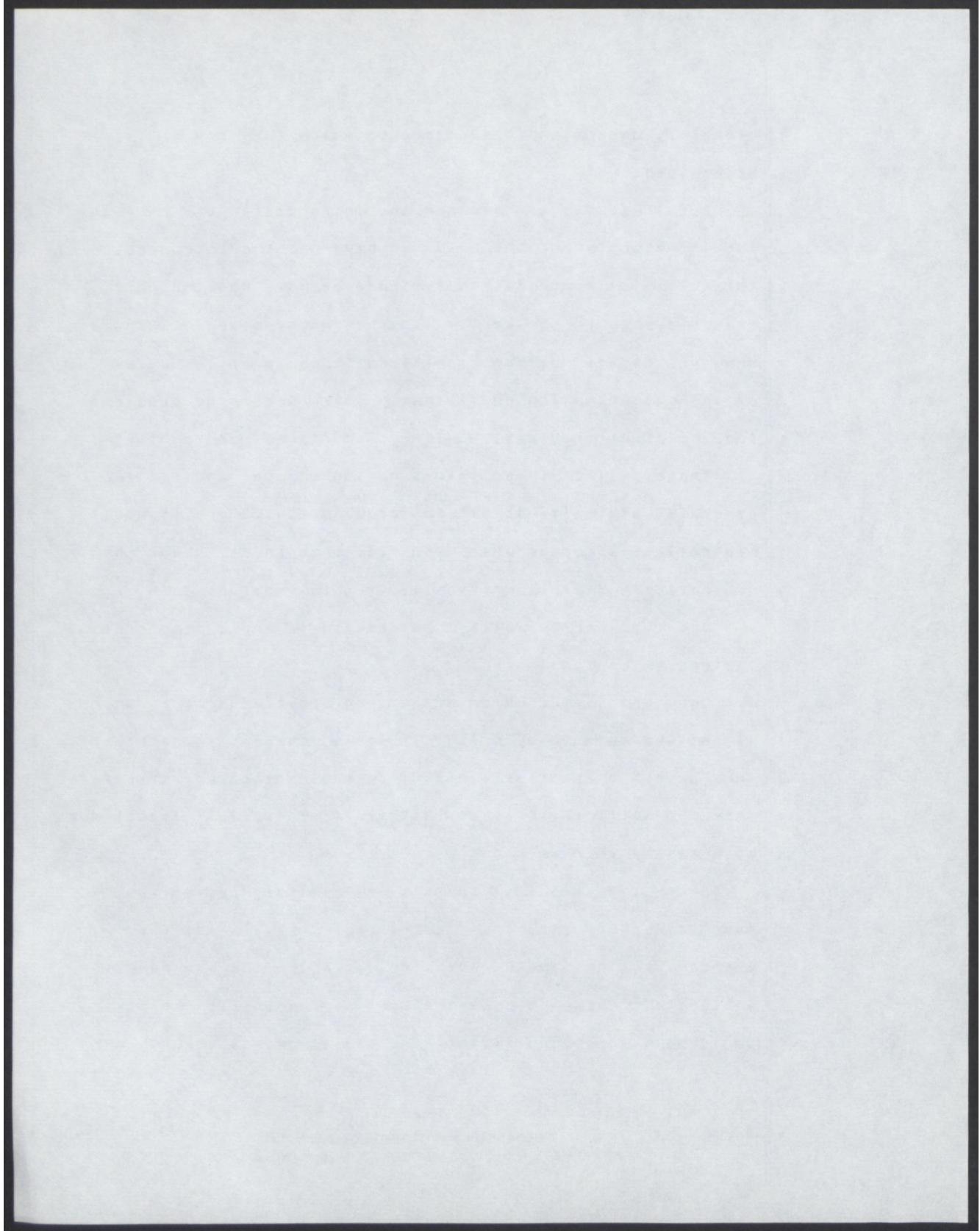
14 Dr. Kissinger: Well, I believe there are a number of
15 factors to be considered.

16 One, the Soviet Union has a geographic advantage, which
17 is ~~not due to anybody's fault~~. It is inherent in geography.
18 They have ~~the~~ interior lines of communication, and therefore
19 they can shift their forces between their various fronts much
20 more easily than we can.

21 Secondly, it is, at least every military person that I
22 have talked to, plus the studies that I have seen, for
23 example, at the Rand Corporation, in which the war games,
24 various outcomes indicate that on any hypothesis the Soviets
25 would make very significant territorial gains, even in a

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
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Image ID: 15117293



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 51

Image ID: 15117294

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1 It has developed a sort of mechanical quality where all
2 reductions are considered of equal quality. I have
3 attempted, for example, to put the numbers of the 50 percent
4 reduction into outcomes. I mean, what forces would then
5 exist?

6 I think all of you who have done it or who can get it
7 ^{later} done will find that the ~~number~~ of warheads aimed at our
8 missiles will increase rather than decrease, and therefore I
9 ask myself, what are we trying to accomplish?

10 Is this simply a theological exercise in which we prove
11 to ourselves that we can do it? Our aircraft are reduced,
12 our submarines are reduced, but the anti-aircraft defenses
13 and the anti-submarine defenses are not reduced. But the
14 anti-missile defenses, we are told, have to be reduced.

15 Now, can somebody take a step back and analyze where we
16 are trying to go and what we are trying to achieve before we
17 start rushing into numbers exercises?

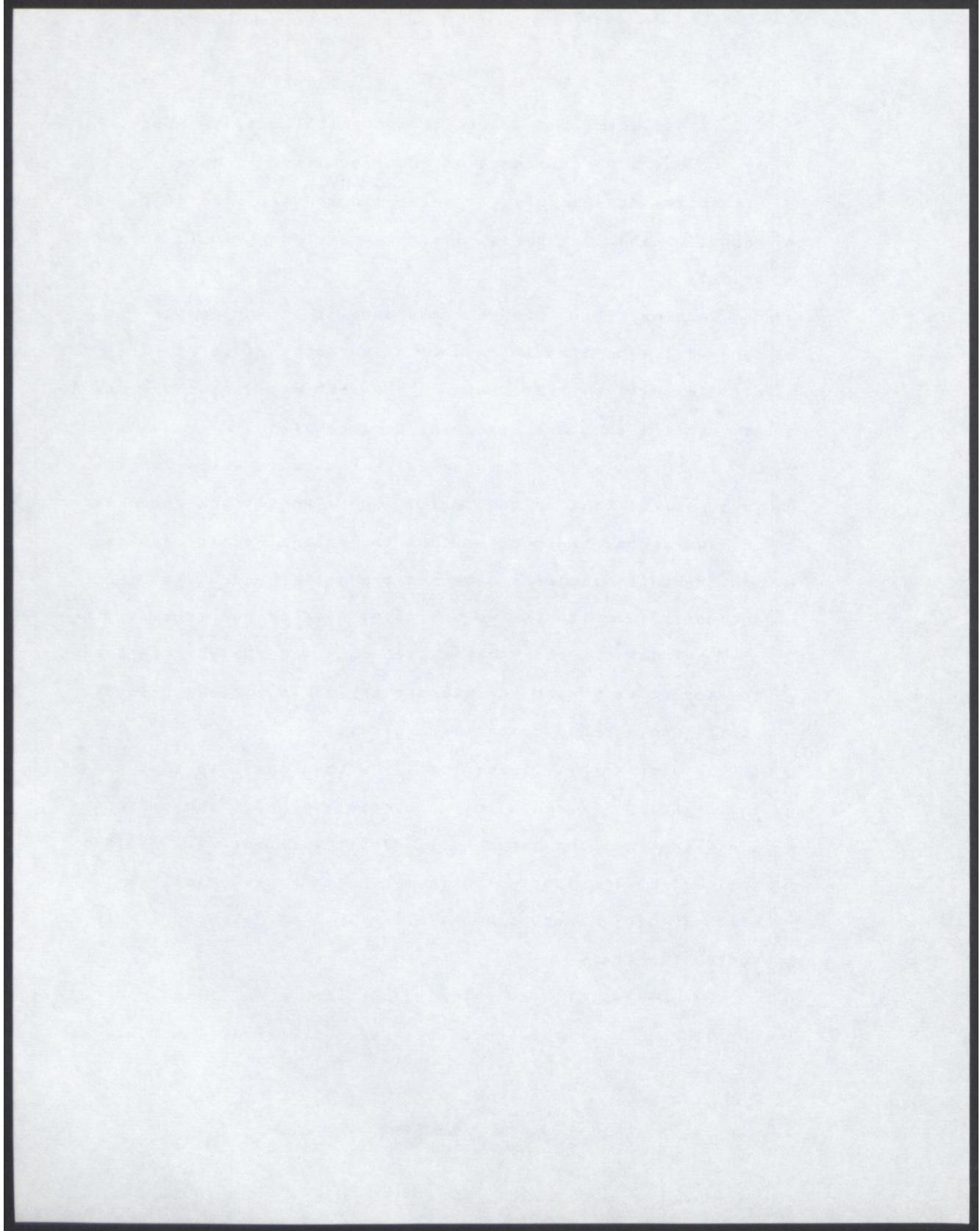
18 Senator Kerry: Specifically, with respect to that, and
19 incidentally I agree with you completely about the current
20 START instructions, which will result in almost a 10 to one
21 ratio of their missiles against our land-based missiles,
22 which I think takes us back in time. I am not sure if you
23 agree with that.

24 Dr. Kissinger: My calculations show about five to one.

25 But it does not make any difference. It makes it worse. It

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 52

Image ID: 15117295



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 53

Image ID: 15117296

1 and that was an unfriendly act. You also said that it served
2 no national defense purpose and so forth.

3 And you also spoke about Angola and the \$1 billion that
4 went down that way. I wonder if you would assess for me how
5 serious and how realistic you feel Mr. Gorbachev has been
6 about withdrawing from Afghanistan? Certainly the
7 considerations are much different there.

8 Dr. Kissinger: It is a good question. I find it hard to
9 answer because my instinct would be that it would be totally
10 unprecedented for them to withdraw from a country.

11 And therefore, while I have serious doubts about the
12 agreement we are discussing here, I would consider a Soviet
13 withdrawal from Afghanistan, under conditions that do not
14 ~~lead them to further~~
~~create another prelude to their ultimate domination, I would~~
15 consider it a significant event.

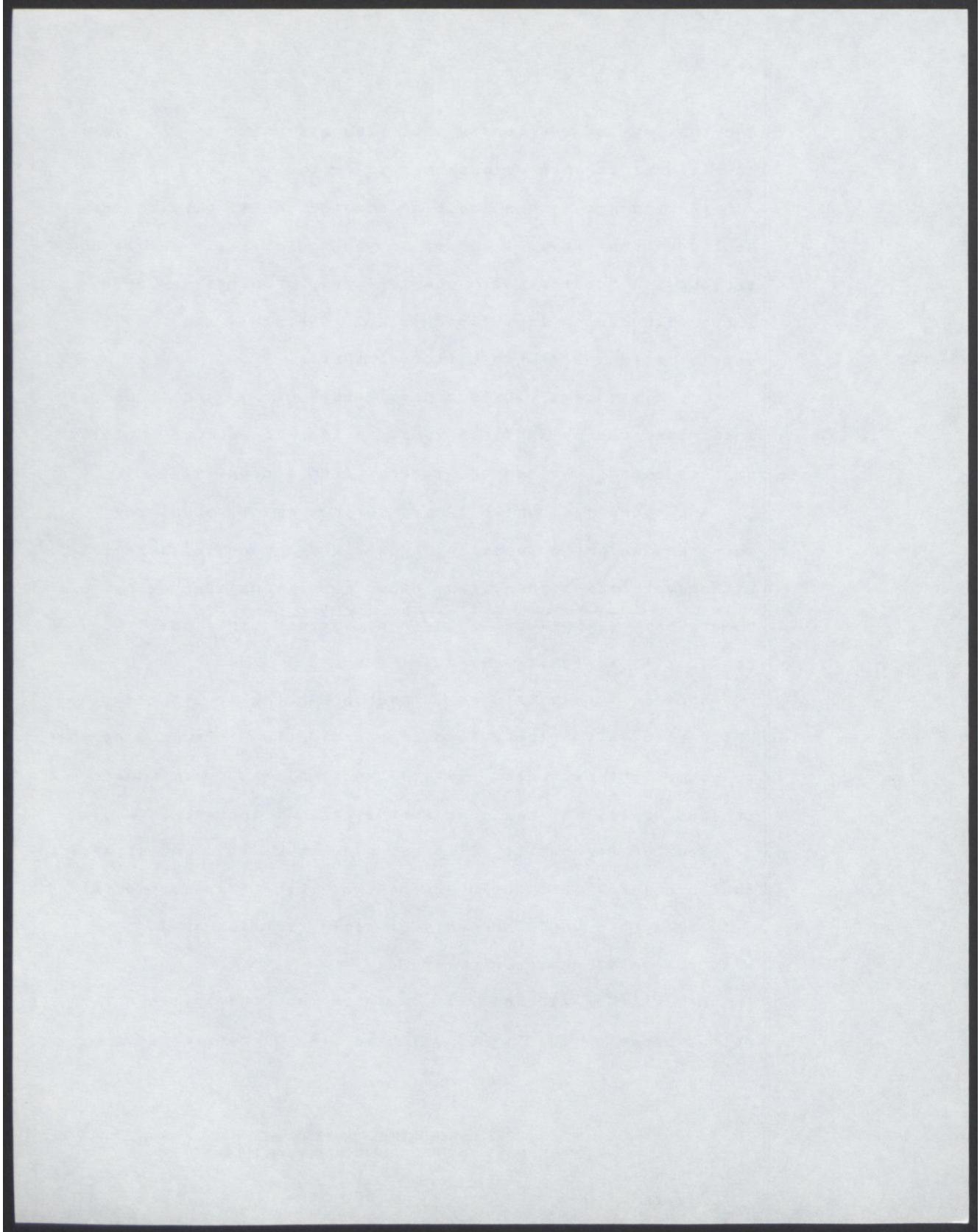
16 They certainly talk as if they are going to withdraw.
17 Which also is a tribute to our determination in supplying the
18 freedom fighters there. We will know in a few weeks how
19 serious he is. It has gone further than I thought it would.

20 Senator Boschwitz: I agree. You know, it seems strange
21 that a country that would expend those kind of funds so far
22 away from home would suddenly be really serious about
23 withdrawing from a country --

24 Dr. Kissinger: Well, it could be that the adjoining
25 Moslem areas of the Soviet Union become too restive under the

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 54

Image ID: 15117297



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 55

Image ID: 15117298

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1 impact of it.

2 It could be that the casualties are too heavy. It could
3 be a regrouping. It could be that they may even believe that
4 they could hold on to a dominant position there. But it is
5 an unusual step.

6 Senator Boschwitz: In talking about the Pershings and
7 GLCMs and the fact that the Russians would have to calculate
8 that the Americans would do something rather than allowing
9 those weapons to be overrun, that that was a serious
10 deterrent that you could not equivalently get from something
11 that is based in North Dakota or Montana.

12 I wonder how you would characterize the other weapons
13 that we have? Submarine weapons, what would their
14 calculations have to be? Or the F-111s in Great Britain.

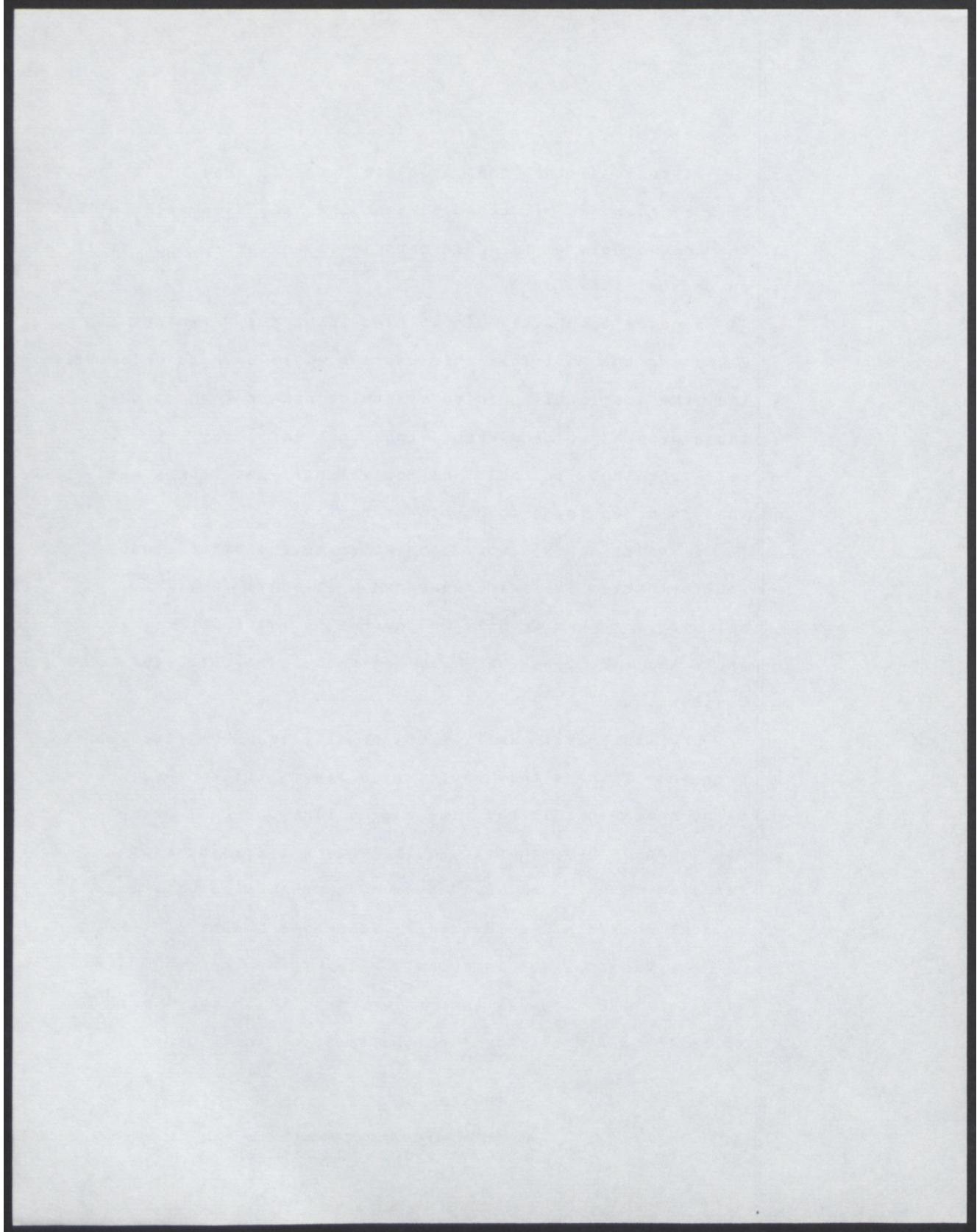
15 Would the same type, they are not the cataclysmic type of
16 weapons.

17 Dr. Kissinger: Well, first of all, the submarines cannot
18 be seen. I think they would calculate that the likelihood of
19 using submarines is the same as the likelihood of using
20 Minuteman or MXs, that it would require a Presidential
will rapidly
21 decision ~~in~~ which he would take a reasonable amount, any
22 prudent President would take a reasonable amount of time.

23 The "advantage," in quotation marks, of the land-based
24 missiles in Europe was that the rate at which they would have
25 to be fired was dependent on the speed of their own

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 56

Image ID: 15117299



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 57

Image ID: 15117300

[71]

1 operations. So that the danger of their being overrun would
2 determine the probability of their being fired.

3 This is not true of submarines. It is also not really
4 true of the F-111s in Britain, which for these purposes are
5 also outside the combat theater. Moreover, these F-111s in
6 Britain are ~~based~~^{all} on one base. And it is easier to get rid
7 of one base than of dispersed mobile missiles.

8 But certainly I do not say they are of no deterrent
9 value.

10 Senator Boschwitz: But the fact that they are easier to
11 get rid of because they are on one base must also serve as a
12 deterrent?

13 Dr. Kissinger: That is true. I think the F-111s
14 constitute some deterrent advantage. But they were always
15 there.

16 I mean, we cannot have it both ways. We cannot say those
17 weapons were of no significance, and secondly ~~they are a~~
18 major contribution to arms control, that their removal is a
19 major contribution to arms control.

