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**Press Conference with  
Secretary of Defense William J. Perry  
General Shalikashvili, Chairman, JCS  
Deputy Secretary of Defense John Deutch  
Mr. Kenneth H. Bacon, ATSD-PA  
Thursday, September 22, 1994**

Mr. Bacon: Good afternoon. Secretary Perry and General Shalikashvili will open with comments, then Secretary Deutch will answer your questions. Unfortunately, Secretary Perry and General Shali will not be able to because they have an appointment at 4 o'clock.

**Q: Any chance for a quick dump on Haiti before you begin, Mr. Secretary, since the time is short?**

**A: No.**

Secretary Perry: Nuclear weapons were the most vivid and significant symbol of the Cold War. They were characterized by four principle factors. First of all, an application of enormous resources. During the peak of our spending we were spending about \$50 billion a year on our strategic nuclear programs. And of course they occupied some of our most talented scientists and engineers.

Secondly, it was characterized by an arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union, an arms race which was dangerous to both countries, and indeed, dangerous to the world.

Third, it was characterized by a unique web of treaties which were intended to try to control that arms race and reduce the danger.

Fourth, it was characterized by a unique military strategy called mutual assured destruction, or MAD. I would liken MAD to two men holding revolvers and standing about ten yards away and pointing their revolvers at each other's heads. The revolvers are loaded, cocked, their fingers are on the

trigger. To make matters worse, they're shouting insults at each other. That characterized MAD, which was what we had to control this arms race, this nuclear terror, during all the periods of the Cold War.

Now with an end to the Cold War there have been fundamental changes. We have had a dramatic reduction in resources, from \$50 billion a year heading down to \$15 billion a year, and a corresponding reduction in personnel working on this program. Now instead of competition and build-up of weapons, we have cooperation and build-down. We have about a 50 percent reduction in strategic weapons and about a 90 percent reduction in tactical nuclear weapons. Now we have much less dependence on treaties and much greater dependence on unilateral and bilateral reductions in nuclear weapons. But even with those dramatic changes, the strategy remains the same. That is, to quote a famous nuclear scientist, "We have changed everything except the way we think."

Now it's time to change the way we think about nuclear weapons, and the Nuclear Posture Review was conceived to do just that. The Nuclear Posture Review dealt with two great issues. The first issue was how to achieve the proper balance between what I would call leading and hedging. By leading I mean providing the leadership for further and continuing reductions in nuclear weapons, so that we can get the benefit of the savings that would be achieved by that. At the same time, we also want to hedge, hedge against the reversal of reform in Russia. A return to an authoritative military regime hostile to the United States and still armed with 25,000 nuclear weapons. We do not believe that reversal is likely, and we are working with Russia to minimize the risk of it occurring. Nevertheless, we still feel it is prudent to provide some hedge against that happening.

Therefore, we have tried to achieve a balance between those two objectives, and I believe this Nuclear Posture Review may be judged and should be judged by how successful we were in achieving the balance between leading on the one hand and hedging on the other.

The second big issue in the Nuclear Posture Review was how to achieve the benefit of improved safety and security for the residual force of nuclear weapons. Inherent in the reduction of nuclear forces and inherent in the improved technology is the potential for achieving very great improvement in safety and security. Therefore, the Nuclear Posture Review focused on what actions, what programs we could undertake to fully achieve those benefits -- both in the United States and in Russia.

Therefore, the new posture which we are seeking responds to those two great issues and therefore, almost by definition, it is no longer based on

mutual assured destruction, no longer based on MAD. We have coined a new term for our new posture which we call mutual assured safety, or MAS.

This press briefing will describe the results of the ten month study we've conducted on these issues, and will describe to you the blueprints we have put together for our nuclear posture on into the next century. This blueprint will determine the programs we have for force structure, for infrastructure, for safety and security, for command, control, communications and intelligence programs, all associated with our nuclear program.

This Nuclear Posture Review, like the Bottom-Up Review, was conducted by a joint civilian/military team in this building. The team was headed by Dr. Carter on the civilian side, Vice Admiral Owens on the military side. The study was an in-depth study, and it was a no-holds-barred study.

Last week we presented the results of the study to President Clinton, who gave us his full approval to proceed on this program. Today I wanted to introduce the study to you, ask General Shali to join me in the introduction, and then our Deputy Secretary, John Deutch, will give you a detailed report on our findings in the Nuclear Posture Review.

