

January 5, 1984

DRAFT

POSITION PAPER: PAUL TSONGAS ON ARMS CONTROL

Senator Paul Tsongas understands the risk of nuclear war. The United States and the Soviet Union are armed with thousands of nuclear warheads. Nuclear weapons technology is available to a growing list of nations, thereby increasing the likelihood of an eventual conflict involving such weapons. The testing of nuclear warheads has not been banned and new instruments of destruction are planned, built, and deployed each year.

As the numbers and types of nuclear devices proliferate, our ability to prevent their use becomes more questionable. In spite of the Pentagon's firm belief in such notions as "strategic deterrence", "flexible response", and "mutual assured destruction (MAD)", the possibility of nuclear warfare exists and grows.

The only solution to this intolerable climate of risk and terror is arms control. Only through negotiated agreements with the Soviet Union and other nuclear powers can we reduce this danger and assure peace. Senator Tsongas has taken a leadership role in arms control, beginning with his strong support for the SALT II Treaty. He was an active member of Senator Cranston's arms control group and played a vocal role in the Senate fight to ratify SALT II.

But the SALT II Treaty never came to a vote. It lacked strong popular support and came under attack from conservatives seeking a huge defense buildup. With no strategic arms control treaty in force, Senator Tsongas has dedicated himself to the struggle for effective arms control. He is a

vigorous proponent of the Bilateral Nuclear Weapons Freeze and was an original co-sponsor of the Kennedy-Hatfield Freeze Resolution. He stepped forward when few of his colleagues were willing to join him and urged that the U.S. deployment of Pershing and Cruise missiles in Europe be delayed so that the Geneva negotiations on Euromissiles might have enough time to succeed. He has applied steady pressure on the Administration to accept two unratified arms control treaties dealing with limits on nuclear testing.

Confronted with overwhelming pressure from Congress and the American people, the Reagan Administration has taken some positive steps but has achieved virtually nothing in their negotiations. Senator Tsongas understands that an effective arms control effort requires more than rhetoric and motion; it needs committed, talented and expert negotiators and policy makers.

When President Reagan nominated Kenneth Adelman to be Director of the Arms Control Agency, Senator Tsongas led the fight against the nomination because Mr. Adelman had almost no stature as an arms control expert or advocate and he regarded arms negotiations as a "sham". For similar reasons, Senator Tsongas called for the removal of General Edward Rowney from his position as the U.S. strategic nuclear arms negotiator in Geneva. General Rowney has displayed a remarkable ability to prolong and divert those vital negotiations.

In the new arms arena of outer space, Senator Tsongas has offered legislation to introduce arms control as an alternative to an arms race. One Tsongas amendment, which places significant restraints on the Administration's anti-satellite weapons program, is now law. Another amendment, directed at the President's "star wars" missile defense proposal, passed the Senate but was



blocked by the House of Representatives.

For Senator Paul Tsongas, there is no more important issue than arms control and the Nuclear Freeze. The stakes are enormous. The possibilities for real peace are breathtaking. Success will require a long and energetic quest with Paul Tsongas and others like him taking the lead.