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Weinberger: Improved relations depend on "vigorous response by us."

Weinberger Urges Buildup Over Soviet 'Violations'

By Walter Pincus
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In the presummit report on Soviet violations of arms-control agreements that accompanied his now-controversial letter to President Reagan, Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger argued that "the key to improved U.S.-Soviet relations is a vigorous response by us to Soviet treaty violations."

Weinberger warned the president that "current and future Soviet violations [of arms-control agreements] pose real risks to our security and to the process of arms control itself." This threat, he said, could only be overcome with a vigorous U.S. defense program and forceful responses to all perceived Soviet violations.

Acknowledging that his ad-

vice to seek better relations with Moscow by being tougher than in the past "may appear paradoxical," Weinberger added:

"It is no more [paradoxical] than the observation that the key to domestic peace is a police force ready to exert itself to preserve the law."

The general contents of Weinberger's findings on Soviet violations were reported last week.

The 11-page, unclassified summary of the detailed study was made available to The Washington Post with the cover letter that has caused a stir. It contains a number of new points, as well as a glimpse of the passion behind Weinberger's views.

They represent the feelings of many administration officials

that meetings like this week's in Geneva will not overcome the profound differences between the superpowers.

The cover letter included a warning from Weinberger to Reagan not to agree to continued adherence to provisions of the SALT II arms-control agreement and not to accept limits on research, development and testing of a new strategic defense against incoming missiles. Publication of the letter Saturday led a senior White House official to describe it as an attempt to "sabotage" the summit.

Secretary of State George P. Shultz said yesterday that Reagan will mention past Soviet violations in his conversations with Gorbachev, which are scheduled to begin Tuesday.

In his report, Weinberger disclosed that a new CIA study of the phased-array radar the Soviet Union is building in Siberia "confirms that the Krasnoyarsk radar is not suited for the purposes claimed for it by the Soviets but is indeed an early-warning radar."

The Soviets have claimed that the radar was intended to track objects in space. The 1972 ABM treaty requires that early-warning radars be located on the periphery of each superpower, not in the heart land, as is the facility near Krasnoyarsk.

The defense secretary said the construction of this radar together

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with "a variety of other violations . . . of the [1972] ABM treaty" represent a systematic pattern suggesting that the Soviets may be preparing a defense against incoming ballistic missiles that "could have a profound impact on our strategic deterrent forces.

"Even a *probable* territorial defense," Weinberger wrote, "would require us to increase the number of our offensive forces and their ability to penetrate Soviet defenses to assure that our operational plans could be executed."

This is the same reasoning used by many critics of Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative, who argue that if the United States proceeds toward development of a defense, the Soviets will inevitably respond by adding to their offensive forces—or at least by refusing to reduce them—to improve their ability to counter the U.S. defense.

Repeatedly in his executive summary, Weinberger argued that "failure to object or respond to violations will invite further violations," as he put it at one point. And he made no effort to hide the strength of his feelings.

For example, Weinberger dismissed the body set up to monitor compliance with past agreements, the Standing Consultative Commission in Geneva, as "a diplomatic carpet under which Soviet violations have been continuously swept, an Orwellian memory-hole into which our concerns have been dumped like yesterday's trash."

Weinberger compared those who close their eyes to Soviet violations

to appeasers in the 1930s who allowed Adolf Hitler to rearm Germany. Failure to respond forcefully to Soviet violations now "would signal the kind of uncertainty and political weakness that invites adversaries to put one further to the test" and could "undermine our credibility."

Several times in the document, Weinberger warmly praised Reagan. After reciting what he termed the failures of Presidents Johnson, Nixon, Ford and Carter to "respond seriously to the many Soviet violations that took place during their tenures," Weinberger wrote, "you became the first president in five administrations to find the Soviets in violation" and publicly say so.

He was referring to reports urged on Reagan by Weinberger and his key assistant secretary, Richard N. Perle, accusing the Soviets of violating some provisions of past treaties. Publication of those findings followed sharp battles inside the administration.

Weinberger said a decision to respond effectively to the Soviets "requires great political courage Indeed, you are the first president to decide to do so, and you can expect considerable controversy over any specific proportional response that you chose to make."

Weinberger is to make specific suggestions for such responses in part two of the report he submitted to Reagan last week. That section will not be completed until after the Geneva summit.

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