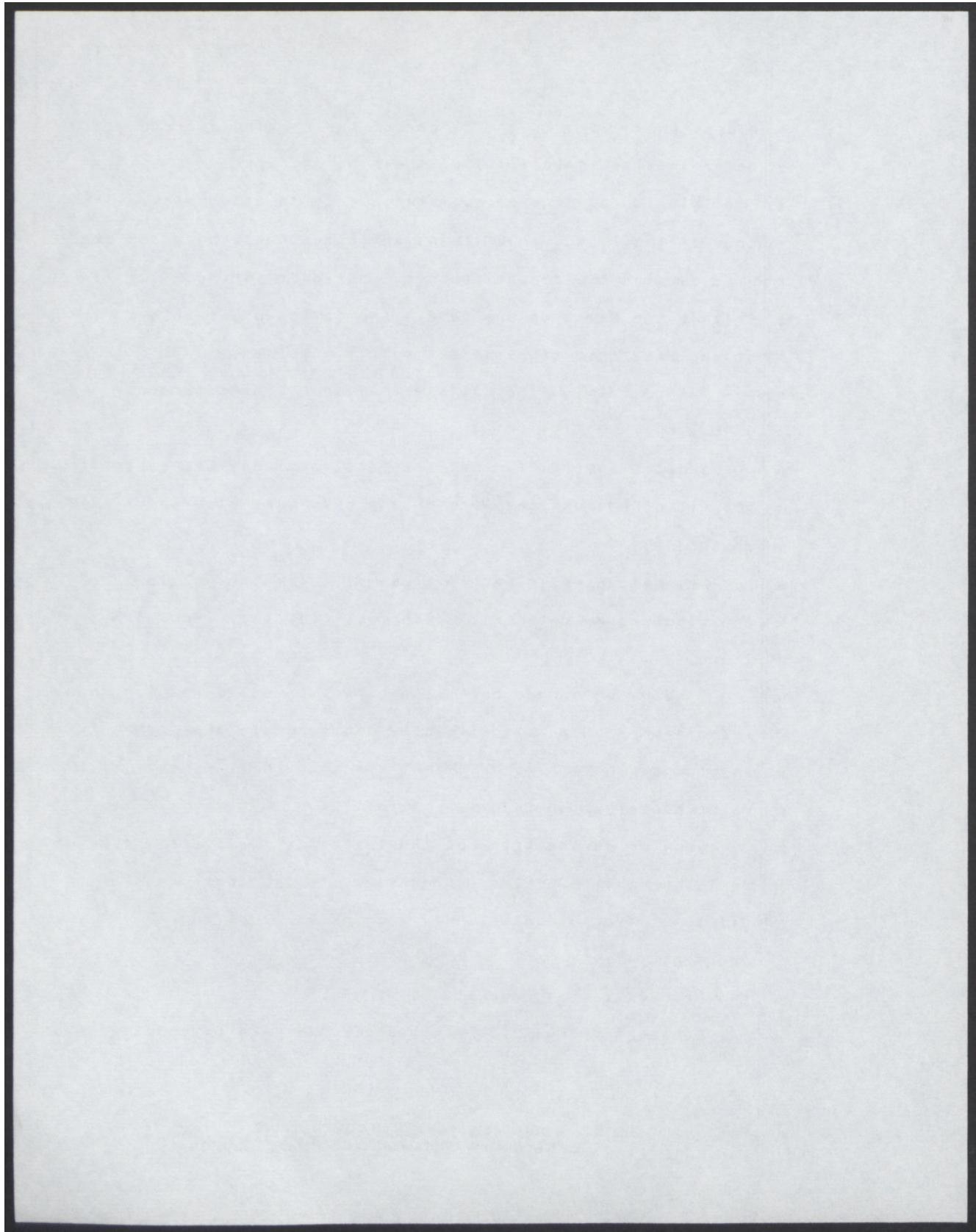
20 Senator Boschwitz: But the fact that a different type of
21 decision-making process is necessary to use them makes a
22 different type of deterrence, I think would be your
23 argument.

24 Dr. Kissinger: Correct.

25 Senator Boschwitz: Dr. Edward Teller was here yesterday,

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 58

Image ID: 15117301



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988 [1 of 3], Image 59

Image ID: 15117302

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1 and unfortunately not all of my colleagues were here to hear
2 him.

3 But he, in a way, conditioned his advice to us, in voting
4 yes on the Treaty, he kind of conditioned that on the further
5 development of SDI and also added that fewer weapons made the
6 SDI in effect more effective, more valuable, and that he
7 therefore spurred us on with respect to combining the
8 research and development necessary for the SDI.

9 I wonder if you could comment? You commented to some
10 degree.

11 Dr. Kissinger: Well, I would not make the SDI
12 conditional on this agreement. On the other hand, I would
13 not abandon SDI as part of the START agreement. Nor would I
14 de facto abandon SDI.

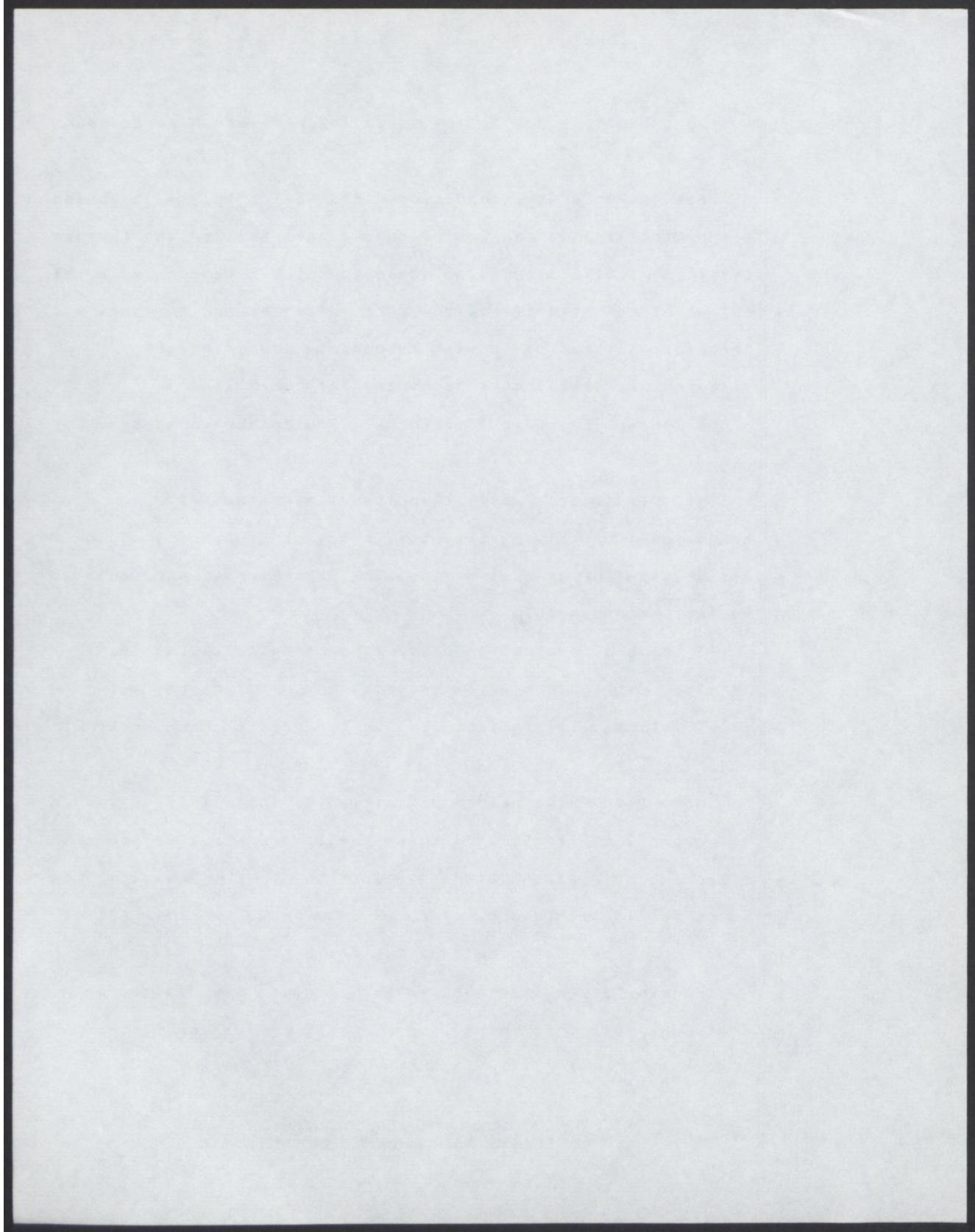
15 I think a combination of deployment restrictions and
16 testing restrictions will, in fact, not restrictions but
17 prohibitions, will in fact lead to a de facto abandonment of
18 SDI.

19 Now, I think we need a definition of what it is we want
20 to accomplish with SDI. I think the concept that we can get
21 a perfect population defense against an all-out Soviet attack
22 is so far in the future, if it is attainable at all, that it
23 leads to a needless debate as to feasibility.

24 Senator Boschwitz: Dr. Teller, I might say, agreed with
25 that. He said that there is no perfect offense or perfect

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 60

Image ID: 15117303



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 61

Image ID: 15117304

1 defense.

2 Dr. Kissinger: But there are many intermediate
3 objectives.

4 For example, I was briefed by one group that was opposed
5 to SDI that was trying to tell me, and again I hold no brief
6 for their numbers, I am giving you what I was briefed. They
7 were trying to tell me that if the existing Soviet arsenal
8 were aimed ~~even~~ at the now foreseeable SDI, the SDI would be
9 overwhelmed.

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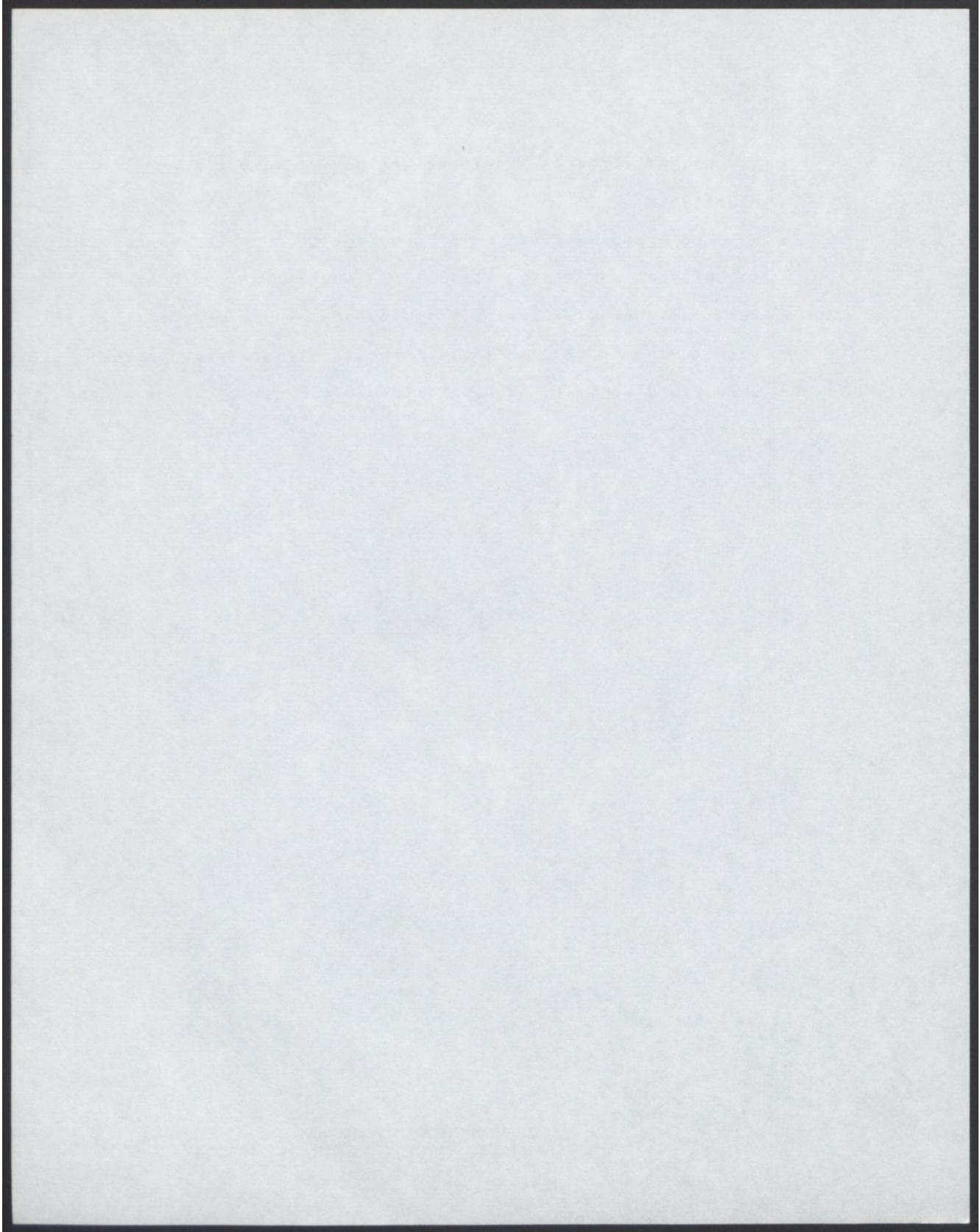
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Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 62

Image ID: 15117305



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 63

Image ID: 15117306

1 I then said, let me understand what you mean by
2 overwhelmed. I said, what happens if they launch 1,000
3 warheads? Oh, we would get 99.9 percent or maybe all of
4 them.

5 This went on until we got to about 4,000 warheads. The
6 defense was degraded in that analysis only from about 6,000
7 warheads on. Now, if one could get the Soviets into a
8 position where the only nuclear war they can fight is one in
9 which they have to launch 5,000 to 6,000 warheads, that is a
10 different decision from one in which they can blackmail us
11 with one or two or five. This is what we need to analyze.

12 Incidentally, the Soviet Chief of Staff said that at the
13 level of 6,000 warheads, an SDI defense could be quite
14 effective, which tends to support that. ~~And that is why~~
15 ~~does not want to go down to 6,000 with SDI.~~

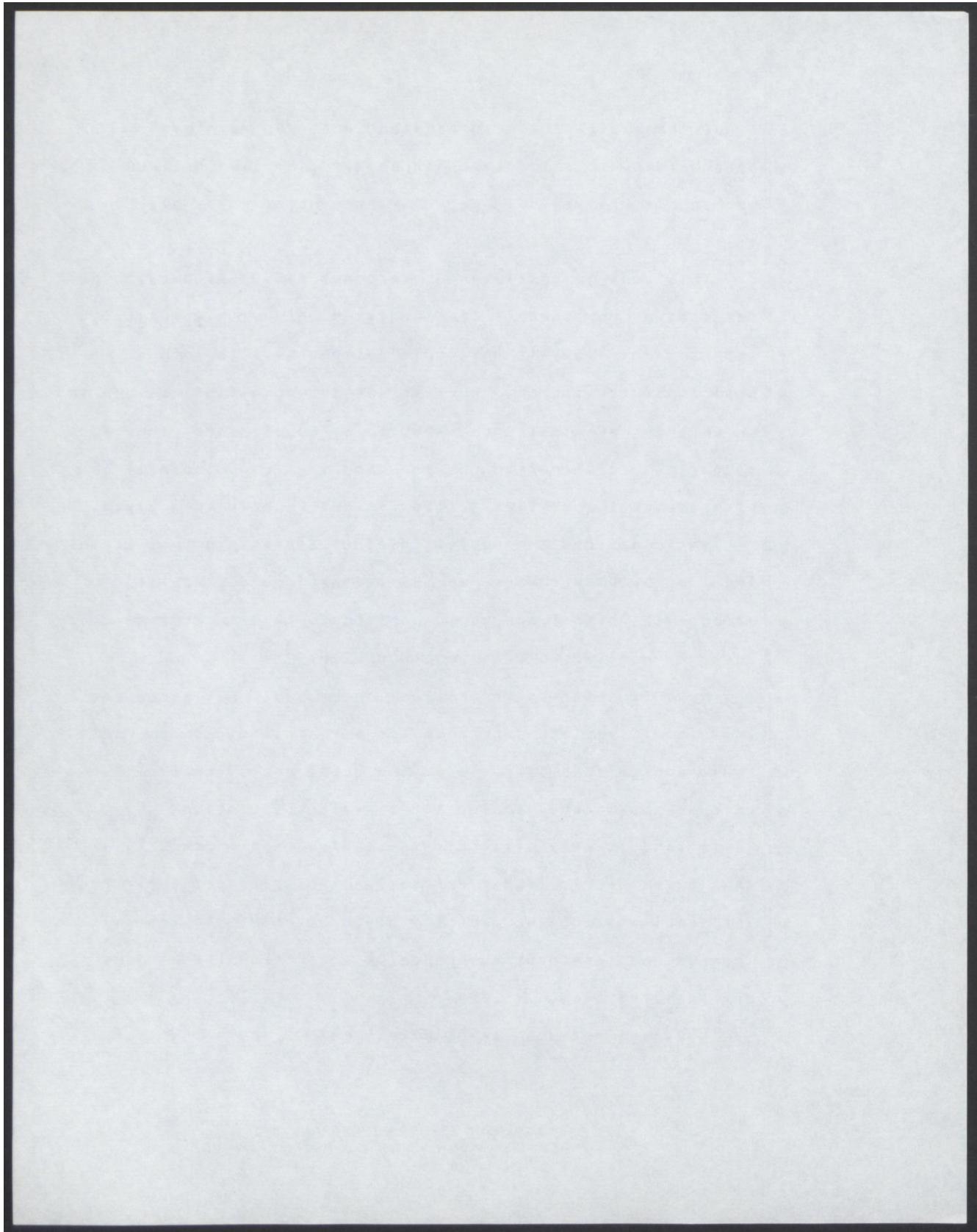
16 Now, it seems to me that we can probably all agree that
17 if we could achieve a defense for our strategic forces this
18 would add to stability. ~~Now~~ the question is, what degree of
19 defense should one get for the civilian population?

20 I find it very difficult to imagine that a ~~democracy~~
21 that a democratic leader can tell his public that their total
22 vulnerability and the capacity of an adversary to exterminate
23 them is the permanent assurance of their security without
24 demoralizing them.

25 Now, against what level of attack? I would think at

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 64

Image ID: 15117307



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 65

Image ID: 15117308

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1 Do they see this as a sign of America's strength or
2 weakness? Is it more a complexion of perhaps the new General
3 Secretary's efforts to portray himself as a leader of the
4 world who objective it is to ease tensions?

5 I wonder if you could share from your experience what you
6 assume they, the Soviets, feel about our position and the
7 likelihood of where the United States will be in relation to
8 the Soviet Union, recognizing we all like to have a superior
9 position in nuclear or non-nuclear capability for our
10 national security interests. Could you just generally --

11 Dr. Kissinger: Well, as I have said perhaps too often, I
12 wish this particular Treaty had never been made. And I do
13 this because I think it gives more benefits to the Soviets in
14 the long term than to us. So obviously they want it
15 ratified.

