

12/6/79 [1]

Folder Citation: Collection: Office of Staff Secretary; Series: Presidential Files; Folder: 12/6/79
[1]; Container 141

To See Complete Finding Aid:

http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.gov/library/findingaids/Staff_Secretary.pdf

WITHDRAWAL SHEET (PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES)

FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
memō	From Miller to The President (5 pp.) re: Middle East Trip Report/enclosed in Hutcheson to Miller 12/6/79	12/5/79	A
memo w/ att.	From Brzezinski to The President (3 pp.) re: Acceptance of Seignious Resignation	12/5/79	A

FILE LOCATION

Carter Presidential Papers- Staff Offices, Office of the Staff Sec.- Pres. Hand-writing File 12/6/79 [1] BOX 158

RESTRICTION CODES

- (A) Closed by Executive Order 12356 governing access to national security information.
- (B) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the document.
- (C) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in the donor's deed of gift.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 6, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: PHIL WISE

SUBJECT: Simultaneous Hookup with Ten Fund Raising Dinners in Tennessee at 8:30 p.m. (EST) Thursday, December 6

Background

- . The ten Fund Raisers are in the following Tennessee cities: Chattanooga, Clarksville, Jackson, Knoxville, Lawrenceburg, Livingston, Memphis, Nashville, Tri-City (party in Blountville), and Tullahoma.
- . The theme of the dinners is "The Importance of Re-electing Democrats to the Tennessee General Assembly."
- . The dinners are being held in union halls, schools, National Guard Armories, a convention center and a country club.
- . It will be the largest political gathering in Tennessee history (3,000 to 4,000 persons expected).
- . The cost is \$15 per person, and the profit will be split between participating counties.

Format

8:30 p.m. (EST) Mr. Bill Farris, Democratic Party Chairman for Tennessee, will welcome and introduce the President.

8:35 p.m. (EST) Presidential Remarks.

8:40 p.m. Chairman Farris thanks the President.

8:29 (EST)

The President will be called by Signal.
The Operator will say, "Mr. President,
stand by for the conference call."

Then the Operator will say, "The Conference
call is complete. The President is on the
line. Mr. Farris, go ahead." (All 10 dinners
will hear every comment you make)

8:30

Introduction of the President by Mr. Farris.

Note: Remarks will be heard by the
President and all speech sites

8:35 (Approx.)

After introduction by Mr. Farris, the
President goes directly into his remarks.

Note: This is now a one-way conversation.
The President cannot converse with
Mr. Farris. All speech sites will
hear the Presidential remarks.

8:40

Mr. Farris thanks the President.

Note: All speech sites and the President
will be able to hear Mr. Farris.

Phone Call to Tennessee Democratic Dinners -- December 6

Thank you, Chmn Farris

Good evening, everybody. *It is a real pleasure for me to speak to 3 or 4000 Tennessee Democrats I have to stay near the WH these days, because*
This is a difficult time for our country. As I talk

to you, 50 Americans are being held captive in Tehran.* I

AT WINNINGHAM
have made it clear to the leaders of Iran that our Nation holds them personally and fully responsible for the well-being and safe return of every American. We will not rest until every one of our people is free.

I am proud of the restraint the American people have shown in this crisis. We must continue to avoid any action that might jeopardize the hostages. But I am proud too of the deep spirit ^{of unity}, this crisis has aroused in our people these past weeks. *Almost every ^{body} political leader has helped me.*

* As far as Iran is concerned, this is the only issue. This is not the time to discuss the history of Iran whether ~~or not~~ the Shah was a good or bad leader, or where he should live in the future. Now, there is one issue - 50 innocent Americans being held by kidnapers ^{as supported by the Government.}

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

At certain times in our nation's history an event tells us who we are as a nation. We find a new appreciation of our deepest values and of the principles that guide us. We gain a new measure of common strength and common purpose.

We Americans are a free people. We respect our flag because we believe in what it stands for -- freedom and opportunity; human dignity; justice. We believe in our country, not simply as a great Nation, but as a great ideal -- the land of liberty, the land of hope.

The events in Iran have reminded us that ^{our}~~our~~ basic ^{truth,} principles -- patriotism, independence, freedom, justice -- mean as much today as at any time in our nation's history. I thank God for that -- because these principles have never been more important.

As long as I am President, the United States will show reason and restraint, but it will be a restraint based on

fundamental strength -- moral, ^{strength and} ~~as well as~~ military, ^{strength.} We
will respect the rights and dignity of other nations. We
will demand the same in return. No nation will dictate
to us. No nation will ^{ever} ~~get away with~~ ^{The U.S.} blackmail, -- by whatever
means, for whatever ends.

*Tennessee Democratic Candidates will be facing an
election next year, and so will I.*

Two days ago I declared my candidacy for renomination as
^{and I will}
your President, ~~I declared my intention to~~ ask the Democratic
Convention to renominate the man I consider the most effective
Vice President in our history, Walter Mondale.

Due to the crisis in Iran, I have cut back on active
campaigning. But I wanted to take this opportunity tonight
to thank you good people and let you know what your support
-- and your prayers -- have meant to me.

*and that I and
my family & members of my administration -- all of
us -- are eager to help you.*

The Democrats of Tennessee stood up for me in 1976. And,
true to its motto, the Volunteer State has stood up ^{with} ~~for~~ me ^{for our}
^{country many}
~~countless~~ ^{we} times -- when ~~I~~ have had to make difficult decisions

or take tough stands ^I as your President, I appreciate and ^{and all of us as Americans.}
draw strength from your loyalty. ^{and} ~~I will never forget your~~
I will try to serve so that
support, and you will never regret giving it.

As Democrats ^{-- as partners --}, we face the future
together -- with confidence and determination --
to make the [#] [#] [#] United States of America -- the
greatest nation on earth -- even greater.
Th you, & good night

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

ATTACHMENT

Notables at Each Dinner

CHATTANOOGA

Bill Farris, Democratic Party
Chairman for Tennessee

Jim Neeley, President of Tennessee
~~Labor Council~~

CLARKSVILLE

Senator Jim Sasser

Gentry Crowell, Secretary of State
Harlan Matthews, Treasurer

JACKSON

Congressman Ed Jones

Ned Ray McWhorter, Speaker of the
House

KNOXVILLE

Keith Bissell, Public Service
Commission member

Jake Butcher, former gubernatorial
nominee

LAWRENCEBURG

Lieutenant Governor John Wilder

LIVINGSTON

Former Congressman Joe L. Evans

Former State Senator Jim Robertson

MEMPHIS

Governor Bill Clinton (Arkansas)

Congressman Harold Ford (Memphis)

NASHVILLE

Congressman Bill Boner

Frank Cochran, Public Service
Committee member

TRI-CITY

Bryant Millsaps, Assistant Clerk
of the House

TULLAHOMA

Congressman Albert Gore, Jr.

9:55 AM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEETING WITH MAJOR JEFFREY L. ZORN

Thursday, December 6, 1979

9:55 A.M. (3 minutes)

The Oval Office

From: Marty Beaman

To: Hugh Carter

MP

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

I. PURPOSE.

To meet Major Jeffrey L. Zorn, Marine Corps Aide to the President.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS AND PRESS PLAN.

A. Background. You previously approved Bob Peterson's reassignment in the Spring of 1980 and replacement by a Marine Corps officer. Major Zorn has been selected for this position and is being brought aboard now in order to assure that he is fully trained and qualified before the extensive travel of the forthcoming campaign year.

B. Participants. Major Jeffrey L. Zorn
Hugh Carter
Marty Beaman

C. Press Plan. White House Photographer only

III. TALKING POINTS.

- o Major ("Jeff") Zorn was born November 2, 1946, in Cleveland and his family has resided in Mentor, Ohio, since 1950.
- o Wife is the former Marcella Thomas, born and raised in Fredricksburg, Virginia. She received a master's degree in religious education from the International Bible Institute and Seminary in Orlando, Florida, during October 1979. Presently teaches kindergarten at Quantico, Virginia. They have no children.
- o Jeff achieved an economics degree from the College of Wooster, Ohio, in 1968, and a masters in theology from the same Orlando seminary as his wife in October 1979.
- o Jeff has 10 years service as a career ground officer. Had a tour in Vietnam for which he was awarded the Bronze Star with combat "V". He served as Commanding Officer, Marine Detachment, USS ALBANY (CG-10) during 1974-76. Most recent assignment was as an analyst with the Office of Manpower Utilization at Quantico, Virginia.
- o He enjoys jogging, swimming and tennis.



THE SECRETARY OF ENERGY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

C

RL 060072

December 4, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: French Oil Import Policy

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

You asked for a brief description of the French system for controlling the volume of oil imports.

French Oil Import Program

The French Government's key petroleum objectives are security of supply and reduction of the oil import bill. Over the last few years, France has been one of the more successful industrialized countries in reducing its level of oil imports. In 1973, France imported some 2.6 million barrels a day (mmb/d) while in 1978 net oil imports were reduced to about 2.2 mmb/d. From 1975 through 1978, France set official ceilings on the annual monetary value of crude oil imports denominated in French francs. France claimed success each year in meeting these targets, though much of the success was a result of depressed economic activity, exchange rate fluctuations and the favorable weather conditions. Attempts to set 1979 franc ceilings on oil imports have been frustrated as a result of the significant OPEC price increases. France exerts control over oil supply sources and domestic marketing, under a 1928 petroleum law, which grants the government sole authority to regulate the activities of oil companies in importing, refining and marketing of crude oil and products. This authority is exercised through a licensing system which is the basic authority that enables companies to operate in France. This overall system provides France with a method for carrying out import ceiling commitments made at the Tokyo and European Community Summits.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Charles W. Duncan, Jr.".

Charles W. Duncan, Jr.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE
COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS
WASHINGTON

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

December 5, 1979

EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: Charlie Schultze *CLS*

Subject: Producers Prices in November,
Business Plans for Capital Spending

Tomorrow (Thursday, December 6) at 9:00 a.m., the Bureau of Labor Statistics will release the producers (wholesale) price index for November. At 10:30 a.m., the Commerce Department will release its survey of business plans for plant and equipment spending in the first half of 1980.

Producers Price Index

First, the bad news. Prices of all finished goods at the producers level rose 1.3 percent in November, compared with 1.0 percent in October. Energy prices (up 2.5 percent) and food prices (up 2.6 percent) were the culprits. Outside of food and energy, prices rose only 0.6 percent.

The sharp rise of consumer food prices was largely due to meat prices. Poultry prices were up 21 percent; pork prices, 7 percent; and beef and veal prices, 6 percent. Since mid-November, cash prices of cattle, hogs, and poultry have remained roughly unchanged, so that a repeat performance next month is unlikely.

This month's 6.8 percent annual rate of increase in prices outside of food and energy was in line with the average rate of increase in these prices in the previous four months, and below the 8-3/4 percent annual rate of increase in the first half of 1979. The rise in energy prices, while large, was less than any month since February.

In summary, setting aside the sharp rise in meat prices, the November increase in producer prices was not so bad, although we have not yet achieved an overall breakthrough to a lower inflation rate.

Business Plans for Plant and Equipment

Now, the good news. The latest Commerce Department survey of business plans for plant and equipment suggests that, so far, there has been little or no trimming of investment plans because of fears of impending recession. In this survey (taken in late October and early November), capital expenditures undertaken and planned for the latter half of 1979 are larger than reported in the previous survey (conducted in late July and August). And for the first half of 1980, planned capital expenditures rise at a 13 percent annual rate, the same rate as occurred in the four quarters of 1979. Adjusted for inflation, the planned increase in the first half of 1980 would amount to a 4 percent annual rate. If business fixed investment does stay this strong, it will prevent anything worse than a very mild recession early next year.

There are two reasons for being cautious about the interpretation of this survey:

- o Other data (the fall survey of business investment plans for 1980 by McGraw-Hill, and recent orders and contracts for plant and equipment) suggest that some weakening of investment plans has already occurred.
- o Past experience would indicate that if a recession does begin early next year, downward revisions of investment plans would be likely.

Still, even with these cautions in mind, this new survey continues to reflect the economy's surprising ability to absorb the shocks of sharply rising energy prices and high interest rates.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 6, 1979

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

DAN TATE *DT*

SUBJECT:

Wednesday's Senate Action on the Windfall Profits Tax

The Senate voted on two proposed amendments to the Finance Committee bill on Wednesday:

(1) The Leahy Amendment (to deny percentage depletion on windfall profits) was tabled by a 57 to 37 vote. We are not disconsolate at having lost this amendment because it had the same constituency as the independent exemption which passed by a similar margin last week and its passage would have ensured a filibuster of the bill (not just by Republicans but also by Democrats such as Lloyd Bentsen.)

(2) The Roth Amendment (to prohibit budget receipts from exceeding 20.5% of GNP in 1980 and less in subsequent years) was tabled by a 49 to 44. This was the first of several "mischief" amendments which the Republicans will sponsor. Another will come this morning when Senator Armstrong calls up his amendment to index the Internal Revenue Code to inflation.

Later today, we will be faced with the possibility of several plowback amendments being offered. They are exceedingly dangerous and we are working very hard against them.

On a related matter, Secretary Miller called Senator Long as you instructed. He took a fairly hard line with the Chairman and refused to give Long the concession on State-owned lands which he sought. We may wind up giving Long what he wants but are trying to squeeze as much out of him as possible. It is nice to be the squeezer rather than the squeezee for once.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 4, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

FROM : AL MCDONALD *AM*

SUBJECT: Planning for Economic/Energy Decisions

You will be facing a critical group of interrelated decisions on economic and energy policy during the next three weeks. This probably represents the highest concentration of decisions in importance and number coming to you thus far on these subjects. These decisions will shape the nation's energy and economic programs during the next year at least and probably for some time to come. In addition, they will form the framework for dealing with the two most important substantive issues in the upcoming campaign.

We have attempted to work closely with all of the key Administration spokespersons on economic and energy policy to coordinate their staff work, inter-unit discussions and development of recommendations to fit together into a coherent package. Our initial concern was that you would be confronted by each of these issues as a separate, isolated case without a comprehensive concept of the interrelationships between these decisions and their collective impact. We were also concerned that you might be receiving separately a multiplicity of decision memoranda from any number of concerned Administration officials on each of these subjects, pushing the complicated synthesis of ideas up to you.

Through the use of a more disciplined and pre-planned coordination effort, we think now we may reduce some of the confusion by producing for you a more refined and thoroughly discussed set of options. Although you do not need to read any of the attached, you might be interested in glancing through the attached planning materials simply to appreciate the complexity and multiplicity of issues that are under review.

The first schematic diagram reflects agreements on which entity should serve as the primary coordinating unit for pulling together Administration positions. Under them are listed the major agenda items, each of which involves one or more decisions

by you before the end of this month. In turn, the work of these units is being scheduled to fit in with the budget calendar already established, the preparation of your Annual Economic Report to the nation and your State of the Union message. As a side project, we also have underway the compilation of an issues briefing book, covering these as well as many other subjects, that will be available to you by the end of the year for official and campaign needs.

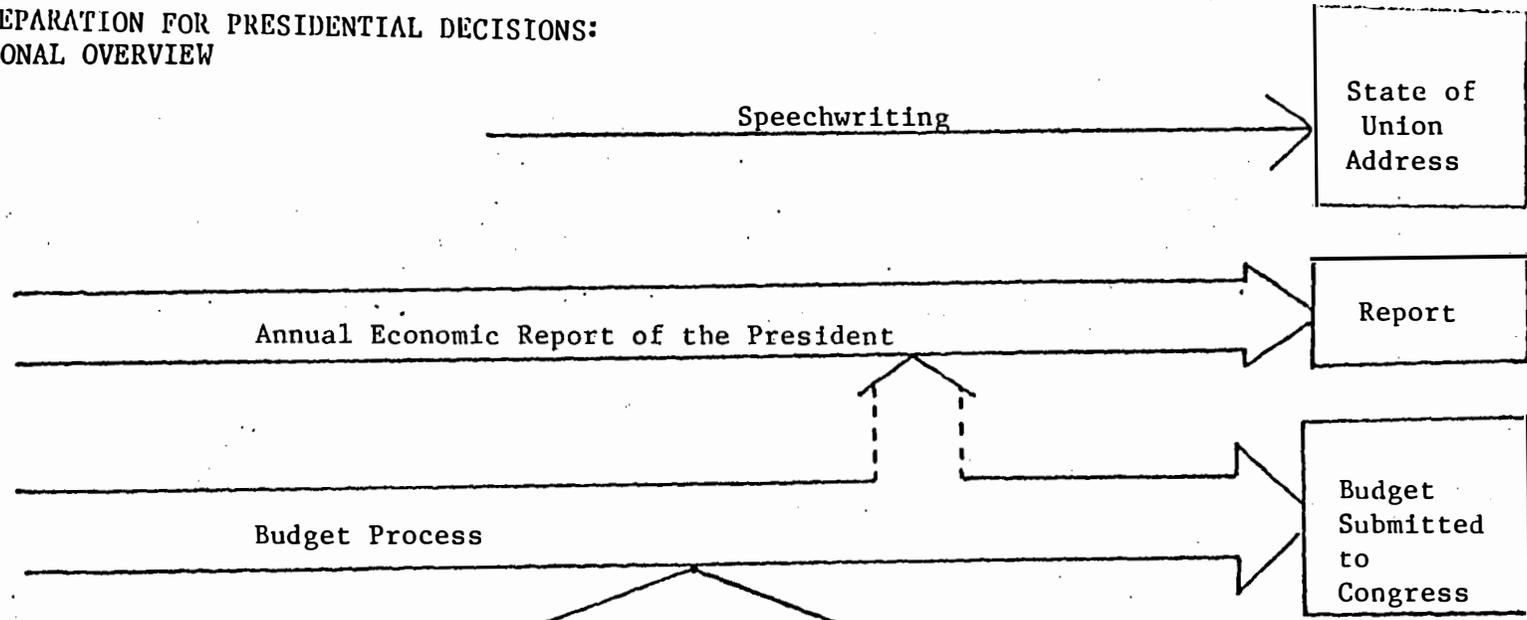
In an attempt to reduce the time pressures on you and to channel the papers and meetings into more organized formats, Phil Wise, Rick Hutcheson and Susan Clough are familiar with these planning materials. Together we will attempt to make sure you have the appropriate time allotted when needed to discuss and to reflect on these impending decisions.

You will be introduced to the early thinking of the group at the breakfast of your Economic Policy Advisors this Thursday morning. That will be a general discussion simply to introduce some of the aspects of the issues involved, beginning with those that are energy related. You have already received a preparatory memorandum from Charles Schultze for this meeting. This is to be followed by a further exploration of the key issues with your principal advisors on Wednesday, December 12 or the day following. A brief session is being scheduled for the afternoon of December 17 specifically to examine options for responding to the OPEC decisions expected that day and alternative announcements that you may wish to make on December 18.

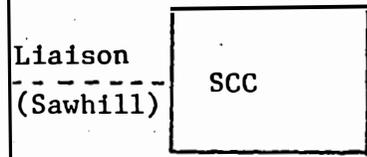
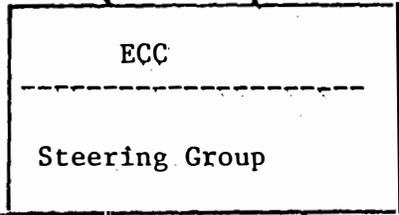
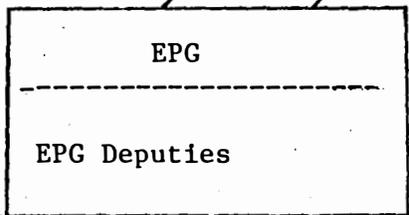
During the interim you will be receiving periodic status memoranda but we expect the major decision memoranda will not be coming forward until about December 17-18, since you will want to consider them from an integrated perspective as well as individually. This will then allow two or three days for a final discussion meeting with your advisors, as well as your final budget review sessions prior to the decisions on these issues which are now due on December 21.

Attachments

CURRENT PREPARATION FOR PRESIDENTIAL DECISIONS:
ORGANIZATIONAL OVERVIEW



Presidential
Decisions



<u>Economy</u>	<u>Energy</u>	<u>Domestic</u>	<u>Inter- national</u>	<u>Legis- lative</u>
.Tax Package:	.Oil quota mechanism	.Conservation	.Oil quota level	
-business	.Choice of	.Nuclear	.General	.EMB
-social sec.	Restraint Options:	power	intl.	.ESC
-individual	-Excise tax on gasoline	imple-	policy	
-incentives	-Mandatory conserva-	mentation		
.Wage/Price:	tion	plans for		
-Pay Com.	-Rationing	immediate		
-Price Com.	-Immediate decontrol	decontrol,		
.Reviews:	.Windfall profits	rationing		
-agric.	.Human Capital	and conserva-		
-housing	-Youth employment	tion		
-labor				

Key:

 Coordinating Units

 Working level

 Agendas

 Issues

to November 30 to December 7 to December 14 to December 21

EPG:

Social Security (Edley, HEW)

Depreciation (Sunley, Treasury)

Incentives (TIP, Savings, R&D) (TIP:McKee; others: Sunley)

Individual

Oil Quota Mechanism (Eads, CEA)

Housing Market (Gramley, CEA)

Agriculture (Hjort, USDA)

Demand Constraints (Sunley, Treasury)

Circulate options to EPG

Dep.'s Review (28) (29) (30) EPG Review

Circulate revised paper to Deputies (29)

Options circulated to EPG (29)

EPG: review need for individual component (30)

EPG:narrow options and decide timing (3)

EPG:decisions (3)

EPG:review options (6)

Circulate options to Deputies (5)

Paper circ. to Deputies (5) EPG decisions (7)

EPG review of policy (7)

Tax option consultations

Tax Pkg.:

Refine deci. memo (13) (14)

EPG Review of package (10)

Circulate options to EPG (10)

Memo to President through OMB (10)

Circulate options to EPG (10)

(17) Decision memo to President

fiscal out-look

EPG decision (13)

Decision memo to President (13)

include in joint memo with ECC on oil quota level (12/14)

Assessment of gasoline rationing decontrol and mandatory conservation options as prepared by ECC (week of Dec. 3)

KEY:

Date

(28) - discussion or event

(30) - decision

EPG CALENDAR

Wednesday, November 28

Review by EPG Deputies of Social Security paper (Treas/CEA/OMB/HEW)

Thursday, November 29

Circulate final Social Security paper to principals
Circulate revised paper on Depreciation to deputies
Circulate papers on TIP (CEA/McKee), Savings (Treas/Sunley), R&D (Treas/Sunley) to deputies

Friday, November 30 *
12:00 - 1:45 p.m.

EPG review of Social Security paper
-- need for other individual cuts
-- narrow options (no cut & financing; cut and financing variations)

Week of December 3

Monday, December 3*
10:30 - 12:00 noon

EPG review of Depreciation options (Treasury)
-- Development of moderate and large options
-- Identification of timing decision

"Miscellaneous" issues

- TIP proposals
- Savings incentives
- R&D credit

Thursday, December 6*
8:00 - 9:30 a.m.

Circulation to EPG Deputies of Housing Market paper
Review possible individual cuts

Friday, December 7*
10:30 - 12:30 p.m.

Briefing on Agriculture Policy
EPG Housing Market review
-- Decisions on timing and options

Week of December 10

Conclude consultations on rationing vs. gasoline tax
Resolve outstanding oil import quota issues
DOE circulates first draft of Presidential proclamation

Monday, December 10*
10:30 - 12:30 p.m.

Circulate rationing and gasoline tax paper
EPG review of combined tax package outline
Update on Pay and Price Advisory Committees

Thursday, December 13*

EPG decisions on elements of alternative
quota mechanism
Decisions memo on rationing/gasoline tax

Friday, December 14*
12:30 - 2:00 p.m.

Forecast and budget update
-- Tax options (broad)) Impact on Budget
-- Fiscal outlook)

Start drafting memorandum to President

Week of December 17

Monday, December 17

Caracas meeting of OPEC
Memoranda on taxes and budget to President

Tuesday, December 18

Presidential statement on oil

Thursday, December 20

President's decisions returned

Saturday, December 22

Final tax and budget package

ISSUES	November 26 to November 30	December 3 to December 7	December 10 to December 14	December 17 to December 21
<u>ECC</u>				
Gasoline rationing (coupon)	Memo to President on schedule (30)	federal register publication (3) (7)	ECC review of methods (14)	(submission to Congress 2/15)
Simplified Rationing Plan			draft plan (12) available	ECC review (21)
S.1030 Changes		Analysis of changes (3) review (7)	ECC Proposed changes submitted to Congress (14)	ECC decision Dec 28
State gasoline targets and mandatory measures to achieve them	Preliminary state targets (30)	(5)	State consultations	ECC (19) (2) review of state targets
Gasoline decontrol/tax			(12) draft plan available	
Utility oil backout		Decide whether and how to announce (7)		
Gasoline allocation to end users		Staff recommendations circulated (7)	ECC review (14)	Impl. plan completed 1/11
IEA meeting preparation	Paper on IEA targets circulated (28) (29) (30) circulate paper to ECC	ECC decisions (5) memo to President on recommended target levels	(10) Memo to IEA mtg. (14) President on oil import mechanism and level	
SPR purchase policy		ECC (4) review (7) decision		
Coal transport issues	(26) Proposals circulated to staff (30)	Staff review (5) (7) ECC review	(14) coal transport conference	

<u>Date</u>	<u>Issue</u>	<u>Milestone</u>
NOV		
23	Emergency Planning: Gas Allocation to End Users	Identification of Options
26	Coal Transportation Crude Oil Allocation Utility Oil Backout	Circulate issue papers NOPR Issued Submit to OMB
27	Utility Oil Backout	Consult with Congress
28	IEA Plan/OPEC Meeting	Circulate paper on import targets
29	IEA Plan/OPEC Meeting	ECC Senior Staff review
30	State Gas Targets IEA Plan/OPEC Meeting Coal Transportation Gas Rationing	Issue preliminary state targets ECC Presentation Circulate possible specific proposals memo to President on schedule
DEC		
1	Gas Decontrol/Gas Tax	EPG Discussion
3	S.1030 Changes Gas Rationing	Analysis of potential changes Issue NOPR to Federal Register
5	State Gas Targets IEA Plan/OPEC Meeting Coal Transportation	Start state consultations Recommendations to President Senior staff recommendations to principals
7	S.1030 Changes Gas Rationing Emergency Planning: Gas Allocation to End Users Coal Transportation SPR Acquisition	ECC Presentation ECC Presentation Staff recommendations on options to be pursued ECC presentation Internal DOE concurrences
10	IEA Plan/OPEC Meeting Coal Transportation	IEA Meeting Recommendations to President
12	Emergency Planning: Standby Federal Conservation Plans	Draft outline
13	Crude Oil Allocation	Hearings
14	* S.1030 Changes Emergency Planning: Gas Allocations to End Users Coal Transportation SPR Acquisition	Submit to Congress ECC Presentation Conference ECC Presentation
17	Emergency Planning: Management of Private Stocks	Preliminary Analysis of Feasibility

DRAFT

Date	Issue	Milestone
19	State Gas Targets	End State Consultation , Complete guidance regarding approval/rejection of state plans
21	Crude Oil Allocation *State Gas Targets Emergency Planning: Standby Federal Conservation Plans	ECC Presentation ECC Presentation ECC Presentation
26	Crude Oil Allocation	End comment period on NOPR
28	Emergency Planning: Standby Federal Conservation Plans Emergency Planning: Manage- ment of Private Stocks	Decision on methods and mecha- nisms ECC Presentation
JAN	*State Gas Targets	Presidential proclamation of "shortage" to trigger mandatory plan
1	Crude Oil Allocation	Issue final rule
2	Gas Rationing	End of NOPR comment period
4	Emergency Planning: Manage- ment of Private Stocks	Decision on whether to develop a plan
11	Emergency Planning: Gas Allocation to End Users	Implementation Plan completed
23	Emergency Planning: Standby Federal Conservation Plan	Complete draft plan
25	Gas Rationing Emergency Planning: Manage- ment of Private Stocks	Complete revised plan Complete draft plan (if one is to be prepared)
FEB		
1	Gas Rationing	Plan to Congress ^{OMB} for clearance
4	Emergency Planning: Standby Federal Conservation Plan	Publish plan; submit to Congress
15	*State Gas Targets Gas Rationing	Official State Plans due Submission to Congress

* These events may not occur, depending upon decisions not yet made.