Let me now introduce General Shalikhvili.

General Shalikhvili: Before I relinquish this podium to Dr. Deutch, let me reemphasize the point that Secretary Perry made, and that is that this nuclear review is the product of a very close and collaborative effort between the Office of the Secretary of Defense, the Joint Staff, the services, and the commanders of our unified commands. The conclusions of this review are, in my judgment, a very prudent balance between our arms control accord, our current and anticipated deterrent requirements, and our conviction that we need to protect the inherent advantages of our triad structure. And I think equally importantly, the results also provide us with the necessary hedges in the event that some of our more optimistic anticipations don't materialize.

I think there is one other point that is important to emphasize, and that is that our commitments to our allies are neither changed nor in any way diminished by this review. The United States will retain all of the capabilities we need to sustain our commitments overseas. To this end, even though we are removing the capability to place non-strategic nuclear weapons in our surface ships and our carrier-based aircraft, we will retain our ability to place nuclear Tomahawk missiles on board our attack submarines and to deploy these forward. And of course, our dual purpose aircraft, those capable of performing conventional and nuclear missions, will

retain the ability to deploy when and if the situation may require to support our allies and important interests abroad.

Finally, the Chiefs and I are in full agreement that this review strikes a prudent balance between leading the way to a safer world and hedging against the unexpected. When it is fully implemented, the results will certainly protect America and its interests.

With that, let me turn it over to Dr. Deutch.

Q: General Shali, can we just ask you a quick question about Bosnia?

Dr. Deutch: I am going to try and tell you a little bit about this Nuclear Posture Review. I think you have available a set of these viewgraphs. What I'll do is I'll try... I'm going to go through it very quickly, and I know you want to ask questions about other subjects of others. So let me begin by telling you about the Nuclear Posture Review.

Bill Clinton is clear on the fact that nuclear weapons remain part of the post Cold War world that we have to deal with. It's important that we retain the nuclear forces necessary to deter any possible outcome. Our problem here in the Nuclear Posture Review, a 10 month study, jointly undertaken by the civilian and military of this Department, was to chart the course of our nuclear posture.

This is the first comprehensive look in a number of years. It does lean very heavily on the new security environment, both with respect to strategic and non-strategic nuclear forces. We tried to be sensitive to the fact that we were under resource constraints, and we are very sensitive to the changes which have taken place in the past. The one area where one wants to have continuity in policies and programs is the nuclear programs of this country. We're not looking for abrupt changes, we are looking for adaptations for change. What I think this study will show you is we are on a consistent path in this country on reducing our nuclear arsenal, improving the safety of the world, and yet maintaining our security.

This is the prospectus, all the different subjects that were undertaken in the Nuclear Posture Review. Strategic forces is one which usually gets the headlines. Let me say that there are incredibly important aspects we're undergoing in the command and control of our nuclear forces, in ways of improving the safety and the security and the use of these weapons. In this ten month study all elements, including infrastructure, were looked upon in the Bottom-Up Review. I'm going to try and briefly spend time on each one of them.

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The structure of this review is described here. What you see is all the different pieces that have to be taken into account in arriving at a nuclear posture, in arriving at a policy for the role of nuclear weapons in our national security. There are a whole set of complicated considerations that have to be taken into account.

The effort that was undertaken by the Department, as Bill Perry and General Shalikashvili mentioned, included working groups from both the Joint Staff, Strike Com and our civilian parts of the Department of Defense. It was under the heading of Ash Carter and General Wes Clark. Bill Owens and myself served as head of the steering committee. But the important point here is the collaborative effort which involves all elements of the Department.

The most important part which I can talk to you about to begin this discussion has to do with perspective. If I can ask you to recall, since the height of the Cold War there have been significant reductions in our nuclear arsenal, there have been significant reductions in operations, and there have been many program terminations, and many of you here are well aware of the history that's led to such things as cancellation, first introduction and then cancellation of the small ICBM, the reduction in the size of the B-2 program. All these steps are things that have taken place as this country has responded to the changed strategic circumstances that have existed at the end of the Cold War.