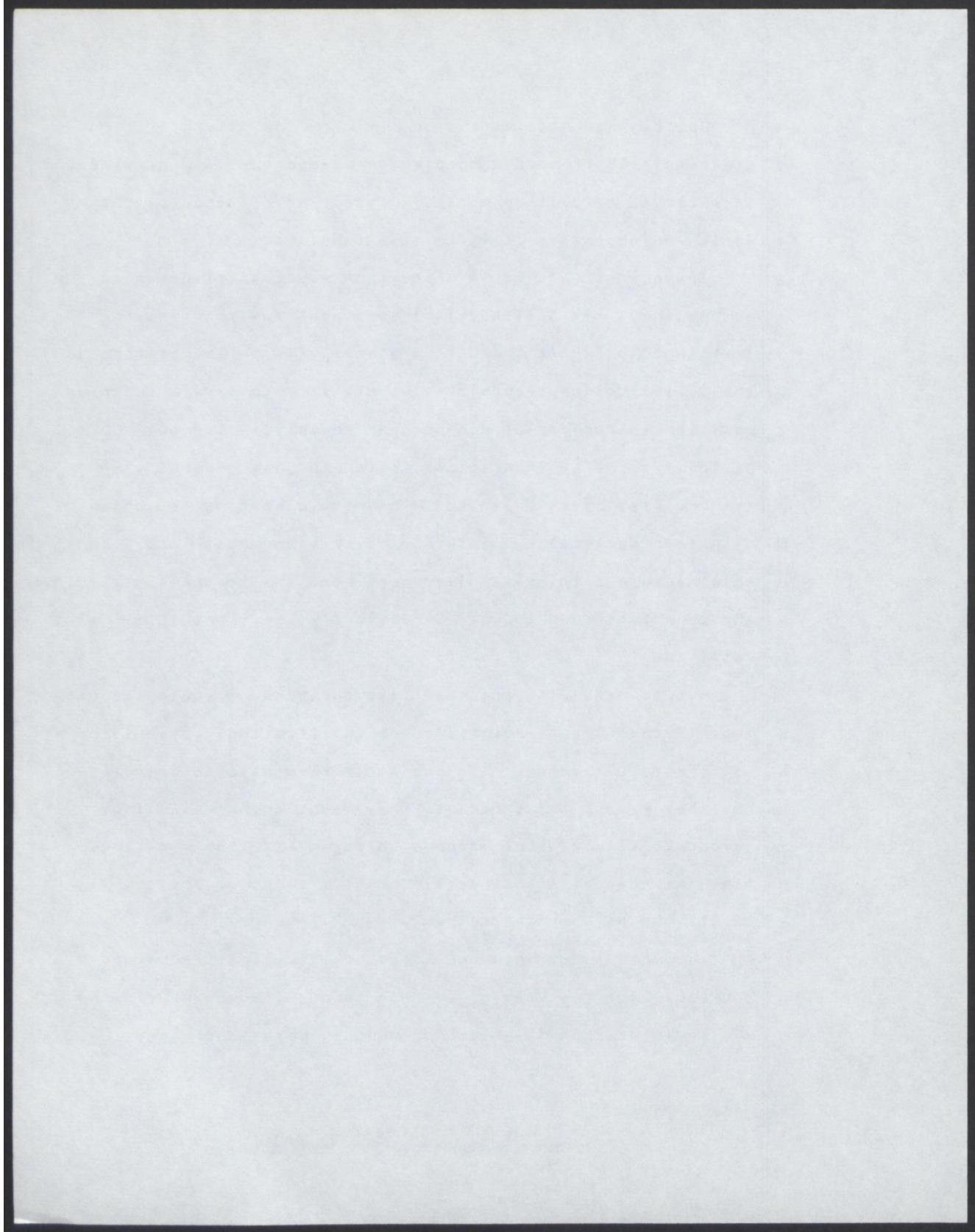
16 But to deal with the immediate question, I would suppose
17 that if this Treaty now failed of ratification, it would be a
18 setback to Gorbachev. And one would then have to calculate
19 how they assess this, because they might think we will be
20 forced to withdraw our weapons anyway. And they can then
21 play the game of either keeping theirs there or pulling

22 theirs out as a unilateral action ^{which gives them great}
propaganda advantages

23 The more fundamental question or issue that is raised by
24 your question is, what do we have to do, I mean is Gorbachev
25 really interested in an improvement in relations? And what

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 66

Image ID: 15117309



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 67

Image ID: 15117310

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1 does he understand by improvement of relations?

2 Now, I think certainly the Soviet Union needs a respite.
3 And it is surely in their interest to have a period in which
4 they can reduce some military expenditures. But it is also
5 the case that it seems to me very dangerous to gear American
6 foreign policy to the personality of a single Soviet leader.

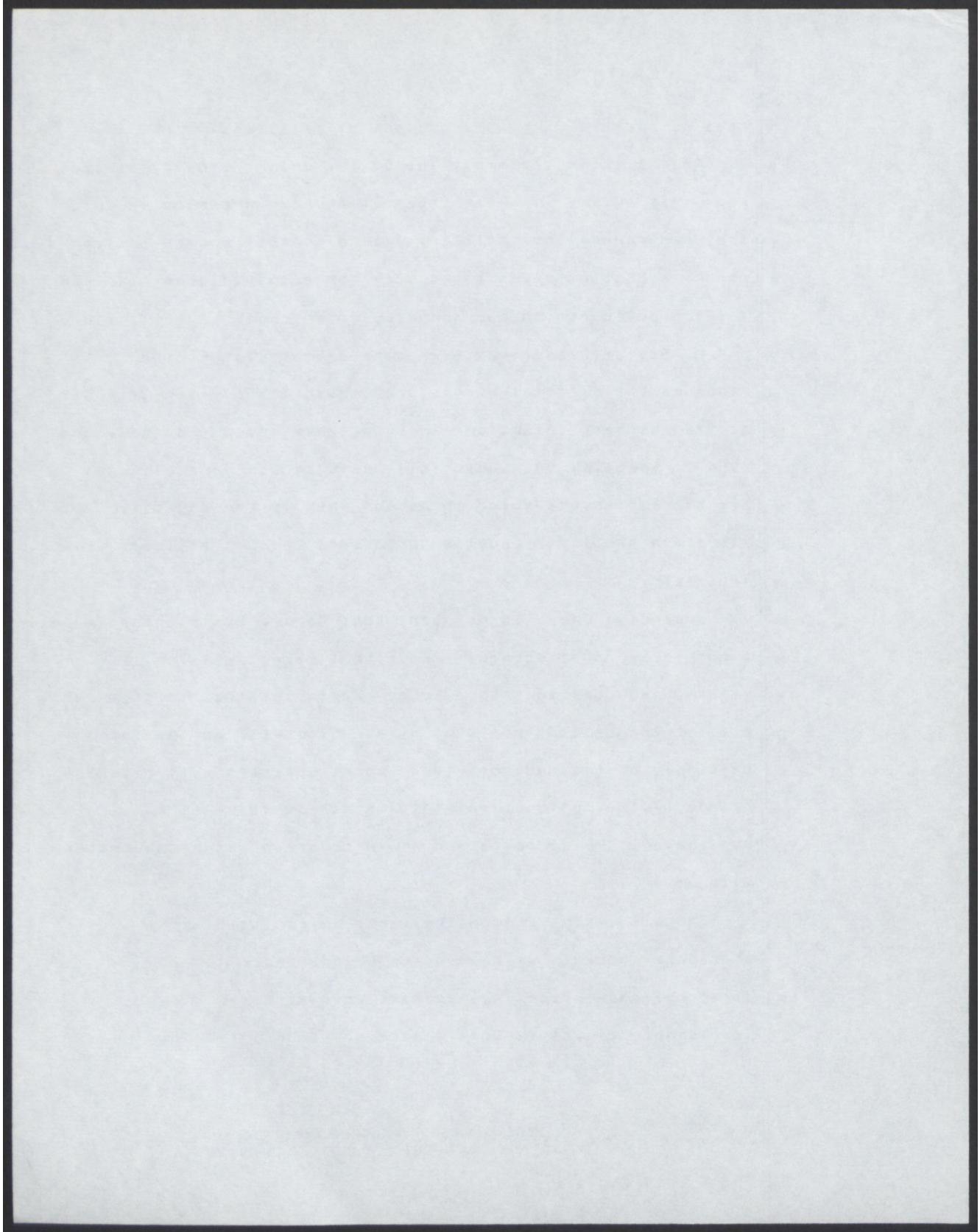
7 *Every*
8 ~~No~~ Soviet leader has ever done anything other than
9 renounce the policies of his predecessor. So, even if you
10 assume the best intentions in Gorbachev, which I do not, but
11 even if you did, you would still have to ask yourself what
12 are his successors going to do and what is the objective
13 situation that they and the successors to our President will
14 inherit?

15 Secondly, there is no doubt that Gorbachev is undertaking
16 a huge program of economic and some limited political
17 reform. He does that because he recognizes that if the
18 present trends continue the Soviet Union will be the most
19 developed of the underdeveloped countries, and will have the
20 greatest difficulty of maintaining its position as a
21 superpower. He is not doing it in order to get along better
22 with us.

23 *THEIR* For that reason, he wants a respite. Now,
24 Americans, because we have never been exposed to
25 irreconcilable hostility, because we have never known
irrevocable disaster, have a tendency to believe that peace

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 68

Image ID: 15117311



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 69

Image ID: 15117312

1 this Treaty is not ratified. Or if it is not amended or
2 modified to make sense, because it is now full of holes as a
3 piece of swiss cheese.

4 Dr. Kissinger: I think there is a difference between
5 SALT II and the INF Treaty. I was much less strong, in fact
6 I did not use, you quoted me correctly. I stated both sides
7 of the issue then.

8 Senator Helms: Yes, you did. And I commend you for it.

9 Dr. Kissinger: Now, there is this difference. SALT II
10 concerned only weapons that were under United States' control
11 and stationed either in the United States or at sea.
12 Therefore, the deployment of these weapons had not carried
13 any political cost or risk for these European leaders.

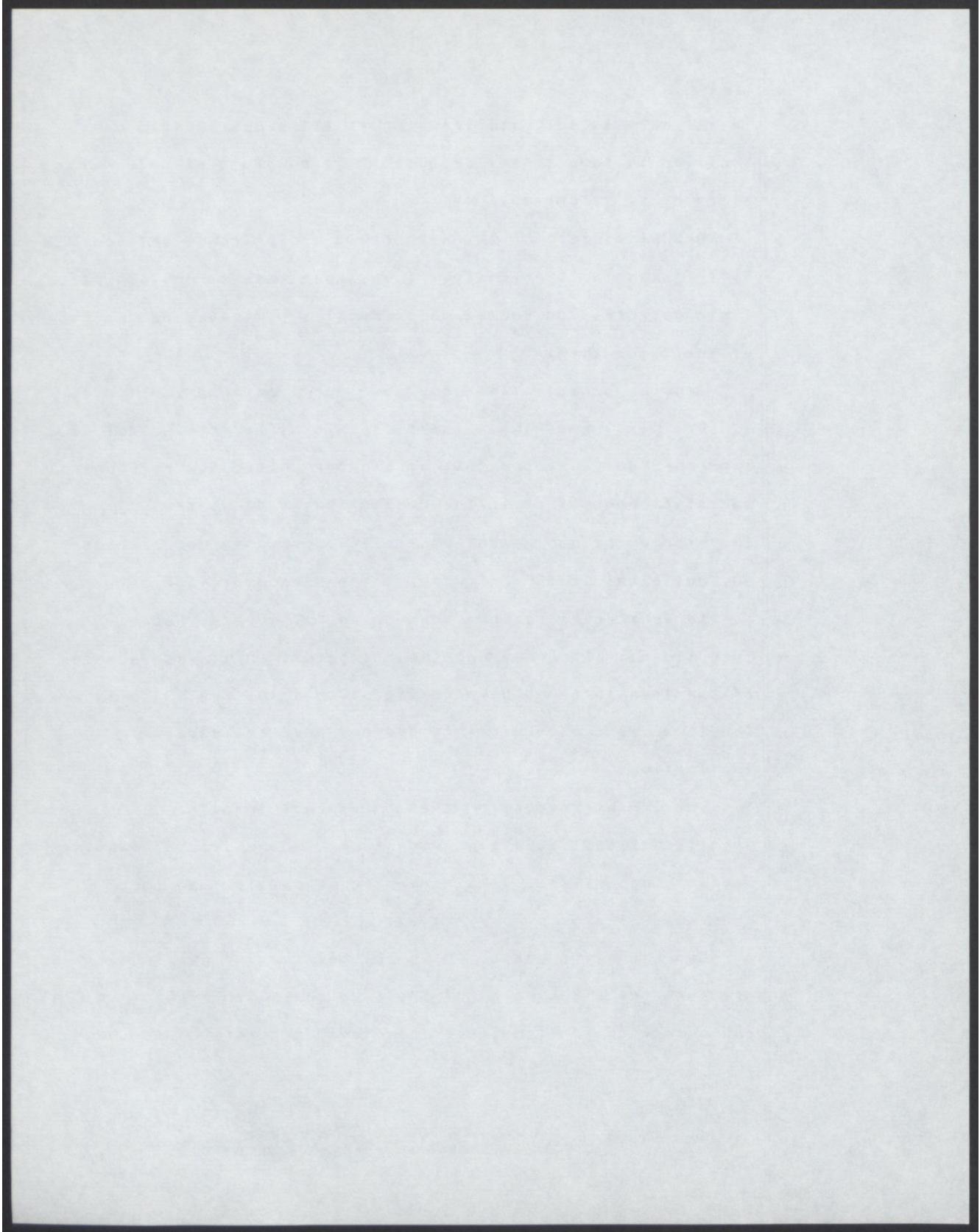
14 So whether we reduced them or not might have had a
15 symbolic significance, and their interest in it was because
16 of the idea that had developed that this was needed to ease
17 tensions. But otherwise, it did not have the same
18 implications.

19 The INF agreement, on the other hand, involved
20 significant decisions that were taken in the face of massive
21 domestic opposition. That domestic opposition had been
22 overcome.

23 And then in a period in which there was no particular
24 pressure for the removal of those weapons within these *European*
25 countries, the United States developed a theory where they

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 70

Image ID: 15117313



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 71

Image ID: 15117314

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1 became dispensable. First at Reykjavik and later in the
2 implementing negotiations.

3 Now, we have the situation where people like Kohl and
4 Woerner, to take the Federal Republic, who paid a heavy
5 price, not only had to give up those weapons but also
6 weapons, namely the Pershing Is that had always been ~~in the~~
7 ~~Federal~~ ^{stationed} ~~have been~~ in the Federal Republic. Until recently
8 they had been there uncontested for 15 years. And they had
9 agreed to both of these decisions.

10 Now, if we suddenly reverse ourselves once again and say
11 the first position was the right one, I think we are putting
12 them into a nearly impossible situation.

13 Senator Helms: Well, forgive me, though. There is one
14 element in the equation that you have not referred to, and
15 that is the people of Germany and the people of France.

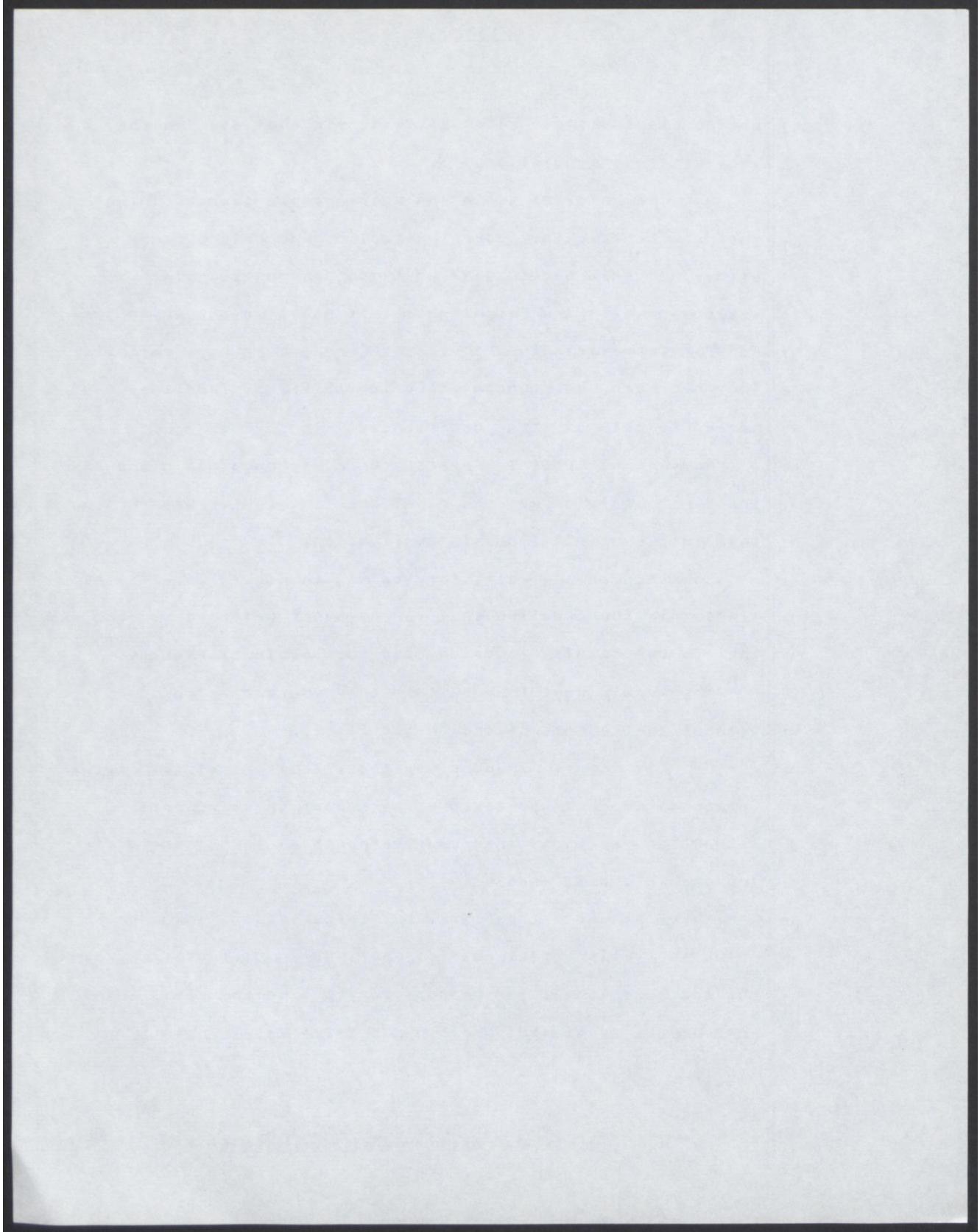
16 They would have to know that they would have to do
17 without the support of the United States.

18 Dr. Kissinger: I would say this, Senator Helms. If the
19 German government had asked us to remove these weapons
20 without provocation, then your response would be absolutely
21 the one we should take.

22 When, however, they first put these weapons in, then
23 reluctantly with great American persuasion, let us take them
24 out and added their own weapons to it. And then less than
25 half of the Senate but more than a third votes against

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 72

Image ID: 15117315



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 73

Image ID: 15117316

7 CYJ

1 ratification, they are left in a very difficult position.

2 I do not think we would be morally justified to say, now,

3 if you do not accept the latest version of American
strategic thought
4 Constitutional procedure, we are going to take our ground
5 forces out too.

6 I think this would create an impossible situation. If,
7 unprovoked, they were to ask us this, then I think your
8 response would be absolutely correct.

9 Senator Helms: Well, I think the mothers and fathers of
10 this country would welcome an indication from all of us that
11 we are not going to leave our troops over there in an
12 untenable position where they can get shot and killed. That
13 is the point I am making.

14 Dr. Kissinger: I would welcome an expression of the
15 Senate that the denuclearization of the Federal Republic
16 would carry those consequences. The third zero option, I
17 think that would be a very appropriate thing to do.

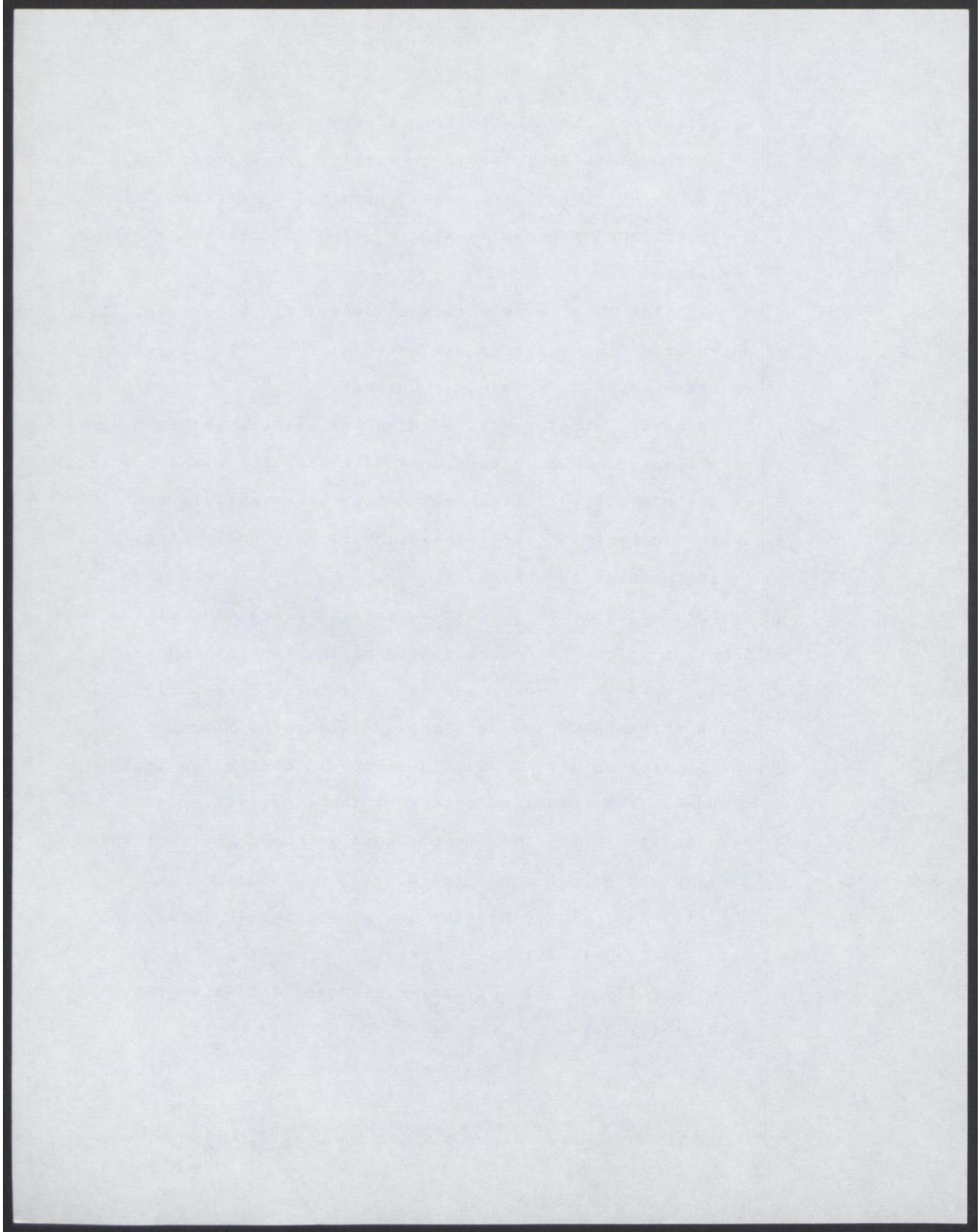
18 Senator Helms: I would just say in conclusion that I am
19 struck by the identical nature of the exhortations that we
20 have got to ratify this Treaty when we heard the same thing
21 in 1979 and NATO did not collapse.