Tentative Oil Import Quota Decision Schedule

November 28 Ad hoc meeting on IEA target level
Cable to foreign governments on U.S. position
Circulate DOE staff paper on quota level

November 29 ECC Working Group meeting on IEA target level

November 30 ECC meeting on 1980 IEA target level
Information memorandum to President on ramifications
of IEA target level

December 4 Goldman reports on IEA Working Group discussions
Memorandum from Duncan and Miller to President
on IEA target level

December 10 IEA Ministers meeting in Paris
Duncan agrees to IEA target level
Circulate memo on pros and cons on three alternative
import quota implementation mechanisms including
international, legal, and industry considerations
(CEA/George Eads)

December 12 EPG Deputies review of memo on mechanisms

December 13 EPG meeting to resolve non-Presidential issues
and finalize review of alternative mechanisms

December 14 ECC meeting to decide 1980 oil import quota level
Memorandum of EPG and ECC recommendations to the
President on oil import quota mechanisms and 1980
quota level

December 17 OPEC meeting

December 17-31 President issues proclamation

	November 19 to November 23	November 26 to November 30	December 3 to December 7	December 10 to December 14	December 17 to December 21	December 24 to December 28	December 31 to January 4	January 7 to January 11	January 14 to January 18	January 21 to January 25	January 28 to February
I. Events											
a) Presidential Events			Announcement Week		Oil Import Decision OPEC response (18th) Final Budget decisions			Iowa Debate (7th)	State of the Union Address (16th)	Budget submitted (22nd)	Economic report submitted (29th)
b) Other Admin. Events (VP, Cabinet, Sr. Staff)	Kemeny Com. response	Wash. - Oregon Secy Miller in Mideast							WH Conf. on Small Business		
c) Related Events	Corporate Profits, 3rd quarter	Trade Figures Oct. CPI		IEA Ministers	Nov. CPI OPEC mtg. (Caracas)		Unemployment Figures			Iowa Caucus (21st)	
II. Reports											
a) Budget	Budget reviews		Final Budget Appeals and recommendations		Final econ. Assumptions & Totals	Printing Process		Final Printing			
b) Economic Report of President		CEA Internal reviews		Agency reviews			CEA Final Writing of President's Overview			Final Printing	
III. Planning											
a) EPG		Tax package review	EPG decisions	EPG memo to President							
		Oil quota mechanism	Housing policy	Agriculture policy	Gasoline Tax/Rationing/Decontrol Review						
b) ECC		Rationing Study	Preparation of plan?								
		S.1030 rationing plan drafting	Study S.1030 changes	ECC review	ECC decisions on S.1030 plan	Submit proposed changes to Congress					
		Preliminary State gasoline targets	State Consultations	ECC review							
			decontrol study?								
		Prepare decisions on IA target levels	Info memo to President	ECC review of gasoline end-user allocation	IEA Ministers				Complete allocation implementation plan		

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Q

12-6-79

To: The President

From: Sarah Weddington *SW*

Re: Meeting with Mary Ann Krupsak

Attached are your notes that indicates she will help with the campaign. We should ask:

- 1. That she work closely with Congresswoman Geraldine Ferraro and be one of our key New York women encouraging women there to support you. Geraldine has been trying to call her and they have been "missing".
- 2. That she particularly help us with her contacts in upper New York State (men and women).
- 3. That she work with me in developing a strategy for contacting women throughout the country.

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

Mary Ann Krupsak (Former Lt. Governor of New York, Albany, NY)
(518) 434-4466-0; (518) 465-8063-H (submitted 11/29/79)

Krupsak is former Lt. Governor of New York and fairly close to Congresswoman Geraldine Ferraro who is now on our Executive Committee, and who is working to find more female supporters. Since we have few female supporters of note, it is important that we try to get Krupsak on board.

NOTES:

(Date of call 11/29³⁰)

Phil
✓ P. Call Mary Ann = Wants to help campaign
Mary will come in Thurs. to see Zbig.
Wants to see Pres.
JC: "ok"

*Review
11/29/79*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

12-6-79

Stu

Status of ITC
recom re anhydrous
AMMONIA?

J

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

Board of Directors
National Farmers Organization 12/6/79

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Woodward

Chap. Bob. Tim

Ownership slipping away

for young farmers

Inflation

Inheritance of farm land

farm program best ever

Counter @ meat map bill

I & P domination - competition ↓

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

consultation preserve / foreign corp.
export / for. trips / % grain fed. ^{owners}

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

12/6/79

Zbig Brzezinski

The attached letter was returned
in the President's outbox today
and is forwarded to you for
your information.

The original has been given to
Ev Small, on the CL staff, for
delivery.

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Frank Moore

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*Let this
clerk & mail
J*

INFORMATION

December 5, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI *ZB*
SUBJECT: Senator Moynihan's New Yorker Article
on SALT

Pat Moynihan has sent you a copy (Tab B) of his recent New Yorker article on SALT. Since Moynihan's support could be critical to SALT ratification, I believe it would be appropriate for you to send Moynihan a brief note thanking him for the article and offering him a few comments on its substance. A letter for this purpose is at Tab A. A detailed analysis of Moynihan's article, which is very well done, is at Tab C.

The text has been cleared by the Speechwriters.

*Let type
J*

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

*Please ask NSC to
date letters submitted for signature; ...
(only official memos need not be
pre dated or dated until after signature)
(we almost messed up re letter Romney (ask
back to her then) ... ~~Let~~ *Mark**

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 6, 1979

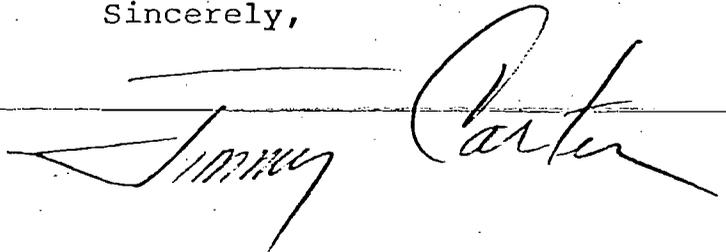
Dear Pat:

Thank you for sending me a copy of your recent New Yorker article on SALT. You have written a thoughtful essay on both SALT and U.S. strategic doctrine.

I share your concerns about the future of SALT and your interest in obtaining a better appreciation of Soviet intentions. We tried to do some of this in the SALT III Statement of Principles and during my discussions with President Brezhnev in Vienna. I realize that you and other Senators may wish to go beyond these principles in guiding the agenda for SALT III, and I can assure you that we will adopt a constructive attitude toward these efforts.

I look forward to talking with you on this and other SALT-related subjects as the full Senate takes up SALT ratification.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Jimmy Carter". The signature is written in a cursive style and is positioned to the right of a horizontal line that spans the width of the page.

The Honorable Daniel P. Moynihan
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

Dear Pat:

Thank you for sending me a copy of your recent New Yorker article on SALT. ~~I have not yet had time to read the entire article, but I have read several passages plus a summary prepared for me.~~ You have written a thoughtful and insightful *and helpful* essay on both SALT and US strategic doctrine.

I share your concerns about the future of SALT and your interest in obtaining a better appreciation of Soviet intentions. We tried to do some of this in the SALT III Statement of Principles. I realize that you and other Senators may wish to go beyond these principles in guiding the agenda for SALT III, and I can assure you that we will adopt a constructive attitude toward these efforts.

and during my discussion with President Brezhnev in Vienna.

I look forward to talking with you on this and other SALT-related subjects as the full Senate takes up SALT ratification.

Sincerely,

X

The Honorable Daniel P. Moynihan
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 6, 1979

Pls Date

Dear Pat:

Thank you for sending me a copy of your recent New Yorker article on SALT. You have written a thoughtful ~~and helpful~~ essay on both SALT and U.S. strategic doctrine.

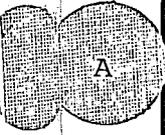
I share your concerns about the future of SALT and your interest in obtaining a better appreciation of Soviet intentions. We tried to do some of this in the SALT III Statement of Principles and during my discussions with President Brezhnev in Vienna. I realize that you and other Senators may wish to go beyond these principles in guiding the agenda for SALT III, and I can assure you that we will adopt a constructive attitude toward these efforts.

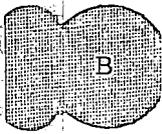
I look forward to talking with you on this and other SALT-related subjects as the full Senate takes up SALT ratification.

Sincerely,

Jimmy Carter

The Honorable Daniel P. Moynihan
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510





DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN
NEW YORK

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

Rec'd by P/NSC
CONGRESSIONAL⁺
LIAISON

November 14, 1979

NOV 21 1979

cc: Beckel, Toste

000606CL

Dear Mr. President:

In the course of poring over the SALT treaty I got to thinking about the SALT process. The result, such as it is, appears in this week's issue of the New Yorker.

Best,



The President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

SUIS

REFLECTIONS

THE SALT PROCESS

IN the summer of 1978, when it began to be clear that the SALT II treaty would be signed with the Soviet Union, the Select Committee on Intelligence of the United States Senate began to prepare for its role in the procedures by which the Senate would take up a resolution of ratification. As a member of the committee, I journeyed to Geneva to talk to the negotiators of the draft agreement that was taking shape and began to go over the history of SALT I, more formally known as the Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms and the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems, signed in 1972.

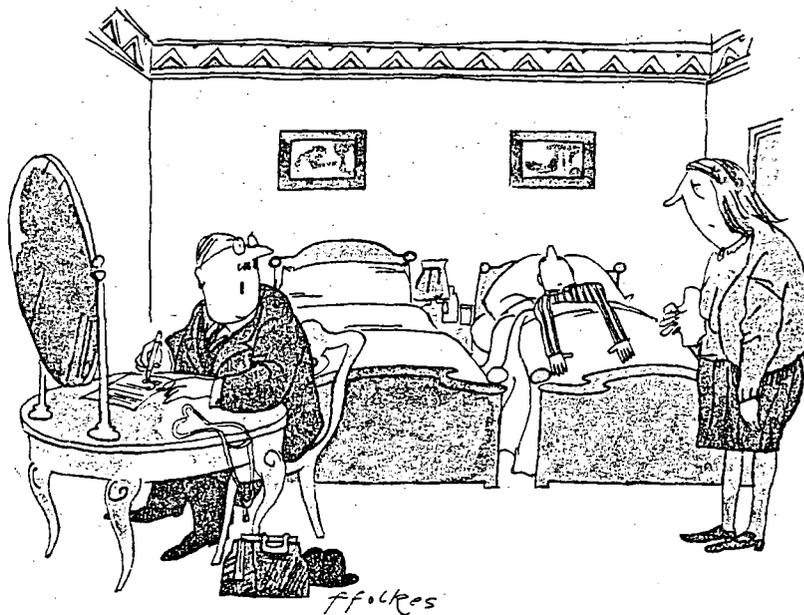
It did not take long to establish that, whatever else SALT I might have done, it accomplished little by way of limiting strategic offensive arms. For that matter, it wasn't even an agreement about weapons as ordinarily understood. Rather, it was an agreement to limit the number of launchers each party would have for its long-range ballistic missiles. A launcher (or silo, in the usage of the military) for a land-based missile is a hole in the

ground. You could get hurt by falling into one, but it is missiles, and, more specifically, the warheads of missiles, that kill people, and these were not at all limited by SALT I. Nor, it appeared, would they be much limited by SALT II. From the time of the first agreement, the number of American warheads increased steadily, and those of the Soviets more than doubled. It appeared they would double again under SALT II.

This was hardly reassuring. But more troubling still was the realization that this all came as news to me. I had never given great attention to the subject, but from the time of the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space, and Under Water, of 1963, I had had the impression that things were going well enough, or at least not badly. I did not have the excuse most persons might have for being vague about the details. I had served in four successive Administrations, from that of Kennedy on. I had known virtually all of the principal arms negotiators and, from university life, a good number of the strategic-arms theorists. I had sat at the Cabinet table of two Presidents

listening to reports on progress. Always they *were* reports on progress. Or such was the impression I took away. I now began questioning my own judgment, then that of others—especially as the Carter Administration began to proclaim the virtues of SALT II in terms I could recognize as essentially the same as those in which the Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, and Ford Administrations had presented their achievements in arms control. I began to wonder whether anyone from the most recent Administration, or more generally from the world of arms control, would ever describe the agreements in terms that comported with what now appeared to me as a different, even new reality.

I WAS to wait almost a year, until the morning of Wednesday, July 11, 1979, when Dr. William J. Perry, Under-Secretary of Defense for Research and Engineering, testified on SALT II before the Committee on Foreign Relations. Perry, a mathematician, speaks plainly and, as with many in his rarefied profession, is a man of unassuming appearance and manner. All the more was the contrast with the



"This is a death certificate, woman. I can't just put down 'singin' in the rain."

Caucus Room of the Old Senate Office Building, in which the hearings were held. The Caucus Room is a place of unashamed exhibition and splendor dating from 1906, when Theodore Roosevelt, having built the West Wing of the White House, commenced to challenge the Congress from his new office, and the Senate decided to get itself an office building of its own. Until that period, Presidents had worked in their living rooms, as it were, and senators at their desks in the Senate Chamber. Neither facility had been much expanded from the time of Jefferson, although during the eighteen-forties a kind of box was fitted onto the tops of Senate desks, adding a little storage space. (Daniel Webster declined the extravagance, so that to this day his desk is single-storied.) If the interior of the Capitol can be said to be Palladian and given to republican vir-

tues in design, the Caucus Room, only slightly smaller than the Senate Chamber itself, is Roman Imperial, and make no mistake. It struck me as a not inappropriate setting for Dr. Perry's subject, SALT II.

The Secretary of Defense, Harold Brown, had just finished his prepared statement in favor of the arms-limitation treaty. Curiously, the charts and displays he had brought along to illustrate his points, in the manner of military briefings, were exclusively concerned with recent and prospective improvements in and additions to the nuclear arms of both countries. The capabilities of both the United States and the Soviet Union to destroy so-called hard targets, such as missile silos, were represented as about equal, with the Soviets slightly ahead as of now and maintaining a slight lead through 1990—when both capabilities would have about trebled.

Perry's testimony began. He had no prepared statement, it being his role to provide answers to technical questions the Secretary's testimony might have raised. But he said a few words anyway, and in doing so made perhaps the best case yet presented for SALT II, while describing with a technician's candor its shortcomings. He said:

SALT I's success was in getting the process started. There was a substantial arms-control success in the [Anti-Ballistic Missile] Treaty, but essentially there was no success in reducing the number of offensive weapons. The best evidence of that is, just look to see what happened to the number of warheads indicated on that chart since SALT I. Both the United States and the Soviet Union have added about 3,000 warheads since 1972.

The Vladivostok agreement [of 1974] was one more important advance in this process. It did specify upper bounds. It included bombers, not just missiles in the forces, but it still permitted substantial increases in warheads as of that time.

President Carter tried to break that upper spiral with his March, 1977, proposal for SALT, and as you well know, that was rejected by the Soviet Union. In fact, it is my belief that any SALT proposal in this time frame that does not preserve the Soviets' right to modernize their ICBM [Intercontinental Ballistic Missile] force would be rejected. My judgment is, they have made a very substantial commitment to that. The ICBM is really the only strong component of their strategic forces, and they seem to be resolutely opposed to making any substantial reduction in it.

Therefore, the SALT II treaty which we have arrived at, while it is a major improvement over the Vladivostok agreement... still allows significant upward spiral of the number of nuclear weapons.

I anticipate that the Soviet Union will

Two great imported coffee liqueurs. One with a great price.



The fertile coffee plantations of Mexico yield two superb coffee liqueurs.

Sabroso and Kahlua.

Both are authentic coffee liqueurs made from the finest coffee beans Mexico has to offer.

Like Kahlua, Sabroso has that deep, rich coffee flavor one looks for when making delightful Black Russians, Cafe Curacaos and Espressos.

Both are smooth, rich and satisfying liqueurs.

But Sabroso costs a whole lot less than Kahlua.

Sabroso Imported. A great coffee liqueur.

At a great price.

©1979 THE PARKER PEN COMPANY, JANESVILLE, WISCONSIN, U.S.A.

The mark of distinction



 PARKER

The arrow clip is your assurance of Parker quality.
Suggested for giving: The Parker Classic Flighter ball pen
in brushed stainless steel. \$7.50.

continue to pursue the modernization of their ICBM program as indicated in the figures which Dr. Brown showed you, and that we will respond to that, so that both sides then will continue to have significant increases in nuclear warheads.

That is the bad news. The good news that comes with that is that SALT II also establishes a process and goals. The most significant goal is the one to achieve a real reduction in nuclear weapons—not in delivery vehicles but in actual weapons. My question then, as a defense planner, is how do we structure our strategic programs in the years ahead to be compatible with that goal—not only to be compatible with it but actually to facilitate the achievement of that goal of getting a reduction, a real reduction, in nuclear weapons in the future.

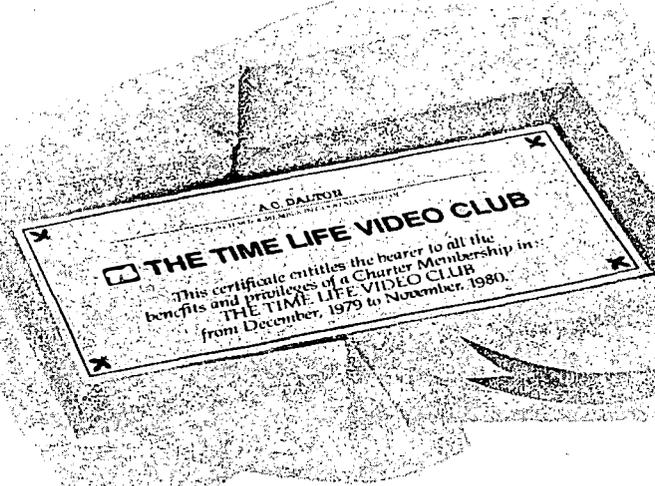
The master term here is "process." Clearly, neither the first nor the second agreement did much to limit arms. Weapons and weapons systems on both sides continue to accumulate. But the agreements did establish a forum in which the two nations discussed these matters, and entered into a degree of cooperation concerning them. This was the case, I had understood for some time, in the matter of monitoring—the various means by which each nation keeps track of the activities of the other in order to verify that the SALT agreements are being kept. Whether our abilities here are sufficient was the question the Intelligence Committee faced when it began formal hearings on the issue of verification soon after SALT II was signed by Presidents Carter and Brezhnev in Vienna, on June 18th.

ALONE of the standing or select committees, the Select Committee on Intelligence normally does its work in closed sessions, which meet in the Capitol dome in a small hearing room that is suspended, you might say, from the cupola. It was built up there for the use of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, the first committee of the Congress that routinely did its work in camera. Of the materials the Intelligence Committee deals with, none are more sensitive, because they really are secrets, than those concerning information about Soviet strategic nuclear forces, and, more especially, concerning the means by which that information is obtained. A minuscule fraction of the information comes from agents of one or another sort—HUMANITY, in the contraction favored by the intelligence community. Early in the postwar period, it was judged that the Soviet Union was much too closed a society to be penetrated by agents. Machines were put to work, with ever-increasing sophistication; to-

day, by far the greatest portion of our information comes from what are known as "technical collection systems." Basically, there are three such systems. First, a number of satellites continuously circle the earth taking photographs of the Soviet Union, as can now be done with extraordinarily high resolution. (The technicians speak of picking out "the golf ball on the green.") Second, the United States can monitor the radio signals, known as "telemetry," which the Soviet missiles send back in flight. Third, American ships watch incoming missiles in the Pacific firing zones, establishing distances travelled, the pattern in which multiple warheads land (known as the "footprint"), and other such information. The Russians have comparable systems. Either side can effectively count the number of land-based missiles set in silos and ready to be launched on the other side. The numbers of submarines and launchers are readily enough established, as are the numbers of intercontinental bombers.

Each side, naturally, hopes that the other side will not know when some new advance has been made in detection systems, and on this score there was some difficulty to be resolved as the Senate prepared to consider verification under the SALT II agreement. In recent years, Soviet intelligence in the United States had scored a number of successes that alerted the Russians to the development of new American intelligence technology. In 1975, Soviet agents had obtained information about a major satellite system known as Rhyolite. In 1978, it was learned that agents had also obtained the operating manual for the most advanced of our satellites now in operation, the KH-11. In both instances, the espionage had seemingly been simple and inexpensive; in one case, the materials were acquired, for quite modest amounts of money, from a youthful employee of the TRW corporation, and in the other from an employee of the Central Intelligence Agency itself. This suggested that the Soviets have no great difficulty learning what we are capable of spotting, and can take appropriate evasive action. In addition, the loss to the United States of listening posts in Iran which monitored activity at a missile range near the Aral Sea, in south-central Soviet Asia, involved a considerable loss of information not easily obtained otherwise. Then, on June 28, 1979, the White House leaked to the *New York Times* that the United States had a similar station in Nor-

A gift for the person who has everything—including a videocassette recorder.



Give your favorite VCR owner a gift membership in THE TIME LIFE VIDEO CLUB and you'll be giving access to the finest, most comprehensive library of videocassette programs ever assembled.

Through the club, he or she will be able to own current smash-hit movies, great classic films, the best of Broadway, sports events, concerts, comedy routines, documentaries.

They're all carefully chosen by TIME LIFE VIDEO to bring the club member the very best in home entertainment.

All in unique dust-proof jackets.

There are a host of other club features, including special buying opportunities open to club members only. And all club offerings are great values, often available exclusively from THE TIME LIFE VIDEO CLUB.

Best of all, each gift membership costs you just \$15. And you'll receive a certificate for each one you order.

Perhaps the cleverest gift you can give for the 1980's, and if you get your order in by November 23, 1979, we'll guarantee delivery before Christmas.

Call toll-free 800-523-7600 (national) or 800-662-5180 (in Pennsylvania) and ask for operator number 159, or fill out and return this coupon to:

THE TIME LIFE VIDEO CLUB
Harrisburg, Pa. 17105

I'm giving _____ (fill in number) (9-26) gift memberships in THE TIME LIFE VIDEO CLUB this year at \$15 each. I'd like to become a member myself _____ (fill in "yes" or "no"). (9-25)

Enclosed with this coupon is my check or money order for \$ _____ (fill in amount).

Please charge \$ _____ to:

American Express Diners Club
Master Charge Visa

Interbank # _____

Credit Card # _____ Exp. Date _____

Signature _____

My Name is _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Please issue gift membership to:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

For additional gifts, please attach a separate list.

BROWNSTONE STUDIO

FOR ALL THOSE CHILLY NIGHTS BEFORE CHRISTMAS—

Jull of Slumbertog's kitten-soft nightgowns of gingham-checked cotton flannel. Mothers and daughters, little sisters and big sisters will all love the cuddly Peter Pan collar, the pearty buttoned placket and the curving yoke outlined in piping that controls the billowy fullness. Elasticized wrists. Machine washable. Violet/green/white. Girl's sizes 4-14. \$19.00.

Women's sizes P(6-8), S(10), M(12-14), L(16), XL(18-20). \$23.00.

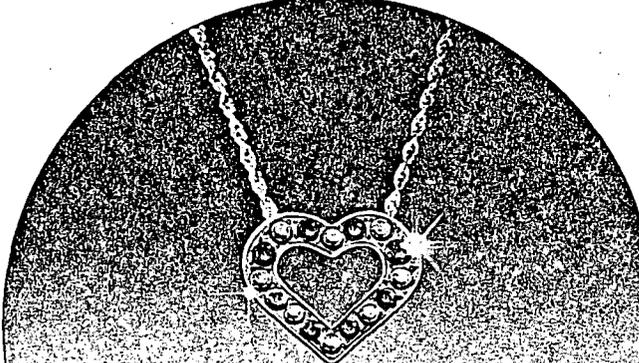
Add \$1.25 per item shipping.

N.Y. State residents add sales tax. Check, M.O., American Exp./Visa/BankAmericard, Master Charge.

"UPSTAIRS"
the Brownstone Boutique
on the 22nd floor at
342 Madison Ave., Dept. N13
New York, N.Y. 10017.

Write or call for our
FREE HOLIDAY/RESORT BROCHURE

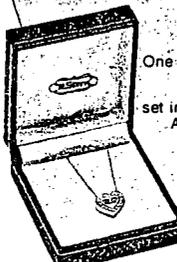
Call 'Round the Clock
Toll-Free
800-221-2468
In N.Y. State call Toll-Free
800-442-8422
In New York City call
212-953-1170

**A quick change of hearts—
our reversible pendant.**

One side is diamonds and either sapphires, rubies or emeralds, set in 14kt yellow gold. Turn it around, and it's all diamonds, set in 14kt white gold. A gorgeous surprise! \$1,250.

Also, the same size heart, in 14kt white gold, with diamonds only, \$750.



H. Stern

CREATOR OF THE WORLD'S MOST BEAUTIFUL JEWELRY
The Olympic Tower, 645 Fifth Ave. (51st St.), New York, NY 10022 • (212) 688-0300
And at the New York Hilton • We honor American Express and all major credit cards.

way. The leak was intentional, to reassure those favorable to the treaty, but at the same time it jeopardized the Norwegian "asset," to use another term of the intelligence community. Thus, the question arose as to whether the United States would be able to be certain that the Russians were abiding by the terms of an arms-limitation treaty that would extend through 1985. The record of SALT I was both reassuring and cautionary. There was no conclusive proof that the Soviets had committed any major violations of SALT I strictly construed. By and large, what they agreed not to do they did not do. But where we said we *hoped* they would not do something they paid not the least attention.

