1-1-2001

Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty

Robert J. Bunker

Claremont Graduate University

Recommended Citation


This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the CGU Faculty Scholarship at Scholarship @ Claremont. It has been accepted for inclusion in CGU Faculty Publications and Research by an authorized administrator of Scholarship @ Claremont. For more information, please contact scholarship@cuc.claremont.edu.
of books by Huxley, Orwell, and Koestler. In the Library of Kultura series works in sociology, political science, history of philosophy, literary criticism, and politics have been published. Also within the series the following sub-series have been published: Dokumenty (The Documents), containing sources on the contemporary history of central Europe; Archiwum Rewolucji (Archives of the Revolution), essays and documents about the history of communism; and Bez Cenzury (Without Censorship), books that had been rejected for publication in Poland for political reasons. A quarterly, Zeszyty Historyczne (The History Notebook), has been published since 1962 within the main series. It is dedicated to the history of Poland and central Europe after 1918.

Since 1947 the IL published the main political periodical of Polish emigration, a monthly, Kultura (Culture), edited by J. Giedroyc with the help of Z. Hertz and the contributions of Juliusz Mieroszewski, Konstancy A. Jeleński, Gustaw Herling-Grudziński, Jerzy Stempowski, Czesław Miłosz, Józef Czapski, Wojciech Skalmowski, Bohdan Osadczuk, Leopold Unger and Michał Heller. Six-hundred issues of the periodical dealing with contemporary history and contemporary politics as well as Polish and foreign literature and culture have been published.

The IL is an important center for the social and political life of Polish émigrés as well as a meeting place for émigrés from central and Eastern Europe. IL publications were banned in Poland until 1990 and had to be smuggled in. They were an important source of reprints for the post-1976 underground publishing houses in Poland, which the IL also supported financially. In 1995 in Warsaw the Society for the Preservation of the IL Archives in Paris was founded to work on the priceless archives and the library of the IL in Maisons-Lafitte and to promote the activities and the heritage of the IL.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty

The 1987 arms control agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States totally eliminating intermediate-range and shorter-range ground-launched nuclear missiles. The Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty was a response to the deployment in 1977 of the new Soviet SS-20 mobile intermediate-range missile, which drastically altered the European security environment in favor of the Warsaw Pact. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) had earlier recognized that it lacked the capacity for a median response to a Warsaw Pact ground offensive that would be provided by an intermediate-range nuclear force. NATO responded in 1979 to the SS-20 deployments with a devious “dual track” counter. The United States proposed the elimination of all Soviet intermediate-range missiles, the “zero option” approach, in return for a cancellation of impending American deployments. This would appease European opinion and blunt Soviet propaganda, while simultaneously buying time for the deployment of Pershing II ballistic and ground-launched cruise missiles (GLCMs). Formal talks began in 1981 and were suspended in November 1983 by the Soviets because of Pershing II and GLCM deployment.

INF talks were resumed in March 1985 as part of the bilateral Nuclear and Space Talks (NST), but remained deadlocked over the inclusion of British and French nuclear forces, verification procedures, and geographic extent of the proposed treaty. The INF Treaty was signed on December 8, 1987, after the Soviet Union proposed a total ban on all shorter-range nuclear missiles as well as intermediate-range missiles, the “double-zero” option, and accepted modified American verification procedures.

The treaty unequivocally bans GLCMs and ground-launched ballistic missiles (GLBM) with a range of 500 to 5,500 kilometers. All such, missiles and their launchers were destroyed within three years after the treaty entered into force on June 1, 1991. Such missiles, launchers, and support structures and equipment could henceforth not be possessed by either the Soviet Union or the United States.

The INF Treaty represents a high-water mark in East-West arms control negotiations because of its provisions for on-site inspections to ensure compliance with treaty terms. The United States has concluded that the twelve newly independent states of the former USSR are successors to the INF Treaty. These states have confirmed that they are treaty successors and will abide by treaty prohibitions.
International Expositions

International exhibitions, commonly called "fairs" in the United States, "exhibitions" in Great Britain, and "expositions" in France. The terms are used interchangeably although they are actually events of different size. The Bureau of International Expositions, the regulating body, designates them as "international expositions," which bridges the gap between fair and exhibition and is actually a larger, more extensive, and more formally organized event.

The first international exposition was held in 1851 in London, the Crystal Palace Exhibition. During medieval times great fairs were held at major crossings of trade as a mixture of commerce, entertainment, and theater. They were basically international to the extent to which there were nations. In England the fairs were national, a blend of trade show and public entertainment. From these fairs, the industrial exhibitions were developed in France then spread to England, where they were sponsored by mechanics institutes to teach scientific principles to the working class. The mechanics institute exhibitions included scientific, mechanical, exotic, and fine arts sections that merged into the 1851 Crystal Palace Exhibition and the international expositions that followed.

These fairs soon included special themes and more nonindustrial features, such as fine arts and amusements. All have demonstrated a strong streak of nationalism, vaunting the national image and citizens' pride in it. Fair managers, often with strong government support, strove to heighten nationalistic features on behalf of the host country to make it look better than its rivals. This reached its apex (or nadir, depending on one's point of view) with the American-Soviet rivalry at the Brussels exposition in 1958, during the height of the Cold War, when the two countries competed through their respective national pavilions. Not coincidentally, they were across from each other. In fact, this U.S.-USSR competition was expected at all the post-1945 expos before the breakup of the Soviet Union in the late 1980s, but it never quite reached the intensity that it did at Brussels.

Two agencies have responsibility for U.S. involvement at post–World War II expositions: the Department of Commerce for fairs held in the United States and the United States Information Agency (USIA) for those held outside the United States. After 1992, the USIA abolished its expo staff and turned the operation of all future world fairs over to the private sector, with the agency maintaining an advisory role only. At Genoa (1992) and then at Taegue, South Korea (1993), the U.S. effort was administered by private-sector Amway officials who worked with the USIA staff. However, the United States still objects to the host country paying total costs, especially if the fair is unsuccessful. To date, the United States is the only participating country that does not assume responsibility for financial loss.

Promoters claim that fairs have three major benefits: they promote tourism in the country in which the expo is held as well as in countries represented at the fairs; increase trade between the host nation and other countries; and strengthen diplomatic relations. Country participation works under the "I went to yours, you come to mine" theory, which has often put major countries in political tight spots, as happened with the United States at Seville. The United States was under pressure from the Spanish government to appear. Pulling out, which Congress wanted, would have been considered an insult by Spain, a major U.S. trading partner.

All world fairs were canceled during World War II, and none were held again until 1958. They resumed with the Exposition Universelle et Internationale de Bruxelles (Brussels, Expo '58); Seattle World's Fair (Century 21 Exposition, 1962); New York World's Fair (1964–1965; not BIE approved); Universal and International Exposition (Montreal, Expo '67); Hemisfair '68: A Confluence of Cultures of the Americas (San Antonio, 1968); Japan World Exposition (Osaka, Expo '70); International Exposition of the Environment (Spokane, Washington, Expo '74); International Ocean Exposition (Okinawa, 1975–76); Knoxville International Energy Exposition (1982); Louisiana World Exposition (New Orleans, 1984); Tsukuba, Japan (Expo '85); 1986 World Exposition (Vancouver); World Expo 88 (Brisbane, 1988); Seville (Expo '92); Genoa (1992); and Taegue, Korea (1993). A 1996 expo in Budapest was canceled after a new, democratic Hungarian government decided it did