22 Now, here we are hearing the same thing in 1988. Thank
23 you, Mr. Chairman.

24 The Chairman: I will waive my time, and we will go to
25 Senator Sarbanes.

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 74

Image ID: 15117317



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 75

Image ID: 15117318

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[4]

1 Dr. Kissinger: I believe, and here we are in the area of
2 pure conjecture, that this agreement and this sequence of
3 events that has led to it, has brought about a sea change in
4 the German domestic political situation, and that therefore
5 we will see over a period of five years some very significant
6 evolutions in German domestic politics, ~~and it is in terms of~~
7 ~~that~~ I think there will be a greater emphasis on national
8 concerns, greater emphasis on dealing with the East on a
9 national basis, and in the context of this, I think it will
10 be very difficult to reintroduce ^{nuclear missiles} them in the Federal
11 Republic. And absent that, it will be very difficult to
12 reintroduce them anywhere else except perhaps Great Britain.

13 But I could be wrong. We are in the area of total
14 conjecture and analysis of political trends.

15 Senator Sarbanes: Let me ask you this question.

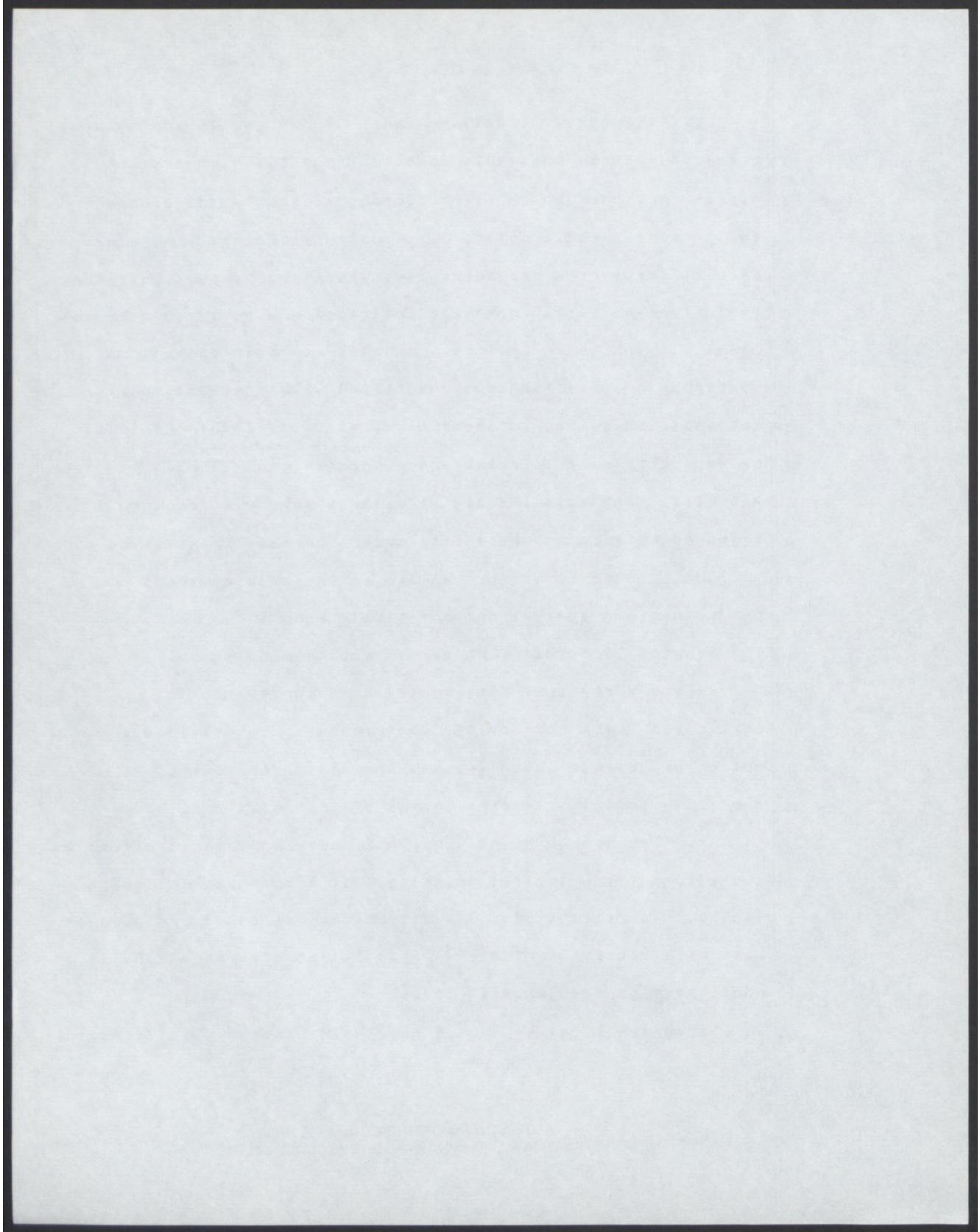
16 Do you worry that agreements, arms agreements in
17 particular, with the Soviets contribute to some illusory
18 notion of detente which impedes the West from taking
19 realistic policies in other areas of the relationship?

20 Dr. Kissinger: No, I worry that arms agreements become a
21 substitute for political thinking. If arms agreements were
22 linked to a process of political accommodation, or related or
23 part of a process, unlinked, of political accommodation, I
24 would have no problem with them.

25 Secondly, I believe, as I have said, that much of arms

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 76

Image ID: 15117319



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 77

Image ID: 15117320

1 some conference about the Nixon presidency, and I had read so
2 much about the illusions of detente that I had begun to
3 believe it myself. So I started reading what we all said in
4 that period, and I think if you review what we said, those
5 ~~were~~ really pretty, I think they were pretty sober statements.

6 But at any rate, leaving aside the merit of the policies
7 in which I was engaged, in this period we have, any
8 administration of whatever party has an obligation to
9 demonstrate to its public that it is sincerely concerned with
10 easing tensions. It has an equal obligation to demonstrate
11 to its public that the easing of tensions must be related to
12 concrete conditions that in fact improve the situation and
13 are not simply an aspect of a psychiatric treatment of Soviet
14 leaders.

15 And how to walk this path is the real task of
16 statesmanship, whatever previous or current administrations
17 are doing.

18 Senator Sarbanes: Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary.

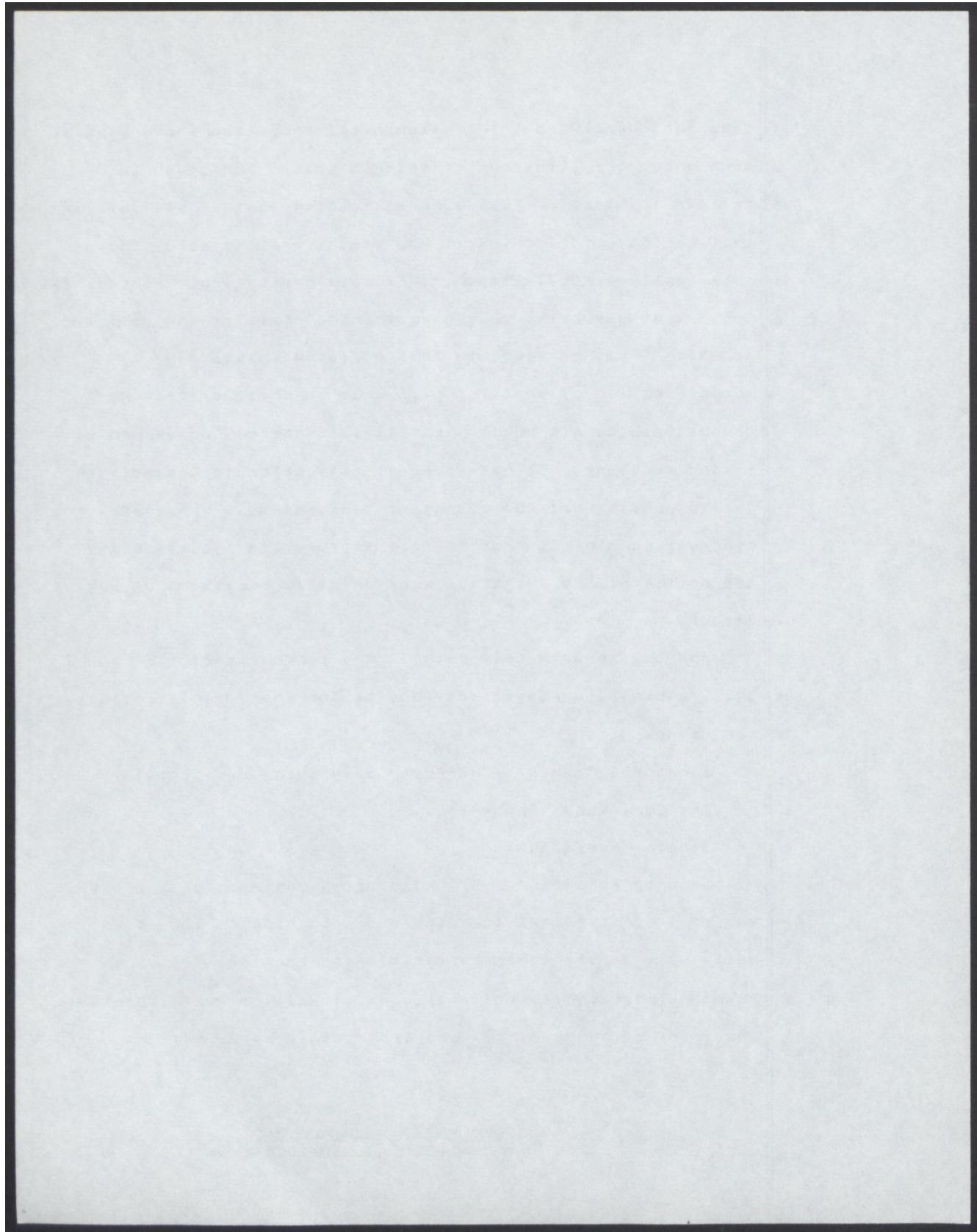
19 The Chairman: Thank you.

20 Senator Kassebaum.

21 Senator Kassebaum: Dr. Kissinger, you mentioned at the
22 end of your statement that the strengthening of the Atlantic
23 unity must be of highest priority, and that you felt that
24 common diplomacy towards arms control was the most important
25 component of this policy, and I certainly agree very much

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 78

Image ID: 15117321



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988 [1 of 3], Image 79

Image ID: 15117322

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1 with that.

2 You also in answer to some other questions earlier said
3 that it was important for us to understand how the Soviets
4 conceived the whole strategy of arms control, I suppose, or
5 particularly in the light of conventional force reduction.

6 But I would like to ask you if you could elaborate on
7 what you believe the goal should be for conventional arms
8 control policy, and if you believe that the Alliance, the
9 Western Alliance itself has an approach to an arms control,
10 conventional arms control initiative?

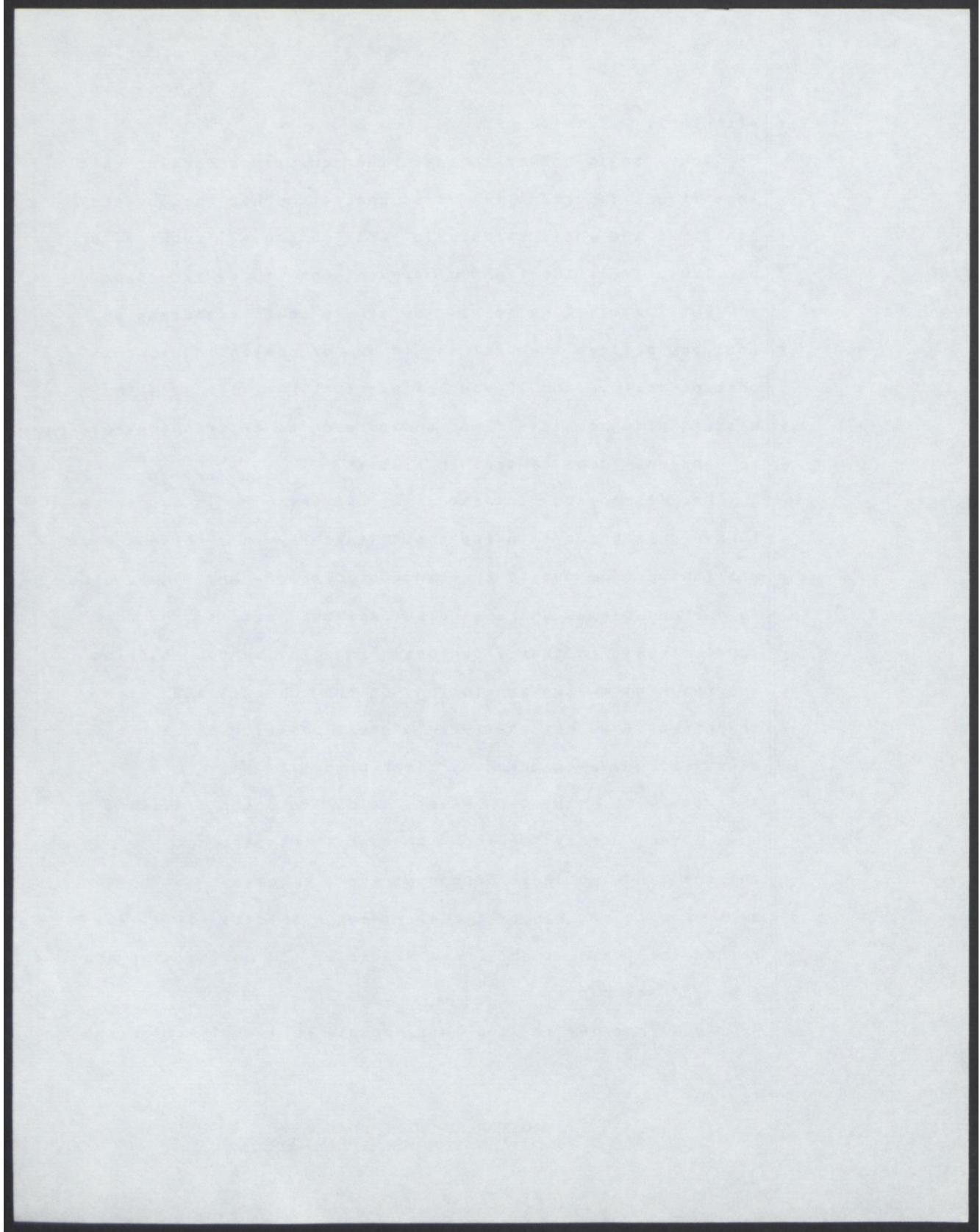
11 Dr. Kissinger: Insofar as my own ~~thinking~~ is concerned,
12 I have just begun thinking about it really in a serious way,
13 and I have gone out to the Rand Corporation, and I have gone
14 to various places where studies have been made to see what
15 studies exist so that I can begin engaging my own thinking
16 and reaching my own conclusions on the subject, and
17 therefore, I am not really in a great position to make a very
18 ~~clear statement or make~~ any clear proposals.

19 Now, with respect, however, to our European Allies, I
20 have a very uneasy feeling with that third zero option. On
21 the one hand, you have Europeans who are really looking for
22 an excuse to get rid of the short-range weapons, or at least
23 reduce them, and we only have 80, so we are not talking about
24 a very large number.

25 Now, in order to stop this, people say, well, it has got

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 80

Image ID: 15117323



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 81

Image ID: 15117324

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1 to be part of conventional arms reduction and part of an
2 overall scheme. The next thing you know, Gorbachev will make
3 some symbolic move, like taking out the two divisions from
4 Czechoslovakia that were never there ~~to begin with~~ before 1968, and then
5 people will say, okay, now, you have got your proposal. So
6 we are no longer justifying modernization in terms of
7 security; we are justifying it in terms of its contribution
8 to arms control.

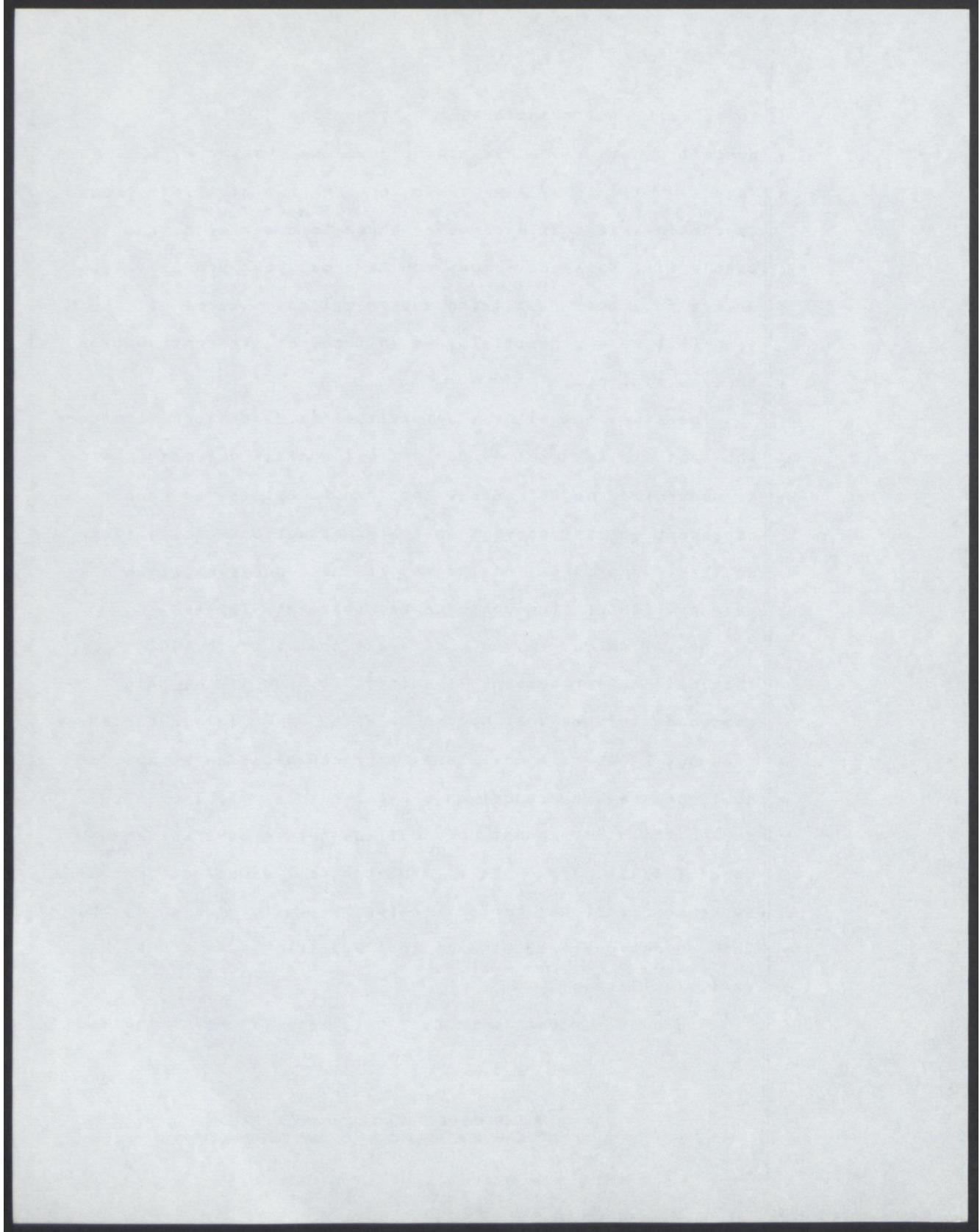
9 There was one witness before the Armed Services Committee
10 who wants to take out 4,000 tactical nuclear weapons in order
11 to modernize the 80 Lances, and then make these 80 Lances
12 dependent on some conventional arms reduction. Well, if we
13 do that, we are well on the way to the denuclearization of
14 Germany with all the consequences that this implies.