This, as it turned out, was no small matter. One of the principal negotiating objectives on the American side in SALT I was to insure that neither side built any more "heavy" missiles. This is a term for missiles big enough to carry a huge "payload," which can deliver a large number of nuclear warheads capable of reaching and destroying missiles on the other side. They are potential "counterforce" weapons, because they can be used effectively against other forces. (Missiles aimed against cities are called "countervalue" weapons.) As of 1972, the Russians had three hundred and eight heavy SS-9 missiles, while the United States had no modern heavy missiles. In SALT I, it was agreed to freeze both sides, meaning that the Soviets would and we would not have modern heavy missiles. Although this appeared to be an imbalance, American strategic doctrine at that time did not call for counterforce weapons, and we were well enough content. It was understood that the Soviets would replace their SS-9 missiles with a new model, or "generation"—the SS-18. However, the Soviets were then also planning to replace a medium-sized missile, the SS-11, with another new model, the SS-19, which was so much bigger and more accurate as to become, for practical purposes, a new heavy. As the Intelligence Committee stated on October 5, 1979, in the public portion of its report to the Senate on the capabilities of the United States to monitor SALT II:

The Soviets' unanticipated ability to replace the much larger SS-19 in a slightly enlarged SS-11 silo circumvented the safeguards the United States thought it had obtained in SALT I against the substitution of heavy for light ICBMs.

Similarly, in SALT I the United States conceded to the Soviets the right to build a larger number of missile-

Japan's gift to America's rice cookers.

An automatic rice cooker.
The Rice-O-Mat.
Takes the guess work out of cooking real rice
from scratch. Every grain cooks to perfection.
Tender but not soft.
Moist but not sticky.
Scrumptious rice, every time.
Great for other dishes, too.
Suggestion: Get two Rice-O-Mats. Because
perfect rice is the perfect gift. For you. And
from you.

For nearest store, call or write
Nozawa Trading, Inc. 870 South Western Ave.,
Los Angeles, CA 90005. (213) 385-7096.

National Rice-O-Mat



Recipe book included

carrying submarines than we were permitted, in order to compensate for the Soviets' "geographical disadvantage." (To reach the open Atlantic Ocean, for instance, Soviet submarines must pass through the relatively narrow gaps between Greenland, Iceland, and the United Kingdom; our submarines reach the open ocean at once.) But the range of the SS-N-8, the new Soviet submarine-launched ballistic missile, turned out to be considerably greater than expected, enabling it to be fired at American targets while the submarine remained in the Barents Sea. There is little reason to think the Soviets cheated by misrepresenting the range of their weapon at that time. They simply remained silent about its full potential. But in any case they got an edge on us.

Our monitoring system soon established that the SS-11 had been replaced by the SS-19, although the newer missiles used the same silos, slightly enlarged. The State Department was provided the facts and presented them to the Soviets. It was then that the problem arose. The Soviets agreed, or did not disagree, that they were putting an entirely new strategic-weapons system in place but asserted that nothing in the SALT I agreement prevented their doing this. Nothing did.

SALT I—the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty permanently limiting each side's ABM systems, and the "interim" executive agreement that essentially prohibited each side from building additional ballistic-missile launchers for five years—was signed by President Nixon in Moscow on May 26, 1972. In an address to a joint session of Congress on the day he returned to the United States, the President hailed the event, saying, "This does not mean that we bring back from Moscow the promise of instant peace, but we do bring the beginning of a process that can lead to lasting peace." However, two weeks later, in a message transmitting the agreements to the Senate, he stated that while together these were an "important first step in checking the arms race . . . it is now equally essential that we carry forward a sound strategic modernization program to maintain our security and to ensure that more permanent and comprehensive arms-limitation agreements can be reached."

At this time, the Secretary of Defense, Melvin R. Laird, was maintaining that the Congress must go ahead with programs for offensive-weapons systems permitted by SALT I, such as the Tri-

Early American.
The delicate engraving.
The authentic detailing.
Beautifully and faithfully
reproduced by Lunt
silversmiths for Fortunoff
alone. \$225 for the
five piece place setting.

William and Mary.
Elegant. Simple.
Authoritative. Lovingly
crafted by Lunt silver-
smiths to be at home
with any period. \$225
for the five piece
place setting.

Fortunoff, the source, on fifth.

681 Fifth Avenue at 54th Street. Monday-Saturday 10AM to 6:30PM. Thursday to 8:30PM. Sunday noon to 5PM. Call (212) 758-6660. Also Westbury and Paramus.

dent submarine and the B-1 bomber. In a press conference on June 22, 1972, Nixon stated that Laird was correct in this judgment:

Mr. Brezhnev made it absolutely clear to me that in those areas that were not controlled by our offensive agreement that they were going ahead with their programs. For us not to would seriously jeopardize the security of the United States and jeopardize the cause of world peace.

SALT I, he added, "while very important, is only the first step, and not the biggest step."

SALT II has so far followed precisely this pattern. Just as Nixon had done, President Carter, immediately upon returning to the United States from his summit meeting, delivered an address to a joint session of Congress last June in which he hailed the agreement, and in the same address (not waiting two weeks) he announced there would be more weapons. Indeed, he asserted that one of the principal advantages of the treaty is that it would enable us to go forward with a new missile system—the MX. This "missile experimental" (one day it will no doubt be named for a Greek god) is to be a mobile land-based missile, our first. It will be more powerful even than the liquid-fuelled Atlas and Titan giants of the nineteen-fifties, the only heavy missiles the United States has ever, so far, deployed. On September 7th, President Carter announced the "basing mode" and other specifics of the MX. Each would be placed on a vehicle and moved to a couple of dozen different launching emplacements around a "race track," in random and presumably unpredictable ways, so as not to be "targeted" by Soviet missiles. Each would carry ten warheads, each of these with a yield equivalent to hundreds of kilotons of explosives. (The Hiroshima bomb was twenty kilotons.) The "race tracks" will require thousands of miles of road and an area the size of Massachusetts. The President said the new MX "is not a bargaining chip," to be bartered away in any future arms negotiations, but will represent a permanent "unsurpassed" feature of the nation's strategic nuclear deterrent. Two hundred MX missiles would be deployed in Nevada and Utah. This mode, the President said, met requirements he had set for a mobile missile system: survivability, verifiability, affordability, environmental soundness, and consistency with arms-control goals. On this occasion, Secretary Brown, while predicting

CERALENE RAYNAUD
Limoges



Inspired by
and named for the 18th-century printmaster
Hokusai

At selected stores and
BACCARAT
55 E. 57 St. N.Y.C.

Write Dept. 7-67 for Ceralene Raynaud brochure, 50¢

Escape to the island tonight.

LUDWIG M.A. TAYLOR & COMPANY, MIAMI, FLORIDA © 1979

Tia Maria over Ice

For imaginative drink ideas send for the Tia Maria recipe book.
W.A. Taylor & Company, 825 South Biscayne Drive, Miami, Florida 33131.

that the Soviets would respond "negatively" to this United States announcement, said that if they engaged in "a fruitless race" to try to overwhelm our new system they would strain their economic resources, and that if they created a new land-based missile system of their own they would be vulnerable to United States attack, presumably from the new American system.

The Federation of American Scientists promptly declared the MX to be "not just an inflationary multi-billion-dollar strategic mistake, but an arms-control disaster." The F.A.S., begun in 1946 as the Federation of Atomic Scientists, has since that time been a leading advocate of nuclear-arms control. Its judgment was stern:

The MX missile announced today contains the seeds of its own destruction since, as a counter-force weapon, it will necessarily stimulate the Soviet Union to procure still more warheads which will, in turn, quickly threaten MX quite as much as the Minuteman missiles are presently threatened. In the process, the SALT limits will become untenable. Worse, the Air Force will ask for the right to abrogate the ABM treaty to get anti-ballistic missiles to defend the MX. Thus the ABM treaty will also be threatened and the arms race will really be back with a vengeance.

The F.A.S. warned that there was "no strategic need to imitate the Russian preference for large land-based missiles," and added, "The precipitous quality of the decision to move to match the Soviets in land-based missile throw-weight has been induced by SALT." Induced by SALT? If this seems a contradiction in terms—or, at the very least, "counterintuitive," to use a term of systems analysis—then all the more reason to pay heed. There are systems that exhibit such properties, producing the opposite of their intended outcome, with the consequence that intensifying the effort to achieve the desired one achieves even more of the undesired.

As the summer passed into autumn, attacks on SALT II from arms-control advocates increased. Just two days after the F.A.S. issued its statement, Richard J. Barnet, who served in the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in the Kennedy Administration, described the treaty in an article in the *Washington Post* as "something to stir the hearts of generals, defense contractors, and senators from states brimming with military reservations and arms plants." His tone verged on the contemptuous:

The 100-page treaty, which reads like the prospectus for a bond issue, is neither

disarmament nor arms control but an exercise in joint arms management. The treaty has secured the acquiescence of the military in both countries because it ratifies the huge weapons-acquisition programs both are pushing.

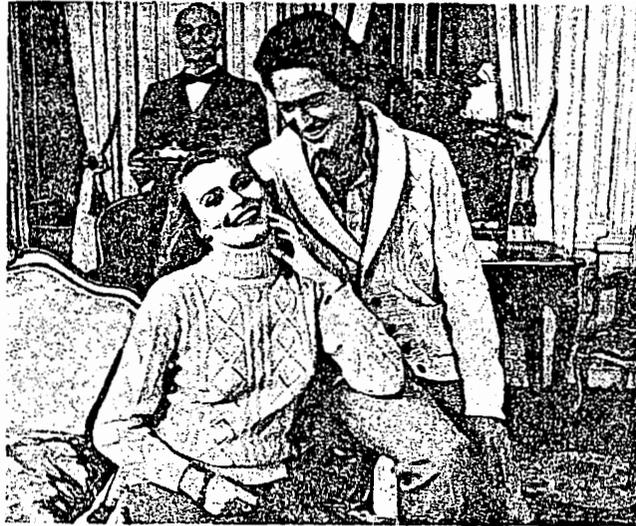
In the fall issue of *Foreign Policy*, Leslie H. Gelb began an essay on the future of arms control with the blunt assertion "Arms control has essentially failed." He had a friendly word for SALT II, which is perhaps not surprising, for, as a director of the Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs from 1977 to 1979, he had had the principal responsibility in the Department of State for conduct of the negotiations once the Carter Administration came to office. But he concluded that in the main the process had not worked.

Only a few weeks ago, the *Times*, with what measure of irony one cannot say, called for ratification by declaring, "SALT II is a sound agreement that will confine the nuclear arms race to specified channels." It is perhaps not fair-minded to press the images of editorialists too far, but it may be noted that when a diffused flow is forced into a confined channel the result is acceleration. Whatever became of arms control?

At each stage of the SALT negotiations, and with each new agreement, the nuclear forces on both sides have increased. Those of the Soviets have increased faster than those of the United States, but this trend was present prior to SALT. When the talks were first proposed, in 1967, the Soviets had nine hundred nuclear warheads. They have some five thousand today. At the expiration of the SALT II treaty in 1985, it is now estimated, they will have roughly twelve thousand. During that period, the number of United States warheads will grow, from the present nine thousand two hundred, to about twelve thousand also. By 1985, the Soviets will have four warheads for every county in the United States, and the United States will have four warheads for every *rayon*, a comparable unit of government in the Soviet Union. But the Soviet warheads in total will have more than three times the megatonnage of the American warheads. Although it is possible that these rates of growth would be greater without the treaties, it is also possible that they would be lower.

At the hearings concerning our ability to verify the Russians' compliance with the treaty, men of formidable learning and experience, some passionate, some detached, came before the Intelligence Committee to argue

Cashmere!



Pamper yourself with cashmere.
Meticulously knit in our Bucks County plant.
From \$50 to \$150.
At fine stores everywhere.

JACQUES de LOUX

BUCKS COUNTY

1410 Broadway New York, N.Y. 10018 • (212) 869-1978

MADE IN USA

KENNEDY GALLERIES
For important American art

Benefit from our 106 years
of continuous experience
as art dealers and consultants to
major museums, private and
corporate collectors

Kennedy Galleries is also co-publisher
of *The American Art Journal*, the
non-commercial quarterly magazine
that publishes the most important and
responsible art scholarship in the world

For information call:

Lawrence A. Fleischman or Rudolf G. Wundertich

KENNEDY GALLERIES

40 West 37th Street (5th Floor) New York 10019 (212) 541-9600

Tuesday - Saturday 9:30-5:30



Omni International Hotel in Miami is more than a place to stay. It's an experience. Omni International Hotel, Biscayne Blvd. at 16th Street, Miami, Florida 33132. For reservations in our Miami, Norfolk or Atlanta hotels, call (800) 241-5500, toll-free. Or see your travel agent.



An all Chrysler New Yorker luxury fleet for all New Yorkers.

Fugazy's all-Chrysler New Yorker fleet is now operating in Manhattan. Air conditioned and luxuriously appointed in navy blue, the 1980 New Yorker costs only \$10 per half hour service in Manhattan.

The chauffeur driven New Yorkers are available from Fugazy twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week.

Special rates from Manhattan are: \$20 to LaGuardia, \$25 to Kennedy or Newark. Most major credit cards accepted.

New York (212) 247-8383/Out of N.Y. State (800) 223-2455 (toll free).

Connecticut (203) 866-9216, 640 Connecticut Ave., Norwalk, Conn. 06854.

New Jersey (800) 652-2811 (toll free) Meadowlands Parkway and Seaview Drive, Secaucus, N.J. 07094.

Fugazy: Limousine Luxury at Taxicab Prices.



the probabilities and the difficulties of verification, but always in the context of ever-increasing Soviet numbers. It came to me that, with numbers so great, verification couldn't much matter. Suppose that by foul duplicity, compounded by American incompetence, the number of Russian warheads increased in the years immediately ahead from five thousand to thirteen thousand, rather than to only twelve. If an additional thousand mattered, surely an additional seven thousand mattered more. Well, not necessarily—only if the increase provided the Soviets some special edge. But they would have an edge on megatonnage in either event. Indeed, they already have that edge. There was something unreal about our inquiry. The possibility that the Soviets might increase their nuclear forces at a pace greater than agreed to was an object of much concern, but almost no heed was being paid to the fact that both they and (now) we are roaring ahead in an arms race, and using the treaty as an argument for doing so.

Was this "the bureaucratic mind at work"? Preoccupied with predictability, but scarcely at all distressed when what seems predictable is disaster? In part, yes. The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency has been in place for almost two decades now, and may be assumed to be as committed to the SALT process as the Bureau of Reclamation is to irrigation, and process can become sufficient unto itself. Jay Forrester, at M.I.T., has contributed the playful maxim that with respect to complex social problems intuitive solutions are almost invariably wrong. Among the intuitive and the severely logical alike, what is happening is known as a vicious circle.

There was, in any event, a more portentous paradox to be resolved, and as the Intelligence Committee hearings droned on my attention drifted away from verification toward the subject of doctrine. The SALT process has its premise in the doctrine of deterrence. The MX missile is incompatible with the doctrine of deterrence. It is, as its advocates in the Administration like to say, a "hard-target-kill counterforce weapon." But the strategic doctrine of deterrence specifically precludes either side from obtaining counterforce weapons. How, then, could we be building the missile that undermines the doctrine in order to sustain the doctrine?

A paradox? Yes, and the makings also of tragedy beyond human dimension. I had best be out with it directly. Deterrence was a stunning intellectual

LOUIS LOURIoux

French Porcelain Ovenware & Dinnerware



ELISABETH. The vivid imagery of a floral scene is recreated in porcelain dinnerware and matching ovenware. Select from a wide range of shapes and sizes. For brochure and name of nearest dealer, write to: Jacques Jugeat, Inc., Dept. LLE, 225 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010

The only cookware
as great as our cookware

is our other cookware.

You already know Calphalon.[®] It's widely regarded as the world's finest cookware. But you may not know our natural aluminum which is equally impressive, but has been kept discreetly hidden under chefs' hats for years. Like Calphalon, it's hand crafted and hand inspected. Which makes it the best cookware you can buy. Apart from our other cookware, that is.

Commercial Aluminum Cookware 

Built to be the last cookware you'll ever buy.

COMMERCIAL ALUMINUM COOKWARE PO. BOX 583, TOLEDO, OHIO 43693.

achievement. It "solved" the seemingly insoluble problem of how to control the use of nuclear weapons. But it was flawed and has been undone by the intuitive but wrong assumption that the Soviets would see the logic of our solution and do as we did. Especially that they would see the meaninglessness of strategic "superiority."

As no other subject, strategic-arms doctrine has been the realm of the intellectual and the academic. This is military doctrine, to be sure, but it has never, in this nation, been formulated by military men. It began with the physicists who created the weapons—men such as J. Robert Oppenheimer, Hans Bethe, and Leo Szilard—who were then joined by other physicists and scientists, and also by social scientists. These latter—men such as Albert Wohlstetter, Herman Kahn, Fred C. Iklé, Alain C. Enthoven, Henry Rowen, and Henry Kissinger—came to be known collectively as "defense intellectuals." They moved in and out of Washington, but in the main they kept to their campuses and think tanks, or almost always returned to them, where their task, in Kahn's phrase, was "thinking about the unthinkable." Indeed, they have been something of a caste apart, even in academia. Oppenheimer at Alamogordo as the first atomic bomb exploded—"I am become death, the shatterer of worlds"—gives something of the aura of it. They ate at their own tables in the faculty clubs, and held seminars to which few were invited. They met with Russians when few others did.

And they developed the doctrine of deterrence—a doctrine of weapon use of which the first premise was that the weapon must never be used first, and of which the principal object was that it never be used at all. The nuclear power was to deploy its forces so that if attacked it could attack back, inflicting assured destruction on the party that had attacked in the first place. This capacity could be achieved by a fairly limited number of missiles aimed at the cities of the potential adversary. Only two developments could undermine the doctrine. If the adversary developed and deployed a defensive weapon—an ABM—that could protect his cities, then his destruction would not be assured and he could become aggressive and threatening. Or if the adversary possessed an offensive weapon that could destroy the missile force aimed at his cities—which is to say a counterforce weapon—then, also, his destruction could not be assured and he could become aggressive and threatening. SALT I blocked the first devel-

opment. SALT II seems destined to insure the second.

This has come about, in the main, because the Russians did not keep to our rules. There has been nothing academic about their strategic doctrine, or at least not that we know of. They appear to have just gone plodding on, building bigger and better weapons, until, by an incremental process, they are on the point of being able to wipe out American land-based missiles—a counterforce ability. At one level, this achievement has been spectacular; at another, less so. For all the sophistication involved, nuclear weapons today are still nothing more than improved versions of the V-2 rocket with an atom bomb on top. But the improvements have reached the point where the doctrine that was to prevent their use has evidently been utterly undone. It had been the hope of the early arms-control negotiators that we would teach the Soviets our doctrine and they would abide by it. If there was something patronizing in the notion of "raising the Russians' learning curve," as the phrase went, there was also much respect in the belief that once we had come to the correct solution of a complex problem they could be brought to see that we were indeed correct. These were serious American academics, who held their Russian counterparts in full regard. But the enterprise failed. And why? Because the Russian situation is not our situation, the Russian experience not our experience. If intellect must fail, let it fail nobly; and it is in nobly rejecting the notion of failure that intellect fails most often.

Perhaps that is too strong. To state that an enterprise has failed is to suggest that it might have succeeded. Yet from the outset this has somehow seemed improbable. Let it be said for the postwar strategic nuclear theorists that they were not intimidated by their subject, nor immobilized by it. They did not shrink from action in the face of an incredible new dimension of war.

The influence of the theorists was to be seen early on, when the United States government, in 1946, proposed to turn its atomic bombs over to the United Nations—a proposal that the Soviet Union blocked. Then, for a period, the theorists receded from influence as the United States, with the only strategic nuclear force around, adopted, or said it had adopted, a policy of "massive retaliation," which contemplated the use of nuclear weapons in response to aggression by conventional ones. By the late nineteen-thirties, however, the Soviets commenced to have a strategic



ROBERT TALBOT TIES

The Robert Talbot tie is considered by many to be the finest tie human hands are capable of producing! Send for our free color brochure.

THE ROBERT TALBOT SHOPS

The Lodge at Pebble Beach, P.O. Box 1516, Pebble Beach, CA 93953

Put your shoes on and relax.



Wright Arch Preserver Shoes

For information & locations write to: E. T. Wright & Co., Rockland, MA 02370 Style M86

Name _____ Street _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____



V/O Sovuzhshina

so very *Varriale*

Finest Russian lynx belly

Purchase directly from Varriale furs
One of the largest houses of Italian design.
363 Seventh Avenue, New York, N.Y.
Entire 20th floor (212) 564-0284

Open Sundays

Major credit cards honored

nuclear force of their own, whereupon the true issue was joined: How to face an adversary with the same powers of destruction?

In one respect, this was an issue as old as the airborne bomb—a development recognized as revolutionary long before it became so. George Quester, in his fascinating book "Deterrence Before Hiroshima," has traced the "prehistory" of nuclear deterrence. In 1899, the First Hague Conference banned bombing from balloons, but the Germans went ahead even so to develop the first strategic bombing force, using dirigibles, while the British may be said to have prepared for them with a theory. In a study, "Aircraft in Warfare," published in 1916, a British mathematician, F. W. Lanchester, offered a quite contemporary notion of what we think of as the nuclear deterrent:

A reprisal to be effective must be delivered with promptitude like the riposte of a skilled fencer. A reprisal which is too long delayed possesses no moral weight and has every appearance of an independent act of aggression; it may even plausibly be given as an excuse for a subsequent repetition of the original offence.... The power of reprisal and the knowledge that the means of reprisal exists will ever be a far greater deterrent than any pseudo-legal document.

There was much discussion in the pre-nuclear era of the utility of attacking cities, of the ability to defend cities, of preempting the enemy's offensive air forces, and the like. In a letter written in 1914, Winston Churchill revealed himself a firm advocate of what would be known as "counterforce." "The great defence against aerial menace," he wrote then, "is to attack the enemy's aircraft as near as possible to their point of departure." However, perhaps because the opportunity was so new, most thinking concentrated on attacking cities.

In this respect, the outlines of an enduring argument were apparent well before the technology itself was at hand. It was in the Second World War that technology created opportunities to implement speculation. What to do with a strategic bombing force? What to do with emerging missile forces? We now know from the United States Strategic Bombing Survey, conducted at the war's end, that the bombing of German cities was less effective in weakening Germany than was thought at the time. We also know that Hitler's V-2 rockets might have had significant impact if, instead of being used as terror weapons against city populations, they had been used against the Channel ports—the staging areas for the Allied offensive into

Art Nouveau style
Unique combination of plaques, inlaid enamel and diamond pendant
Signed "Marsden & Carrara" \$69.00

Julius Cohen
JEWELER
419 Madison Avenue (New York City) (62)
(212) 571-3090
By appointment only

Give The Apple Of Your Eye
our French lead crystal apple ashtray.

It adds a brilliant touch to table arrangements, makes a perfect gift for Christmas or a personal thank-you.

3 inches across, signed by
Vannes le Châtel 22.00. Gift Galleries



I. magnin

2001 Broadway, Oakland, Ca 94612.
Add 2.00 delivery charges. I. Magnin
Charge Account orders phone toll-free.
In Calif: (800) 772-3933. Elsewhere
(800) 227-1125. Subscribe to our
Reflections catalogues, 5 issues 2.00.

California Seattle Portland Phoenix
Chicago Northbrook White Flint



THE GREAT AMERICAN COATS:

Bill Blass loves the texture and colourings of Irish tweed herringbone. He tops this double-breasted coat with a narrow notch lapel collar of Canadian beaver. At Bloomingdale's; Lord & Taylor, N.Y.; Marshall Field & Co., Chicago.

Bill Blass/Malcolm Kenneth, a division of Alter Six, Inc. 1290 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y. 10019

the Continent—which is where some of the German generals wanted to send them.

Consideration of these issues in the nuclear era was surely colored by the use of the atomic bomb against Hiroshima and Nagasaki, in what current theorists would call a "countervalue" mode. So awesome was the scale of destruction from what, by today's standards, was a small bomb that the destruction of whole countries could now be envisioned. Had the distinction between military and civilian targets disappeared? It was this possibility, immobilizing to many, that brought forth the doctrine of deterrence. The problem for the United States, as earlier it had been for Great Britain, was to deter aggression. We were the great power, with no need or desire to attack others but wishing to avoid being attacked. We had not succeeded with Germany and Japan. But the nuclear weapon suggested that the power of retaliation had become awesome indeed—enough to inhibit any would-be aggressor who had any sense of the realities involved. Not only awesome but capable, in Lanchester's words, of being "delivered with promptitude," in contrast to the long buildup that had been required for American forces before they could be effectively used in the Second World War.

Albert Wohlstetter conceived the "second strike" as the key concept of deterrence. This is to say, the nuclear riposte. If an enemy strikes, you will strike back with devastating consequences. In addition, Wohlstetter offered two crucial insights. There is an essential requirement for the invulnerability of one's ability to strike back. The design of strategic forces and their emplacement has to insure this. But it is also the case that this can never be insured once and for all. Any force becomes vulnerable over time, especially if an adversary is working hard at making it so. Hence, there can be no final deterrent.

It was Wohlstetter's insights that made defense planners aware, in the late nineteen-fifties, that the bombers of the Strategic Air Command were becoming vulnerable to Soviet attack. When the Russians had few warheads and no missiles, two dozen dispersed SAC bases were secure enough. But as Soviet capabilities grew in the nineteen-fifties the airplanes became vulnerable. In response, however, from 1962 to 1967 the United States deployed a thousand Minuteman missiles in the Midwest in "hardened" silos—that is to say, in launchers dug deep and

JAEGER-LECOULTRE

A slim, classic timepiece. With a flick of the finger the 18K yellow-gold case flips over to reveal a monogram or coat of arms. Perfect for the active man. Can be handed down to future generations. \$3500. Order by mail. All major credit cards accepted. Include card number and expiration date. Allow 3-4 weeks for delivery. "Not available everywhere."

sidney mobell
Designer and Creator of Fine Jewelry

TWO FINE STORES IN SAN FRANCISCO
741 POST STREET • (415) 986-4747
FAIRMONT HOTEL • ATOP NOB HILL

Cable Car Clothiers
ROBERT KIRK, Ltd.
San Francisco's Best Good Store Since 1919

Byford's English Wool Hose
Individually Sized 10½-14

Byford's "Super 98" hosiery from England are fashioned of machine washable wool with 5% nylon added for durability and shape retention. Reinforced heel and toe. Smooth-fitting rib knit available in black, navy, dark brown, dark grey, or olive. Individually sized 10½ to 14. Classic over-the-calf dress length. 6 prs., \$39. Mid-length 6 prs., \$33. Ankle 6 prs., \$30.

