

The INF Treaty



Dr. Jeffrey A. Larsen

Director of Research, NATO Defense College

Presentation to ISODARCO, Andalo, Italy

“Global Nuclear Governance: Actors, Policies, and Issues”

10 January 2015

Background—the 1970s

- Mid-1970s USSR begins replacing older medium range nuclear missiles with new and qualitatively improved SS-20
- US not particularly concerned due to its spectrum of deterrence capabilities
- But West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt’s famous speech in 1977 warned of the threat posed to West by SS20
- NATO asked US to develop counter to SS-20
- Alliance announces “dual-track decision” Dec 1979

SS-20 Sabre on display in Kiev



INF Systems

- Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces
 - Ballistic missiles and cruise missiles
 - Range 1000-5500 km
 - Examples:
 - US Pershing II, mobile, range 1700 km, 15 minute flight time
 - US Ground Launched Cruise Missile (GLCM) —mod of Tomahawk SLCM, air breathing, mobile, range 2500 km, 2½ hr flight time
 - Soviet SS-20 Saber, mobile, range 5500 km, 3 MIRVed warheads
- Shorter Range Nuclear Forces
 - Ballistic missiles
 - Range 500-1000 km
 - Examples:
 - US and German Pershing IA
 - Soviet SS-4, SS-5. SS-12



GLCM 109 launcher



Pershing IIs

INF Deployments in Europe 1980s

- US INF systems deployed in Europe early 1980s
- Deployments:
 - SS-20s in 14 locations, including East Germany, Czechoslovakia
 - GLCMS: UK; Sicily; Belgium; Netherlands; Germany;
 - Pershing II: Germany
- Result of deployments:
 - Large anti-nuclear protests throughout Europe
 - USSR walked out of nuclear AC talks late 1983 for 15 months
 - Gorbachev brought Soviets back to talks, signed INF Treaty
- All weapons removed by 1990 and destroyed by 1991



RAF Molesworth GLCM storage area

The INF Treaty

- *Treaty Between the US and USSR on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles*
- Signed 8 Dec 1987
 - Entered into Force 1 Jun 1988
- Treaty Parties: US, USSR (and its successor, Russia)
 - Belarus, Kazakhstan, Ukraine joined implementation
 - West Germany, Belgium, Italy, Netherlands, UK, Czech Republic also accepted inspections
 - Other states that destroyed their INF range systems: Germany, Hungary, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Bulgaria
- Treaty of unlimited duration
 - Inspection regime expired 31 May 01
- Provided for complete elimination of all US and Soviet INF and shorter-range ground launched ballistic and cruise missiles with a range of 500-5500 km
 - US eliminated GLCM, Pershing IA, Pershing II (846 missiles)
 - Soviets eliminated SS4, SS5, SS12, SS20, SS23 (1846 missiles)
 - West Germany agreed to eliminate Pershing IA in parallel (72 missiles)
- Cornerstone of the post-Cold War international security environment



INF Treaty Inspection Regime

- Major new element for arms control:
 - Data exchanges
 - Initial baseline inspections of INF sites
 - Intrusive permanent on-site inspections at missile final assembly facilities
 - Magna, Utah and Votkinsk, Russia
 - Challenge inspections for 10 years
 - Basing sites and production facilities
 - Total of 511 US inspections in Russia, 275 by Russia in USA
- Special Verification Commission in Geneva to oversee verification and compliance issues
 - Officially still in existence; last meeting 2003



Russian inspectors verifying US missile destruction, late 1980s

US Accusations of Noncompliance

- In 2013 the US began discussions with Russia regarding development and testing of new ground launched cruise missile
- Annual US State Department *Report on Adherence to and Compliance with Arms Control, Nonproliferation, and Disarmament Agreements and Commitments*, July 2014
 - Claims Russia tested a new GLCM with range greater than 500 km
 - No details on what system the report refers to
 - But US says it is not a deployed system
- Likely suspects:
 - RS-26 (Rubezh, or Iskander M) intermediate range ICBM
 - R-500 (Iskander K) cruise missile
 - SLCM cruise missile tested from land based launcher
- Violations may date back to 2008
- No interest on Russian side in discussing the issue
- US considering political and economic sanctions



Iskander K GLCM
launch 2007

Russian Counter-Accusations

- No response from Russia other to say the US accusations are vague and lack details
- Moscow has accused the United States of similar violations of INF Treaty:
 - Deployment of vertical launch systems for EPAA missile defense system in Poland and Romania
 - US use of IRBMS as target missiles
 - Use of armed drones



EPAA Phase 3 concept (AEGIS Ashore)

The Future of the Treaty & Regime

- Possible options for Russia:
 - 1. Remain in treaty, admit violation, discontinue such activities
 - 2. Remain in treaty, not admit violation, but discontinue
 - 3. Remain in treaty, not admit violation, covertly continue banned activities
 - 4. Withdraw from treaty and continue banned activities
- Growing problem: rest of world sees value in INF
 - Only regions without INF systems are US, Europe, and Russia
- Global treaty? Multilateral treaty?
 - This has been a Russian goal
 - So withdraw may hurt their larger interests

South Korean medium range missiles