Perhaps it's important to get a quantitative sense here. This may be one of the most important charts that I present to you. First of all, I would like you to note that the number of accountable strategic nuclear warheads as a result of our arms control efforts have dropped considerably from the beginning, from the height of the Cold War in 1965, but there has been a significant reduction. So today, the situation we have now, START I has been ratified but has not yet entered into force; START II has yet to be ratified or entered into force. Currently there is a major disparity in the countable nuclear warheads. But at 2003, the end of the time period under consideration by the Nuclear Posture Review, we expect that there will have been a sharp reduction for both Russia and the United States in terms of their accountable strategic nuclear weapons.

It's very important, one of the most important parts of the Nuclear Posture Review, is the decline which we anticipate will take place in non-strategic nuclear forces is not happening. Currently today Russia has between 6,000 and 13,000 non-strategic nuclear weapons. We have a much reduced number from that. We are anticipating going significantly lower in non-strategic nuclear forces, and we have to encourage the Russians--there

are no treaties requiring that we reduce the non-strategic nuclear forces in the outcoming years. Non-strategic nuclear forces remain one of the central problems we will be facing in managing our nuclear relationships during the coming year.

I want to also emphasize there has been a 70 percent reduction in the amount of money we're spending on nuclear weapons from the height of the Cold War to the program period we're talking about here--as well as a 70 percent reduction in the personnel who are concerned with nuclear weapons. The point is, you have a context here for the Nuclear Posture Review: this country has been adjusting over time in both its programs and its policies and its arms control agreements due to changed political circumstances at the end of the Cold War, and we have further steps that we are describing here today along that path. It is no longer the mutually assured destruction situation that Bill Perry mentioned of the Cold War.

In arriving at our nuclear posture, we had many different considerations. Some of them quite qualitative, like counterproliferation--the declaratory policy we might have with respect to the use of nuclear weapons. Some very quantitative, such as the stability of our forces--the ability of our forces to withstand a postulated first attack so that we know we would be able to retaliate. And thereby, that ability to retaliate deters the probability of a first strike initially hedges--quantitative ways we can rebuild our forces if Russia does not develop in the peaceful way that we hope in the future.

All of these different considerations go into arriving at the policy and the force structure that we have recommended to the President--we decided upon last week. This is a changed role for nuclear forces. You'll see smaller nuclear forces, and very importantly, it means safer and more controllable nuclear forces.

Because of the uncertainty, I would next talk to you about strategic forces. Because of the uncertainty in the way the force structure will change in Russia, whether the path they will take to comply with START I and START II, we face the following situation. The actual number of warheads that are possessed by the states of the former Soviet Union is coming down much more slowly than the warheads that are in our active military stockpiles. We are on a path to reducing and have reduced these very significantly. And out through the end of the START II period--2003 when START II comes into force--we intend to have our force structure down to 3500. But you see that there is a question. Already the Russians are reducing their warheads more slowly than us, and there's a question about what might happen in the future. There's a possibility that as we go through this period of time there will be additional reductions and our force structure that we are proposing today is sufficiently flexible to lead in a direction of

additional reduction; but it is also possible that Russia will not develop as we hope, and therefore, it is also necessary for us to maintain a hedge to return to a more robust nuclear posture should that be necessary.

Let me remind you that Russia has little prospect of returning to the kind of conventional force structure that they had at the height of the Cold War due to the collapse of their economy and the change in their political situation. It is a less expensive and less demanding matter for them to return to a much more aggressive nuclear posture. If something does go wrong in Russia, it is likely that it is in the nuclear forces area that we will face the first challenge. It is for this reason that we must keep the possibility both of hedging the need to increase these forces that we are planning to reduce down to the level of 3500, and at the same time, if matters go as we hope, towards a more democratic, more peaceful Russia, that we will be able to reduce the warheads even further. So this is a posture which allows us both to lead, lead in terms of the reductions we're taking, and to hedge in case we have to make adjustments in the future.

The way we arrived at requirements for U.S. nuclear force structure for this period of time through START II was to assess the capabilities of the former Soviet Union--the targets that are there--and we looked at the kind of targeting and kinds of attack plans we might have, and also are prepared to deal with hostile governments not only in Russia, but in other countries.

The central elements of our strategic posture are submarines, bombers and ICBMs. Each of these different platforms have important attributes, especially submarines, which have the virtue of contributing stability, too, because they are so difficult to target and impossible to track when they are deployed at sea. So each one of these elements was considered in the Nuclear Posture Review.

We looked at a variety of different targets--target sets that had to be required, that might be required. We looked at a variety of different force structures. What I would like to do is report to you now on the force structure decisions that have been made.