Please send catalogue. AL139

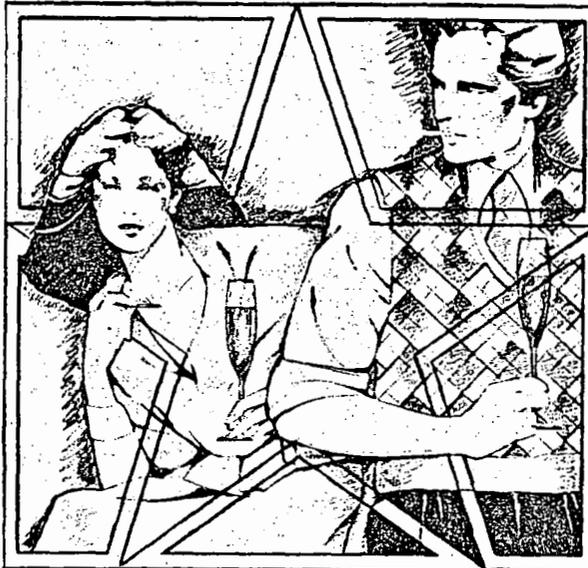
Mail Orders: Cable Car/Robert Kirk, Ltd.
No. 150, Post St., S.F. Ca 94108 (415) 397-7733
Over-call (75022): Size ___ Col. ___ Qty. ___
Mid-length (75021): Size ___ Col. ___ Qty. ___
Anklet (75020): Size ___ Col. ___ Qty. ___
 Check Master Chg. VISA Amer. Ex.
Card # _____ Expir. _____
Add \$2.50 Ship. & Hdlg. Cal. Deliv. Add Sales Tax
Name _____
Address _____ Zip _____

heavily protected. This was then an invulnerable second-strike force. But soon enough this invulnerability was in doubt. Not only did the Soviets acquire more missiles and more warheads, which was predictable, but an unpredictably rapid rise in accuracy also took place. Missiles once meant to hit within miles of a target now possessed accuracies prescribed in hundreds of yards. Hardened silos could be destroyed.

Another technology was also being developed—that of destroying missiles in flight with an anti-ballistic missile. Whereupon the issue of defense arose. Essential to the doctrine of deterrence was that neither side have any defense. In effect, each side exchanged hostages, whose lives thereafter depended on their side's good behavior. The Russians were given American cities, to be destroyed instantly if the United States launched a nuclear attack on Russia. This was our guarantee to the Russians that we would not launch such an attack. The Russians were deemed to have given us their cities. But now there was talk of hedging. It seemed the Russians might be developing a means to defend themselves against incoming missiles, much as anti-aircraft defenses were developed in an earlier period. ABM systems are highly technical in design but simple enough in concept. One bullet shoots down another bullet. But if the systems worked, if our second strike did not assure the destruction of Soviet cities, then the Soviets could contemplate a first strike, and deterrence would fail. In this scenario, the nation that defends its cities can strike first, knowing that its cities are no longer hostage. In another scenario, the nation watching this defense being built strikes first, before it has lost its hostage. This is how SALT began.

THEY are not impersonal intellectuals who made these calculations. Some are intense and committed as few men of the age. But to share their passion it is necessary to enter their logic. What do you mean, one could ask, when you say that we must not defend ourselves because if we do our enemy will attack? The problem of public perception was not great in the nineteen-sixties. A deference system—a willingness to leave difficult decisions to experts—which had been in place since the bomb was built, continued undisturbed. But then heresy appeared in the midst of the close-knit and almost closed community of experts. Some began to talk of defense, or "damage limitation," as it was

EVENING STAR



For an evening as well as an event.
For the cocktail hour as well as the dinner hour.
Chandon Napa Valley Brut is made to be enjoyed as
the French enjoy champagne—spontaneously.

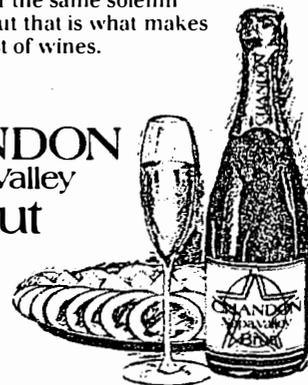
MÉTHODE CHAMPENOISE

Note the star on every bottle of Chandon.
It is the same star that appears on every bottle
of champagne made by our French parent.

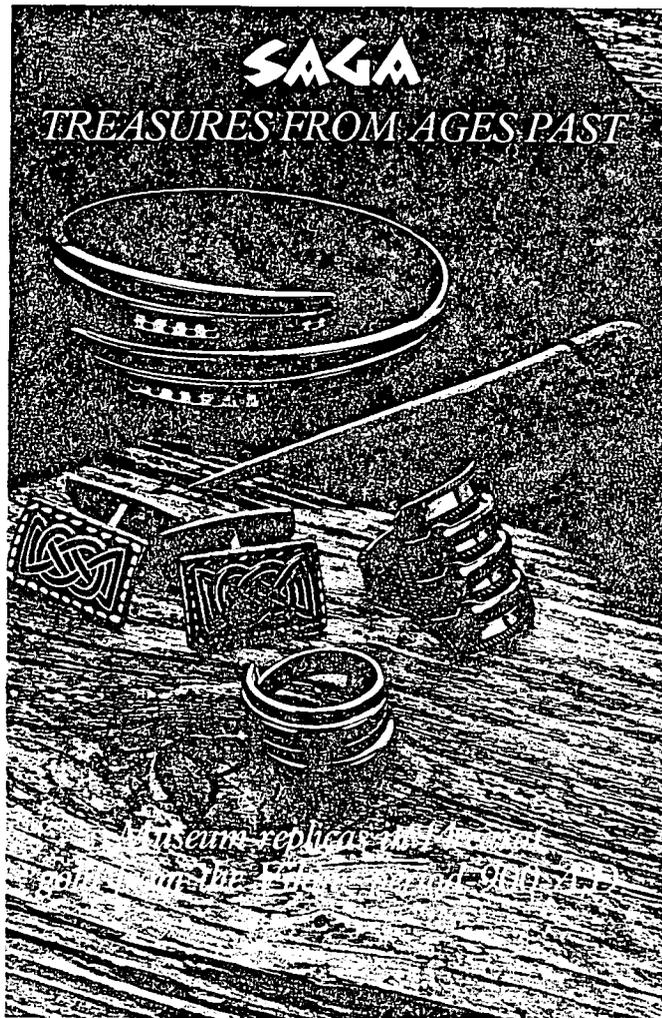
Moët & Chandon. It means that every
bottle of Chandon sparkling wine is made
by the same classical *méthode champenoise*.

And, in truth, under the same solemn
French supervision. But that is what makes
the happiest of wines.

CHANDON
Napa Valley
Brut



Visit our home in the Napa Valley Winery, restaurant, and Le Salon.
Domaine Chandon, Yountville, California 94599.

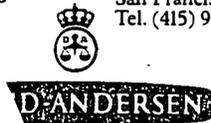
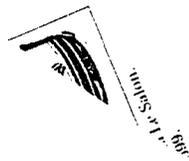


Each piece of the SAGA collection has an exciting history of its own representing the intrigue and adventure unique to the days of the Vikings.

Write for your free SAGA catalog and price list.

1 of Norway
a
e
0113

David-Andersen of Norway
Lobby Retail Level
Three Embarcadero Center
San Francisco, CA 94111
Tel. (415) 986-1177



Norway

silver and enamelware since 1876.

termed. If damage limitation was possible, how could it be foregone? Wohlstetter talked of defending the missile sites. The logic was impeccable. The Air Force, understandably, was worried about the vulnerability of our Minutemen, and with a straightforward military logic proposed to double their number: with more targets, a Soviet first strike would have less chance of wiping out our second strike. But with twice as many Minutemen the United States could target the Soviets' missiles as well as cities, and so reduce their capacity for a retaliatory strike. Doctrine has it that, given available technology, two warheads must be aimed at a silo to have a satisfactory probability of a "kill." Given the number of Soviet missiles at the time, one thousand single-warhead Minutemen could not be counted on to "take out" the Soviet strike force, but two thousand could. (There is the ever-present problem of "fratricide," whereby the first warhead to land destroys its mate—but enough.) It was our doctrine to deny ourselves any such capacity, lest the Soviets understandably become alarmed. Better to keep to the one thousand, but to defend them. Not so, said others, most especially Robert S. McNamara, the Secretary of Defense. If we defend anything, the demand will spread to defend everything.

John Newhouse begins "Cold Dawn," his account of SALT I, which originally appeared in this magazine, by likening the debate to the disputations of the Church Fathers:

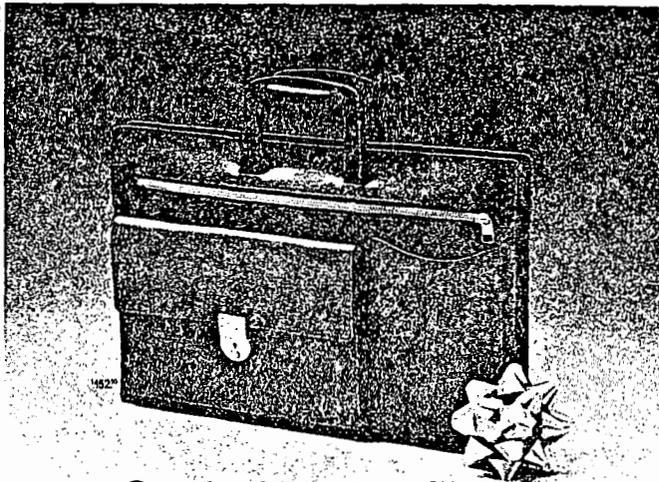
So much of the substance and vocabulary of SALT are at least as remote from reality, as most of us perceive it, as early Christian exegesis. . . . As in the case of the early Church, contending schools form around antagonistic strategic concepts. The most relevant of these are known as assured destruction and damage limitation, and each can claim broad support and intellectual respectability. Debates between the two schools recall those between the Thomists and the essentially Franciscan followers of Duns Scotus. The Thomists prevailed, as have the proponents of assured destruction, who assert, for example, that ballistic-missile defense of population is immoral because it may degrade your adversary's ability to destroy your own cities in a second strike. His confidence undermined, he might then be tempted in a crisis to strike pre-emptively; in short, knowing you are effectively protected from his second-strike assault and tearing your intentions, he may choose to strike first. Thus, stability, a truly divine goal in the nuclear age, becomes the product of secure second-strike nuclear offenses on both sides.

This is the first thing to know about SALT: The decision to propose talks,

and the first agreements, constituted a victory for a specific doctrine—"assured destruction." It was even then a contested doctrine and gave signs of how vulnerable it might be to ideological attack in the form of caricature. In 1969, Donald Brennan, of the Hudson Institute, labelled it "mutual assured destruction," so that the acronym "MAD" came into play, like some new weapons system all its own. But even earlier, in the 1964 film "Dr. Strangelove," Stanley Kubrick had caricatured a proposal of Herman Kahn, "the doomsday machine," which would automatically produce a second strike, so that the victim of a first strike could never hesitate to retaliate and decide instead to surrender. Making a second strike inevitable in order to prevent a first strike was eminently logical, but its proponents could also be made to seem crazy, like the mad scientist in Kubrick's film—a caricature which suggested that because so many of the defense intellectuals were German, their thinking must also be Teutonically rigid.

Looking back, it seems clear that the urgency with which the Americans approached the Russians in the hope of obtaining an arms agreement that would protect the assured-destruction doctrine arose as much out of concern to secure the doctrine in American strategic policy as to introduce it to the strategic policy of the Soviet Union. If it could be codified in an agreement with the Soviets which committed both sides, then the argument at home would be more secure. For good or ill, attacks on MAD had about them a quality of the political left. If the Russians could be shown to have the same dispassionate view of nuclear realities, this might mollify such opposition in the United States. Of course, if Americans of both left and right persuasions would argue later on that assured destruction is a strategy that places exceptional reliance on the good faith and good judgment of quite unreliable adversaries, the adversaries could well remark that this was our idea, not theirs.

But there was also a technological imperative. In the middle nineteen-sixties, the Soviets began to deploy their own missiles in hardened silos, which over time might give them a second-strike capability, and even a first-strike capability, to destroy U.S. land-based missiles in a surprise attack. No great technological feats were involved—just a steady creep of numbers, size, and accuracy. Planners in the Pentagon and defense intellectuals began to talk of



Carried away with joy.

And with an umbrella, newspaper, eyeglasses, calculator and more. This beautifully efficient Schlesinger Brothers case is the gift that has a place for everything, and puts everything in its place.

Available at the finest stores.
Other cases from \$55 to \$1200.

Schlesinger Brothers 
A tradition of excellence in the business cases since 1919
Camden, New Jersey



The opening lines of many an important Broadway hit were first dashed off on Plaza stationery. Writing at the desk in your suite, you may well find your own words taking on a certain special import.

Nothing unimportant ever happens at The Plaza.

The Plaza
On the Park at Fifth and 59th.
Call your travel agent or 800-228-3000.

WESTERN INTERNATIONAL 

JULES R. SCHUBOT
JEWELLERS

3001 BIG BEAVER ROAD
TROY, MICHIGAN 48064
313-649-1122
Established 1917



La plus noble parure du temps

**VACHERON
CONSTANTIN**
Geneve

For more than two centuries
we have created watches,
which are precious
and rare works of art

defenses that would preserve our second strike. Wohlstetter advocated an ABM defense of the Minutemen. But doctrine decreed that this, too, would be destabilizing. Once an anti-ballistic-missile defense was perfected, the temptation to use it to defend cities as well as missile silos would grow. And the other side could never be sure that we weren't planning to do exactly that, as quickly as possible, at a time of our own choosing.

The decision point came on December 6, 1966—"the precise beginning of SALT," as Newhouse has it—at a meeting between McNamara and Lyndon Johnson, in Austin, Texas. Instead of going forward with an ABM system, as proposed by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, McNamara urged that a decision be put off until the State Department could explore with Moscow the idea of talks on limiting strategic arms.

In these events, as in others, McNamara emerges as a man of deep feeling and utter integrity, but almost too much of the latter. A Captain Vere without serenity. It was his judgment that assured destruction required an ability to destroy twenty to twenty-five per cent of the Soviet population and fifty per cent of its industrial capacity in a retaliatory strike. He also judged that the Soviets must be convinced that they could do as much damage to the United States if it fell to them to retaliate. Hence, there must be no American missile defense. In a speech at Ann Arbor, in 1962, he had questioned the prudence, even the morality, of such a targeting doctrine, but thereafter he put qualms behind him and did his duty. He held unflinchingly to the proposition that deterrence "means the certainty of suicide to the aggressor." Through the nineteen-sixties, pressure grew for the United States to develop modern heavy missiles, as the Soviets had done, or to double the Minuteman force. He successfully blocked each effort, asserting, in 1967, when the United States had five thousand warheads, that this number was "both greater than we had originally planned and in fact more than we require." He repeatedly warned against the "mad momentum intrinsic to . . . all new nuclear weaponry," adding, "If a weapon system works—and works well—there is strong pressure from many directions to procure and deploy the weapon out of all proportion to the prudent level required."

In June, 1967, seven months after the meeting in Austin, Soviet Prime

The Superb Suburban



Solid comfort and impeccable taste in a superior suburban coat. Handsome cavalry twill of 100% Dacron® polyester with warm acrylic pile lining. The outstanding Stanton. About \$100.

Zero King

At better stores. For store nearest you, write **DUPONT Dacron** Zero King, Box 43946, St. Paul, MN55164.



Holiday ties . . . A party must for host or guest. Authentic English club style by Briar. Select Turkey on brown. Holly on blue or Christmas tree on red. In Calif. add 6% tax. each 15.00

Send \$1 and get \$1 gift certificate on our 80 page catalog.

GEARY'S

351 N. Beverly Dr., Beverly Hills, Ca 90210

TOLL FREE 1-800-421-0566
(in California (213) 273-4741)

Master Charge Visa Geary's Charge

Dorène.



(It suits you to a tea.)

They're designed in Dublin and they're made in Dublin. Which is a good part of the reason why Dorène's fashions reflect the urban savvy of today's woman-about-town. Classic quality in pure wool with a large measure of the practical. Very smart for lunch or tea. The wearing of Dorène. Another remarkable product from Ireland.

For more information, write:
Dorène

The Irish Export Board
10 East 53 St., New York, N. Y. 10022

From Ireland. Today.

Minister Alexei Kosygin arrived in Glassboro, New Jersey, for a summit meeting with President Johnson. Dean Rusk, who was Secretary of State at that time, later recalled for Newhouse that the Americans tackled Kosygin in a "go for broke fashion." The Russians, naturally, wondered what we were up to. When told of the dangers of the ABM, Kosygin replied, in effect, "How can you expect me to tell the Russian people they can't defend themselves against your rockets?" This surely is a recognizable political instinct. At about this time, Senator Richard Russell was saying that if there was a nuclear war and only two persons survived he wanted them both to be Americans.

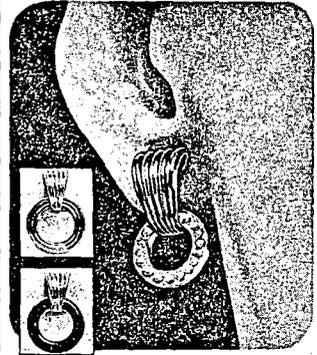
A year later, on June 24, 1968, the Senate voted funds for the deployment of an ABM system known as Sentinel, which had been developed but not put in service. Three days later, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko announced that his government was ready to begin negotiations. Roger P. Labrie, of the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, writes that "SALT, like all previous attempts at negotiating limitations on nuclear weapons, stemmed from the interaction of new weapon programs with prevailing strategic concepts."

Then the Russians invaded Czechoslovakia. The first SALT talk, scheduled for September 30, 1968, was put off, and before the atmosphere had cleared Richard Nixon had succeeded Lyndon Johnson. But the two Presidents differed little in strategic doctrine. Nixon, if anything, was the more concerned with the nuclear race. Finally, the talks began. Kissinger took over. SALT I was signed.

WHAT was SALT I? First, agreement was reached that neither side would deploy a general ABM defense. This was a success, surely—at least for doctrine. There would be little defense against strategic missiles. (Each party was to be allowed two truncated ABM sites, but no more.) Second, the Soviets obtained agreement to nuclear parity with the United States. This was a large achievement for them, in both symbolic and real terms, but one that doctrine allowed the United States to concede. At the time the SALT process began, McNamara calculated that the United States had a three- or four-to-one advantage in number of warheads, which he considered the true measure of nuclear power. But the doctrine of assured destruction minimizes the ques-

NOVEMBER 19, 1979

THE ADD-A-HOOP EARRING

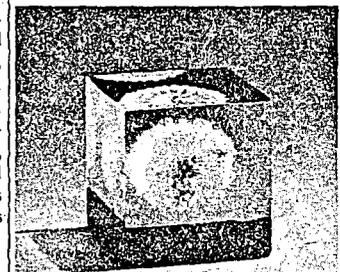


Fluted 18-kt. gold earclips
with three sets of add-on hoops:
platinum with 15 diamonds,
gold and black onyx.
\$3,800.



GRANT A. PEACOCK, INC.
One East 57 St., New York, NY 10022
(212) PL 3-4640

Gold market conditions cause prices
to be subject to change without notice.



Only from Gump's

A dandelion puff timelessly preserved in a 2 1/2" crystal-clear lucite cube, captivating as an object of decoration or used as a paperweight. 14.50 postpaid, plus applicable tax for delivery in California, Illinois, New Jersey or New York.

Send for our 80-page Gift Book,
\$1 each.

GUMP'S

Order by mail: 250 Post
SAN FRANCISCO, Dept. 460, CA 94108
TOLL-FREE: 800-227-4512
(In Calif.: 800-652-1662)
AEX, DC, MC, VISA

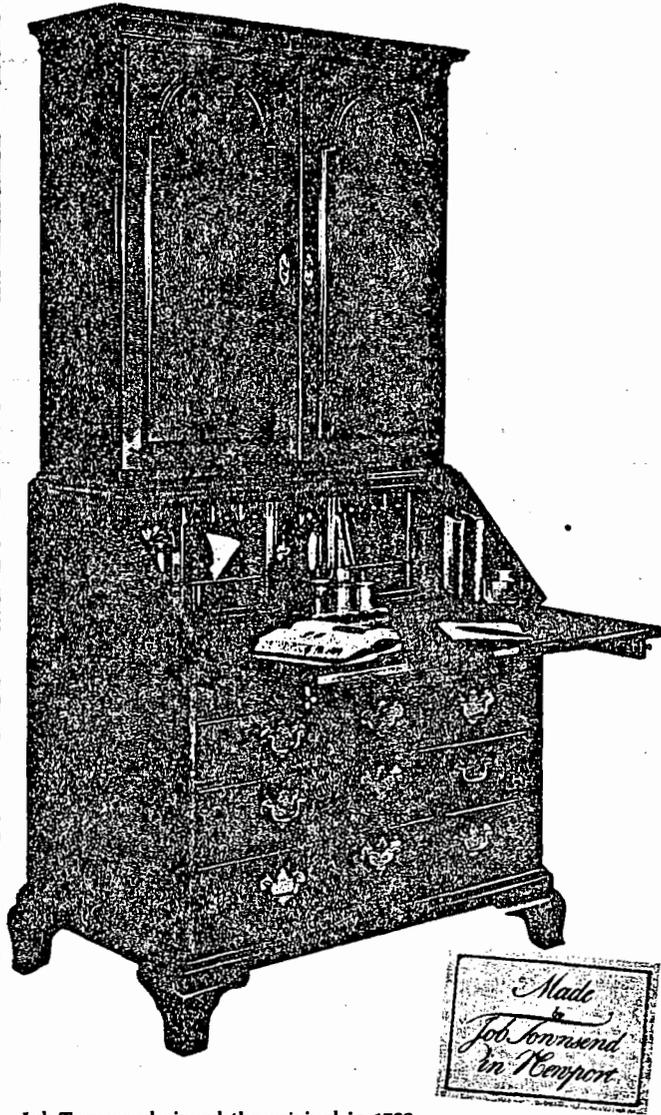
tion of advantage. As long as the second strike is devastating, it is sufficient. Superiority, in this perspective, loses its meaning. In July, 1974, after the SALT II negotiations had begun, Kissinger responded to a question in a press conference thus: "What in the name of God is strategic superiority? What is the significance of it... at these levels of numbers?" After a point, numbers meant nothing—to us.

The doctrine of assured destruction holds that the curve relating numbers of weapons to strategic power flattens out at a fairly early stage. It may or may not be chance that this stage was seen to have been reached at about the number and extent of the weapons systems the United States already had in the mid-sixties. In 1971, two of the most gifted and experienced defense intellectuals, Alain Enthoven and K. Wayne Smith (the former an official of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations, the latter an official of the Nixon Administration), wrote in their book "How Much is Enough?":

The main reason for stopping at 1,000 Minuteman missiles, 41 Polaris submarines and some 500 strategic bombers is that having more would not be worth the additional cost. These force levels are sufficiently high to put the United States on the "flat of the curve."

It may be said that this judgment was reached at a time when the atmosphere of the Vietnam War made it pointless to consider any increases. Even so, there should be no question that the view was sincerely held.

Again, looking back, it seems clear that this doctrinal consideration took the edge off the American disappointment that SALT I did not provide for any real arms reduction. The United States had hoped to put a freeze on the development of any further heavy missiles, with their greater capacity to knock out an enemy's ability to retaliate after a first strike. But the Russians were going ahead with both their SS-18 and SS-19, and there was no stopping them. In ballistic-missile-firing submarines, the Russians were accorded a numerical advantage of sixty-two to our forty-four to "compensate" for the greater distances their underwater craft would have to travel to be on station. As noted above, they soon equipped these submarines with a longer-range missile, wiping out their disadvantage, and thus coming out ahead of where they had been. If we were disposed to think that such margins didn't matter, clearly the Russians were not. The United States very much hoped to ob-



Job Townsend signed the original in 1730. He would be proud to sign this Kittinger reproduction today.

This important desk is an authentic *Historic Newport Reproduction* of the original made by Job Townsend in 1730. The delicately carved and fluted concave shells are typical of the Newport school. The unusual smaller shells conceal narrow drawers in each pigeon hole. And the desk top has a secret panel which slides back to reveal the interior of the lower case drawer, locked from the inside by wooden bolts.

Kittinger crafts many reproductions of priceless antiques as well as a full line of traditional designs for residential and executive interiors. Send \$7 for 180-page "A Library of 18th Century English & American Designs", Kittinger Company, 1903B Elmwood Avenue, Buffalo, N.Y. 14207.

KITTINGER

Showrooms: Boston, New York, Atlanta, Buffalo, Chicago, Dallas, Denver, San Francisco, Los Angeles

LIQUORE GALLIANO
The Italian Classic.

Gown by La Mendola.
Photographed at Castel Sant'Angelo, Rome.
The Italian Classic by Galliano.

© 1979 Galliano S.p.A. - 20100 Turin, Italy

There's nothing in the world quite like
our cruise around it.

Africa and South America. Asia and the Orient. Vast, endless oceans. All on our new January 1981 Around the World itinerary. Cruise roundtrip from California in 92 days. From Florida in 88. Or California to Florida in 75. Aboard the World Class Royal Viking Sky of Norwegian registry. See your travel agent or write: Royal Viking Line, Dept J-45, One Embarcadero Center, San Francisco, Calif. 94111.

ROYAL VIKING LINE
1981 Around the World Cruise

tain agreement that neither side would deploy a mobile intercontinental ballistic missile—e.g., the MX—but nothing came of this.

The great and debilitating failure of SALT I, however, is that it did not produce any agreement between the two nations on strategic doctrine. It might have seemed that it did, and certainly Americans hoped that it did, but it did not. This failure was made clear in July, 1972—two months after the treaty was signed—by William R. Van Cleave, a political scientist who has served as an adviser to the SALT delegation. In testimony before a Senate subcommittee headed by Henry M. Jackson, Van Cleave made a point that it was time some political scientist made:

The U.S. arms-control community has always had an academic character and a hyper-rationalistic approach to arms control that assumes arms control to be an intellectual problem rather than a political one.

Van Cleave was critical of the "eagerness" of the American negotiators for an agreement that, he felt, led them repeatedly to change positions. He was scornful of the belief, as he saw it, that we and the Soviets shared an overriding common goal of strategic stability as defined by American strategic and arms-control concepts. The over-all evidence, he said, "is persuasive that the Soviet leaders do not share our assured-destruction doctrine. That they do is an unsupportable notion."

What doctrine *did* the Soviets espouse? This seemed evident enough to Van Cleave: "The Soviets—in contrast to the United States—have seen the strategic-force balance as an expression of political power." It had been McNamara's view, and it persisted, "that the strategic-force balance had no important political meaning." Whatever the case, it was clear to Van Cleave that the Soviets thought otherwise. To have the power to blow up the world three times was to have more power than did he who could blow it up only twice. The Soviet military seemed to have a simple notion that more was better than less. There were, at the very least, those among them who were prepared to think of nuclear wars as winnable, in the sense that one side would emerge better off than the other. This sort of thinking, of course, is incompatible with the doctrine of assured destruction.

The Soviet Union's military were, in any event, very much in control. Strategic doctrine in the Soviet Union is not made by professors. In his book

"My Country and the World," Andrei D. Sakharov, the Russian physicist, recounts an event in 1955 in Siberia, where he had successfully tested a Soviet hydrogen bomb:

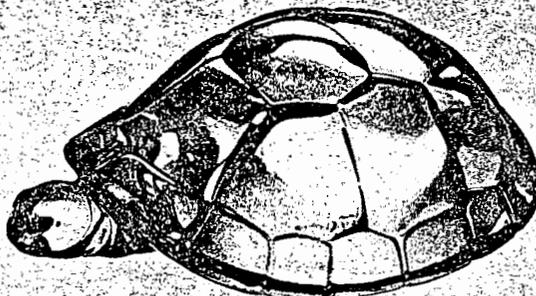
The evening after the test, at a private banquet attended only by the officials in charge of the tests, I proposed a toast that "our handiwork would never explode over cities." The director of the tests, a high-ranking general, felt obliged to respond with a parable. Its gist was that the scientists' job is to improve a weapon; how it is used is none of their business.

