

Table 3 assumes that the Soviets would maximise their ICBM warheads by taking the full 60% sub-ceiling in this category. It can be seen that the 10 warhead SS-18's quickly gobble up the warhead ceiling for the Soviets, leaving them with the dilemma of finding the appropriate balance of launchers and warheads. The SS-18's and SS-19's are the most capable counter-force weapons in the Soviet arsenal: to maximise the warhead total at 60% (3600), the Soviets would need to reduce their heavy SS-18 and 19s by 40%, to reduce their SS-18 and SS-19 warhead total by 30%, and to remove all older ICBMs. In sum, the Soviet proposal goes a considerable way to recognizing the American concern with the counter-force capabilities of the Soviet heavy missiles, but is still some distance from the earlier American proposal.

A second general observation is that the Soviet proposal allows for a small proportionate increase in the SLBM and bomber forces at the reduced levels. Soviet bombers currently constitute a small fraction (7%) of their strategic forces. Whether they would opt for a slightly larger percentage of the force in the form of a new strategic bomber is open to question. It should be noted, however, that the Soviet proposal for a ban on ALCMs may suggest that they are not interested in developing their manned bomber/cruise missile strategic forces beyond a minimal level.

Finally, the table clearly demonstrates that warheads, not launchers, drive the calculation. Indeed, the low number of launchers required to produce the maximum warhead ceiling - 768 compared with the allowed ceiling of 1261 - is a clear incentive to move to single-warhead launchers, as Tables 6 and 7 will indicate.

B. What would be the effect if the US reduced according to the formula, including its LRINF?

Table 4 indicates the extraordinary complexity involved in the proposal to add together all American theatre and central strategic forces. Indeed, without further clarification it is difficult to envisage a plausible reduction regime within the general ceilings proposed by the Soviets; for