15 Now, I am not saying that every one of those 4,000
16 tactical nuclear weapons is sacrosanct, and if the NATO
17 commander told me that he can do with 500 -- in our period we
18 took out 2,000 as a unilateral American decision because we
19 could not see any conceivable use for them. So I am not
20 saying that they cannot be modified, but we have to be
21 careful that in the name of arms control, we do not gradually
22 approach zero in all nuclear categories without knowing that
23 the conventional adjustments that are being made are of any
24 real significance.

25 The only systematic study I have seen is one of the Rand

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 82

Image ID: 15117325



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 83

Image ID: 15117326

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1 understandably has negotiated and always wanted to negotiate
2 from strength. And in fact, when we have had a sense of
3 military insecurity, we have been far less inclined to enter
4 into arms control agreements. We have only done so when we
5 have at least had the sense of being secure, the confidence
6 of being secure, that we were willing to move into that arena.

7 And as a consequence of this flaw that you have
8 identified, has it put us in a position where it jeopardizes
9 future arms control agreements, including the START talks?

10 Dr. Kissinger: Well, with respect to the first question,
11 ~~let me~~ you may or may not know that in my memoirs, at a
12 time when George Shultz was at Bechtel, so I had no
13 conceivable ulterior motive, I wrote that if I could appoint
14 one man to any position in this country, it would be George
15 Shultz ~~and he~~ is a man for whom I have had and still have
16 the highest regard, and anything I say should be taken in
17 that context, that this is something on which serious people
18 can disagree, can have honorable differences of opinion.

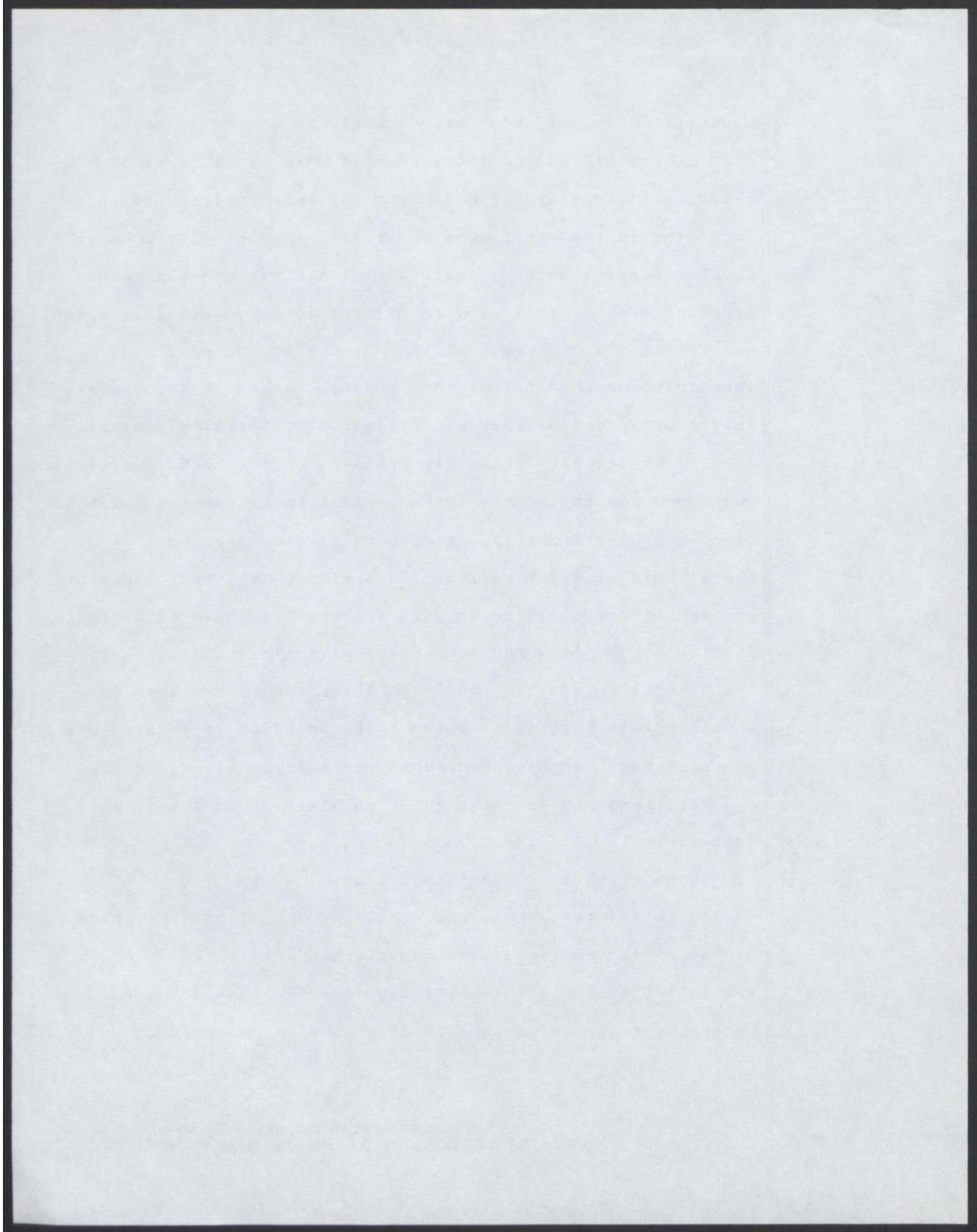
19 My assessment is different from his. So it should be in
20 that context.

21 Senator Dodd: I understand that.

22 Dr. Kissinger: Now, where I think we got off the track
23 ~~as an administration~~ is that it started with a very
24 absolutist rhetoric vis-a-vis the Soviet Union, and then
25 under the impact of a variety of causes has changed to a

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 84

Image ID: 15117327



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 85

Image ID: 15117328

LYD

1 rhetoric that is sometimes indistinguishable from what the
2 various committees for nuclear disarmament around the world
3 are advocating ~~so that~~ the antinuclear rhetoric of the
4 administration, the attempt to prove that they were really
5 peacefully inclined has led to an extreme oscillation of
6 position.

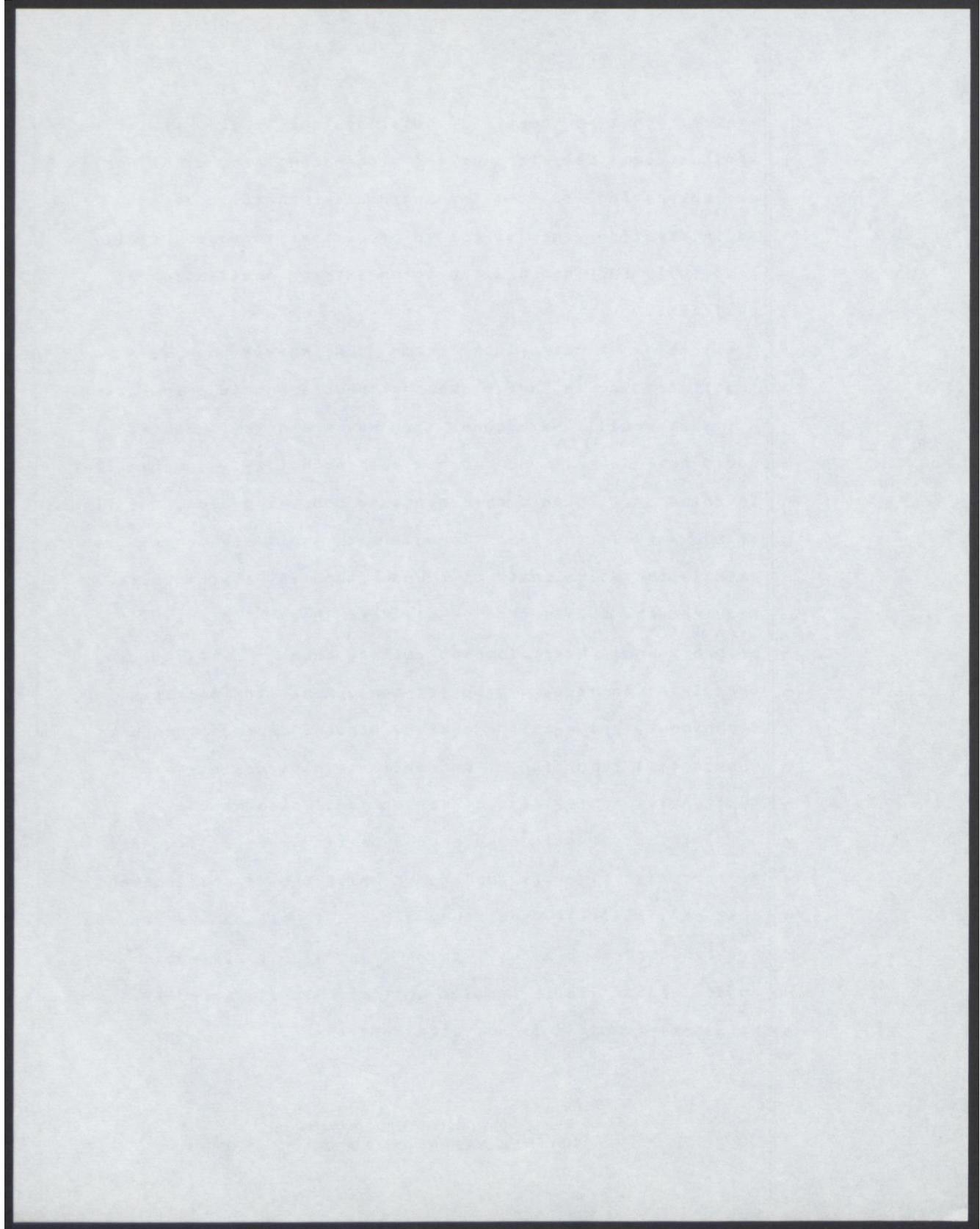
7 I think it got off the track at Reykjavik when we
8 negotiated from a Soviet paper without adequate preparation.

9 What would I have done? You never can tell what you
10 would have done if you had had responsibility. I would like
11 to think that I would have proposed something along the lines
12 of the Walk in the Woods formula with a difference from the
13 Walk in the Woods that, as I understood it, that formula
14 required the elimination of all Pershings. I might, I
15 probably would have proposed cutting them in half, cutting
16 everything in half, the Soviet deployment, the American
17 deployment, and make the next 50 percent dependent upon a
18 substantial reduction of conventional disarmament, a
19 substantial achievement of conventional disarmament.

20 I think it would have been a better course. I do not
21 believe that the very quality on which the administration
22 most prides itself, that they are the first to have reduced
23 two categories to zero, I think this is an undesirable
24 objective because it implies that zero in all categories is
25 attainable, and it is not attainable.

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 86

Image ID: 15117329



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 87

Image ID: 15117330

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1 Senator Dodd: The second question is --

2 Dr. Kissinger: Oh, the second question is is it so
3 seriously flawed that we are now weaker?

4 Senator Dodd: Weaker politically and militarily, and
5 what does that mean in terms of future arms control
6 agreements?

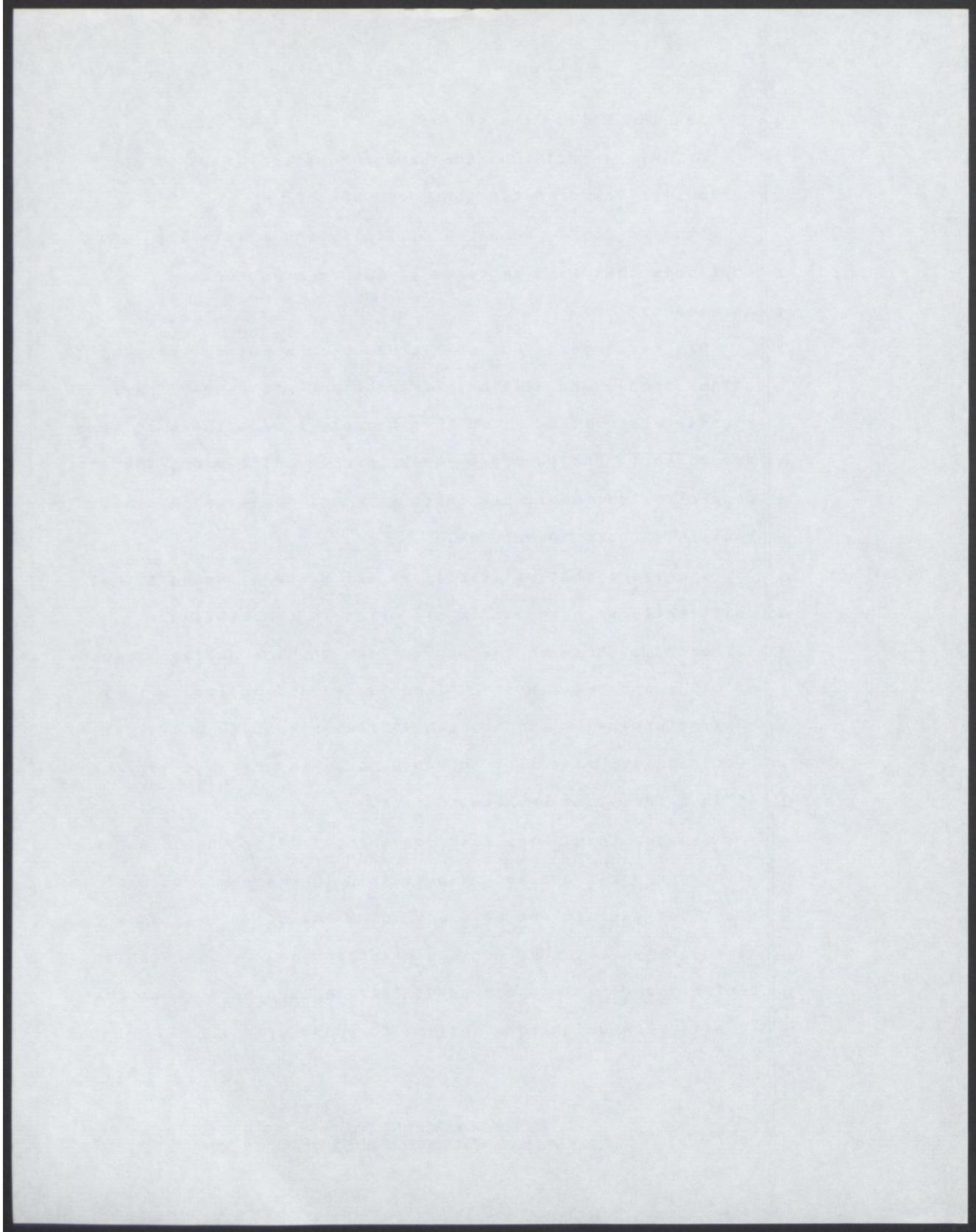
7 Dr. Kissinger: For me, it has been a painful process to
8 attack people who have been friends and with whom I have been
9 closely associated. I do this because I want there to be
10 record that some people in this country pointed out the
11 dangers at a moment when there is really a large consensus
12 that this ought to be done.

13 I believe that militarily we are somewhat weaker; that
14 politically we have paid a big price in elaborating a
15 differential between the non-nuclear and the nuclear members
16 of NATO, and between the United States and Europe, a flaw
17 that determined diplomacy can hopefully repair, but it will
18 require a lot of effort to get us back to where we were, and
19 it is a fact that we have to face.

20 Senator Dodd: You said something earlier that I agree
21 with, nor do I, and you quickly said in the next round of
22 questions you did not have any quick answers or any answers
23 necessarily, but that we should rethink how we approach arms
24 control, and that we are using formulas and approaches that
25 we have been using for the last 20 or 30 years.

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 88

Image ID: 15117331



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 89

Image ID: 15117332

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1 Dr. Kissinger: Well, I would like to refer to the
2 colloquy with Senator Kerry. You take the 50 percent
3 reduction, and there is no argument against proceeding with
4 it, but I asked myself, we are putting this tremendous
5 effort, years of negotiation, and at the end of which, if a
6 man from Mars came and said now, tell me in what way is the
7 situation better now, what would you really say other than
8 that you have made an agreement?

9 It is not better in the relationship of the two forces to
10 each other. It makes it probably even harder to threaten
11 general nuclear war as a retaliation to an attack on NATO,
12 and since we are ~~the~~ ones that are more dependent on nuclear
13 weapons than the other, that is an unequal ~~distribution~~ ^{approval}
14 ~~you come to agreement after agreement~~. The best that is
15 being said for the INF agreement is that the existing weapons
16 in Europe can do everything INF was going to do.

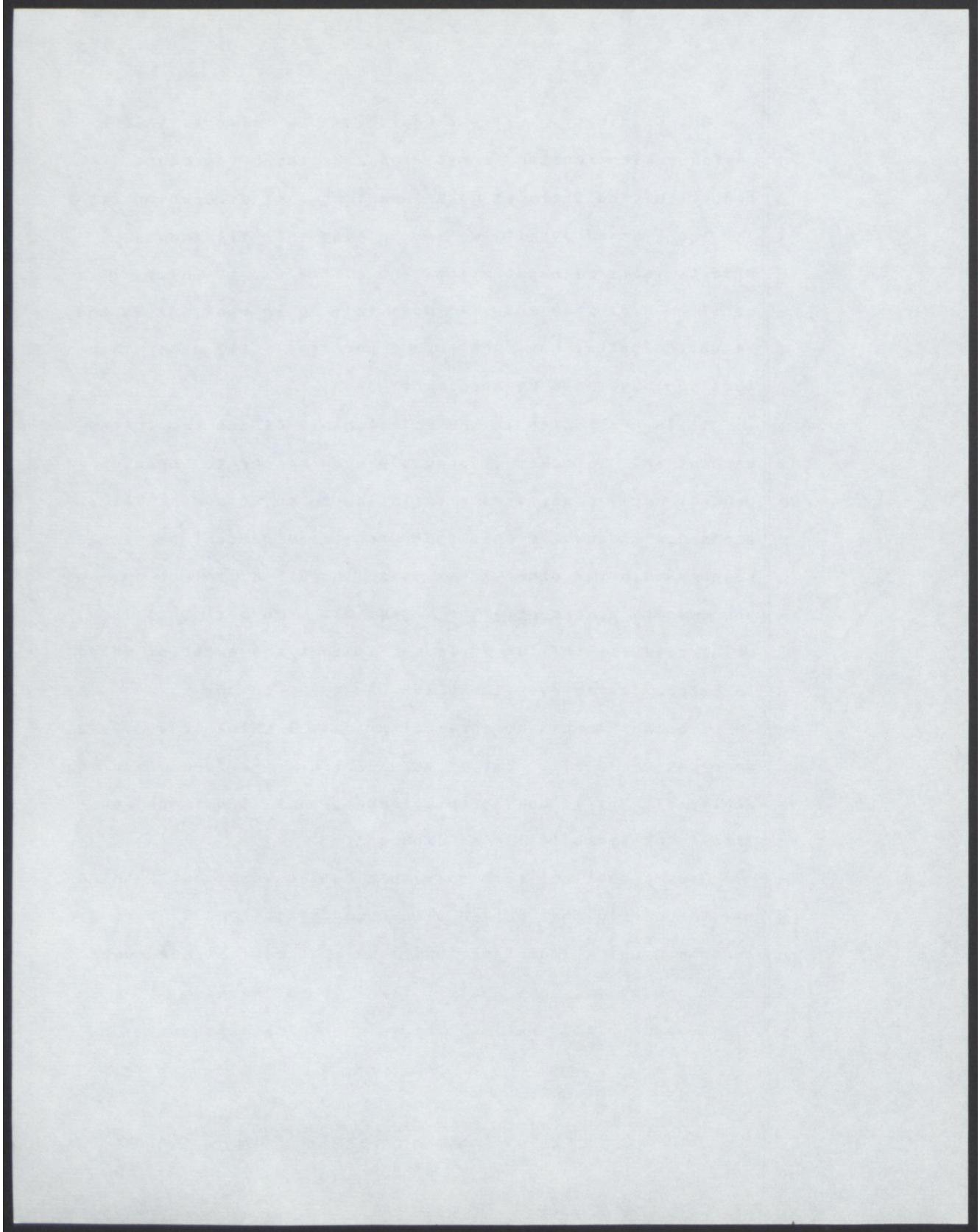
17 I do not happen to agree with that, I think it leaves us
18 somewhat worse off. But if it were true, then what have you
19 achieved? Why is making an agreement that is defended as
20 irrelevant symbolically so important?