The American negotiators of SALT I were to learn early on just how firmly the Soviet military were in charge when they found that they knew more about Soviet strategic forces than did their Soviet civilian counterparts. Military secrets are not widely shared in the Soviet Union, and at one point in the negotiations a Russian general suggested to an American that it wasn't necessary to talk about such matters in the presence of—what?—unauthorized listeners! Soviet military plans were not, in any significant measure, subject to negotiation with Americans or anyone else. In consequence, the Americans returned home to face a second negotiation with their own military. What seems to happen in SALT talks is that when negotiators have, in effect, agreed with the military forces of another nation that those forces should be increased they are almost required to return and agree with their own military forces that their forces should be increased also. It is a matter of relationships. If the Russians were building a Caribbean fleet, and the United States was either ignoring this or else snarling and snapping and threatening, American admirals, while they would certainly be urging a Baltic fleet or some such countermeasure, could nonetheless be told to stay out of the argument and leave foreign affairs to the President. But once the President had agreed with the Soviets that it was quite acceptable for them to have a flotilla in the Caribbean he simply would not be in a position to tell his own admirals that they would be allowed no compensatory increases. He could, of course, but he would be discredited as a man who preferred the interests of other people's military to his own. In a situation where the Soviet military always insists on more, the process will always end with the American military insisting on more as well.

One display Secretary Brown brought to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last July compared the Poseidon

TORTOISE WITHOUT HARE

THE TIMID TURTLE BY
HADELAND OF NORWAY



This is the legendary turtle who left the hare way behind. In fact, he's (she's) way ahead of every crystal turtle you've ever seen... in looks, design, artistry, and craftsmanship. And he should be! He is the creation of one of the finest glassworks in all of Scandinavia. Every facet of the shell is deeply and intricately formed, and, when you pick him up, the weight will assure you that this is a creature of substance — a natural winner — whether you give one or get one.

Handmade of full lead crystal, comes gift boxed at only \$43.50. For an illustrated brochure and the name of the store nearest you, please write to us at: 225 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10010.



IMPORTED BY

BING & GRØNDAHL

Make someone feel like a million bucks for a hundred bucks.

Gift Certificate

The Ultimate in Luxury Limousines

Dav-EI

First Class Service For First Class People

New York (212) 779-7800/Los Angeles (213) 559-6400/Washington, D.C. (202) 737-1139/Houston (713) 625-6674/Orlando (407) 800-223-7664

No experience in the world can quite compare to being whisked away in a Dav-EI Limousine anytime of the day or night, riding in dream-like comfort, listening to stereo music, and helping yourself to the bar while you let the sun or moon pour in through the sliding roof. All in the skillful hands of a specially-trained Dav-EI chauffeur.

In fact, to really appreciate what a great gift it makes, buy the first gift certificate for yourself.

Dav-EI

First class service for first class people.

New York (212) 779-7800/Los Angeles (213) 559-6400/Houston (713) 625-6674
Washington D.C. (202) 737-1139/Out-of-New York (800) 223-7664

Monogrammed Classic for Christmas



This classic wrap robe is styled in a machine washable blend of 75% wool and 25% nylon. Piped in white, it has a notched collar, cuffed sleeves and patch pocket. Colors: Red(01) or Navy(15). Monogram in White. Sizes: P(8), S(10-12), M(14-16), L(18). \$65 (with monogram, \$69.)

Please send me the following:

_____ wrap robes at \$65 each.
 _____ monogrammed robes at \$69 each.
 (Monogrammed items are not returnable.)

Color Number: _____ Size: _____

Monogram Initials:

First Name _____ Middle Name _____ Last Name _____
 Add \$1.75 for postage and handling.

Check enclosed VISA MC AE

Card & Interbank #: _____

Name _____

Address _____

Zip _____

Carroll Reed

Dept. 73601, No. Conway, NH 03860
 (603) 447-2511 • 24 Hours A Day

missile, now deployed in the Poseidon nuclear submarines, with the Trident missile that has been designed for the new Trident submarines, the first of which will go to sea sometime next year. Secretary Brown's display ticked off the revelant information:

- TRIDENT IMPROVEMENTS OVER POSEIDON**
- * Weight—15% greater
 - * Fuel—advanced technology, more efficient
 - * Accuracy— $\frac{1}{3}$ more accurate at same range
 - * Range—twice as great
 - * Explosive power—twice as great

Those who follow weaponry would have noted that the new missile, with far more destructive power, is nonetheless about the same size as its predecessor. In fact, Trident I missiles can be fitted in the launchers of the Poseidon submarine. (This is now being done, with the result that our submarine fleet will have much greater megatonnage in its warheads even before the new Tridents begin to be commissioned.)

As one thought connects to another, I found my attention drifting away from Secretary Brown's exhibit and back to a sunny June day in 1977, my first year in the Senate, with many things still unfamiliar. The Navy was launching a new submarine, the U.S.S. New York City—the first warship ever named for our town—and I had been asked to speak at the ceremonies in the shipyard of the Electric Boat company, in Groton, Connecticut, where it was to be launched. I had done a spell in the Navy at the end of the Second World War, and shipyards were familiar. But as the official party walked along to the ways where the modest New York City awaited us, a never equalled leviathan hove in sight. There, broadside to the river—for it would fair stretch to the opposite bank if launched in the conventional manner—was the hull of the first Trident submarine. There has never been such a thing, and anyone who has been to sea would know it. My U.S.S. Quirinus, 40-mm. gun mounts and all, could have been taken on board as a ship's launch. James R. Schlesinger, then Secretary of Energy, was walking beside me. He had been Secretary of Defense during the period when the Trident program was getting under way, and he recalled expressing misgivings about it, saying that the boats were too big, too vulnerable—that smaller ones would have done better. What had possessed us? I asked. It was the price of SALT I, he replied.

And so an American buildup of sorts commenced, ending the long freeze of



You can never feel homesick in Denmark. Danes give Americans the warmest welcomes. They even celebrate July 4th with glorious fireworks! It's every bit as warm, as delightful, as magnificent as the feeling of slipping into a Birger Christensen fur.

BIRGER CHRISTENSEN
 38 Østergade-Copenhagen-Denmark



By Appointment to the
 Royal Danish Court

ESTATE JEWELRY
 18K Gold, Enamel and Diamonds



Leopard Pin
 \$1850

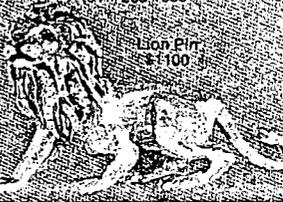


Leopard Ring
 \$950

Shown in Actual Size

**FIRESTONE
 AND PARSON**

Ritz Carlton Hotel, Boston, MA 02117
 (617) 266-1858



Lion Pin
 \$1100



*A handsome
collectible of British
Sterling Silver*

This year, begin your collection of heirloom tree ornaments with this three-dimensional, antique finished Sterling Silver Drummer Boy, the first in an annual series of ornaments that will symbolize the "Twelve Days of Christmas." Crafted by skilled British silversmiths in an exquisitely detailed design, with "1979" inscribed on the drum. Hand-finished with a thick, luxuriant 15" red silk cord for display.

Our exclusive design, by artist, Mary Hamilton, this unique creation captures the spirit of Christmas—reminding us of *The Little Drummer Boy* who shared the only gift he had—the song of his drum. Arrives gift packaged, \$60 each, postage prepaid. Quantities limited so order early.

To order by credit card phone 800-821-5462. In Missouri, call 800-892-5796. Or mail the coupon below.

The Halls Collection
IN CROWN CENTER, P.O. BOX 5548, KANSAS CITY, MO. 64109

Please send (No.) _____ Drummer Boy Sterling Ornaments at \$50.00 each.
Enclosed is my check or money order for \$ _____.
(Sorry, no cash, please.) If I am not delighted I may return my purchase within 30 days for a full refund.

I prefer to pay by credit card account:

American Express Carte Blanche
 Visa/BankAmericard Diners Club
 Master Charge (interbank # _____)

Acct. No. _____ Exp. Date _____
Signature _____
Name (please print) _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____
Please add any applicable state or local tax. *
230118119 _____ 3404

the late nineteen-sixties. But we hadn't our heart in it; we just did it. We never admitted to ourselves that the Russians did not accept deterrence as doctrine; that, unless stopped by the most forceful intervention, they would build until they achieved superiority. They might, for example, have been told in 1969 that this would be a wholly unattainable goal. That we would outspend them two to one. That we would still be spending when they were bankrupt. But this was a threat we could not make, even though, ironically, it is one we could have carried out. I fear that those may turn out to have been the days when the peace of the world was irretrievably lost.

THEY did not seem so. Nixon deeply desired that a SALT II agreement—a permanent treaty this time—would put an end to increases in nuclear weapons and possibly bring about actual decreases. But he fell, and negotiations made no progress in that direction under President Ford, although he, too, was altogether committed to the process. Then came the new Carter team, including many old faces from the Johnson years. They were hopeful, even exhilarated by the opportunity they now had, and they moved quickly with a bold proposal.

In March, 1977, the Carter Administration, in the person of Cyrus Vance, who had been Deputy Secretary of Defense under Johnson and was now Secretary of State, proposed to Moscow a significant reduction in nuclear weapons. This Comprehensive Proposal would have reduced the number of launchers for MIRVs (multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles) from 1,320, which had emerged as the lowest level the Soviets would accept, to between 1,100 and 1,200, with a separate sublimit of 550 on the number of MIRVed ICBMs, the most accurate and worrisome kind. (A MIRVed missile has more than one warhead, each of which can be independently aimed at a different target. As the "bus" travels through space, it ejects first one warhead, then another, in different trajectories and at different velocities.) Five hundred and fifty is the number of MIRVed ICBMs the United States has deployed.

Paul Nitze, who has been officially involved in arms negotiations under Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon (there are not many qualified persons in this field, and careers show greater durability than in any other field of policy), has testified that Vance's 1977 proposal offered the So-

COZY



The chill is gone, with Holubar's new handcrafted Princess down robe and matching Toasters slippers. This floor-length robe features wrap A-Line styling in powder blue, yellow, tan or light green. Exclusively by Holubar. S(8-10), M(12-14), L(16-18). \$90 (Plus \$4 handling and insurance). Toasters XS-XL(5-9) \$9.95. CO. AZ. CA. UT residents add state tax.

Order toll-free 800-525-2540 (except AK, HI, CO). VISA. Master Charge. American Express. Write for your FREE catalog.

HOLUBAR

P.O. Box 7, Dept. 119E
6287 Arapahoe
Boulder, Colorado 80306

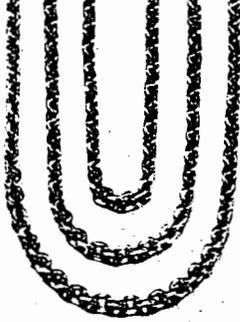
BRITCHES JOHN FIXTURE

Our Victorian John Fixture is cast in heavy solid brass and mounts easily on your bathroom wall to hold soap, toothbrushes and glass (not included).
Postage paid at \$62.75 VISA, MC, AMEX and exp. date.

BRITCHES JOHN FIXTURE
1247 Wisconsin Ave. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007
(703) 548-0200

THE BULLION COLLECTION

IN 24K GOLD



Finely crafted, tiny links of pure 24 karat gold, together form a chain that is as graceful as it is enduring. A beautiful and tasteful addition to your personal ensemble from The Bullion Collection.

Available in three lengths in limited quantities:

- 16" \$330.00
- 20" \$410.00
- 24" \$475.00

You can charge your purchases by phone to your Master Charge or Visa card. Call toll-free 800-424-1186. (In Washington call 872-1233.

Or write for our free Bullion Collection brochure to Deak-Perera, 1800 K Street NW, Washington, DC 20006.

 **Deak-Perera**
THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL SERVICES THAT BANKS BANK ON.

viets "complete assurance against any significant counterforce threat from the United States." But the Russians abruptly turned it down. Gromyko was scarcely polite. He all but suggested that to propose to the Soviets that they reduce strategic arms was an insult. (To be sure, his actual remarks were addressed to the suddenness with which the proposal was made.) In any event, with significant reductions dismissed, the SALT II negotiations proceeded to a wan conclusion, the basic numbers almost unchanged after two and a half years of negotiations by the new team. At Vladivostok, in 1974, President Ford and General Secretary Brezhnev had agreed that each party should have 2,400 strategic nuclear delivery vehicles (missiles and bombers), with a sublimit of 1,320 MIRVed missiles plus bombers capable of carrying cruise missiles. (A cruise missile is essentially a pilotless plane. Unlike a ballistic missile—which simply goes where it has been aimed, like a bullet—a cruise missile can be directed in flight.) SALT II reduces this over-all limit to 2,250 by 1981, but without any consequence. The Soviets will scrap some antiquated missiles they have probably kept around only for bargaining purposes. We will hold on to our B-52s—planes that are now as old as the pilots who fly them. SALT II limits the number of warheads per MIRVed ICBM, but each side is to be permitted an entirely new ICBM and to improve its existing ones within limits that may or may not permit fundamental advances. There are no limitations of significance.

Once again, a second negotiation took place back in Washington. The result was the MX. Recall that a principal American objective in SALT I was to prevent the Soviets from building any more heavy missiles, which they proceeded to do regardless. Again, no reduction in modern heavy missiles could be agreed to; thus SALT II provided that the Soviets should continue to have 308 and we should continue to have none. Opponents of SALT II make much of this "imbalance." But, as Ambassador Ralph Earle II, chairman of the American delegation to SALT, told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in July, the MX, while not a heavy missile, does have as much "equivalent effectiveness as Soviet heavy ICBMs." In a word, the MX is a counterforce missile. And that is what the issue has been from the first. The United States would now do what we vowed we would never do. And so SALT II produced precisely the advance in counter-



Hena Gill
Sells silk stockings
at Victoria Falls
in SoHo
our own silk lingerie
stockings and other
decorative items
available now by catalog
or visit
VICTORIA FALLS
silk lingerie, antique lace
and contemporary clothing
147 Spring Street
New York, NY 10012
Tel: 212-226-5099

For those
who appreciate
the difference.



Where Wilshire
Boulevard meets Rodeo
Drive, you will find a hotel
dedicated to the discriminating
international traveler.

David Perera
Beverly Wilshire Hotel

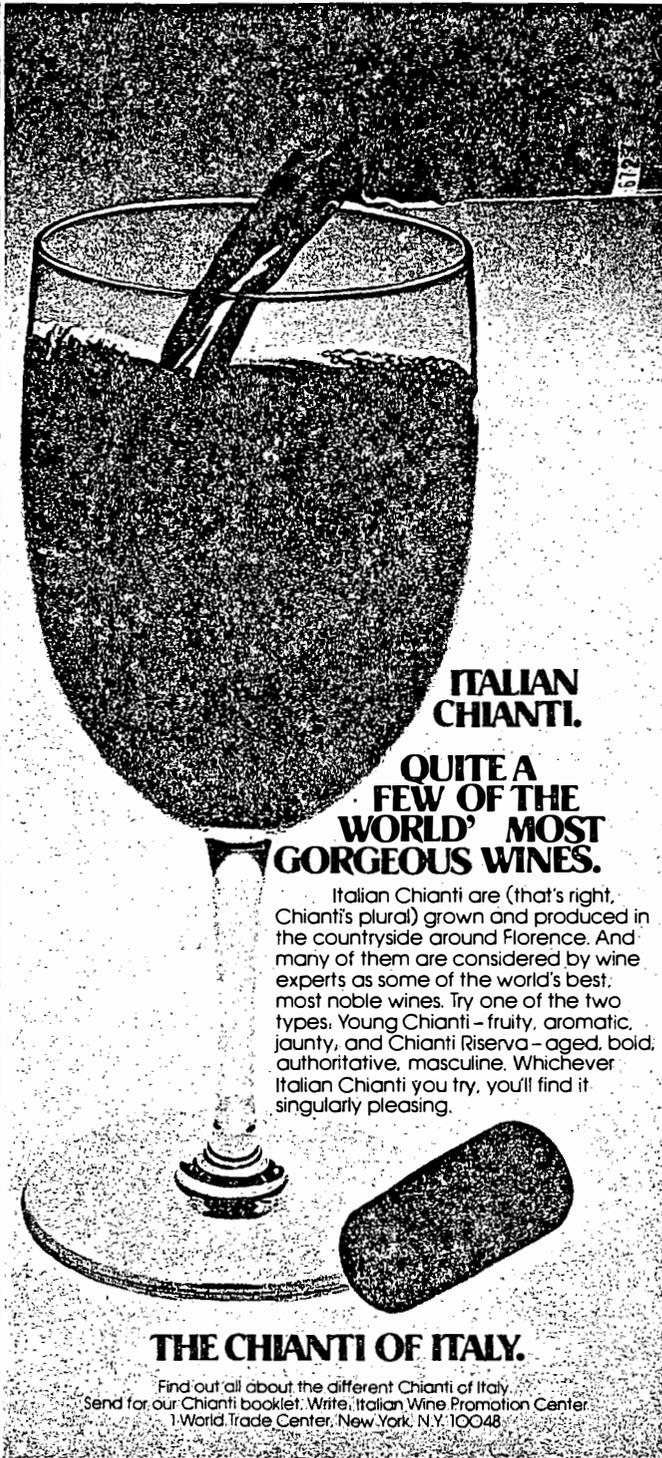
Beverly Hills, Ca. 90212 • (213) 275-4282
Room reservations (800) 421-4354
In California (800) 282-4804
Member of the Preferred Hotels Association
Represented by HRI
The Leading Hotels of the World

force weaponry which SALT I had hoped to prevent. Spokesmen for the Carter Administration began to stress that the content of the treaty really didn't matter much, that it was the process that had to be preserved.

But if the process meant anything, it had to be one that protected assured destruction as a strategic doctrine. The proposal to go ahead with the MX implied that we ourselves were abandoning that doctrine. Of course, by 1979 assured destruction was already in ideological danger in its own sanctuaries. Newhouse, likening much of the debate in the nineteen-sixties to earlier debates about heresy, also notes that heresies somehow never die out. However much orthodoxy always asserted itself in the end, McNamara continued to have doubts. In 1964, less than two years after his Ann Arbor speech, he declared in a Defense Department "posture statement" that "a damage-limiting strategy appears to be the most practical and effective course for us to follow." Such a strategy would involve trying to destroy some of an adversary's missiles in order that his retaliatory strike would not be so devastating. (Of course, implicit in this concept is the possibility that the United States might, after all, strike first—in response, for example, to a Soviet invasion of Europe.) At this time, United States missiles were presumably aimed at Russian cities. McNamara acknowledged that a damage-limiting strategy would require greater forces than the "cities only" strategy, but he thought it would be worth it, especially with a Chinese nuclear force coming on line. In 1966, he appeared to favor an anti-Chinese ABM system. This would be a "thin" system, designed to defend against only a few missiles. The Russians would know that such a system was not directed against their large and growing force, simply because it would offer no effective defense. The proposal is worthy of note as an example of logic producing illogic. The reasoning that led to the decision was flawless, save that the Chinese had no missiles. McNamara soon enough recanted. In the middle of the Vietnam War, he could scarcely ask for more nuclear weapons, but his doubts were on record. He was not alone.

In the spring of 1968, just as the SALT talks were about to begin, Harold Brown, then Secretary of the Air Force, told the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee:

In addition to the basic deterrent capability, our measurement of deterrence should include two other criteria: less



ITALIAN CHIANTI.

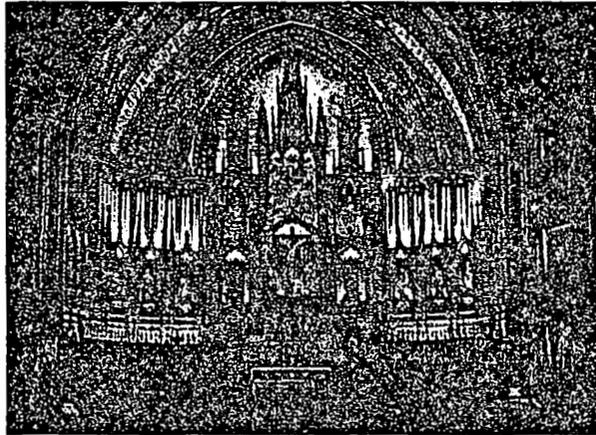
QUITE A FEW OF THE WORLD' MOST GORGEOUS WINES.

Italian Chianti are (that's right, Chianti's plural) grown and produced in the countryside around Florence. And many of them are considered by wine experts as some of the world's best, most noble wines. Try one of the two types, Young Chianti—fruity, aromatic, jaunty, and Chianti Riserva—aged, bold, authoritative, masculine. Whichever Italian Chianti you try, you'll find it singularly pleasing.

THE CHIANTI OF ITALY.

Find out all about the different Chianti of Italy. Send for our Chianti booklet. Write, Italian Wine Promotion Center, 1 World Trade Center, New York, N.Y. 10048.

CANADA



Montreal, Quebec

UNFORGETTABLE

Magnificent splendour and finely crafted elegance pay tribute to a deserving past. Visit Canada and take home memories.

Canada
SO MUCH TO GO FOR.



Weather or Not...

Rugged good looks from Cresco, whose leathers and suedes are treated with Scotchgard® Fabric Protector.

Cresco

Pollak Sportswear Co.

1290 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y. 10019

central but still important: (1) ratios of surviving population and industry must not be badly adverse to the United States, and (2) the surviving military balance should remain in our favor... if deterrence should fail, a favorable surviving military balance could make it easier for us to negotiate an end to the war and limit further damage to the United States.

At this time, Schlesinger, still at Rand, commenced to argue that the United States could not allow the Soviets to develop an "asymmetric capacity against us." That is to say, they should not have a counterforce capability greater than our own. For either side to have such a capacity would be fatal to the doctrine of assured destruction, properly construed; for both to have it would be doubly fatal. Schlesinger persisted, and in 1973, as Secretary of Defense, he proposed that the United States develop a "heavy throw-weight" missile to offset Soviet developments. This missile became the MX.

More to the point, in the course of the nineteen-seventies Pentagon officials began to talk openly of targeting Soviet military facilities in terms of "limited strategic options." The Trident II missile, to be deployed aboard the giant submarine, would verge upon a counterforce capability. (Submarine-launched missiles are still not as accurate as land-based missiles. Thus, while they are fully effective in an assured-destruction mode—they can be sure of hitting Leningrad, for example—they are less so in a counterforce mode, where the target is a hole in the ground ten or fifteen feet in diameter, requiring that a warhead land within several hundred feet or so in order to "kill.") Nothing dramatic by way of a great debate ending in a break with previous policy occurred. Rather, as the Soviets crept toward a first-strike capability, American strategic doctrine slowly changed also. This was never really acknowledged, except in the edginess and growing anxiety of those who could sense the drift of events but could not arrest them.

An episode in the fall of 1976 revealed the depths of this anxiety. Once each year, the intelligence community produces the National Intelligence Estimate, known locally as the N.I.E. A measure of grumblings began about the relative optimism concerning Soviet intentions and kept being repeated. Leo Cherne, of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, had the inspired notion to set up competing teams, one to defend the official estimate and one to challenge it. George Bush, as Director of the Central Intel-

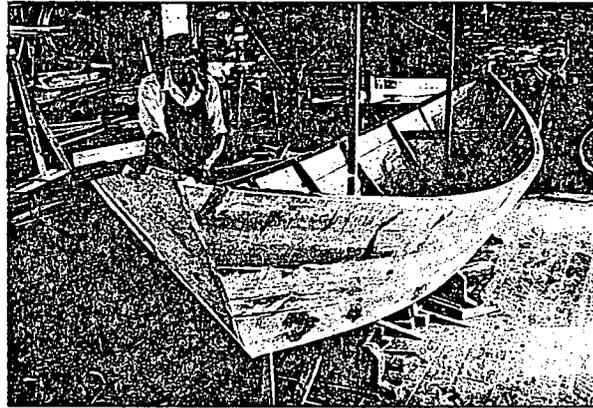
ligence Agency, had the self-confidence and good grace to agree. The exercise went forward and was concluded. The B Team made a powerful case—more so than had been anticipated. In October, word of the exercise leaked; in December, the *Times* reported the results. The B Team, headed by Richard Pipes, of Harvard, had come to the conclusion that the Russians were seeking strategic superiority.

The indignation in Washington was palpable. The very suggestion was greeted with horror, as will happen when a doctrine grows rigid. The B Team members were near to anathematized. They had been invited to challenge the conventional wisdom, but they had made too good a case. Senator Malcolm Wallop subsequently observed:

While consciously refusing to entertain the Soviets' own conception of what they are about militarily, the authors of the NIE's over the years have evaluated Soviet strategic forces using indexes which tend to stress our own doctrine of MAD.

The 1976 N.I.E., Wallop noted, did mention that the Soviets seem to think in terms of ability to win nuclear wars. Nevertheless, the estimates continued to interpret both United States and Soviet forces according to the criterion of assured destruction. But how could this interpretation be reconciled with Soviet conduct? By 1976, they were (as they still are) spending twelve to fourteen per cent of their gross national product on defense—the sign, if the nineteen-thirties offer any evidence, of a country planning to go to war. "Bureaucratic inertia" was an explanation put forth, and it could well be the right one, although "momentum" might be the better term. But after a point larger possibilities had to be confronted. In his 1978 annual report as Secretary of Defense, Brown said that because of "a substantial and continuing Soviet strategic effort," the strategic balance "is highly dynamic." Although puzzled as to "why the Soviets are pushing so hard to improve their strategic nuclear capabilities," he noted that "we cannot ignore their efforts or assume that they are motivated by consideration either of altruism or of pure deterrence." Then, in May, 1979, in the commencement address at Annapolis, Brown asserted that Moscow had long sought to threaten American land-based missiles and would probably be able to achieve this capability in the early nineteen-eighties. In an analysis of the speech, Richard Burt, of the *Times*, a formidably well informed

CANADA



Lunenburg, Nova Scotia

SEE HOW IT'S DONE

The skills of generations show in our craftsmanship and most folks are willing to share their stories, their experiences and maybe even a few secrets. It's only neighbourly!

Canada
SO MUCH TO GO FOR.



For a free Praline Liqueur Food and Drink Recipe Booklet, write to: "Recipes," Suite 3, 2615 Edenborn Ave., Metairie, La. 70002.

© 1979, Praline Liqueur, Inc. "Praline Style" Liqueur, 40 Proof, Praline Emporium Co., New Orleans, La.

CANADA



Toronto, Ontario

COME DINE WITH US

Elegant dining in Canada can often include a friendly visit from your chef. He wants to make sure your experience is as memorable as he can make it.

Canada
SO MUCH TO GO FOR.

The chair is Bentwood, the fabric is Brunswick

Brunswick & Fils, Inc.