First, we will reduce the number of ballistic missile submarines from 18 to 14. We will retire four submarines.

Second, we proposed to retrofit all 14 of these submarines with D-5 Trident missiles. That means we will take four of the boats that currently have D-4 missiles and retrofit them with D-5 missiles.

Third, we plan to maintain two bases for this Trident force on both the East and West Coast[s].



Secondly, with respect to bombers, we propose to maintain a force of 66 B-52 bombers which are dual-capable for both conventional and nuclear role[s]. The B-1 bomber will no longer have a nuclear role. And we believe that the 20 B-2s, no more than the 20 B-2s that are currently programmed, are required to be dual capable for the nuclear mission.

With respect to ICBMs, we will retain the 500 Minuteman ICBMs in three wings located in the Western part of the United States.

I want to emphasize that this force structure permits options for deeper reductions to accelerate both the implementation of START II and to go to even larger and more far-reaching reductions, should the political circumstances warrant. One part of this strategy is to lead into deeper reductions if the political circumstances should allow. Alternatively, the structure, as I've indicated as a hedge possibility, we preserve the option for uploading additional warheads on the Trident missiles, additional weapons on the bombers, additional loadings on the ICBMs--in case it should be necessary in an adverse and unexpected situation to require more robust nuclear forces.

May I next turn to the non-strategic nuclear force. There are some central decisions here that General Shalikashvili mentioned. First, we will maintain United States Air Force dual-capable aircraft. That is aircraft that is capable to carry either conventional or nuclear ordnance. We will maintain those in the United States, and we will maintain them in Europe as part of our commitment to the Alliance. We will cease to maintain the capability for nuclear weapons on our surface ships--that is, both our carriers and our other surface combatants. For some years we have not had nuclear weapons on these ships, and today we are beginning the process of removing the capability both in terms of the training of the individuals and the facilities on the ships themselves to deal with nuclear weapons on the surface vessels. However, our attack submarines will maintain the capability to launch nuclear-tipped Tomahawk missiles or so-called T-LAM missiles.

The headlines are usually given to the force structure changes. An important part of this has been to improve also the command, control and communications of these weapons systems. It is both C3--command, control and communications-- which makes the forces capable, and therefore contributes to their deterrent value, and which maintains the controllability of these forces which assures that we have a more secure and a safer nuclear arsenal.

Here are some of the modifications that have been made, and are proposed to be made in order to improve the command, control and communications of our nuclear forces.

We will continue to work on, although at a lower level from what was the case in the Cold War--to work on improving the command, control, and communications of these nuclear forces and especially to correct and improve the communications systems and attack warning systems for the nuclear systems.

Let me next turn to infrastructure. Consistent with the Bottom-Up Review we looked at the infrastructure. And I will just briefly report to you on some of the conclusions of our look at the industrial infrastructure--technological infrastructure for nuclear weapons. On this chart perhaps the most important point is our view that the D-5 production will not only serve a low cost way of providing for the missile systems with a reduced ballistic missile fleet, but it also preserve an industrial base for strategic missiles in this country.

Another aspect of our infrastructure concerns our relationship with the Department of Energy to assure that the Department of Energy has the capability in nuclear weapons that we need to arm our systems, and we have a mechanism in place through the Nuclear Weapons Council to provide our requirements to the Department of Energy. We think this is working very well. These are at the top levels, the requirements that we are placing into the Department of Energy. There is an issue about providing for tritium over the longer term which we are working with them. I want to stress that at the present time we do not see the need for new nuclear warheads to be added to our arsenal. No new designed nuclear warhead is required as a result of this review.

Connected with the command, control, and communications--which is such an important element of controlling forces--are the safety and security of the weapons themselves. This is an area where enormous effort has been taken by this Administration. Over a period of time, as a result of the reductions that we've had in our nuclear forces, we have a more controlled and a safer posture for our nuclear weapons. In addition to these changes in posture, we have a number of technical changes. Again, they're not very glamorous, but they are important to improving the controllability and the safety and reliability of these nuclear weapons. All of these permissive action links and safety improvements will be introduced over the next five-year period. We have the funds programmed to do it, and we will include these funds in the FY96 budget.