21 Now, I have not come up with a better idea, but I think
22 all the people that worked with such dedication 30 years ago
23 to come up with important theories, that equivalence ought to
24 do it now again. But what it is, I do not know.

25 Senator Dodd: Well, I think is an excellent question,

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 90

Image ID: 15117333



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 91

Image ID: 15117334

1 shies away from that discussion because they ~~cannot come up~~
2 ~~with a --~~ they do not really know how to conceive it, and
3 partly because it runs against the American historical
4 tradition which is hostile to equilibrium.

5 And in a world of five or six powers, that is what you
6 have to do.

7 Senator Dodd: Your suggestion I think you made in one
8 article I read where you look at the world in the year 2010
9 and say what do you want it to look like and work backward.

10 Dr. Kissinger: Let's work backward from there, correct.

11 Senator Dodd: My time is up. I will come back with just
12 a couple more questions, but Senator Boschwitz.

13 Senator Boschwitz: I did not read that article about
14 2010. I would very much like to have it.

15 Dr. Kissinger: I think it was 2000 is what I used.

16 Senator Boschwitz: Pardon me?

17 Dr. Kissinger: I said 2000, but it was -- he quoted it
18 correctly. I think he gave me ten more years.

19 Senator Dodd: Rudy, would you mind just doing this?

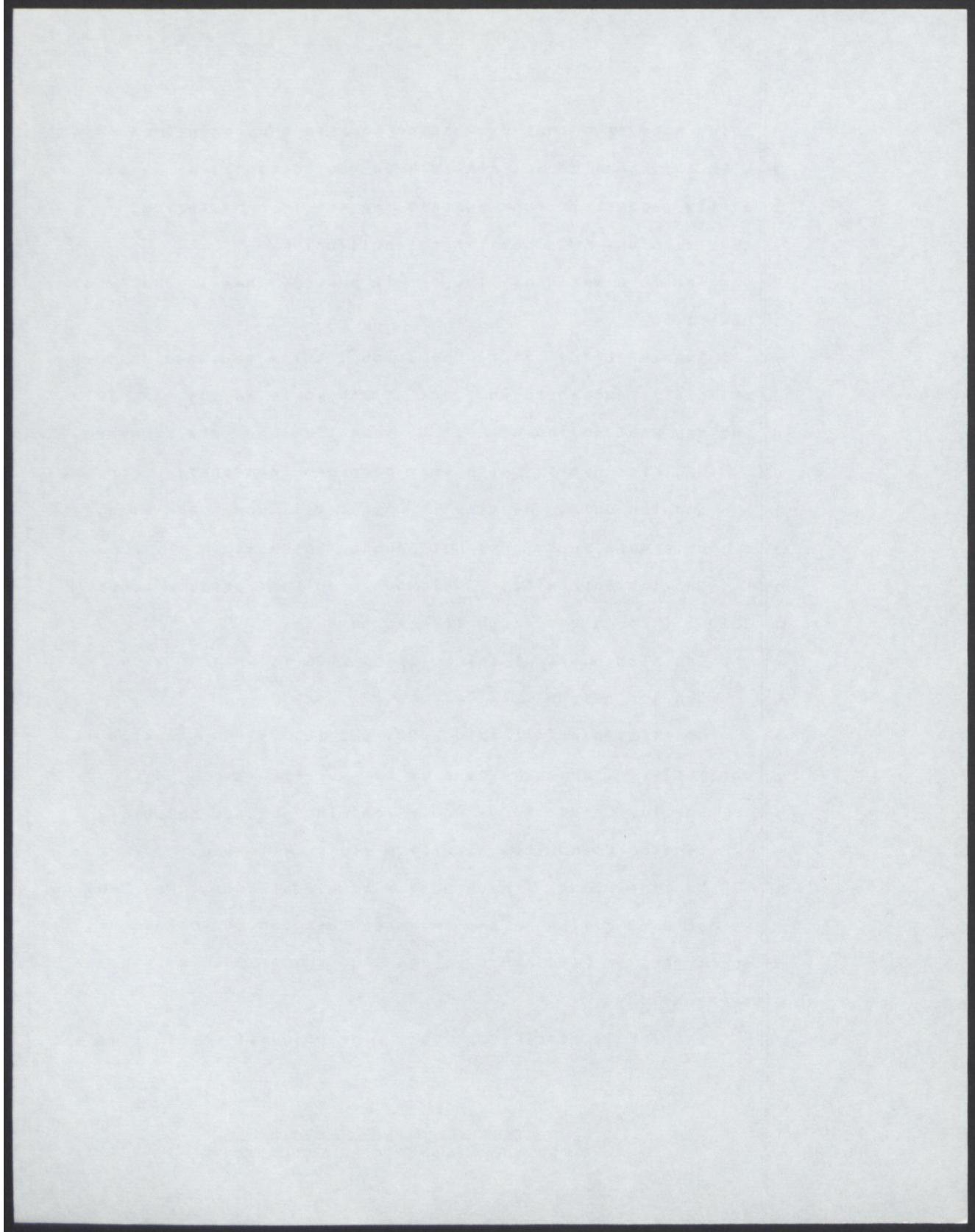
20 Senator Boschwitz: I will yield back to you.

21 Senator Dodd: I have just a couple of questions. Why do
22 we not each finish up and then let the good Doctor who has
23 spent four or five hours go on. And that way we will not tie
24 everyone down.

25 I think Senator Kerry has a line of questions that is apt

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 92

Image ID: 15117335



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 93

Image ID: 15117336

1 pull back in Afghanistan?

2 Dr. Kissinger: First of all, I want to know how Garthoff
3 can possibly know to what conclusion the Soviets are coming
4 ~~because that would be, assuming that were not there~~
5 ~~conclusion,~~ It is certainly their necessity to have a period
6 of peace and quiet, and if possible, reduced expenditures.
7 That I do not question.

8 From our point of view, the issue is whether, on what
9 terms that is to be achieved.

10 I would not be surprised if the Soviet Union did not have
11 a clearcut idea of what they had in mind, and after all, I
12 talked this week to an eminent Soviet visitor who is one of
13 their leaders in their economic reform, and he described
14 their reform program to me, and this is a stupendous
15 undertaking. ~~and~~ I would not be at all surprised if their top
16 leadership ~~do not simultaneously want to~~ were reluctant
17 simultaneously to conduct great crises now.

18 That does not mean, however, that five or ten years from
19 now, if we in the meantime have produced neutralism in
20 Europe, impotence in Asia, a vacuum in the Middle East, that
21 they will not exploit it.

22

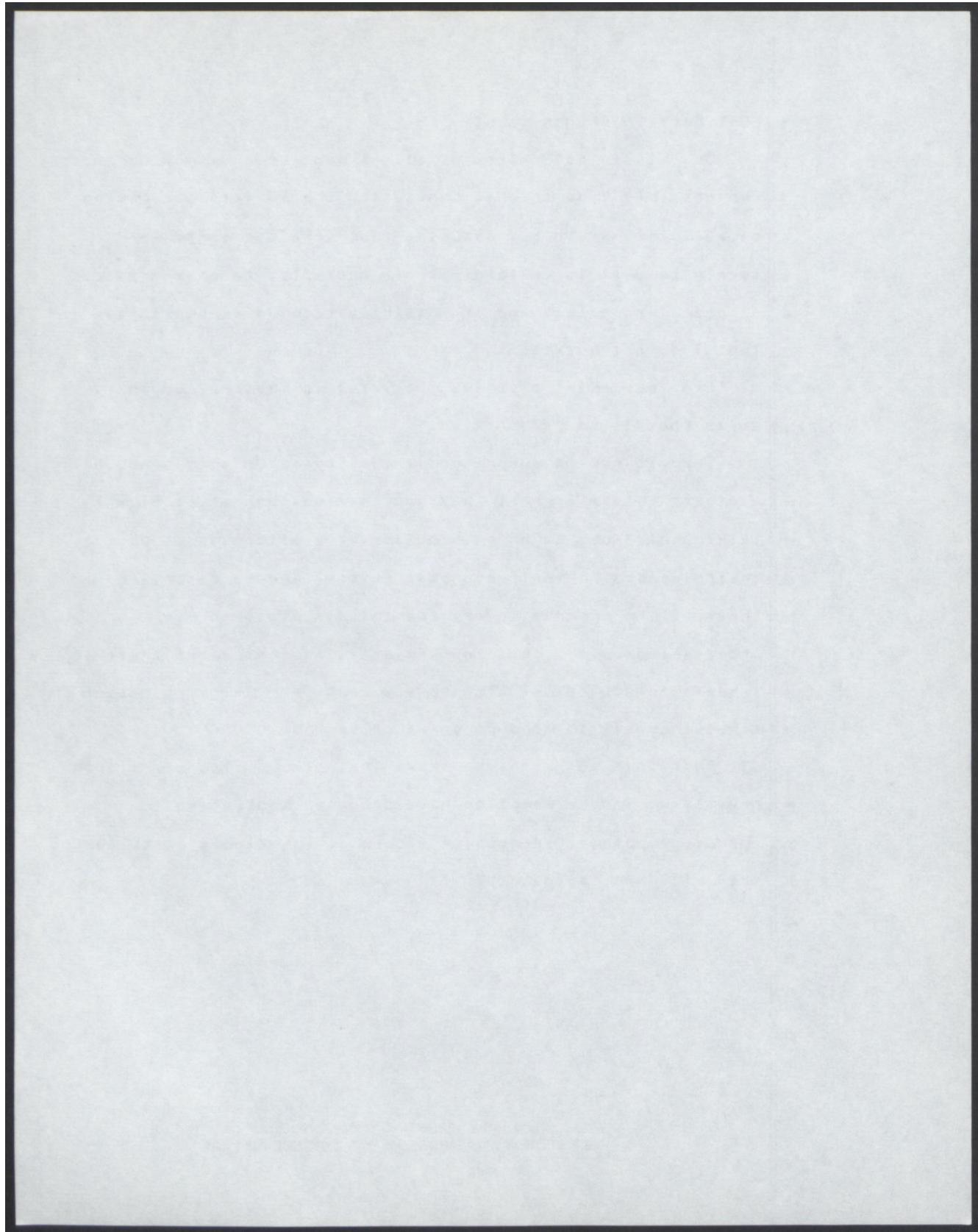
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24

25

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 94

Image ID: 15117337



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988 [1 of 3], Image 95

Image ID: 15117338

LEY

1 Therefore, I think it would be safer if we gave them
2 difficult problems that were not incompatible with their
3 self-respect. For example, I do not think that the zero
4 option was a law of nature.

5 Supposing we had said to them from the beginning we are
6 deeply concerned about this conventional problem. We are
7 willing to make realistic agreements with you, but you have
8 to give -- we have to settle the conventional and nuclear
9 thing simultaneously. We will pay the first 50 percent up
10 front in the nuclear field.

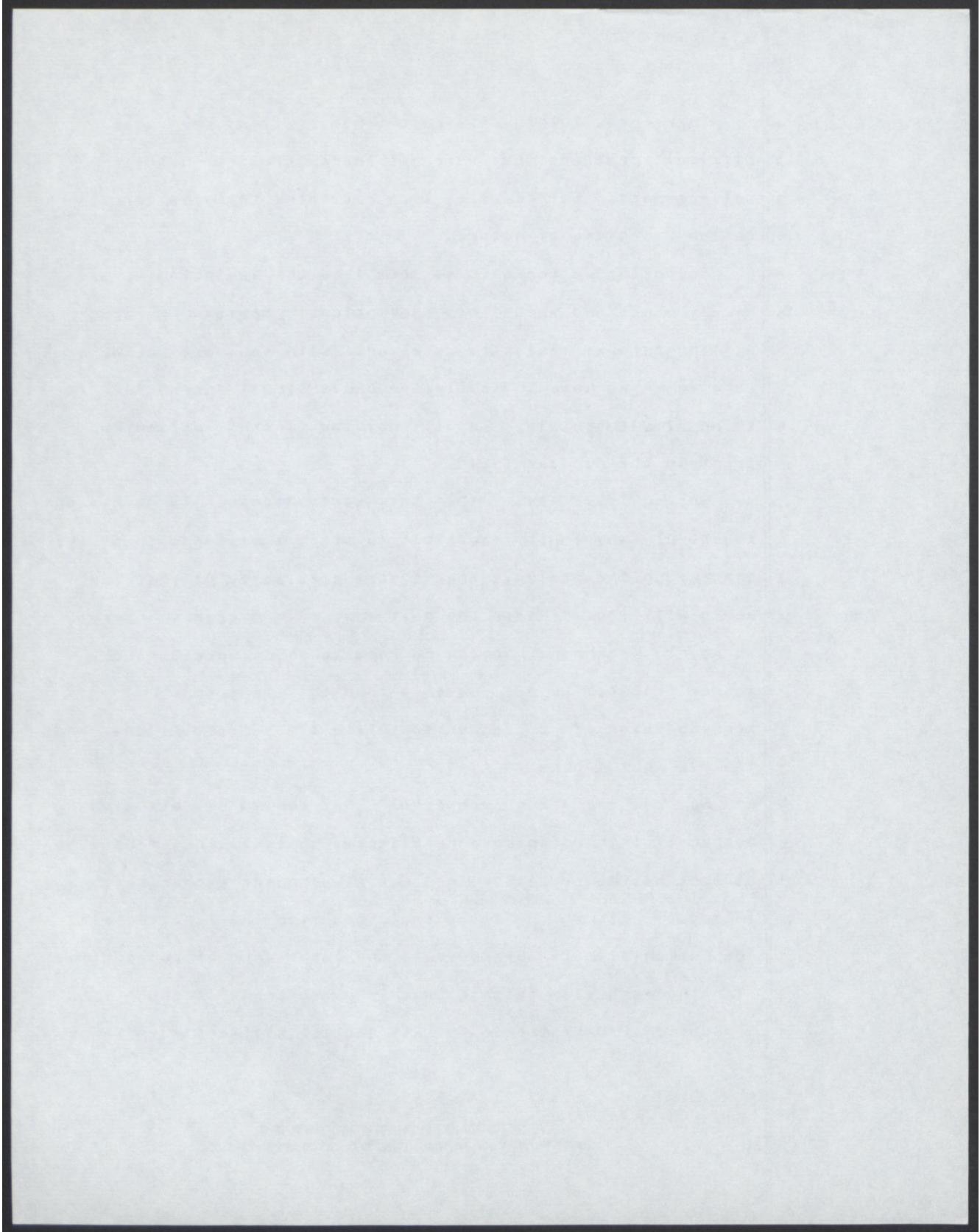
11 Why would we assume that that would necessarily have been
12 rejected? Why is it impossible to start a dialogue that says
13 that along the analysis that I made previously of what the
14 world will look like in the next century and what we have to
15 do now to determine who can do what to whom, where? And
16 sooner or later we will have to come to some such
17 accommodation either by confrontation or by negotiation. And
18 that is what I have in mind.

19 Has the sea change occurred? The problem is, assuming
20 Gorbachev intends to be conciliatory, whatever that means, he
21 already has to brutalize the central planning mechanism to
22 introduce prices. ^{by} ~~moderatism~~. He is de facto reducing the importance of
23 the Communist Party by reducing the importance of the central
24 planning mechanism because that is where their strength lies.

25 Why should he tackle the KGB and the military when he is .

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 96

Image ID: 15117339



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 97

Image ID: 15117340

[43]
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1 Senator Dodd: But are they going to give up the one
2 thing that maintains them in that status, and that is their
3 military strength? Are they really going to be willing to
4 sacrifice and so reduce their military capacity that they run
5 the risk of both economically and militarily ending up in
6 that situation?

7 Dr. Kissinger: It would be unlikely. I do not think the
8 Soviets have a category for dealing with people who are
9 trying to understand the hell out of them. I think they have
10 a category for understanding balance of forces, objective
11 factors, realistic, fair propositions. But when ~~is~~ read that,
12 ~~when~~ I keep reading ~~and this has happened now in every~~
13 ~~decade~~, that we want to show them farms in the Middle West
14 and swimming pools. What do we expect them to do? I mean,
15 what is he supposed to do, come home to the Soviet Union and
16 say I saw a swimming pool in back yards, and now we are going
17 to do what?

18 I think it is not a good basis for solving relations
19 between societies that have such a hugely different
20 historical experience. Even assuming the best intentions.

21 Senator Dodd: I agree.

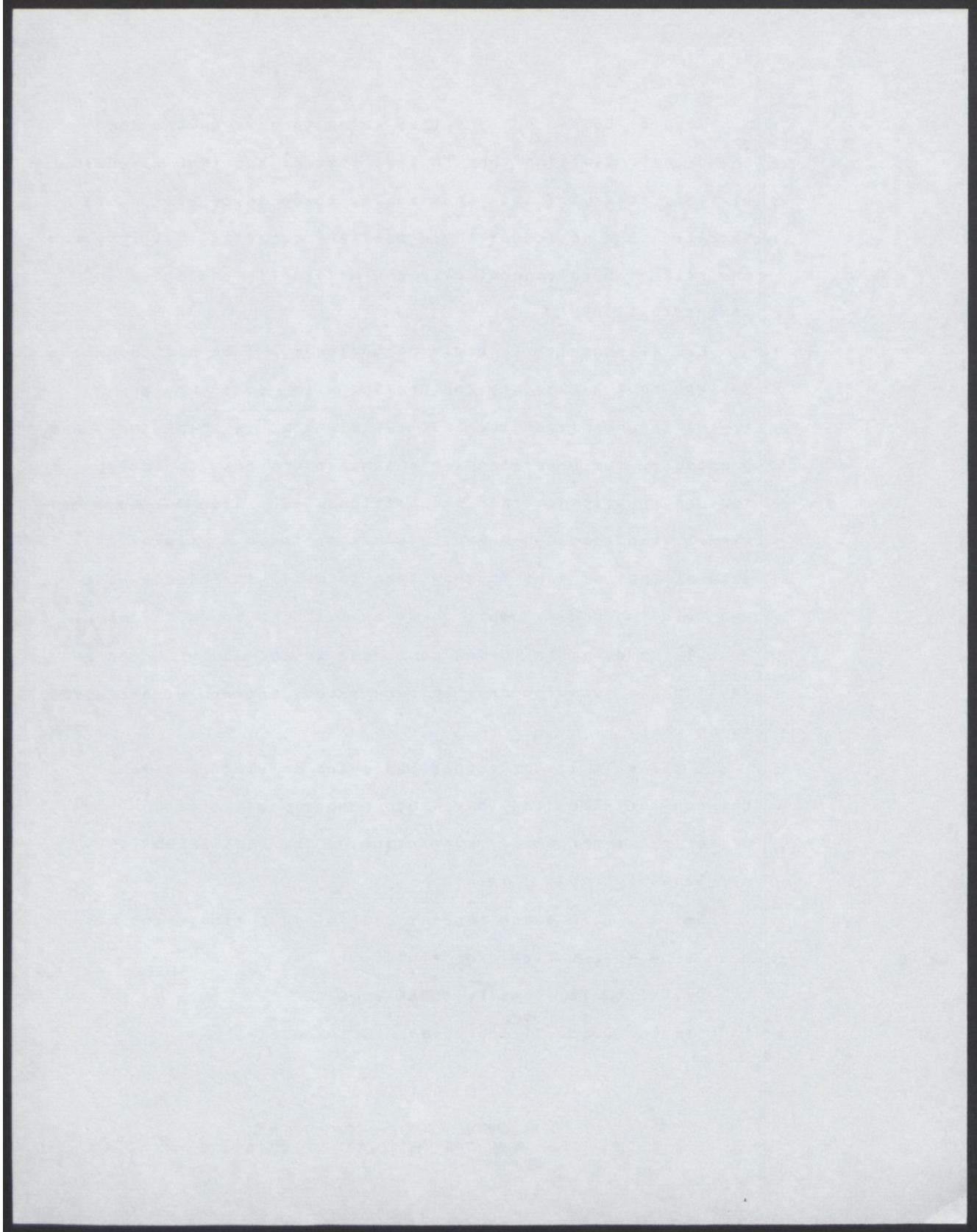
22 Well, I have taken a great deal of your time. You have
23 been very informative and helpful.

24 Dr. Kissinger: Well, thank you.

25 Senator Dodd: I appreciate it immensely.

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 98

Image ID: 15117341



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 99

Image ID: 15117342

11 [CY]

1 countries, and for us it is going to be a major experience
2 when Mexico emerges on our border with 100 million population
3 as a country that conducts foreign policy not from the
4 position of a very inferior country but with aspirations to
5 some equality. And the same with Brazil.

6 So we will be living in quite a different world in the
7 21st Century, even though neither of those two countries will
8 have quite the status of Japan and the others.