410 East 62 Street • New York, N.Y. 10022 • Through decorators and fine stores

MARTINIQUE SHERIDAN

and well connected journalist, offered the judgment that Brown had accepted the B Team's analysis.

As perspectives on Soviet conduct began to change, American conduct began to be seen in different light also. Was it the case that the Soviets were "catching up"? Were we "falling behind"? It must be understood that these were new questions. In the McNamara era, it had been assumed that American strategic superiority was as certain as was the validity of American strategic doctrine. But now it began to be noted that while the United States budget for strategic arms had been level for a decade and a half, that of the Soviets had continued to rise. In rough terms—they can only be that—the Soviets since 1968 have been outspending the United States in strategic forces by a margin of two to one. Dr. Perry reported to the Foreign Relations Committee that current United States spending on strategic forces is about \$12 billion a year, while the Soviets spend on the order of \$25 billion. (More recently, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency reported that the Soviet Union spent a total of \$140 billion on all its armed forces in 1977—almost one-third of all military spending in the world. The United States spent \$101 billion. Wohlstetter calculates that American strategic spending, in constant dollars, actually peaked back in fiscal 1952.) The Soviet buildup has been steady over a generation now, leading an arms-control expert from the Kennedy era to remark recently that if the familiar man from Mars were to be presented with a chart showing the rise of Soviet weaponry over the past three decades and told that somewhere during that period an arms-limitation agreement was signed with the United States, the visitor would be quite unable to pick the year.

The result is to be seen in numbers of warheads. If plotted, it would be seen that the Soviet curve has been steeper for some time now—up from a more than five-to-one disadvantage in 1967 to less than two-to-one today, on to parity in 1985 and to superiority thereafter, if the trends persist.

Number of warheads, however, is not the only measure of nuclear power. Size matters, and accuracy matters even more. It is not a question of projecting a time when the Soviets will have attained superiority; they have already done so. In this area, Nitze's estimates are indispensable, both because they are his and because they are

public. In throwweight—the pounds of “payload” that can be sent aloft—Nitze estimates that the Soviets by 1977 had an advantage of 10.3 million pounds to the United States’ 7.6 million, this being the effect of the Soviet heavy missiles. By 1985, he projects a widened gap: 14.5 million for the Soviets, eight million for the United States. The gap is even more dramatic in the critical category of explosive power—in what is called “equivalent megatonnage.” Nitze gives the Soviets a nearly three-to-one advantage for 1977: 9,319 equivalent megatons for the Soviets, 3,256 for the United States. For 1985, he projects a slightly widened gap but not greatly increased amounts of megatonnage on either side.

HOW did this come about? As near an answer as we are likely to get is that a synergistic relationship developed between the doctrine of assured destruction and the combined restraints on the United States imposed by the experience of Vietnam and the hopes aroused by détente. If this seems complicated, let it be said that nothing simple is likely to explain how the world’s most powerful military nation lost its advantage over an economically and technologically inferior competitor in the course of a decade—and with almost no one noticing.

The doctrine of assured destruction, as I have noted, holds that the curve relating numbers of weapons to strategic power flattens out at a fairly early stage. One of the virtues of the assured-destruction doctrine was that it permitted the civilians in the Pentagon and in the Bureau of the Budget to form an estimate of what the military really needs. How many warheads, for example, were required to insure that fifty per cent of the industrial capacity of the Soviet Union would be destroyed in a second strike? The doctrine fitted in surprisingly well with the management ethos that McNamara and others brought to defense issues. It suited even better the needs of the government leaders of the later nineteen-sixties who, while seeking strategic-arms limitations, were also waging war in Vietnam. Holding back expenditure in the strategic area eluded the fury that would have arisen had they proposed otherwise, and may have moderated opposition to the war. (An interesting aftermath: those most bitter about the Vietnam policies of the Johnson era are today likely to be most supportive of the strategic policies put

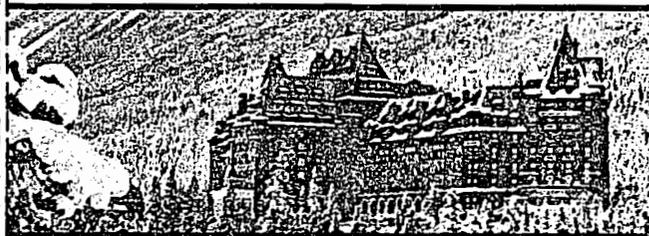
Montréal is a (Snow) Ball. Day and night. No other city takes to winter as graciously as Montréal. It comes alive. It sparkles and gleams. Ski our slopes within a one-hour’s drive. Skate, sleigh ride and cross-country ski right in the city. Go sightseeing or stop and shop at the fashionable boutiques, stores and galleries in Montréal’s winterized underground city. Wine and dine at any one of our world-renowned international restaurants. Montréal sings and swings all night long with concerts, theatres, dancing and discoing. And whatever you do you’ll do it for less because your dollar buys you more. Our colorful SNOW BALL brochure tells you about our fabulous hotels and the many ways you can enjoy it all with a variety of tour packages to fit every budget.

City of Montréal (N.Y. office)
360 Lexington Avenue
New York, NY 10017
Tel: (212) 599-2670



**SUPER-STOP
MONTREAL.** Close to you, close to perfect.

Ski in the Canadian Rockies.



It's a natural.

The skiing is out of this world. The setting is right out of a storybook. Come. Enjoy three of the greatest areas in the Canadian Rockies. Miles of magnificent cross-country trails. And the thrill of helicopter skiing. Our castle awaits. With its crackling fireplaces. Olympic-size swimming pool and grand baronial halls. Cozy comfortable rooms. And great après ski activities.

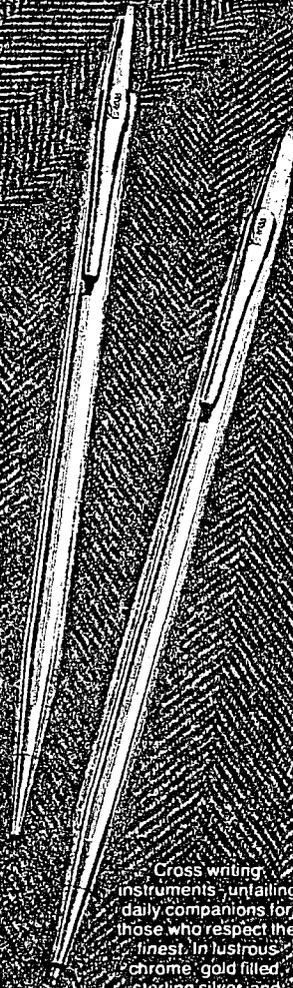
Your travel agent can tell you about the many ski packages available. Ask about our attractive low season rates. Or write for our free information package.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____
Zip Code _____

**CP Hotels &
Banff Springs**
Canadian Pacific Hotels Limited

Send to:
Ms. Audrey de Baghy, Sales Manager
The Banff Springs Hotel NY 11
Banff, Alberta, Canada T0L 0E0.

**Everyday
Best**



Cross writing instruments, unfailing daily companions for those who respect the finest. In lustrous chrome gold filled, sterling silver and solid gold. From \$9.00 to \$350.00.

CROSS
SINCE 1846

Suggested Price

in place by that Administration, while those who supported Johnson in Vietnam are likely now to be suspicious of SALT.)

These considerations were, if anything, even more intensive in Nixon's first term. Certain defense intellectuals of the Johnson era began to assert that Soviet strategic behavior was basically imitative of ours—two apes on a treadmill, as the image went—overlooking, presumably, that the fondest hope of the community in the early sixties was that Soviet behavior would become imitative. In any event, this was presented as an argument against increasing American forces. Then Nixon embarked on the policy of détente with the Soviets, which added further grounds for allowing United States force levels to remain frozen. And that is what happened.

The irony of all this was nicely illustrated in an article in *The New Republic*, in August, 1979, by the journalist Morton Kondracke. At the end of July, Henry Kissinger had testified before the Foreign Relations Committee, declaring himself not so much opposed to SALT II—he allowed he would have initialed the treaty—as in favor of great new military expenditures to prevent a further weakening of the United States of a sort that, he said, had brought about a "crisis situation threatening the peace of the world." Kondracke interpreted this as the familiar (although puzzling) charge that Democrats are somehow soft in these matters. He seems to have taken the charge personally. In any event, he retorted with some vehemence:

According to Kissinger, when the US left Vietnam, the Republican administration of which he was a part planned to build major new strategic weapons systems: the B-1 bomber by 1981, the MX missile by 1983, the Trident submarine and missile by 1979, and various kinds of cruise missiles in the 1980s. These weapons would have reversed the trend toward Soviet superiority, "but every one of these programs has been canceled, delayed, or stretched out by the current administration."

Kissinger's version of history scarcely squares with the facts or with Pentagon figures. Far from trying to reverse the strategic doctrines of the Johnson administration, Kissinger and President Nixon accepted them completely. The US land-based missile force was not increased by a single launcher during eight years of Republican administration. In fact, the Nixon and Ford administrations cut back on strategic spending from the levels reached in the closing Johnson years. Johnson's last budget called for \$22 billion in strategic outlays, but the Ford and Nixon administrations averaged \$10 billion a year, in comparable

For people who are accustomed to the best.



Matchlock Sweaters
Pure British Wool.
All British made.
Suede leather patches on shoulders and elbows.
Colours: Fawn or Blue.
Men's Chest Sizes: 36/38, 40/42, 42/44, 44/46, 47/48.
Ladies' Bust sizes: 34, 36/38.
\$65 plus carr. & insurance \$3.

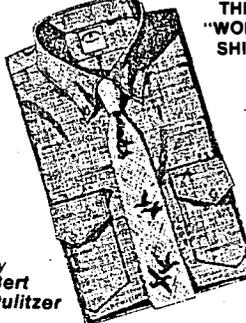
Moleskin Ratcatcher Trousers
Warm, tough, supple.
100% Cotton. Washable and shrink resistant.
Shirt-grip self-supporting waist. Cross pockets.
Slim leg style. Zip fly.
Button hip pocket.
Colour: Medium fawn.
Leg lengths: 29, 31, 33
Waist: 30, 32, 34, 36, 38, 40, 42, 44, 46.
\$65 plus carr. & insurance \$3.

Personal shoppers welcome at our new store.

Tools of the Trade by Cambrian Fly Fishers

Cambrian Fly Fishers Inc.
Harper Row Building, 5 East 52nd Street,
New York 10022. Telephone: (212) 752-4085

THE "WORK SHIRT"



by **Bert Pulitzer**

Unique shirt of 100% cotton blue chambray with beige buttons and stitching plus pencil pocket. Sizes 14½ to 17, 32 to 35. **\$25**

Coordinated beige tie in wool nopsack sporting embroidered blue ducks. **\$16.50**

QUAN.	ITEM	NECK	SLEEVE	PRICE

Please add \$1.50 postage plus sales tax.

Name _____
 Add. _____
 City _____ St. _____ Zip _____

MUNA
 P.O. Box 1663—Atlanta, Ga. 30301



News From The Denney® Beauty Line

INTERLUDE PERFUME is mysterious...Oriental...provocative...long-lasting...memorable. And one of my favorite ways to enjoy it is INTERLUDE BATH AND BODY PERFUME.



Use just a few drops of the Denney fragrance in your bathwater, to soften and scent your entire body.

Or use it just the way you usually use perfume.

Either way, you'll be surrounded by the rich warm scent for hours and hours at a time.

INTERLUDE BATH AND BODY PERFUME...it's a fragrance to remember, for giving or keeping.



Francesa Paulson Furr
Creative Director

FRANCES DENNEY

The newest thinking in beauty.

dollars. Some cuts were imposed by Congress, but most were called for in Nixon-Ford budgets. It's true, few liberals were impressed when Republican officials boasted that they were continuously cutting defense spending, but they really were.

All true enough. The Nixon-Ford years were a time of unprecedented increase in social spending, and of decline in military spending. Rather like the Hitchcock film in which the diamond is hidden in the chandelier, this information was effectively concealed from the American people by publishing it in the budget. It may well prove that the historic mission (as Governor Jerry Brown might say) of the Carter Administration is to increase defense spending and cut social spending. There is a mild law of opposites in American politics. Republicans frequently do what Democrats promise, and the other way around. President Carter was the most dovish of candidates in 1976, promising to cut the defense budget by five to seven billion dollars a year. Nothing of the sort happened, however. Social spending was effectively frozen, but defense spending began immediately to rise. In an address in Washington on September 27th of this year, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, made a good deal of this:

While our critics say they would have been strong for defense if they had remained in office, in fact, defense spending in constant dollars declined in seven of the eight years of the Nixon-Ford Administration. For the past decade, there has been a steady decline in the level of the defense budget in real dollar terms. We began to reverse that trend in the first three budgets of the Carter Administration, and President Carter is the first President since World War II to succeed in raising defense spending for three straight years in peacetime.

Brzezinski was not just taking credit for increasing defense spending. He was asserting that his Administration, unlike its predecessors, was awake to the Soviet challenge. It has been a quiet development, this emergent challenge. Those who espy some special cunning at work have a difficult case to make. The plain fact is, as Van Cleave testified in 1972, that the Soviets never gave any indication that they accepted assured destruction as a strategic doctrine and would not seek nuclear superiority. How does the proverb go? The fox knows many things, the hedgehog knows one thing. The one thing their hedgehog generals seemed to know is that more is better. So they kept getting more. In this



For the fortunate few who take time to linger and embrace life, there is La Toc.

An elegant beach front resort on the unspoiled island of St. Lucia. With swimming, tennis, golf, resident pros, water sports, superb dining and nightly entertainment. Spacious villas available. For further details see your travel agent. Or, contact us.

St. Lucia, WI.

CUNARD 555 Fifth Avenue
Herb P. Powers N.Y., N.Y. 10017 (212) 880-7390

JEWELLED CROSS

Cini

14 KT. YELLOW GOLD
DIAMONDS = 0.37 CT
RUBIES = 0.52 CT
\$850.00

(IN CALIFORNIA ADD 6% SALES TAX)

BUCLIELMO 467 SOUTH COAST HIGHWAY
LAGUNA BEACH, CA 92651
CINI, INC. PHONE (714) 494-1440

manner, the Soviets have acquired, or are about to acquire, a first-strike capability against our land-based ICBMs. We hope to do the same to theirs. Everything the SALT process was designed to prevent has come about.

The Soviets did not do this by cheating or by startling technological breakthroughs. They did it by the steady accumulation of more missiles (an additional thousand in the course of the nineteen-seventies) with greater accuracy, and more warheads with greater explosive power. They aimed them, as evidently they have always done, at our silos—in violation, that is, of our doctrine that they should be aimed at our cities, so that they could retaliate with vast destruction in case we attacked first. They either now can or soon will be able to take out our silos, leaving the United States with a much reduced second-strike capability. Not enough, it is generally thought. Besides, Nitze writes, the Soviets now have a third and fourth strike—an ability to deter our retaliatory strike by threatening our surviving cities and population. If it is all unthinkable, the Soviets seem nonetheless to have been thinking about it.

As have we. Heresy and recantation abound, and one of the more striking events of the SALT II debate so far is that both Secretary Brown and Kissinger appear to have joined Schlesinger. In his testimony before the Foreign Relations Committee on July 11th, Brown said that the Administration's primary goal was maintaining essential equivalence with Moscow in nuclear forces, but that to do it "we need to show the Soviets that they do not have an advantage in attacking military targets—that we, too, can do so." And he elaborated a bit, in response to a question from Senator George McGovern: "It is not a matter of us pushing the Soviets into being able to destroy our silo-based missiles. They have gone that route." Brown stressed that the mobile MX missiles, in addition to being able to survive attack, had another attribute: "Because of their accuracy and their warhead capability they will be able to hit Soviet silos, and that will, indeed, give the Soviets a motive for going away from silo-based missiles."

A month after testifying before the Foreign Relations Committee, Henry Kissinger spoke in Brussels at a meeting of military experts. As reported, he said he now believed that successive United States Administrations, including the Nixon and Ford Administrations, were wrong in thinking they could adequately protect the United

Ho-ho-ho, Bahlsen's traditional holiday stollen with baked-in flavor cake lover's find irresistible. For great eating, great gifting. Delicious!

STOLLEN

TREAT YOURSELF ENJOY BAHLESEN

Bahlsen

© Bahlsen, Woodside, NY 11377-7212 800-4632

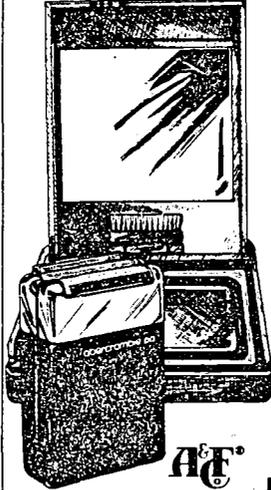
A PUTUMAYO CHRISTMAS

Christmas Stockings...	\$5-9.95
Christmas Ornaments...	\$0.95-1.95
Hand-Knit Scarves...	From \$9
Knit Gloves...	From \$8
Hand-Knit Sweaters...	From \$38
Hand-Dipped Candles...	\$0.95-1.95
Greeting Cards...	\$0.95-1.95
Folk Art Textiles	

PUTUMAYO
 837 Lexington Ave. (at 65th St.)
 212-754-8111 M-S 11-6:30, Tu. 11-6:30
 From Dec. 3rd, M-S 11-8:30, Sun 1-5

The A&F[®] world famous razor is still the greatest shaver ever.

The Great Christmas Gift that gets every day off to a perfect start.



60-SECOND RAZOR 45.00

Featuring fast, close, and comfortable shaves. Pure nickel foil-type double head with 52 blades of refined stainless steel. Integrated long hair trimmer can be set in operation while shaving by the touch of a button. Voltage selector 110/220 v. AC, 50 or 60 cycles. Complete with coiled cord, cleaning brush, and travel case with mirror. The new Abercrombie Model 380 razor is guaranteed for one year.

visit
ABERCROMBIE & FITCH[®]
9424 Wilshire Blvd., Beverly Hills, Calif.

For your convenience call credit card orders toll free: 1-800-421-9061, within Calif. 1-800-252-2196

N-11-14 **ABERCROMBIE & FITCH[®]**
P. O. Box 54878
Los Angeles, California 90054

Method of payment Check or Draft American Express Diner's Club
 Money Order Visa Master Charge

How Many?	Price	Sales Tax*	Shipping & Handling	Total
	45.00		2.95	

Name _____ Apt. _____
Address _____ State _____ Zip _____
City _____

Charge Card Account # (All Digits) _____

Charge Card Expiration Date _____
Signature (required if using credit card) _____

Add Appropriate Sales Tax on Items Delivered in Calif., Fla., Ga., Ala., Tenn., La., Tex., Ariz.

ABERCROMBIE & FITCH[®]

States and Western Europe against Soviet attack with a strategic nuclear force primarily designed to wipe out Russian cities and factories rather than to strike at missile silos and other military targets. The policy of mutual assured destruction had created a "paradoxical world [in which] it is the liberal, humane, progressive community that is advocating the most blood-thirsty strategies." It was absurd, he continued, "to base the strategy of the West on the credibility of the threat of mutual suicide." It was necessary for the United States to develop a new nuclear "counterforce capability" consisting of missiles designed to be used against military targets rather than civilian ones.

Herein resides the final irony of the SALT process. Not only has it failed to prevent the Soviets from developing a first-strike capability; it now leads the United States to do so. The process has produced the one outcome it was designed to forestall. And so we see a policy in ruins.

WHAT are we to do? First, we must try to get some agreement on what our situation is. Is it wrong to think that something of the sort is emerging? The Washington Post noted on August 1st, "Here it is barely midsummer, and a growing chorus of important voices (whose opposition had been most feared) is saying that the treaty itself is no villain, that its ratification is almost a matter of indifference, that the fundamental strategic problems that most concern them are in fact beyond the power of the treaty, *as such*, either to remedy or even make much worse."

Jimmy Carter is the exception. On July 31st, the same day Kissinger testified before the Foreign Relations Committee, the President declared, in Bardstown, Kentucky, that SALT II will "stop the Soviets' buildup." It will not do anything of the sort. Nor does anyone in the Carter Administration who is in a position to know argue any longer that it does. Last spring and summer, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, testifying before the Senate Armed Services Committee, were unanimous in their conclusion that Soviet strategic power, under the agreement, would expand beyond what it is now. At the July 11th meeting of the Foreign Relations Committee, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, General David C. Jones, said, "Some may conclude that the agreement, by itself, will arrest the very dangerous adverse trends in Soviet strategic forces, including current

BRITCHES NYLON LUGGAGE

Lightweight and functional, our trio of travel bags comes in durable oxford nylon trimmed in khaki. Stuff It Duffel (\$12.75), Stow It Overnighter (\$15.25), Zip It 2-Suiter (\$19.25). Set of 3 (\$40.25). Specify burgundy navy or forest green. Postage paid. VISA, MC, AMEX, and exp. date.

BRITCHES
LIGHTWEIGHT LUGGAGE

1247 Wisconsin Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007
(703) 548-0200

SOUTH CAPERS

BERMUDA'S PERFECT ALTERNATIVE

Revel in the quiet of your own Bermuda villa, overlooking turquoise waters only minutes from the fabulous Elbow Beach. Charming and private for a perfect holiday. For reservations see your travel agent or contact:

South Capers, Paget, Bermuda
(809) 292-1222

Visit our gallery and find the artist of your choice

PORTRAITS, INC.

We represent 100 of today's leading portrait painters and sculptors

41 EAST 57th STREET NEW YORK 10022



RSVP, the St. Regis.

There's just no place in all New York like the St. Regis for your party, wedding, bar mitzvah, banquet, or that important executive meeting. The St. Regis is urbane, civilized, traditional yet very much today. And beautifully located. It is, in fact, New York the way you want it. So, before you send out those RSVP cards, call our Banquet Manager at (212) PL 3-4500.



**St. Regis-Sheraton
Hotel**

SHERATON HOTELS AND INNS. WORLDWIDE
FIFTH AVENUE AT 55TH STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022
(212) 753-4500

and projected qualitative improvements. This is simply not the case." And later: "Similarly, the focus on constraining what the Soviets could do without a SALT agreement had obscured the more fundamental recognition of what they have done, are doing, and can do within the SALT framework." The director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, George M. Seignious II, has stated that the Soviets will continue to engage in a "relentless" strategic-arms buildup with or without the SALT II treaty.

We can hope that the President now knows he has been wrong. If this is so, we can hope he will say so. The SALT II treaty is in trouble, because many senators feel it has been misrepresented. A profound change could take place if the President were simply to say that it is a chilling agreement but the best he could get, and that it is in our interests only if SALT III brings true reductions. Secretary Vance, in his letter of June 21, 1979, submitting the treaty to the President for transmission to the Senate, said, candidly enough, "For the first time, we will be slowing the race to build new and more destructive weapons." If the President were to say only as much—that we are at most slowing the race—things could be different. If he does not, there is no alternative save to oppose him on the facts, and try to develop a national policy without him. This is not easily done *with* a President engaged. But, in my view, it must be done. For those in charge of American strategic policy—including the President, whether or not he has thought it through—are now advocating a course of action which, if successful, will bring about the very nuclear face-off that not ten years ago was unhesitatingly defined as the worst-case condition. This is to say that the United States and the Soviet Union will be confronting each other knowing that both have the capacity to attack and destroy the other's land-based missile forces, and can do so in forty-five minutes.

If still further irony is desired, it may be noted that, in the most explicit way, American behavior has turned out to be imitative of the Soviets. This was implicit in the aftermath of SALT I, when the Trident submarine and the B-1 bomber were agreed to. But these weapons were at least compatible with an assured-destruction doctrine. The price of SALT II, negotiated within the Administration before the treaty was even signed, was the MX missile. From



Clear crystal by Baccarat of France. Friendly, whimsical and just 3" tall, this bright companion is ideal for table tops for keeping your desk papers in order, or to begin your crystal menagerie. 40.00 each. 2.80 handling/delivery. Calif., Ill., N.J. and N.Y. deliveries add applicable tax.

Send for our 80-page Gift Book, 1.00.

GUMP'S

Order by mail: 250 Post
San Francisco Dept. 458, CA 94108
By phone: Toll-Free: 800-227-4512
(In Calif.: 800-652-1662)
AEX: DC, MC, VISA

One of the world's leading resort hotels is in Vermont

With the elegance of a European estate and the warmth of a Vermont inn, the East's finest downhill and cross-country skiing, indoor tennis, award-winning dining and accommodations.

TOPNOTCH
AT STOWE



Mobil 4 Star HRI Relais et Chateaux
Box 1260Y, Stowe, VT 05672 802/253-8585

COUNTRY COTTON CORDUROY

**GENTLE CORDUROY
SHIRTWAIST.**

Our lovely corduroy shirt-waist dress has fitted bodice, flared skirt, rounded collar, gently matching buttons and buckle on self belt. Choose soft forest green or lapis blue. Gently machine washable.

Sizes 8-16 \$39.95 ppd.

*Our Own
Exclusive Designs*
Write for Color Catalog

J. JILL Dept.
LTD. N-1119
Stoughton Road
Great Barrington Mass. 01230



the time Schlesinger first proposed it, it has been understood that the MX is a counterforce missile. In other words, after only two rounds of negotiations, acquiring a counterforce capacity has become the condition of salvaging the very negotiations that were begun with the object of preventing either side from obtaining a counterforce capacity.

In any event, the world is sure to be different for the United States, and considerably less secure. Within months, the Soviet Union will have the capacity to destroy the Minutemen, our land-based deterrent. These are the missiles that were meant to deter the Soviets from initiating any nuclear exchange. Following such a first strike by the Soviets, an American President could send in bombers and launch our submarine missiles. No one can estimate the horror that would follow in the Soviet Union and then, of course, in the United States. It may be that this prospect will be sufficient to deter the Soviets from launching a first strike, whatever the degree of provocation or panic. But is there reason to suppose that nuclear superiority will have no effect on their international behavior? Certainly men such as Nitze think otherwise. He writes:

To some of us who lived through the Berlin crisis in 1961, the Cuban crisis in 1962, or the Middle East crisis in 1973, the last and key judgment in this chain of reasoning—that an adverse shift in the strategic nuclear balance will have no political or diplomatic consequences—comes as a shock. In the Berlin crisis of 1961 our theater position was clearly unfavorable; we relied entirely on our strategic nuclear superiority to face down Chairman Khrushchev's ultimatum. In Cuba, the Soviet Union faced a position of both theater inferiority and strategic inferiority; they withdrew the missiles they were deploying. In the 1973 Middle East crisis, the theater and the strategic nuclear balances were more balanced; both sides compromised.

It is hard to see what factors in the future are apt to disconnect international politics and diplomacy from the underlying real power balances. The nuclear balance is only one element in the overall power balance. But in the Soviet view, it is the fulcrum upon which all other levers of influence—military, economic, or political—rest.

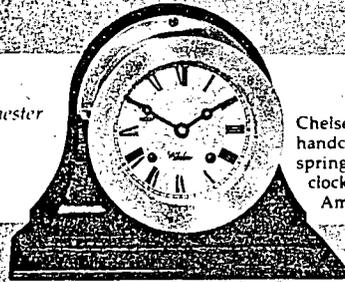
In any international crisis seriously raising the prospect that the military arms of the United States and of the USSR might become engaged in active and direct confrontation, those directing U.S. and Soviet policy would have to give the most serious attention to the relative strategic nuclear capabilities of the two sides.