I want to touch on a related and important matter with our nuclear posture. We are very conscious of the fact that the way we conduct ourselves with our nuclear weapons will influence the way the Russians comport themselves with respect to their nuclear weapons. We have a whole series of operational practices, changes in the way we manage our forces, that we hope that--working together with the Russians--will bring them to have a smaller, more secure and stabler nuclear posture themselves. It is in our interest to encourage the Russians to move in this direction. Counterproliferation is an important part of that feature, and our efforts on cooperative threat reduction with the Russians are an essential feature of the way we view our nuclear force structure. It's not only how our forces are maintained, but our ability to influence the Russians in the way they take steps for a smaller, more secure, safer stockpile.

Let me summarize the results of this posture review, and I'm sorry I'm going on so long. We believe that we have continued a trend that has been going on in response to a very changed security environment. We've rebalanced, as you've seen, our triad by reducing our forces. We believe that we are continuing to plan for START II totals, requirements for 3500 weapons in 2003--the time period when START II should enter into force. But very importantly, we are leading towards the possibility for further reduction, but we are hedging in case there are needs for additional forces.

We believe that this posture commits us to a safer future, and that it is an important one in the continuing process this nation has had for the safe, secure, and responsible customs of these nuclear weapons.

In order to summarize, let me give you two panels that summarize the changes that have been included in this Bottom-Up Review of the nuclear posture. First, strategic forces; secondly, non-strategic forces. These are the changes that are included in the Nuclear Posture Review. And finally, the changes that are proposed in the safety, security, and use of nuclear weapons, in the command and control improvements required for better stewardship of those weapons; the infrastructure changes that have been proposed, and finally the related areas of threat reduction and counterproliferation which are so important in our activities with the Russians.

Let me just end with a personal note. I have the greatest regard for Ash Carter, for General Foss, for Admiral Owens and what they've done to give leadership to this effort. We believe that it provides an excellent, sensible, balanced lead and hedge posture for our nuclear forces over the coming next decade, and we are very proud of this accomplishment from the Department.

I'll be happy to take any questions you have. I'm sorry this went on so long.

Q: Two questions, one on numbers, one on policy. First on numbers.

You had a chart up there that said post START II force structure, 2003. The one where you talk about reducing 18 to 14 submarines and all of that. I was unclear from your chart-- Are you meaning that that's what you want to initiate in 2003, or post START II? I just didn't understand...

A: That is where we will be at START II on its entry into force.

Q: Are you making any recommendations at this point to go below START II levels?

A: No, we are not. This is a study that I said stays within the framework of START II until it enters into force, and we are prepared at any time to consider reductions below that. Let me just point out to you that not only within strategic forces, we're also very interested in these non-strategic forces. That imbalance to us is of greater concern than small changes in the strategic totals.

Q: In May, you issued a report with your name on it that said we needed to spend \$400 million a year on counterproliferation.

A: Yes.

Q: You outlined it here today. Why is your office then coming up with a plan which they publicly say will only spend \$80 million at the most?

A: The \$80 million which I hope the appropriations conference will put in, is an incremental amount of money. In our base we have put in additional changes, as well. I believe we've gone a significant way to funding the initiatives and counterproliferation that were in the report that we submitted to Congress in May.

Q: I wanted to ask you about the hedge part of the strategy. It seems as though the review came to the conclusion that the former Soviet Union was not that stable enough for you to reduce below the START II levels. Was that a central element of your review?

A: Given the pace at which the Russians are bringing down their actual warheads, we think at this time, before START I has entered into force, before START II has been ratified, we who have to run programs believe that it would not be prudent to commit now for a reduction below those levels. We think it is enormously responsible to be in a posture to respond to a further reduction, but we don't think it would be responsible or prudent to commit now before START II has been ratified, much less entered into force.

**Q:** What are the prospects for a reversal of reform in the former Soviet Union? What are the prospects of that?

**A:** We all read the newspapers and know all the moments of uncertainty in Russia. I think there is certainly some possibility of reversal in Russia. We're not predicting that, but we have to be prepared for that eventuality.

**Q:** I don't know whether I was reading too much into the way the chart was drawn, but it seems that that line of reduction was continuing as is until about 1997, and then you faced a decision point whether to reconstitute or go down further. Is that the way it works?

**A:** We could make changes anywhere. That's a schematic. The flexibility maintained in this program, at any time, we can make an adjustment up or down. Now how difficult it is depends on the particular circumstances. But planned into this, for example, the pace at which we take these four submarines--18 submarines down to 14. We're going to do it quickly and rapidly. How we handle those submarines in the interim period until 2003. All of that has an impact about whether you want to go faster or slower, and that we're going to do on a year-by-year basis as we appraise the progress that's been made.