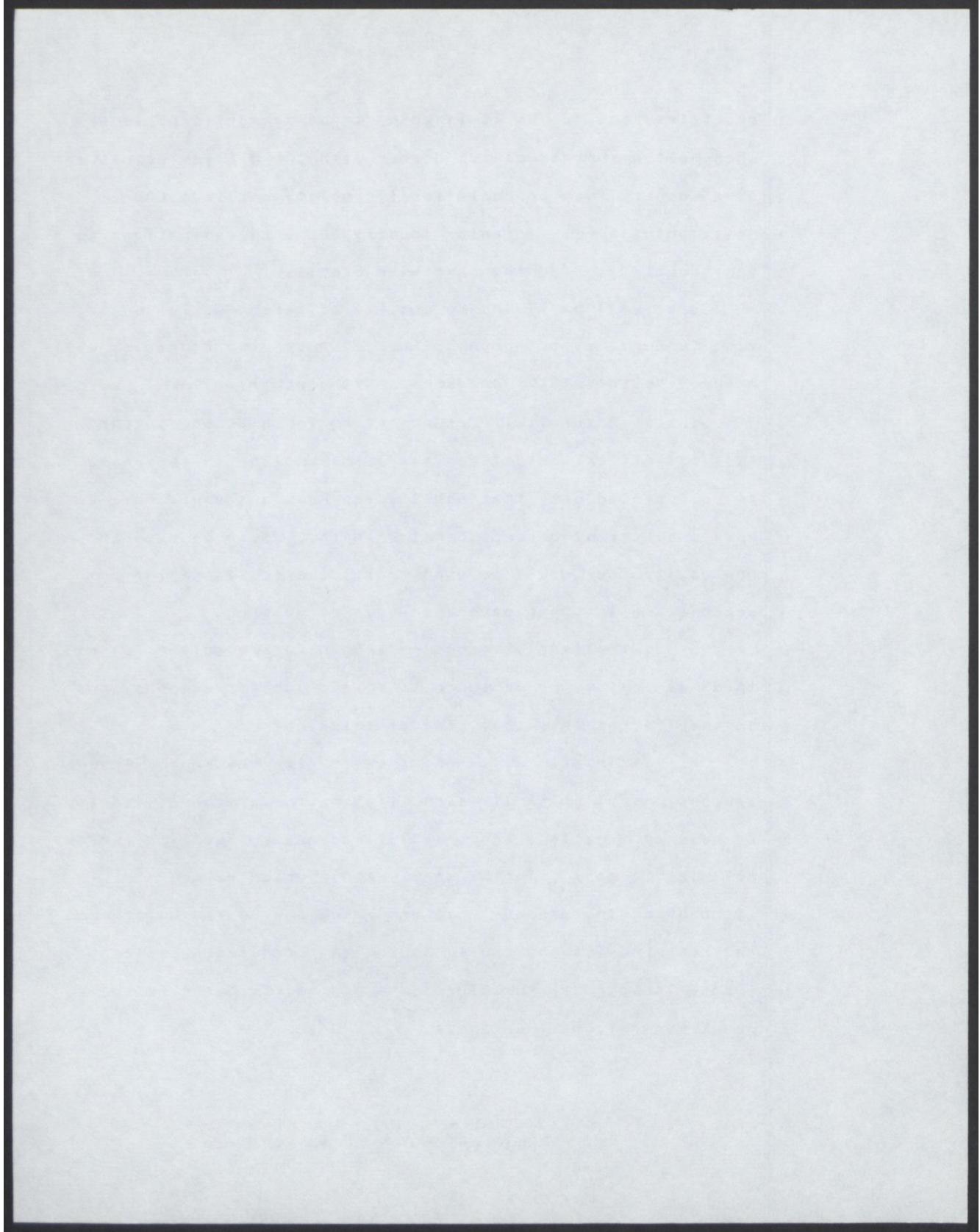
9 Senator Boschwitz: Let me return for a moment to the
10 tactical difference between the ICÂMs and the INF weapons.
11 As you pointed out, that one is, the Russians would have to
12 have a different perception of when they would be used and
13 how easily they would be used, particularly if the INF
14 weapons are in their path and would be overrun.

15 How do the shorter-range -- and there are only a few of
16 them, as you say -- or the battlefield nuclear weapons, how
17 do they factor into that kind of thinking?

18 Dr. Kissinger: Well, the trouble with the shorter range
19 weapons, and I think it is an illustration of the difficulty
20 we have as a nation, and the Alliance has to keep its various
21 policies in gear. In the same year in which we are
22 withdrawing the weapons that can reach the Soviet Union and
23 the Pershing IIs and the GLCMs and that can reach Eastern
24 Europe through the Pershing Is, a big debate has started
25 about modernizing the Lances.

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 100

Image ID: 15117343



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988 [1 of 3], Image 101

Image ID: 15117344

CYD

1 Now, obviously, to Germans, rightly or wrongly, this
2 looks as if we want to improve the weapons that can kill only
3 Germans and remove the weapons that are targeted at East
4 Europeans and the Soviet Union. And that has given rise,
5 perhaps unfairly, to the impression that Germany is being
6 singularized, as their phrase goes, singled out for nuclear
7 risk.

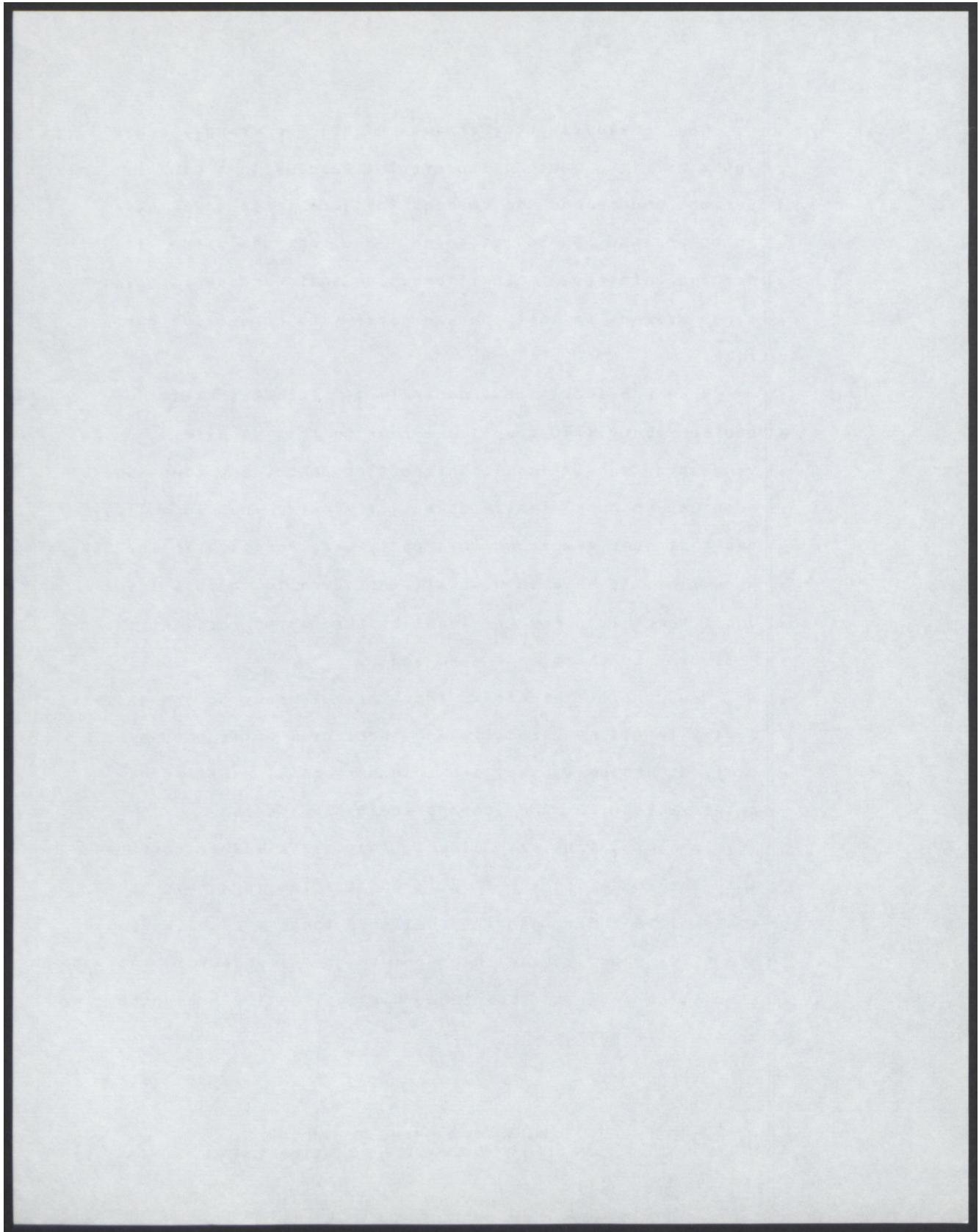
8 Now, the traditional neutralist, seminationalist,
9 dubious-about-NATO people are picking this up with a
10 vengeance, and I find it interesting that Chancellor Kohl,
11 when he was here, really asked for a delay in this policy,
12 and that some members of his party were reported in the New
13 York Times to have said we will not even touch this issue
14 until there is a new President because we do not want the new
15 President to change his mind again.

16 *short range*
16 ~~Now~~ the difference is that these weapons do not threaten
17 Soviet territory directly, and therefore, while they are
18 still an obstacle, they are a lesser and of a different
19 category than the INF weapons would have been.

20 Senator Boschwitz: Clearly they are a lesser obstacle
21 than the INF weapon, but would the Russians not have to
22 factor into their thinking that once these type of weapons
23 are used, short range, intermediate range, whatever, that the
24 escalation from that point could almost not be prevented, and
25 so would it not be?

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 102

Image ID: 15117345



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 103

Image ID: 15117346

LYD

1 Dr. Kissinger: Well, you know this is a question of
2 judgment. They might figure that, or they might figure that
3 once they are used, there will be such a rush to surrender
4 that ~~the~~ escalation becomes impossible.

5 It depends whether they believe Schmidt or whether they
6 believe the theorists of escalation.

7 But I do not really think that the real danger is a
8 Soviet all-out attack heading for the Rhine. The real danger
9 is a perceived unbalance of forces which will tempt the
10 Soviets to take the Berlin issue up again, for example, or to
11 use a Middle East crisis to impose on Europe measures that
12 amount to de facto neutralization.

13 I noticed that when Shevardnadze was in Bonn, he refused
14 absolutely to consider any attempt to make Berlin a part of
15 the Federal Republic or to let the Federal Republic speak for
16 Berlin, even though this would be an easy way to confirm the
17 status quo in Germany. But obviously they want to keep that
18 lever open.

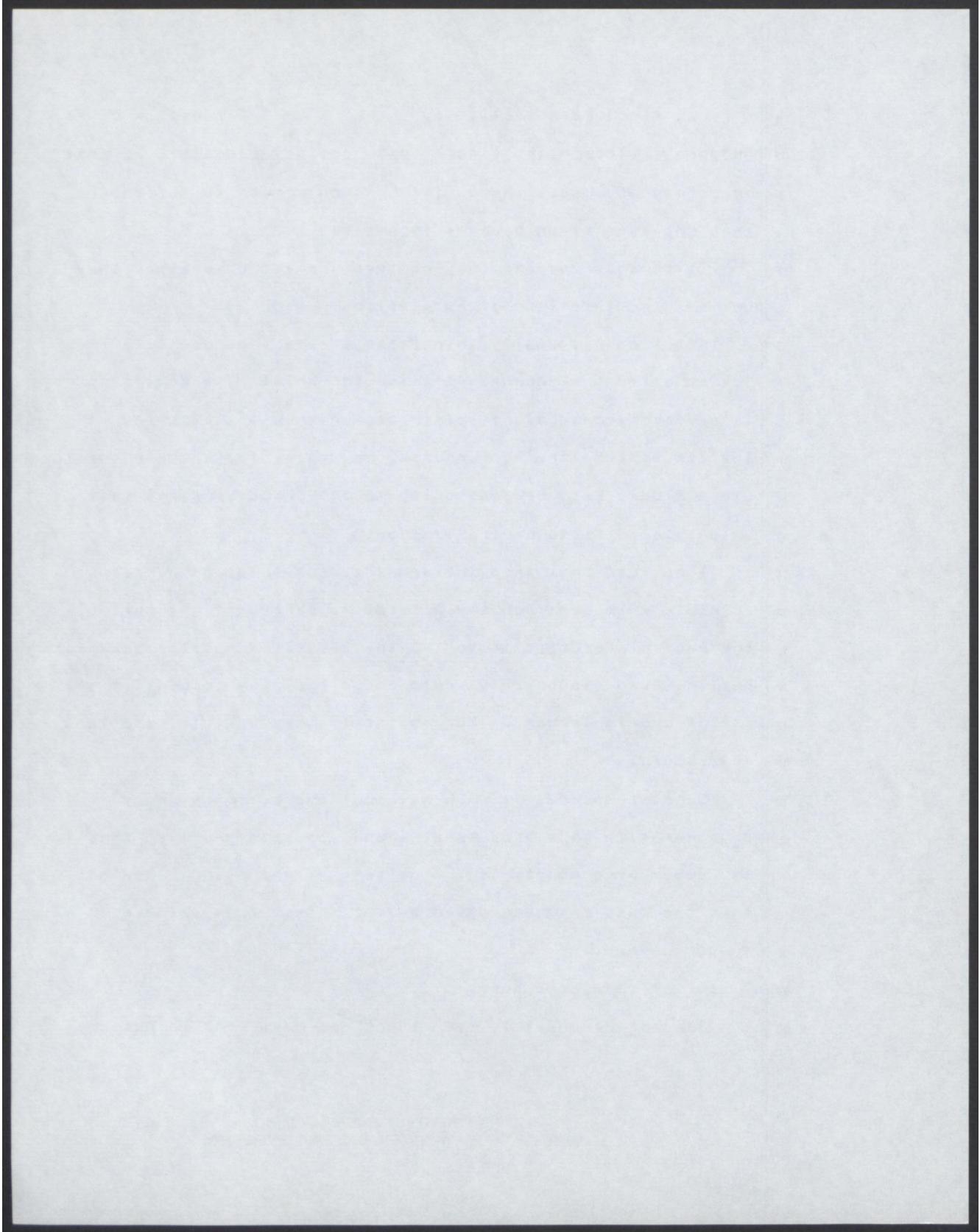
19 Senator Boschwitz: You have pointed out many, many
20 problems with this arms treaty, and you said you wish that it
21 had never been negotiated, I believe at one point. You note
22 that the Russians have given away far less than we, even
23 though perhaps --

24 Dr. Kissinger: More.

25 Senator Boschwitz: Even though perhaps more in numbers,

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 104

Image ID: 15117347



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 105

Image ID: 15117348

CYJ
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1 warhead, mobile missiles, I would think a first strike
2 capability is almost out of the question.

3 So I would rather spend a little more time and come to
4 some radical conclusions. Also, with single warhead mobile
5 weapons, it would be easier to conceive a discriminating use
6 of these weapons in response to local aggression because the
7 beginning would not necessarily mean that the next step will
8 be an assault on the retaliatory forces.

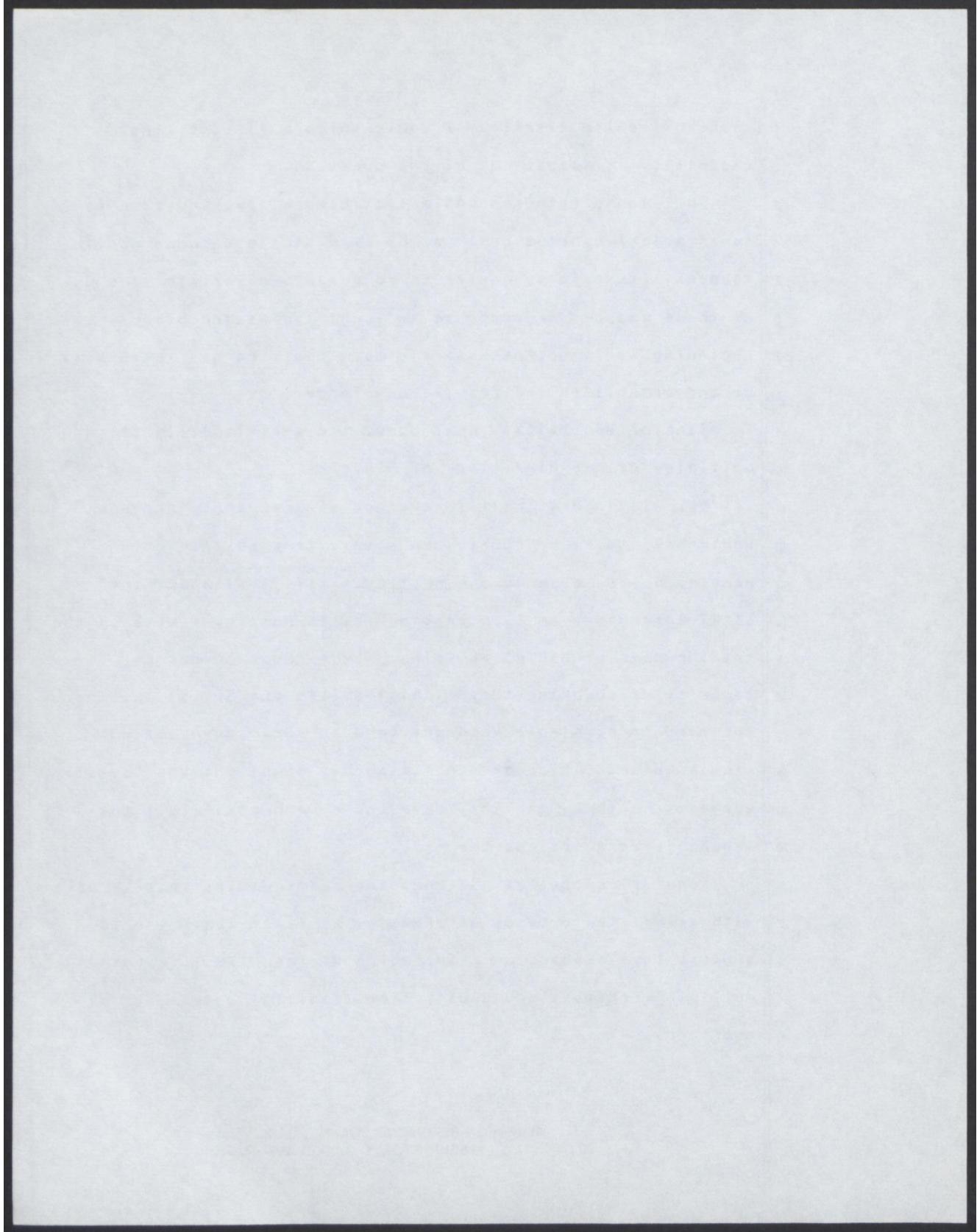
9 Senator Boschwitz: What about the verifiability of the
10 multiple, of the MIRV, lack of MIRVs?

11 Dr. Kissinger: Well I have not studied that, and one
12 would have to -- of course, to some extent we face this
13 problem now because ~~we are putting limits~~ ^{the MIRVs} ~~I mean~~, the
14 START agreement, as I understand it, is putting limits on the
15 total number of MIRVed vehicles. So we must have some
16 capacity of checking those vehicles like the SS-25s that are
17 supposed to be single warhead, to make sure they remain
18 single warhead, because otherwise they might put the SS-20
19 warheads on ~~them~~ ^{the SS-25s} and they have three warheads, since the
20 weapon is more or less the same.

21 Senator Boschwitz: So that the difficulties that we have
22 with all of these types of treaties at least least you to
23 suggest that perhaps an elimination of the MIRVs, of the
24 multiple warheads, would be a more stabilizing type of
25 approach.