Unequal accommodation to the Soviet Union would then have resulted not in cooperation and peace but in forced withdrawal.

It has been said that the Soviets have learned to live with American nuclear

CAPTURE THE CLASSIC BEAUTY OF TIME.

The Winchester



Chelsea. The only handcrafted springwound clocks made in America.

The Chelsea Winchester is the finest precision clock of its type in the world. Its springwound, 8-day movement strikes both full and half hours. Handfitted in a special brushed brass case and mounted on hand-rubbed mahogany, this elegant timepiece will be a cherished possession or gift, appropriate for home and office. (Approximate size 7 1/4" high, 9 1/2" wide.)

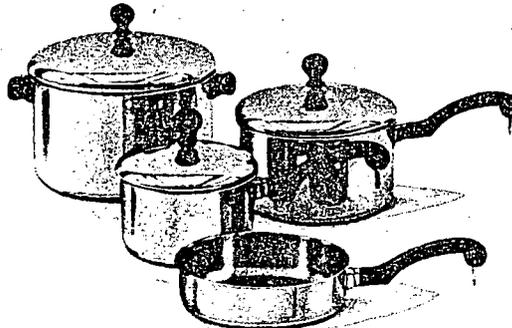
Available at fine jewelry and clock shops, or write for more information on this and other precision Chelsea clocks and barometers.

Chelsea

Handcrafted in America since 1897.

284 Everett Avenue, Chelsea, Massachusetts 02150

Ask your mother.



She'll tell you there's never been any cookware that compares. The even-heating aluminum-clad bottoms, the gleaming easy-to-clean stainless steel and durability that bridges the generations. That's Farberware. We took the words right out of her mouth.

FARBERWARE

Subsidiary of Walter Kidde & Company, Inc.
KIDDE



For pure luxury and elegance...where else but Hotel "Los Monteros."

... the world of Los Monteros, in Marbella and in the most exclusive residential area on the Mediterranean. Hotel Los Monteros: something special... exclusively for people like you.

Exclusive
Only individual reservations. No groups accepted.

Accommodation
Quiet elegance and superior decoration is reflected in all our rooms, suites and apartments: fully air conditioned, set amongst beautiful sub-tropical gardens. A really distinguished world of comfort.

Gastronomy
Gregorio Camarero our Chef, is responsible for the four gourmet restaurants of Los Monteros. Finest French and Spanish specialities. And our restaurant staff is famous for its service.

Golf
Los Monteros has a private 18 hole (par 72) Golf Course, a luxurious Club House and resident pro., the world famous Angel Miguel.

Tennis
10 all weather courts (two floodlit), Club House, 5 squash courts, and tennis «ace» Lew Hood as its manager.

Beach Club
La Cabane, a private beach, swimming pools (one indoor temperature controlled) and fabulous gourmet buffet. An exclusive «in» place to enjoy «our» sun.

Riding
Private stables and Club House. Ride our Andalusian thoroughbreds in the foothills of the Sierra Blanca.

The Hotel Los Monteros is for people just like you.

marbella (spain)
los monteros
Tel. (52) 77 17 00 - Telex: 77039

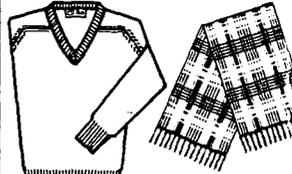
Representatives:
• Robert F. Warner, 711 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017, Tel: (212) 687 8750
• John A. Fetjey, 3075 Wilshire Blvd, Suite 601, Los Angeles, Cal. 90010, Tel. (213) 365 1151

superiority and that we can learn to live with theirs. No doubt we can. But will anyone assert that in such circumstances we will not be living differently? And if one is drawn to the unhappy conclusion that the SALT process has not limited the number of weapons in the United States and the Soviet Union, what are we to think about the nature of world politics when many nations possess the nuclear weapon? What will be *their* views—the views of India, Pakistan, South Korea, Israel, South Africa, Libya, Argentina, Brazil, perhaps others—on deterrence, assured destruction, and the rest? Kissinger suggests that once the present state of affairs is understood, “panic” will spread through the world.

THE decisive technological event that led to the shift in the balance of power, it seems to me, was the deployment of MIRVs—a term first used in public in 1967. Packing a number of warheads on each missile no doubt seemed an elegant and economical solution to the problems that the Johnson Administration faced. (In the United States, development of MIRV began in 1965. The first flight tests took place on August 16, 1968. The first Soviet test took place five years later, in August, 1973.) But it profoundly transformed the significance of the Soviets' huge rockets, with their tremendous throwweight. Once the Soviets could install MIRVs, they were bound to be “ahead.” As viewed in hindsight, it might have been perceived that the MIRV technology would work ultimately to the Soviet advantage. If it were the case that the American interest in MIRV was related to a desire to overcome a putative ABM system in Russia, the elimination of ABM should have argued simultaneously for the elimination of MIRV as well. But this assuredly did not happen. So long as no one had a deterrence doctrine tended to ignore the proliferation of offensive weapons.

In what sense, it is asked, do the Soviet heavy missiles mean that the Soviets are “ahead”? This is the question with which adherents to assured destruction automatically respond when the Soviet superiority is mentioned. President Carter, in his 1979 State of the Union Message, reported that “just one of our relatively invulnerable Poseidon submarines... carries enough warheads to destroy every large and medium-sized city in the Soviet Union.” His proposal that the giant new mobile missiles be deployed on a race-track system was

MERRY CASHMERE



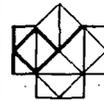
Elegance for \$90

Extravagance for \$6



Touch of class for \$20

The Cashmeres Kashiyama. Special Selections for Holiday Gift Giving. Exceptional Fashions for Men at West 57th Street (at Fifth Avenue) in New York City 10019. Gift Certificates & Major Credit Cards. Major Orders Accepted.



FROM KASHIYAMA

There is no lovelier gift than our Balsam Fir Wreath



at the time of Christmas
This wreath brings the natural beauty and fragrance of the Maine woods. Being carefully handcrafted by the country people of coastal Maine, it is then handily decorated with cones, nuts, berries, tender moss and a long velvet ribbon. Overall diameter is approximately 22" and 4" thick — just right for most doorways. Gift packaged with card bearing your message and with extra greens and cones for over the fireplace. We ship UPS anywhere in the 48 United States at the appropriate time. Please indicate actual home address of the recipient for direct delivery to the door. Your order along with any special instructions, your remittance will be promptly acknowledged. \$17.00 each, includes shipping and taxes. We would appreciate your order by December 10.

The Christmas Greens Shop, Dept. N Blue Hill, Maine 04614

P.S. Your purchase price will be cheerfully refunded if this gift is not pleasing in every way.



HANDCRAFTED MINIATURES FROM ENGLAND

Wide-eyed, cartwheeling hushoupp, pair of fine earthenware. Height: 2 1/4" and 1". \$10 Ppd per pair. Charge Visa/MC or send check, MO to Basilmor, Dept. NY, 766 Houston Mill Rd., Atlanta, GA 30329 (404) 636-9079.

Send \$1 for brochure of other Basilmor handcrafts.



Establishing A Vineyard



To produce wine grapes of a truly premium nature, you must begin with a properly established vineyard. We recently added 80 acres to our Sonoma Valley vineyard, a project that involved many steps over several months.

We first cleared and contoured the land. Next we "ripped" or loosened the soil to a depth of 5 feet with a tractor and deep-toothed ripper. We smoothed the surface by discing and then dragging a heavy weight over the soil.



A surveyor laid out a grid of 96 foot squares and working within one square at a time, we laid out a row every 12 feet with vines spaced 8 feet apart. Vine locations were marked with chalk and a stake driven at each.

Vines were planted by hand, the roots carefully spread and watered before covering. The entire vine was then covered by a mound of loose soil to prevent sun damage while young. Trellis wires were strung throughout the vineyard to support future growth and finally we installed a drip irrigation system, a major project involving construction of a new reservoir.



A new vineyard such as ours is a lot of work, but if you're serious about consistent grape quality, it's worth the effort.

If you'd enjoy hearing more from the wine country, please write for our free monthly newsletter.

Sam J. Sebastiani

Sam J. Sebastiani

Sebastiani VINEYARDS

EST. 1825

P.O. Box AA Sonoma CA 95476

H6

openly a response to those who question whether submarines alone provide assured destruction. The *Times*, on September 11th, stated that "President Carter's choice of a new basing system to make American missiles mobile and invulnerable to surprise attack removes the only real obstacle to ratification of the SALT treaty." This is, of course, the Administration's view also; as long as a second strike is assured, received strategic doctrine remains valid, and technicalities such as the size of an adversary's forces are not relevant. This is to say that if the Soviets are "ahead" merely in the sense that they have more, it just doesn't matter that much.

And what happens if we don't, in fact, build the MX? The deference structure that previously surrounded nuclear strategy is no more. (Who, reading this article, can remember noting that the Johnson Administration had decided to develop a multiple independently targetable reentry vehicle?) In a nation where nuclear power plants can no longer be built, does anyone seriously suppose that the government can dig up Utah and Nevada to put in place our largest missiles without arousing passionate opposition, of which the statement of the Federation of American Scientists is merely a foretaste? The opposition to the Alaska pipeline will be recalled; a key amendment protecting the pipeline from court challenges by environmentalists passed the Senate by one vote. The Air Force has identified thirty-eight federal laws that could have bearing on the MX and on the vast network of shelters that will have to be dug in Utah and Nevada in order to hide it. (This list still overlooks the Wild, Free-Roaming Horse and Burro Act of 1971.) In Washington, it is all too plain that a considerable body of opinion is remaining muffled on the MX so as not to jeopardize SALT II. Once SALT II is adopted, this opposition will become open, and will find leadership in the political world from prominent, even dominant figures such as Governor Brown, who has opposed the MX with special intensity.

If environmental obstacles fail, opposition will surely arise to the spending involved. Indeed, it already has arisen. Early in the debate on SALT II, it was reasonably safe to assume that there was a high correlation between support for the treaty and opposition to defense spending. The correlation was not perfect, but it was significant. Thus, on January 26th, Senator Edward M. Kennedy, a dependable critic

Thrilling Athens. Simple of line, with a thousand reflections, all from Daum—the premiere contemporary cristallerie of France, and the World. Send \$06 for the collection catalogue. D. STANLEY CORAN INC. 1051 Saw Mill River Road, Yonkers, New York 10710.



Fall in Love with our Sterling Crocodile Pin



Satisfaction and smiles guaranteed. Allow 3 weeks for delivery. Price \$22.50 ppd, N.Y. residents add appropriate sales tax. Send check or money order to:

Mixed Company (dept. NY-11)
133 East 57th Street
New York, NY 10022



Visit our new location at 10 Fifth Ave. (8th St)

"WARDROBE TRUNK" TREASURE



HEIRLOOM OVERBLOUSE.

An attic-mellowed look: pure and natural 100% cotton batiste, lightly trunk-rumpled, touched everywhere with wide filet lace. Balloon sleeves with snug, lacy cuffs, tiny front buttons, authentic tie belted waist. Hand wash like a hanky, never iron. Sizes 8-16. \$37.95 ppd.

Write for new color catalog



Dept. N1119, Stockbridge Rd.
Great Barrington, MA 01230

of military spending, said, in a detailed statement fiercely attacking the Carter Administration's 1980 budget, "Only defense receives a real increase in funding." He said these increases should be given the closest scrutiny:

First, in the strategic field, we should not reorient our defense posture more to fight a nuclear war than to prevent it. We should not develop weapons systems that increase the threat of nuclear war. We should not buy weapons to appease the opponents of SALT.

Here our number one concern ought to be the MX missile and its basing system. The Administration plans to spend nearly \$1 billion in the FY 1979 Supplemental and the FY 1980 budget. This billion is but a foot in the door for many additional billions. Even without cost overruns, the system will cost us at least \$30 billion to build and deploy.

The MX missile is highly accurate and devastating. It is so threatening to Soviet nuclear forces that it could tempt Soviet leaders to strike us first in a crisis. The result will be unparalleled destruction to both societies.

But President Carter went ahead in any event. And then went beyond that. Carter had accepted increases in defense spending; he now began to advocate them. Public-opinion polls showed that the strongest argument for SALT II was that it would improve our strategic position. The public felt strongly that we should not cut defense spending if there was a new SALT treaty, and many seemed to think the right course was to have both—SALT II and a bigger defense budget. Whatever the case, SALT II was no more than signed when the President—"to the consternation of liberals," as the political scientist William Schneider observes—began to argue that the new treaty allows for higher United States military spending in order to reach parity with the Soviet Union. More immediately, a number of senators, such as Sam Nunn, began to state that they could not support any treaty unless there was such an increase in military spending. The Administra-

OUR BEAUTIFUL
BOTTLE OF CHOCOLATES
MAKES A
VERY SPECIAL GIFT



34 proof. Imported by Fleischmann Distilling Co., New Hyde Park, N.Y.



Fly to Egypt and Sail the Red Sea

January 24 to February 3 February 28 to March 9, 1980



Entrance to Petra

To be sure! This engagingly different winter holiday is the most popular and pleasant way for Americans to experience magnificent sights in Egypt and astounding Petra, alone worth the trip. Cruise south from Suez aboard the famed yacht *Argonaut* in dependably warm and dry weather, with congenial company and expert guidance. Merit is verified through sponsorship for the third year by leading scientific and cultural organizations. \$2155 to \$2480 per person, double, New York to New York.

For reservations and information, call, write or visit



RAYMOND & WHITCOMB CO.
400 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10017-212 Plaza 9-3960
"First in Travel Since 1879"

The ARGONAUT, registered in Greece



Professional quality, outstanding design by Ben Seibel. Fully constructed high-carbon stainless steel. Open stock from 3" paring to 10" chef's knife.

At fine department and specialty stores everywhere.

The Chef's Edge

Oxford Hall Cutlery
The Chef's Edge

For nearest retailer, call toll-free (800) 223-0466, or in N.Y. State (212) 686-3223, or write to: OXFORD HALL SILVERSMITHS, LTD., 225 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10010.

tion agreed, and before long the SALT debate had produced what Richard Falk, of Princeton, who does not at all approve, has called "a mood of bipartisan militarism." Senator Ernest F. Hollings said:

The SALT hearings did have a shocking effect on this Congress and on the people of the United States... Rather than a disarmament arms limitation, we had, in contrast, rearmament hearings and a rearmament conference and a rearmament treaty between the American people and our leadership.

In the course of all this, the Senate doves of a sudden found themselves in a hawk trap. In 1972, the SALT I ABM treaty passed easily, by a vote of 88 to 2, but by the autumn of 1979 it was hard to count thirty-five votes for SALT II. If a resolution of ratification were to pass, a great many undecided votes would have to be obtained, and many of these set as their price an increase in defense spending. Senator Nunn called for a true increase of five per cent per year for the coming five-year period. On September 18th, the Senate, by an overwhelming 78-19 vote, agreed to a true increase of three per cent for the coming fiscal year. (Kennedy voted for the increase, and has come out in favor of development, but not deployment, of the MX.) Next, by a surprising 55-42 vote, a five-per-cent true increase was agreed to for fiscal years 1981 and 1982. The 1982 defense appropriation would be in the neighborhood of \$170 billion. The total outlay for fiscal 1976 was \$87.9 billion.

A case can be made for this fall's increases. (I supported both.) But not for the blindness with which the Administration and its supporters are going about it. The dominant mood in the last Congress was to bring a halt to increases in federal spending. This culminated in an amendment to a tax-cut bill in 1978 which was sponsored by Senator Nunn and Senator Lawton Chiles, both Democrats. The amendment, which was passed by the Senate but failed of adoption in the House, would have required that total federal outlays as a proportion of the gross national product decline by stated intervals from 21.5 per cent in 1979 to 19.5 per cent in 1983. Very simply, if the country wants the over-all budget ceiling to come down and the military budget floor to rise, social spending will be crushed. A pretty price for an arms-limitation treaty that increases arms.

Of course, advocates of social spending are at least as influential as those who want to see military outlays in-



Your favorite fashion magazine and then some. Catalog shopping from the gift and fashion editor of PEACHTREE REPORT. For your free copy of the latest issue call: Toll free 800-241-9321. Or write:

PEACHTREE REPORT
Dept. NY-10
4795-F Fulton Industrial Blvd.
Atlanta, Georgia 30336

CUDDLE UP
with our FREE CATALOG of European-style DOWN QUILTS

Cotton or cotton blend fabrics, filled with your choice of duck or goose down. Decorator sheetcase covers and puffy pillows, too. Our quality is guaranteed. And our prices are cozy low. Send us your name and address and we'll rush our catalog.

WARM THINGS

180 Paul Drive, Dept. NY
San Rafael, CA 94903
48 HR SERVICE - MC & BA ACCEPTED

**IN 1780,
THE HANOVER INN
WAS THE ONLY
PLACE TO STAY.
IT STILL IS.**

This year, we're celebrating our 200th birthday. That not only makes us the oldest lodging place in Hanover, it makes us one of the oldest in the country. But we have a lot of young ideas, and our calendar of events proves it. Write for it today. After 200 years we're still making history.

The Hanover Inn

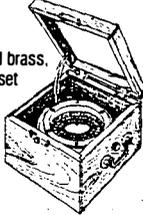
603/643-4300
BOX 2N, HANOVER NH 03755

nautical gifts for Dad in time for Christmas

FREE BRASS BELL WITH ANY ORDER OF \$150 OR MORE
(offer expires Dec. 15, 1979)

AUTHENTIC LIFEBOAT COMPASS Solid brass working compass set in teak box with brass fittings. Glass top.

\$119



SOLID BRASS TELEGRAPH Position lever and bell rings. 110 volt illuminated dial. Stands 20" high weighs 18 lbs. For the den, bar, office or on board.

\$139
Pair \$265



MINIATURE DIVERS' HELMET Solid brass replica with exacting detail. 7 1/2" high, weighs 3 1/2 lbs. Miniature collectors will love it. A real conversation piece.

\$34.95



BRASS & TEAK TOWEL BAR Mount it as a towel bar or railing section. Bar of teak, brackets of solid brass. 18" bar std. Longer add \$.50 per inch.

\$26.95
Pair \$49.95

A REAL FOG HORN Solid brass horn on teak base emits deep-throated tone. Stands 24" high, weighs 15 lbs. A doorbell or wake-up alarm.

\$124



\$195
Pair \$350

SOLID TEAK DECK CHAIR with Brass Hardware. Weather resistant teak and brass fittings. (or outside or inside Easy to fold. 50" long, 22" wide.

To order: Send check or charge to VISA or M.C. by phone (312) 367-0980 or send charge card account number and expiration date. Add \$5.00 to each order for ship. and hand. (Illinois residents add 5% sales tax)

Martine Salvage & Antiques

Dept. 20, P.O. Box 782, 280 E. DeerPath Lake Forest, IL 60045

creased. The record over the decade, as Dr. Brzezinski's speech of September 27th suggests, is that they are more powerful. There is every reason to think that once SALT II is ratified they will withdraw their support for the military increases, having realized what such costs—the defense budget would about double, to \$250 billion by fiscal 1985—will mean to domestic outlays. There is room for much misunderstanding and not a little bitterness in all this.

And if these pressures are not sufficient, the Soviets will surely launch a determined propaganda campaign. The MX, they will say—have said!—is contrary to the "spirit of SALT." Those who supported SALT will be rallied to oppose this abandonment of SALT principles. In 1978, the Soviets demonstrated that they could reverse with relative ease the United States' decision to deploy the neutron bomb—the "capitalist" bomb that "destroyed people but not property." The MX missile will certainly arouse yet fiercer passions.

For two decades now, the doctrine of deterrence has led us to believe that strategic superiority doesn't matter. "What in the name of God is strategic superiority?" Kissinger asked. There is a simple answer. Strategic superiority is the power to make other people do what you want them to do. Already, the Soviets, approaching a palpable strategic superiority, give signs that it is their intention to control our defense policy. They set out to block the deployment of the neutron bomb in Europe, and they did. They evidently intend also to try to prevent our deployment of intermediate-range Pershing II missiles in Europe. They have given plain notice that they will not permit the United States to deploy an MX missile that would in fact be an "invulnerable" counterforce weapon. In the best of circumstances, the missiles could not be in place until late in the nineteen-eighties. SALT II, if ratified, expires in 1985. By then, the Soviets will know all there is to know about the capabilities of the new American weapon. They know enough already to be certain that it is a counterforce missile, and we do not pretend otherwise. It will have a combination of yield and accuracy that gives to each warhead a kill probability against a Soviet silo without precedent in our missile force. In response, the Soviets need only say that if we go ahead they will have to abandon the "fractionation" limits of a maximum of ten warheads per land-based missile which are imposed by SALT II. President Carter has



Paul Sullivan Sportswear

51 Osgood St., Methuen, MA 01844

If you can't be a house guest in Bucks County, be ours.

The 1740 House is a country inn—worthy of a note because of the stout determination of the to give visitors a place to stay that is quiet, charming and memorable.

Twenty-four air-conditioned bedrooms, each bath and terrace, on the Delaware River. In summer when it is warm there is swimming, fishing boating. And in winter, quite the other way: skating, a bit of skiing, a quiet winter walk along old canal towpath . . . and proprietors who do this or two about making you welcome. We'll be glad to send you our brochure and directions.

1740 HOUSE

LUMBERVILLE, PA. 18933 BUCKS COUNTY Tel.: 215-297-8661

Feron's has the official US Open T-shirt for you

For men and for kids too!

100% Cotton, excellent quality. Men's White with navy or red logo. Navy with white logo. S,M,L,XL. Tan and Lt. Blue with white logo. M,L,XL \$7. Kids S,M,L in White with red or navy logo. \$6.



Mail Orders to Feron's, Dept 1, NW 2, 47 E. 44th St, NYC 10017. Please add sales tax plus \$2.50 per order for shipping/handling. AE, MC, VISA welcome.

Feron's
55 E. 44th St.

said that it is these limits which make the MX viable. If the Soviets went to, say, thirty warheads per missile, as the size of their heavy missiles permits, they would effectively have a first-strike capability against the MX. Tom Wicker, writing in the *Times*, states:

Without the limit of 10 warheads per missile... the treaty would impose, the Soviets could put so many warheads on their giant SS-18 missiles that not even the mobile MX missile system could be made safe.

This, alas, is not the likely "scenario." When the Soviets announce that they are increasing the number of warheads per missile, as they will be permitted to do once SALT II expires at the end of 1985, the President of the United States, whoever he is, will announce that in view of this Soviet action our reaction must be to double the size of the MX. Whereupon the Soviets will announce that they are putting mobile missiles on highways. (A trench system will be too expensive for them.) SALT II will have effectively brought an end not only to the hope of arms limitation but to the SALT process itself.

IS there no hope? There is some, if not much. We should be clear that we are in for a very bad time, and that the longer we put off recognizing our condition the worse it will become. It may just be possible to join hawk and dove, liberal and conservative (hopeless, deceitful terms!) in recognizing that we have held to a strategic doctrine that cannot be sustained. It would work only if the Russians shared it, but evidently they do not, and neither do a growing number of Americans. The physicist Freeman Dyson has argued most vigorously that only defense weapons are moral in a nuclear world, making the nice point that we don't have such defenses in part because there is no elegance in their development. In his memoir, "Disturbing the Universe," some of which originally appeared in this magazine, Dyson writes, "The intellectual arrogance of my profession must take a large share of the blame. Defensive weapons do not spring, like the hydrogen bomb, from the brains of brilliant professors of physics. Defensive weapons are developed laboriously by teams of engineers in industrial laboratories." Engineers!

Dyson continues:

Mutual assured destruction is the strategy that has led the United States and the Soviet Union to build enormous offensive forces of nuclear bombers and missiles, sufficient to destroy the cities

OUR HARTMANN EXCLUSIVE!

INDESTRUCTIBLE BELTING LEATHER FOR WOMEN

The Cosmetic Case—
\$280

The Fashion Tote—
\$300

The 26" Pullman—
\$525

The Hanger—
\$375

ONLY AT DINOFFER

dinoffer
EST. 1946-1960-1980

24 WEST 57 STREET
NEW YORK NY 10022
212/586-2158

We feature the quality Hartmann line. Add \$5 for shipping and/or applicable sales tax. American Express and other major credit cards accepted.



GEOFFREY BEENE'S COLOGNE FOR MEN
IT'S GOT STYLE

AVAILABLE AT MACY'S

L.L.Bean®
Outdoor Sporting Specialties



Wood Carrier

Manufactured by us from heavy duck. Leather handles are rounded for a comfortable grip. A practical arrangement for carrying stove or fireplace wood. No dirt or bark on the floor with this convenient carrier. Size 22" x 42". \$8.75 ppd.

SEND FREE CATALOG

Please Ship Postpaid
Bean's Wood Carrier @ \$8.75

Check Enclosed Master Charge
 VISA American Express

Card Number _____
Exp. Date _____

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

L. L. Bean, Inc.
876 Casco St., Freeport, ME 04033

Just two sticks
start your fire ...
with no other
kindling, no
paper.



Georgia Fatwood

These are splittings from the huge ancient stumps of VIRGIN Georgia pine ... with incredible stored-up resins that burn and burn. Smell delightful. Wonderfully convenient. An interesting and attractive bundle of about 225 - 8" Fatwood sticks, with rope handle. Exciting, extremely useful gift for only \$16.95.

ORVIS® 10 River Road
Manchester, Vermont 05254

[] GG1125VV - Bundles of Georgia Fatwood @ \$16.95 per bundle.
[] FREE Orvis 1979 Christmas Catalog.

Total Enclosed \$ _____

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ Zip _____

[] Check Enclosed [] Master Charge
[] Visa [] American Express

Card No _____
Expiration Date _____
Issuing Bank No _____
Signature _____

NY19

book in the *Washington Post*, made a similar point. Sakharov repeats Dyson's words "Somewhere between the gospel of nonviolence and the strategy of Mutual Assured Destruction there must be a middle ground on which reasonable people can stand—a ground that allows killing in self-defense but forbids the purposeless massacre of innocents." Sakharov then comments, "With all my heart and soul, I support this thesis," adding his agreement with George Kennan that first-strike nuclear weapons are both amoral and, in the West, can lead to, in Sakharov's words, "dangerous complacency with regard to conventional weapons." (He refers to the decline of Western conventional arms.)

Moving and humane as such a comment may be, it ignores the fact that, in principle, assured destruction was not an offensive strategy. Cities would be levelled only as a response to aggression: the very terribleness of the response to aggression was supposed to prevent it. It were well that, before abandoning the doctrine, we remember why we adopted it in the first place. But that, in a way, is the most telling point. It is *hard* to remember just why we did it. As a set of ideas, deterrence theory was perhaps not very complex; but it was too complex.