**Q:** How do you think this set of decisions is going to play at the Non-Proliferation Review Conference the beginning of the next year when renewal of the treaty is A, difficult; and B, the Administration's high priority?

Second question, what's the logic? You say you're worried about a reversal in the Soviet Union. Isn't the logic that you should push them to go faster in removing nuclear weapons rather than a standstill policy?

**A:** First of all, I think that our posture in the NPT Review Conference is unbelievably strong. We have taken step after step over the past five years to show our interest in reducing reliance on nuclear weapons. This continues that trend. We no longer have any tests. We have taken a whole series of steps which are reduction in the size of the arsenal, a much more stable arsenal. All of these are steps which would make the credibility of the United States at the NPT Review Conference much, much stronger than it has been in past years, and I'm confident that we will be successful there.

**Q:** And the logic of...

**A:** I hope that I've left you with the message that we are extremely eager to work with the Russians on reducing the number of weapons that they have as rapidly as possible, down to the levels that we've already reduced to, especially in the area of non-strategic nuclear forces. We will do anything we can to encourage them in that regard, and we believe we have been doing so.

**Q:** Do we know the rate of the Russian destruction of their weapons? And if so, how do we know?

**A:** We, of course, don't know with all precision. They do report to us, and we do have intelligence to estimate further. But we believe we have a pretty good fix on the rate at which they are bringing down their weapons and the state they are in different levels of dismantlement and the like. While it's obviously not 100 percent precise, we think we have certainly much better knowledge than we had five years ago about what is going on in the Russian nuclear program.

**Q:** It's not clear to me when the Administration would start negotiating a START III. Would it be only after START II is fully implemented, or would it be after the Russian Duma ratifies START II?

**A:** I don't think that decision has been made. Mr. Yeltsin is coming here next week, and initiatives could forward from that. Not every initiative with the Russians has to be in the context of a post START strategic nuclear agreement. There could be another kind of agreement which had to do with security of forces, including their controllability which we think is so important; improving the pace at which they dismantle their nuclear weapons; it could have to do with non-strategic nuclear weapons. So the possibilities here of improving stability in the world are vast. They don't only have to be with respect to START III, although that could be introduced at any time.

**Q:** You've announced a unilateral reduction in launching platforms. Will we be asking the Russians to make similar unilateral cuts?

**A:** That's the kind of issue that can be discussed in the Summit, and certainly the way we want to go is to point out steps that we are taking to lower the dependence on nuclear weapons, to improve their controllability, their safety, and their security, and we would hope that besides taking unilateral steps, we'll also improve the stability of the world.

**Q:** When you talk about the reconstitution capability, I assume you mean that warheads that are taken out of active service will be kept in some kind of a reserve so that you could re-arm if you wanted to. Is that the case? And also, do you expect that the Russian government would do a similar thing?

**A:** Yes, I think that both countries have warheads in reserve, warheads out of the military stockpiles. Then they have absolutely demilitarized warheads which with some time and effort and cost could be made into warheads again. But all of this has to look back against the management of the entire stockpile. But both of us keep some warheads in reserve.

**Q:** Did the review at all look at the question of the SIOP targetry developed in the Cold War and how much that's going to be reduced by?

A: Yes. We certainly did that, with great diligence. I should report to you that that target base has gone down vastly since the height of the Cold War. Extraordinarily. A great deal of that reduction was taken in the past Administration. Secretary Cheney did an extensive review of the targeting of these missiles, and additional reductions that occur in the target base, as the force structure comes down, you comply with the START II and START I treaty. As that happens, the target base comes down to significantly lower numbers than have been assessed.

Q: ...50 percent less than five years ago?

A: Much more than 50 percent reduction, yes.

Q: Can you talk about the internal workings of coming up with a final review, and where all the uniformed services and agreements with the civilian side, was there any disagreement on reaching this point?

A: There was no serious disagreement. We had a very significant review group which I chaired with Admiral Owens. Admiral Owens and I went out to STRATCOM together. But there was really no matter of major disagreement.

Philosophically, the structure of this review went forward, hand in hand and step by step so there were no surprises here, no moments of great controversy. There was one adjustment made at the end which neither Bill Perry nor I thought was especially consequential.