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 106

Image ID: 15117349



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 107

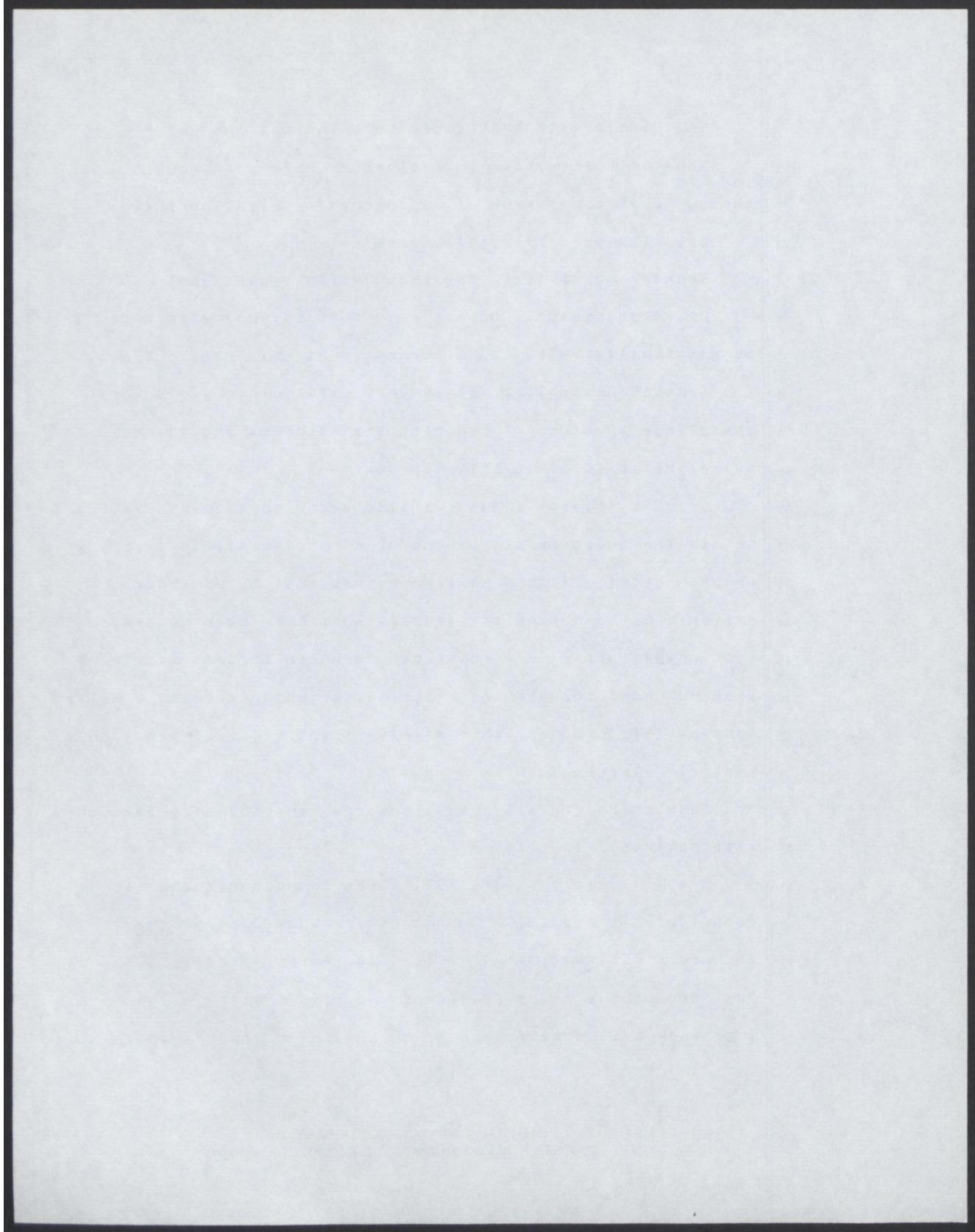
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[REDACTED]

1 Dr. Kissinger: That would be a radical change.
2 Senator Boschwitz: What other -- have you thought
3 through what other kind of approaches we might pursue?
4 Dr. Kissinger: I really have not, no.
5 Senator Boschwitz: May I ask a final question?
6 Dr. Kissinger: I do not know that anybody else has. I
7 am not familiar with any alternative views on the subject.
8 Senator Boschwitz: It is very difficult. It is very
9 appealing, the idea of reducing the weapons, and yet the
10 vulnerabilities of it all, how does --
11 Dr. Kissinger: I just want to keep emphasizing, we ought
12 to ask the question at the end of an agreement, in what way
13 we are better off than we were before, not by abstruse
14 criteria as to number of warheads that have been destroyed,
15 but in what ^{concrete} way -- are fewer people under threat, are fewer
16 weapons under threat, are fewer allies under threat? And if
17 none of this changes, then we have spent a lot of years on
18 esoteric exercises.
19 Senator Boschwitz: Well, how does the SDI play into the
20 alternatives? Is this --
21 Dr. Kissinger: Well, SDI, there is no doubt that it
22 complicates the issue. On the other hand, I think the
23 absence of SDI will in time lead to nuclear pacifism ~~and~~ I
24 just do not see how a President can keep telling his people
25 that they are totally exposed to any third country accidental

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 108

Image ID: 15117351



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 109

Image ID: 15117352

12 CYJ

1 war, blackmail attack, and that their total vulnerability is
2 their security.

3 Senator Boschwitz: Is their security.

4 Dr. Kissinger: This is my hang-up, in addition to the
5 fact that if one could get some defense for the strategic
6 forces that are not mobile, it would certainly discourage
7 that sort of blackmail.

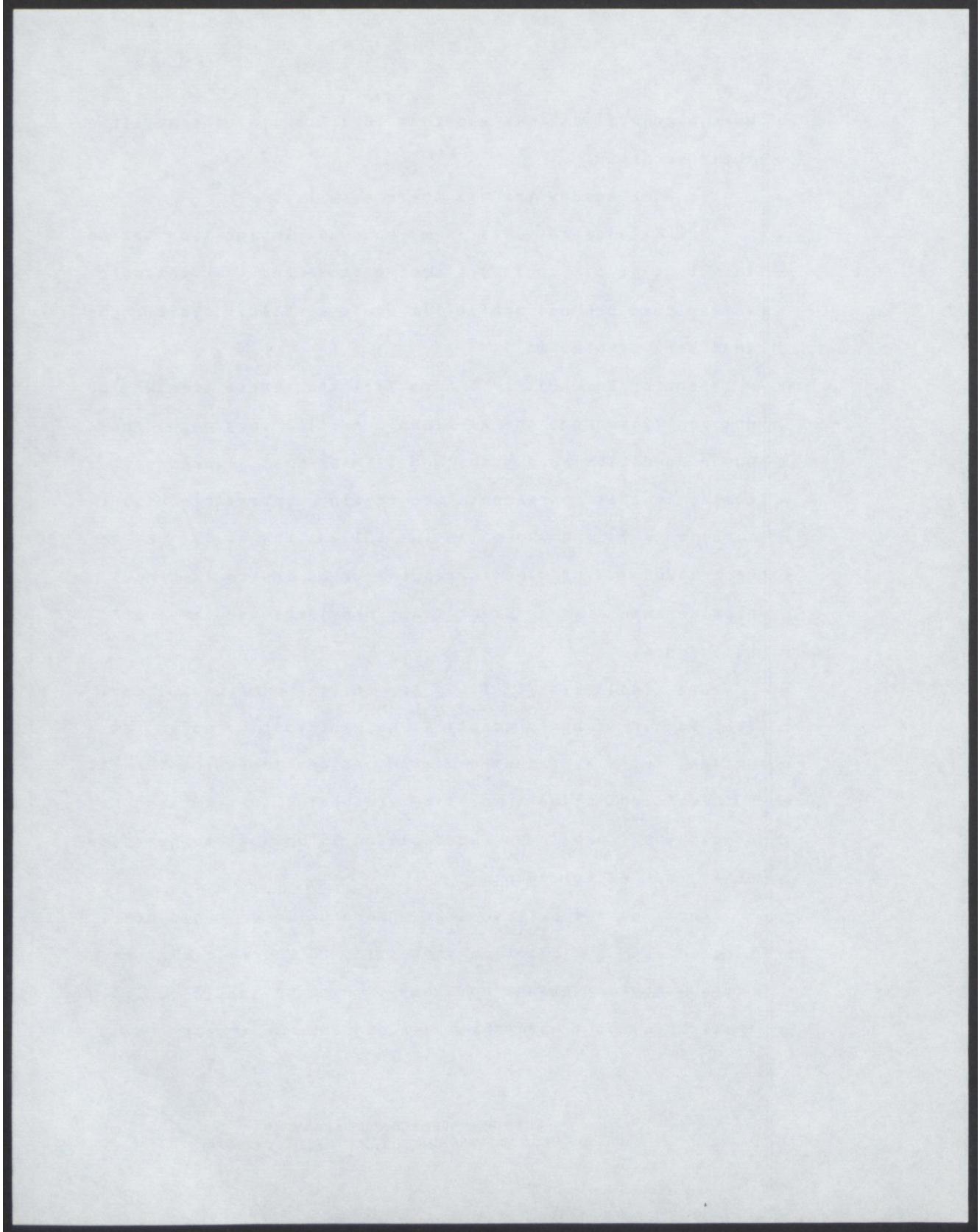
8 Senator Boschwitz: I also feel that these treaties do
9 not really improve the American condition very much, the
10 human condition very much, and I think that a large part of
11 coming to these agreements and feeling comfortable with the
12 agreements is wrapped up in the SDI and the abilities, as I
13 understand it, of kinetic weapons or others to even now
14 provide some defense or at least provide a good deal of
15 deterrence.

16 Dr. Kissinger: If I may say one thing about SDI that I
17 feel rather strongly about, if we want to give up SDI as a
18 nation, let's make that decision and get something for it.
19 But let's not slide into it by pretending that we are
20 preserving it while de facto giving it up just to get some
21 other sort of agreement.

22 And I cannot believe that a moratorium on deployment,
23 coupled with a limitation on testing ~~to the criteria of the~~
24 ~~narrow interpretation, not that I think we should put it on~~
25 ~~that basis~~, will have any other consequence except ending

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 110

Image ID: 15117353



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988 [1 of 3], Image 111

Image ID: 15117354

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1 bomb or something surreptitiously delivered.

2 Now, that is not going to be cured by an SDI.

3 Dr. Kissinger: SDI does not cure all problems..

4 Senator Kerry: Well, not even all problems. I am just
5 taking about this notion of blackmail. I mean, it really
6 strikes me as being something of a red herring.

7 Dr. Kissinger: It seems to me, the fundamental point
8 that I am making is that if we preserve the option of
9 developing SDI, we can then have a rational debate in our
10 ^{short} country against what dangers we most need to protect
11 ourselves, while if we forgo both the deployment and the
12 testing of SDI, a priori, then we are making ourselves
13 vulnerable to many unforeseen circumstances as well as
14 developing a strategy that becomes increasingly absurd.

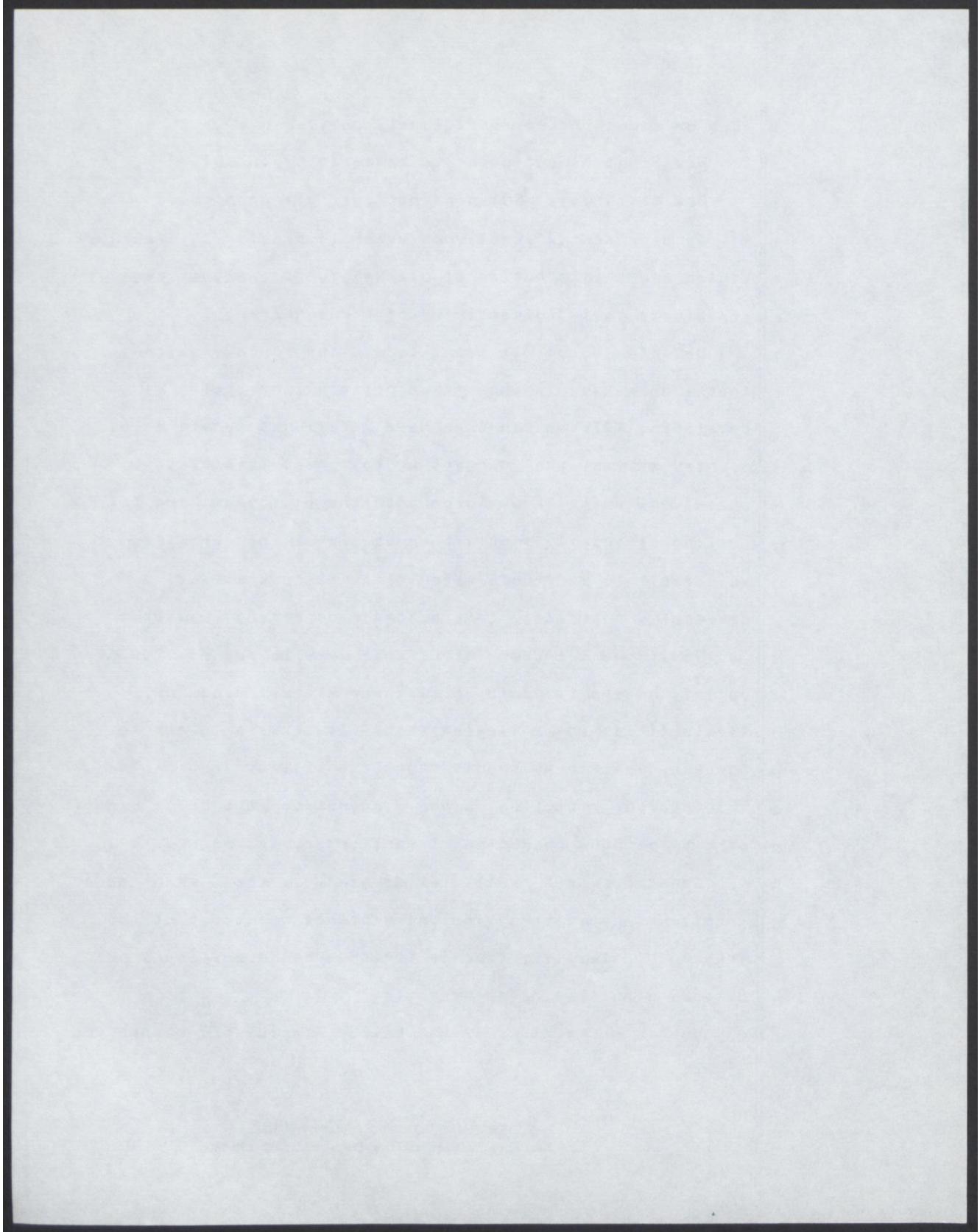
15 So if the Secretary of Defense were to ask my view of how
16 rapidly he should deploy SDI, there are all kinds of
17 flexibilities in my view on that. If he were to ask me,
18 however, whether we should negotiate it away in order to get
19 a 50 percent reduction, since I do not see the great benefit
20 of a 50 percent reduction, I have very grave doubts.

21 Senator Kerry: Well, let me ask you, then, when the ABM
22 treaty was negotiated, you among others talked about the
23 inherent instability that is created when superpowers both
24 possess a partial defense system.

25 What are the risks if the United States were to proceed

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 112

Image ID: 15117355



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 113

Image ID: 15117356

12570

1 does it not?

2 Dr. Kissinger: Well, the Soviet Union is doing it around
3 Moscow within the permitted parameters.

4 Senator Kerry: Within the ABM treaty.

5 Dr. Kissinger: Within the ABM treaty, but --

6 Senator Kerry: Certainly not the kinds of exotics that
7 we are talking about.

8 Dr. Kissinger: No, no, no, they do not have the
9 capability yet for the kind of exotics that we --

10 Senator Kerry: Is that not dangerous? I mean, is that
11 not the very partial defense that you talked about?

12 Dr. Kissinger: Well, but they have a partial defense,
13 not against sophisticated U.S. attack, and to the best of my
14 knowledge, they are doing a lot of development work and they
15 have that *radar* in Krasnoyarsk, so that in terms of existing
16 ABM systems, they are undoubtedly ahead of us.

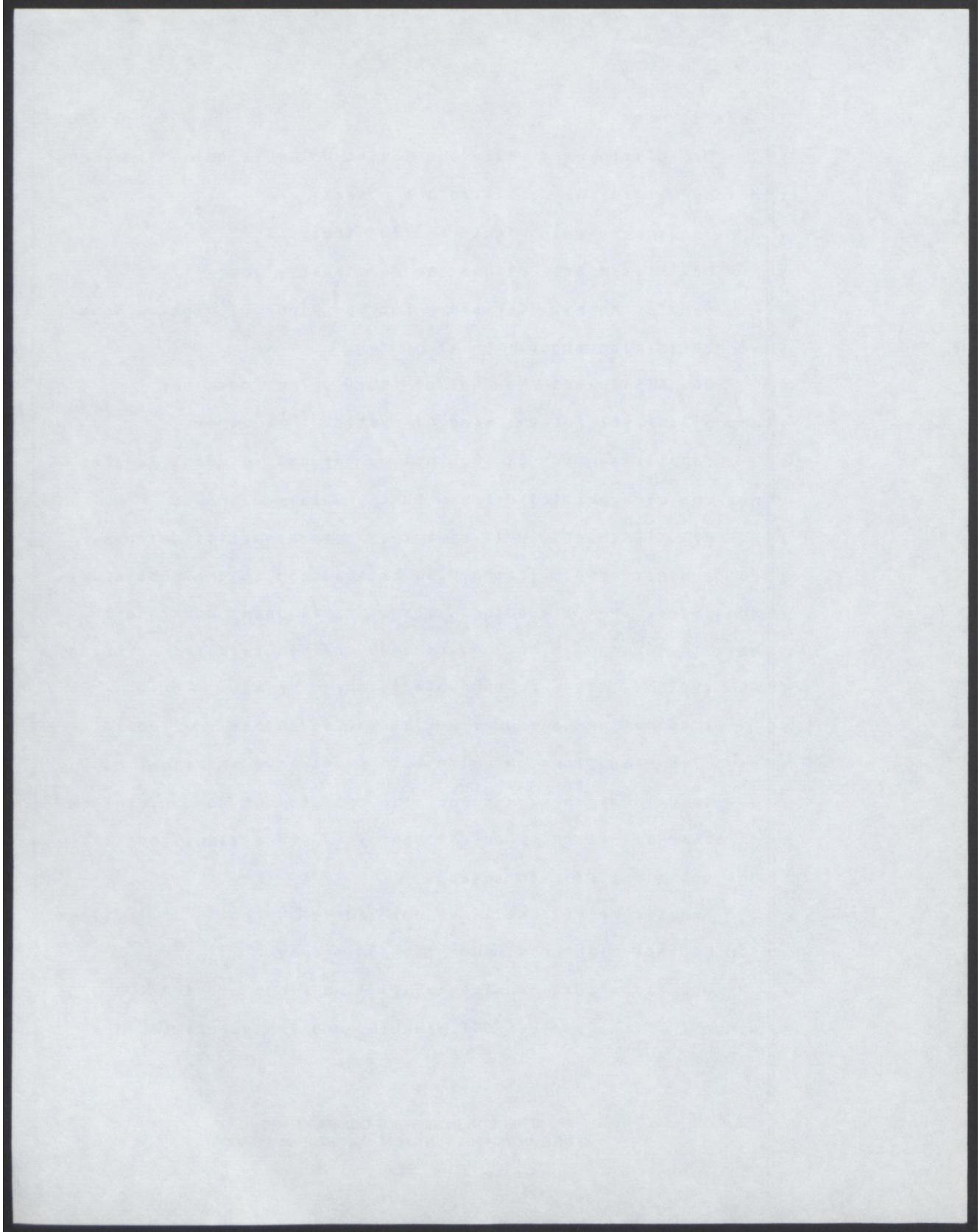
17 I do not see any huge unilateral advantage -- I could
18 conceive situations in which both sides have the right to
19 develop ABM systems, and one side chooses not to deploy them,
20 as after all we chose not to deploy an ABM system, and still
21 not get a decisive advantage.

22 Senator Kerry: Well, we both agree on that. In fact, we
23 can do that right now under the ABM treaty.

24 Dr. Kissinger: Incidentally, I have not studied the
25 stage 1 of the current SDI program, and I have not taken a

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 114

Image ID: 15117357



Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 115

Image ID: 15117358

1 Well, I would argue, why do we not go directly towards
2 something better? But you know, it is easier said than
3 done.

4 Senator Kerry: Mr. Secretary, we understand that beggars
5 cannot be choosers, and we have been beggars on this issue
6 for a long time.

7 Dr. Kissinger: But I do not know why you have to be.

8 Senator Kerry: We would like to move further also
9 faster, which is why I have said again and again, if we do
10 not go further, I do not think this Treaty is very meaningful
11 either.

12 The significance is the potentiality of a first step, and
13 I understand why you disagree with that, and also want to be
14 on record as having said that. Because I think the day will
15 come when we will measure this against where we have wound
16 up.

17 Dr. Kissinger: And of course, I mean, I have made it
18 repeatedly clear that I am for ratification. So we are not
19 talking philosophically.

20 Senator Kerry: We are getting the best of both worlds,
21 right?

22 Dr. Kissinger: No. I am reluctant. It is my honest
23 judgment that I may make few friends with ^{my} that view.

24 Senator Kerry: I do not mean to make light of it. Mr.
25 Secretary, thank you very, very much. It has been very

Caption: Testimony on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb 23, 1988
[1 of 3], Image 116

Image ID: 15117359