Political ideas must be simple. Which is not to say they must be facile. To the contrary, the most profound propositions are often the simplest as well. Whitehead's rule to "seek simplicity and distrust it" is appropriately cautionary, but he did first of all say: seek simplicity. Imagine explaining assured destruction to a rally. There was a time when no one had to do that, when the essential information was held in a few hands and a deference system made it possible for decisions to be made without much being questioned. That was the political situation in which assured destruction was adopted as national strategy. That situation no longer exists. We will never knowingly agree to start building the MX merely as a bargaining chip, as some have suggested, intent on stopping as soon as a bargain is reached. A shift in American strategy to defensive modes that the Soviets could not think aggressive or destabilizing would now require an open debate on strategic doctrine of the kind we have not had. For what it may suggest, let me note that after a year's immersion in the subject I have no view of my own, save the disposition to think that political ideas, in order to be viable, must be simple. Assured



Seagull Pendant
in a white ceramic and
Walrus ivory
Woods famous
blue Jasperware 7/8" diam
set in 14K gold filled filler
and 18" chain. Comes
beautifully boxed and
designed exclusively
for Hunt's

\$37.50 (California delivery
5% sales tax)

Hunt's
SINCE 1871
126 Canal Street
Santa Barbara, Ca 93101
(805) 963-1917

The fountain pen that never went out of style

Classics never go out of style. The Pelikan 120 is a great classic fountain pen from Germany, long a favorite of European pen purists (Now available in America).

Large visible ink chamber. Convenient screw-plunger filling mechanism. Controlled ink flow. In elegant all-black or two-tone black and green.

Choice of ultra-fine, extra fine, fine or medium standard nibs. Also fine, medium or broad italic nibs.

Only \$14.95 at artist, stationery and pen shops as well as college book stores. Send your check to Pentac Corporation, 132 West 27th St., New York, N.Y. 10011. State color and nib preference. Add 50¢ for handling.

Pelikan 120

LaTerra's



Delightful French food and a Steinway Grand
3432 Sansom Street, Philadelphia, 215-38

destruction is the kind of idea that wins acceptance in a faculty seminar. Damage limitation, by contrast, is instinctive—the idea of defending oneself is easy to grasp.

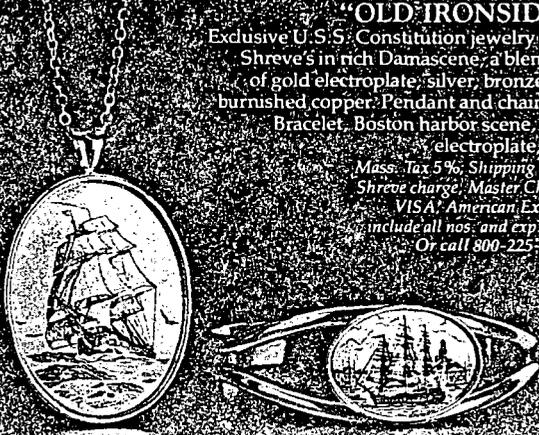
BUT, above all, is it not possible to return to the simplicity of the idea that nuclear arms should be controlled? Wohlstetter has remarked of SALT that it is a problem posing as a solution. Part of the problem has been the attachment of the process of negotiation to the specific assumptions of a strategic doctrine that only one side entertained. Yet a further problem has arisen from the unreal notion that there is somehow a distinction between "strategic" nuclear weapons and other kinds. The Pershing II missile, which the United States would like NATO to deploy in Western Europe, is as much a strategic weapon as far as Britain and Holland are concerned as is the Trident in the United States. Almost the best case for SALT II is that SALT III could engage the whole panoply of nation-busting nuclear arms. The United States and the Soviet Union today have far too many nuclear weapons. They ought not to have any. Yet while the other does, both will. But need we have more and more? Need we sign treaties to legitimate an arms race that neither side might be willing shamelessly to go forward with unilaterally?

An agreement on principles accompanying SALT II asserts that it is the intention of the parties to achieve in SALT III what are called "significant and substantial reductions in the numbers of strategic offensive arms." But already the Carter Administration—this strangely ambivalent Administration whose pronouncements Senator Charles McC. Mathias, Jr., has described as "an antiphonal chorus of hawk and dove"—has been warning us not to expect anything of the sort. Gelb, in his *Foreign Policy* article, noting that "many people insist that only through reductions can one achieve 'real arms control,'" warned against "a fascination with reductions." Not many weeks after the article appeared, this became a distinct Administration line. When the Foreign Relations Committee began in mid-October to "mark up" the SALT II treaty, "highly placed" sources were all over Capitol Hill warning against the very thought that SALT III might produce arms reductions. Vernon A. Guidry, Jr., reported in the *Washington Star*:

One key SALT analyst still in government, who did not want to be named,

SHREVE

"OLD IRONSIDES"
 Exclusive U.S.S. Constitution jewelry from Shreve's in rich Damascus, a blending of gold electroplate, silver, bronze and burnished copper. Pendant and chain \$21. Bracelet, Boston harbor scene, gold electroplate, \$28.
 Mass. Tax 5%, Shipping \$2.50, Shreve charge, Master Charge, VISA, American Express, include all nos. and exp. date. Or call 800-225-7088.



Name _____
 Address _____ Zip _____
SHREVE, CRUMP & LOW CO.
 JEWELERS SINCE 1800
 330 BOYLSTON ST., BOSTON, MASS. 02116 (617) 267-9100 AND THE MALL AT CHESTNUT HILL.

EAST AFRICA

The world's greatest natural wonder.

Lindblad Travel invites you to explore a part of our shrinking world that is still filled with awesome wealth of natural beauty. Here is land with wide open space sheltering the most enormous herds of wild life ever seen. Here live people endowed with rich and varied cultural backgrounds. Come with us on any of our East African Safaris. We have added new extensions for 1980 to places like the Seychelles and the Lamu Archipelago. PAN AM will bring you out in utmost comfort and you return rested and assured of an unforgettable vacation. Please write for our brochure or give us the name of your Travel Agent.



LINDBLAD TRAVEL, INC.

8 Wright Street
 Westport, Conn. 06880 (203) 226-8506

Please send your East Africa brochure to:

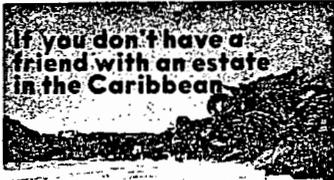
Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

My Travel Agent is _____



If you don't have a friend with an estate in the Caribbean...



you do now.

HALF MOON BAY HOTEL
ANTIGUA, WEST INDIES

98 spacious ocean front deluxe rooms, each with private patio or balcony. Cooled by trade winds to 75°-85° year round. Sports: 5 championship Plexipave tennis courts, with resident pro. Scenic 9 hole golf course. Sunfish sailboats, snorkeling, fresh water pool. Nightly entertainment. Casino nearby. A beautiful, small world created for you.

See your travel agent, or contact:
Robert Reid Associates, Representatives
1270 Ave. of the Americas, New York, N.Y. 10020
Tel: (212) 757-2444. Toll Free 800-223-6510

THE CLIPPER TRADE™



THE KOREAN APOTHECARY CHEST & THE TANG HORSE

Classic Oriental craftsmanship in a magnificent pair of reproductions. The chest: With solid brass fittings and hand-carved Korean characters on each exquisite drawer. Genuine aged Elmwood in a richly grained finish. 21" x 8" x 24 1/2" H. \$199.00 (\$10.00). The horse: An accurate replica of famed Peking piece in verdigris finish (green patina). 12" H. 9 pounds. In solid bronze. \$150.00 (\$6.00). In cast iron. \$60.00 (\$5.00). Your satisfaction guaranteed. Send check or money order or charge to MC, BAMSISA or AE. Or call 262-0365. Include expiration date. Send for free color catalog.

THE CLIPPER TRADE, INC.

Dept. A7, P.O. Box 595, 530 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, MA 02215

says any new treaty will have to include reductions because they have come "to represent strategic seriousness."

But as for making "deep cuts" the test of any new agreement, he says, "we've got to get our arms control constituency thinking in a more sophisticated and mature way about these things."

Gelb and other analysts point to the need to look more closely at elements within the over-all total of strategic weapons, such as agreements that would help keep missile submarines safe.

Within government, thorough examination of these questions has only recently begun. There is no expectation of breakthrough negotiations next time. "The next SALT agreement will indeed be modest," said one knowledgeable Pentagon official.

Is it truly not possible to propose to the Soviets that some reductions be negotiated forthwith? So that the world, ourselves included, will know that the time is coming when the strength of our respective forces will at last begin to decline? And if the Russians refuse then at least we will know what we are in for.

A senator can take refuge in what the body calls the "pending business." And that is the SALT II treaty. The debate over its ratification ought to be an opportunity for the illumination of our situation, an opportunity to examine the quality of the ideas that have brought us to our present pass. On August 1st, I proposed an amendment to the treaty in the hope that it might prove clarifying. I have taken the language about "significant and substantial reductions in the numbers of strategic offensive arms" from the Joint Statement of Principles and Basic Guidelines for Subsequent Negotiations which accompanies the treaty and inserted it as the last paragraph of the treaty and specified that unless such reductions are agreed to by December 31, 1981, the treaty terminates.

This date corresponds to the period of a protocol accompanying the treaty which prohibits either side from deploying mobile ICBM launchers—an MX, for instance—or deploying sea-launched or ground-launched cruise missiles with a range in excess of six hundred kilometres, of the sort we now contemplate placing in Western Europe. The Joint Statement of Principles provides that these issues will be discussed in SALT III. But on October 26th President Carter assured Senate Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd that he was utterly and irrevocably committed to going forward with both the MX and the cruise missiles and would never bargain them away in return for Soviet reductions. And so it has come to this. Determined above all else

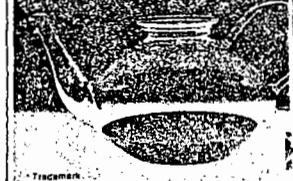


Baldwin

Earl Wild's Accompanist

The Jena award-winning teapot... makes great tea via its unique glass... It also pours dry Manilla and wet Manilla... and is supported by a classic group of versatile pieces that find multiple uses in contemporary households. Send 25¢, 10¢/line to Schott-Zwiesel, 11 East 26th Street, NY.

Recognized by The Museum of Modern Art and the Corning Museum of Glass



Intoxicating, robust Boston's favorite watering

Copley's
AT THE COPLEY PLAZA BOSTON

to win Senate approval for a treaty with arms limitation in the title, a President pledges himself never to limit arms but rather to raise them to unprecedented levels. This, of course, will mean the collapse of SALT III—unless we agree now that by a time certain in the near future actual reductions will be agreed to. This is to say, before the MX momentum is so great that the Russians shift into a yet higher gear in order to outrace us, while we become ever more panicky as the realization spreads that two decades of deterrence have left us desperately exposed to Soviet threat.

I expect all manner of criticism of my particular initiative. It will be argued, by defenders of the SALT process, that two years is too short a time to complete the task. I will be told that wisdom dictates that the pace of arms-reduction negotiations not be forced. Yet one wonders whether such objections by defenders of the process do not indict that very process—by pointing out the futility of trying to make it do what it is supposed to. I will be reminded that the Soviets resisted the proposals for armed reductions offered by Secretary Vance in March of 1977. If they would not agree even to discuss them in 1977, why should they do so now? I believe this question needs to be answered, and as soon as reasonably possible. I think it best that the SALT II treaty itself oblige the Soviets to give us their answer—one way or the other—so that we are no longer able to delude ourselves about our prospects.

We did delude ourselves after SALT I. An amendment by Senator Alan Cranston to the Joint Resolution of Congress that endorsed the Interim Agreement called on the President at the earliest practicable moment to begin "Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (SART)" with the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, and other countries. In a prescient speech on the Senate floor on September 14, 1972, Cranston said:

As I look ahead, I see what looks like endless series of escalators broken only by occasional landings which lead in turn to other escalators. A partial limitation will be followed by a new build-up, which may in turn be limited by a new freeze and superseded by new and sophisticated forms of escalation. And so it will go.

An amendment by Senator Edward S. Brooke declared:

Congress considers that the success of the interim agreement and the attainment of more permanent and comprehensive agreements are dependent upon

SHREVE

HAPPY BIRTHDAY BOSTON!

To celebrate Boston's 350th Anniversary, Shreve's has commissioned the Constitution Mug by Aynsley. Color drawing of the ship on front; major battles listed on back. Exclusively ours! \$22.50.

Mass. Tax 5%; shipping \$2.50. Shreve charge, Master Charge, VISA, American Express. Include all nos. and exp. date or call 800-225-7088.

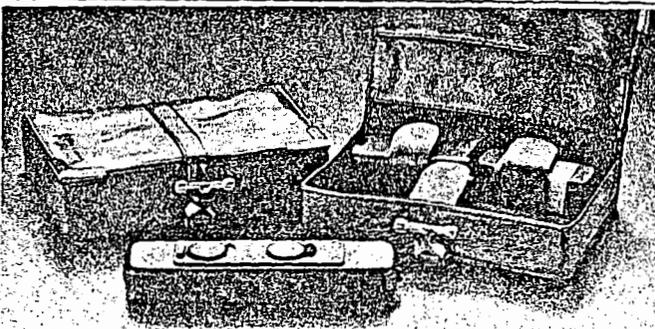


Name _____
Address _____ Zip _____

SHREVE, CRUMP & LOW CO.

JEWELERS SINCE 1810

330 BOYLSTON ST., BOSTON, MASS. 02116 (617) 267-9100 AND THE MALL AT CHESTNUT HILL



The MINOX LX. Its complete system is smaller than many cameras are alone. And now much more elegant.

The Minox[®] LX is about 1/2" thick and weighs a scant 3 1/2 ounces. With its matching flash, it's not much bigger. Yet it matches or outperforms cameras many times bigger: with automatic exposure control, close-ups to eight inches, incredible depth of field and amazingly easy handling. Now, a new, unique tilted glove-leather Minox Wallet is available when you purchase the LX mini-system. There's room for credit cards and memos in this highly pocketable 3" x 4 1/2" x 1" case. From Minox, of W. Germany, the people who've spent

forty years perfecting super-compact cameras.

1629

MINOX U.S.A. Rockleigh, N.J. 07747
Send me information about the Minox LX mini-system.
Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

ENV-11-19

"Kids in their early teens who don't regard their parents as an embarrassment or at best a nuisance, don't have proper parents."

—from *The Sayings of Chairman Malcolm*

For the complete volume of 530 perceptive thoughts by the Editor-in-Chief of *Forbes Magazine*, send \$5.95 in check or money order, plus 75¢ for postage and handling, to Harper & Row, M.O. No. 1235W, 10 East 53rd St., New York, N.Y. 10022. Please add applicable sales tax.

Taste resort amenities in mid-town Los Angeles.

The Sheraton-Town House is right on Wilshire Boulevard, across from Lafayette Park, minutes from downtown and the L.A. Convention Center. It's an oasis of gardens and recreation with four night-lighted tennis courts, olympic-size heated pool, and two fine restaurants. Newly renovated rooms are extraordinarily spacious. Facilities for meetings and banquets for up to 500. Rates from \$35 for singles and from \$48 for new pool-side lanai rooms. Guaranteed corporate rate \$35 single.

For reservations call toll-free 800-325-3535 or ask your Travel Agent.

Sheraton-Town House
1235 WILSHIRE BOULEVARD, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90024



the preservation of longstanding United States policy that neither the Soviet Union nor the United States should seek unilateral advantage by developing a first-strike potential.

Clearly, neither expression of congressional intent and desire had the least effect on the outcome of SALT II.

But have we ever probed deeply into Soviet feelings on this matter? We have never asked them to face, directly, the intellectual dilemma of an arms-limitation negotiation that produces arms expansion. Or is this what the Soviets have wanted all along? Surely, they have prospered militarily and geopolitically during the life of the SALT negotiations. Has that been their purpose? We have nothing whatever to lose if we try to find out. At the least, I have been convinced that the SALT process is not self-corrective, and that, accordingly, the energy necessary to change its present direction must be generated from outside the SALT process. It is a process grown unreal, producing results opposite to those intended but thereupon defended as valuable in their own right. Gibbon has been described as detecting a "leakage of reality" in the late Roman Empire. There was a Pope then, and it didn't help, and it may not help that there is one still. But John Paul II certainly had a point when he said, at the United Nations, that the nuclear build-up shows there is "a desire to be ready for war, and being ready means being able to start it."

—DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN

CORPORATE SOLICITOR REQUIRED

LOCATION: MONTREAL HEAD OFFICE
 Preferred candidate will have a minimum of five years corporate experience with either a public company or equivalent practice. Bilingual capability desirable. This position requires general corporate background and ability to effectively perform broad secretarial functions within the company ensuring corporate compliance with obligations imposed by securities commissions, stock exchanges and various regulatory agencies. Annual salary range \$30-40 million.—*Adv. in the Toronto Globe & Mail.*

It doesn't sound like enough, considering.

Playboy spokesmen say the magazine ventured into the Ivy League expecting to find very bright women who were not very pretty. "You tend to think of Emily Dickinson types," said David Salyers of Playboy. "Horsey women in tweeds."

—*The Times.*

Emily rode sidesaddle.

PURE NEW WOOL



WELSH FISHERMAN'S SMOCK
Crys Pysgodwr

Enjoy the comfort of this practical overshirt for men or women. It has been used by Welsh fishermen over 400 years. The material is a 12 oz. pure Welsh flannel. The smock is full cut with a boat collar and two convenient pockets. Colors include a blue-grey, coordinating well with denim.

Sizes S (34-36), M (36-38), L (40-42) XL (44)
 Colors Blue-grey, Rust or Brown
No. 1673 Welsh Fisherman's Smock ... \$17

State size and color
 Please add \$1.50 for shipping
 Check, Mastercard or Visa
 Satisfaction Guaranteed. Send for our unique catalog. Visit our Seattle store at 1523 NW Ballard Way.

David Morgan

Box 70190, Seattle, WA 98107
 Telephone (206) 282-3300



A WREATH OF RED PEPPER

Reserve yours now for Christmas while they are still in the warm Southwestern sunshine. Send your order, we will hold your check uncashed until these peppers are ready for fall shipment in late October for gift giving, too!

CHRISTMAS WREATH—Approx. \$15.99
 18" Diam.

GARLAND—42" long \$15.99

A free cookbook with your order tells how these edible peppers make savory dishes.

The OLD MEXICO SH
 Patio 51, SANTA FE, NEW MEXICO

STOP DREAM!

about doing it. We did and now live aboard our luxury cruise canal boat in which we are cruising the inland waterways. It's summer between May and October we have been sharing life with groups of 4 to 6 Americans who want a different & less costly one to two week vacation on the water. Travel the land with us — the Rhine — the Alpegrines. Wine of the country, 95¢ luxury accommodations. \$4200 US per week for six (6) cabins. Capt. Mike, Ex World Holidays Afloat Limited, 9 De Wye 85 New Cavendish Street, London, W1M 7RA England.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

12/6/79

Susan:

As the President requested, we checked with Dr. Brzezinski. He asked that we delete the word helpful (third line). The President had originally added that word.

I had the letter retyped, attached.

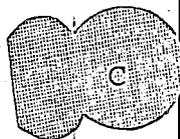
Patti Maloomian

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

please see president's
latest notation in upper right
corner.

thanks-ssc

(and my request on bottom
of memo)



ANALYSIS OF MOYNIHAN'S NEW YORKER ARTICLE ON SALT

SUMMARY

Moynihan's article is really much more than the title, "The SALT Process," would imply. It is really an article on US strategic doctrine -- and how SALT, Soviet programs, and the M-X decision bear on the issue of just what US strategic doctrine should be. As such the article does provide a generally sound and thoughtful framework within which the Senate and public can consider the SALT II Treaty.

On the strategic doctrine issue, Moynihan concludes that the doctrine of mutual assured destruction (MAD) is not embraced by the Soviets and is on the brink of being abandoned by the United States, at least in the pure forum in which it has been articulated for nearly two decades. He sees a clear drift on our part toward certain elements of Soviet strategic doctrine, in particular, as reflected in the M-X decision and the concomitant commitment to increased counterforce capability. He comes away from this examination confused and frustrated -- finding MAD lacking, seeing dangers in the drift toward Soviet strategic doctrine, but unable to find any attractive "doctrine" to offer for consideration (much less embrace).

On SALT, he raises the question as whether SALT has, in fact, been helpful in constraining the strategic arms competition -- but is unable to reach an unambiguous conclusion on this question, primarily because of the uncertainty of future progress. In light of this situation, he argues that the Senate should challenge the Soviets as to the strength of their commitment to progress in strategic arms control by including an amendment to the Treaty which demands that significant and substantial reductions be achieved by the end of 1981. One can

infer from Moynihan's trenchant analysis of the current strategic situation that he knows that this step alone would not be fully revealing as to future progress in SALT. At the same time, he would be correct in claiming that it would provide at least some indication of that future.

DETAILS

At the start of the article, Moynihan labors to argue the legitimacy of his writing an article on the issue of strategic doctrine -- a realm which he at one time conceded to certain of his academic colleagues. Thus, the first few pages are devoted to a relatively uninteresting description of his participation in the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (SSCI) consideration of the SALT II Treaty -- the vehicle which he claims (probably legitimately) stimulated his thinking about SALT in the broader context of strategic doctrine. This material is spiced by the expected quota of cynical comments about either the details of SALT (e.g., it should limit missiles instead of launchers since the latter are "hole(s) in the ground" which "you could get hurt by falling into") and the Carter Administration ("I began to wonder if anyone from the most recent Administration . . . would ever describe the agreement in terms of that component with what now appears to be reality. . . ."). On the latter point, he does note his being reassured by Bill Perry's description of the modest but important contribution to solving our strategic problems and maintaining a "process" with prospects for greater future dividends. At one point in this discussion, he accuses the White House of deliberately leaking the existence of intelligence monitoring sites in Norway -- a claim which cannot be supported.

In reviewing the SALT I experience, Moynihan gives the Soviets a clean bill of health on the question of strict

compliance with the terms of the SALT I agreements. At the same time, he calls attention to the Soviets' total disregard for the United States' unilateral statements which he characterizes (with some validity) as what we "hoped" they would do. On balance, his assessment of the SALT I experience and its impact on our objectives in and approach to SALT II (concerns about heavy missiles, eschewing unilateral statements, etc.) is consistent with our own view.

Following this basically introductory material, Moynihan focuses on the M-X decision and the issue of counterforce, declaring that "the M-X missile is incompatible with the doctrine of deterrence." This leads him to a review of the history of the doctrine of deterrence, including some shaky efforts at establishing some pre-atomic age origins for that doctrine. This material is thoughtful (and consistent with his academic background) and probably useful to someone new to this business.

Moynihan then proceeds to overlay the history of SALT I on the doctrine issue, finally concluding: "The great and debilitating failure of SALT I, however, is that it did not produce any agreement between the two nations on strategic doctrine."

He then provides a brief description of the SALT II negotiating history, along with a description of the Soviet buildup in strategic weapons -- again with frequent references to relevant aspects of the strategic doctrine issue. He argues that the nature of Soviet developments was such that it was impossible to argue that they in any way embrace the doctrine of deterrence. In this context, he perceptively notes the gradual change in US strategic doctrine ". . . never really acknowledged, except in the edginess and growing anxiety of those who could sense the drift of events but could not arrest them." At the same time, he argues that this process of a grudging recognition that the Soviets were not going to play by our rules led to a situation in which ". . . the world's most powerful military nation lost its advantage over an economically and

and technologically inferior competitor in the course of a decade -- and with almost no one noticing."

Moynihan then launches into a factual description of the budget and programmatic trends that have created the current strategic situation, focusing in the end on the Minuteman vulnerability problem and our response to it. Here he puts M-X in this context of US strategic doctrine and the failure of SALT to ameliorate this problem, finally concluding that M-X is ". . . the final irony of the SALT process. Not only has it failed to prevent the Soviets from developing a first-strike capability; it now leads the United States to do so. The process has produced the one outcome it was designed to forestall. And so we see a policy in ruins."

Moynihan briefly digresses to seek a simple cause for this "shift in the balance of power," concluding that it was a technological event, the deployment of MIRVs, that led to the current situation. His support for this contention is weak, and he fails to take on the question of whether we should have pursued a MIRV ban in SALT I with more gusto. He also examines the reaction to the current situation (M-X, larger defense budget) with a scepticism drawn from his basic concern that there is no coherent and common US-Soviet strategic doctrine on which to build a coherent strategic program.

He focuses, in particular, on the M-X system, questioning whether it can overcome formidable opposition which is likely to arise after a SALT II vote and questioning whether it is the right answer to our current strategic dilemma on the grounds that it is dependent to a degree on SALT II. He argues that a situation could evolve in which SALT II expires without a follow-on agreement, M-X and Soviet ICBM forces expand, and SALT II will have effectively brought an end not only to the hope of arms limitation but to the SALT process itself.

Embedded in this entire discussion is an occasional comment on what he describes as the deference attitude -- permitting the mullahs of strategic doctrine to guide the United States decision-making on programs based strictly on the MAD concept. In making these arguments, there is clearly an implicit self-criticism of Senators and intellectuals such as himself, and a further implication that they could have done it better. At the same time, Moynihan in the end can offer no solution to the current doctrinal dilemma -- or any alternative to continuing to try and make SALT do more work.

The absence of a clear alternative to either MAD or SALT is clearly frustrating to Moynihan. He clearly does not embrace the notion that we would be more comfortable if we adopted the Soviet doctrine and essentially let the Russians dictate the rules of the game; at the same time, he cannot argue against a move in that direction. Thus, in the end, he seems to come to appreciate the difficulty and complexity of the doctrinal dilemma in which we currently find ourselves.

As a weak palliative for his frustrations, Moynihan argues for Senate adoption of an amendment regarding future negotiations "in the hope that it might prove clarifying" with respect to the future of SALT and Soviet intentions. This amendment would specify that unless significant and substantial reduction are agreed to by December 1981, the SALT II Treaty would terminate.

Moynihan's earlier arguments are sufficiently trenchant that he must recognize that US and Soviet adoption of this amendment (or some modification) would not give a clear-cut answer to his basic questions, much less chart US strategic doctrine for the future. Nevertheless, he argues (with some validity) that they would, at least, provide a useful indication as to whether we should continue with SALT at this time.

As he puts it, "We have never asked (the Soviets) to face, directly, the intellectual dilemma of an arms-limitation negotiation that produces arms expansion. . . . I have been convinced that the SALT process is not self-corrective, and that, accordingly, the energy necessary to change its present direction must be generated from outside the SALT process."

Moynihan can be expected to make his arguments on the current strategic situation on the Senate floor in the same incisive manner that characterizes this article. As a consequence, he stands a good chance of getting something like his proposed amendment accepted -- a fact which we will need to face up to.

Can we accept an amendment along the lines he proposed? Maybe. The time period he would allow (less than two years) is too short. But if the time period were extended, for example, to 1982 or 1983, it might be advantageous for us to accept the amendment. It could garner support from others besides Moynihan. Besides, now that we have a solid foundation on which to build follow-on agreements (definitions, counting rules, verification rules, etc.), there really is no practical reason that we and the Soviets could not move promptly to complete a follow-on agreement that at least covers force levels. But this would be tantamount to making a decision on SALT III objectives. Is it worth it at this time? If it means the difference between failure and ratification of SALT II, the answer is clear.