Q: What's your assessment of the reason for the relatively slow Russian forces? Is it political, financial or...

A: You can get that as well as I can. I would say all of the above.

Q: Was there consideration given to discussing numerical targets below 3500? Was there consideration given to discussing, eliminating a leg of the triad? Some of the more radical things that Les Aspin was originally at least kicking around hypothetically.

A: We certainly debated at length eliminating a leg of the triad. That, it seems, was a very important question to consider. We looked at that with great detail, and discussed at some length eliminating the ICBM leg of the triad. It's a sensible thing to think about. On balance, we judged it not to be something to be done today. So, we did look at that.

The second point I want answered is, "Did we consider reductions below 2,500?" When a matter of that kind of political importance comes up, it has to be carried out in an inter-agency environment, and indeed, that is taking place now. The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the Department of State, the Department of Defense, and the National Security Council are, indeed, involved in an inter-agency effort to gauge and pace the level at

which we want to go for further arms control, arms reduction efforts. Again, I want to tell you that this should not only be restrictive to strategic nuclear forces, but also to these non-strategic nuclear forces which are troublesome.

Q:...review of all of these things, and what you're doing is you're saying you've sort of eliminated them and pushed them off...

A: No, I think that as we went through our no-holds-barred analysis we saw that for the Department of Defense, the key issue was to arrive at a posture that was both leaning forward and a hedge for this START II period. This is from now to the year 2003. Here, we have to deal with the programs that have to be in place throughout this period. We have to have a structure that can flexibly respond to new political circumstances. All principle responsibility is to run those programs, design and run them properly. It is not to undertake large scale changes in the possible treaty end point that would come to a broader discussion between the United States and Russia. But our posture permits us to respond to them.

The way I would answer, the dramatic difference here is that we don't have an inflexible posture. We have one that can move this way or that way as circumstances require.

Q: Concerning the ICBM leg of the triad, you're saying that it will remain at 500 land-based missiles?

A: That's correct.

Q: Some Administration officials have said over the past 24 hours that the Administration plans to go down to 300.

A: They're wrong. [Laughter]

Q: Why the confusion?

A: I don't understand it, but I can tell you, this is it. I'm sorry, I've seen that speculation myself. The answer is 500, 450.

Q: There are some programs that have been ongoing where some of the platforms are increasing their conventional capability. Will this have any impact on that, or will those programs remain pretty much the same--such as the conventional capabilities on the B-1s, B-2s, that sort of thing?

A: Those are absolutely important. The conventional capabilities on the B-52, on the B-2, and the upgrades on the B-1 are very important, because that is central to the conventional capability of those bombers relating to our two major regional conflict strategies. So the principal purpose of these bombers is their conventional role, but they will maintain a nuclear role for the deterrent value they contribute.



Q: Could you elaborate a little bit more on the permissive action links and relate it to submarines? Did you tighten up somehow the U.S. control over those...

A: Yes, we have. What I would prefer to do is to do that off line. There are a series of actions we've taken there which will be put into force over a period of time for bombers and submarines.

Q: What was the minor adjustment at the end that you and the SecDef deemed insignificant?

A: I said not significant. I didn't say insignificant.

Q: What was it? [Laughter]

Q: What's the purpose of nuclear Tomahawks? Nuclear weapons on Tomahawk missiles?

A: Because in a hypothetical situation where you have an exchange or reach of nuclear weapons that do not involve the homeland of either the United States or of Russia, or which involve--you can argue how realistic this is today, historically--the security of NATO. The way you deter that from happening is to have an ability to respond on a regional basis.

Q: Such as deterring chemical weapons use?

A: No one is suggesting that if chemical or biological weapons were used that you would deter with nuclear weapons. Certainly a country who is considering using them would have to take that into account. That's how we contribute to deterrence.

Q: Would the final size of the ICBM force get that not "significant change" that you and the Secretary made at the end?

Q: Why did you do so?

A: Because we thought there was ample time to adjust the ICBMs in the future if political circumstances warranted.

Q: Why not now?

A: That was our judgment.

Q: What was calculation?

A: The calculation was of the ability of these weapons uniquely to be collectively used. The additional stability that they provided for the triad. And a sense that there was no reason to give them up now. They aren't very costly to maintain and they contribute to our security.

Q: Will we continue to deploy our air-launched nuclear weapons forward in Europe and outside the United States?

A: Yes.