

Arms Pact Faces Approval Challenge In the Fall and an Uncertain Fate

By CHARLES MOHR
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WASHINGTON, June 18 — The strategic arms treaty concluded today with the Soviet Union now faces long and arduous approval in the United States Senate.

An official copy of the treaty will not be formally referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations until later in the month, and a full dress debate on the Senate floor will not begin until fall.

But looking ahead, Senator Jesse Helms, a conservative Republican from North Carolina, said today we embark on what will be the most significant national debate of our time.

Several tactical plans were evolving among those who strongly oppose the treaty and those who find it politically unacceptable in its present form.

Conservative Republican members are expected to coalesce behind a "package" of treaty amendments. Senator Judd Garn of Utah plans to offer, in what would amount to a substitute version of the accord that the Soviet Union would be likely to reject.

Baker May Offer Revisions

Senator Howard H. Baker Jr., the Republican Senate leader and a party moderate who will announce later this year his candidacy for the Presidency, is expected to advance a package of less sweeping treaty amendments.

Some Democratic members, including advocates of an arms limitation agreement, are expected to demand cosmetic changes in the treaty and its related documents.

Senator William V. Roth, Republican of Delaware, announced that he intended to offer an "understanding" to the treaty that would clarify the right of Washington to provide arms and technology to its allies. Mr. Roth, a conservative who is uncommitted to the treaty, said that some European allies were wary of the treaty would bar the transfer of such technology.

Ted Stevens, the Alaska Republican who is a declared opponent of the treaty, called it a "never-never land" and predicted that the Administration would find enough votes to block a filibuster against it but not enough for approval.

Alan Cranston, the assistant Democratic leader of the Senate, who supports the treaty, offered a separate assessment of the vote lineup at this stage. He reckoned 68 votes in favor, 30 opposed and 12 "totally undecided."

Senator Cranston said, announcing his endorsement: "I believe the treaty enhances our security."

Ultimately, the debate must vote on a "resolution of ratification" that would express consent to President Carter's act of ratification. That resolution must be adopted by a vote of two-thirds of those present and voting, or at least 87 affirmative votes if all 100 Senators are present. Votes on suggested amendments.

reservations and other modifications in the treaty are decided by a simple majority.

Increasingly, Republicans and some Democrats are predicting that the treaty cannot achieve Senate consent without some amendment of the treaty itself.

One reason for this is that 20 Senators entered the legislative body this year as freshmen, essentially unversed in the subject and mostly inquiring about their first-term members are seen as key to the outcome.

But they are only one of several keys. Among the other questions is uncertainty about who or what will prove influential or decisive in the outcome. Many House members believe that Senator Sam Nunn, Democrat of Georgia, will exercise considerable influence over other Southern Democrats. Mr. Nunn, a respected member of the Armed Services Committee, has distinguished himself by his treaty-first term members are seen as key to the outcome.

There is little difference between that plan and the one to be enacted on the floor, since substantive amendments can only be demanded by the Senate as a condition of approval and would require some renegotiation.

Numberous Objections to Pact
The objections to the treaty signed in Vienna between President Carter and Leonid Brezhnev are numerous.

One of the most important is that the treaty would be tantamount to freezing in place the Soviet Union's arsenal of heavy weapons.

Another major objection is that the treaty does not count the Soviet TU-22M bomber, the plane to be replaced by an intercontinental heavy weapon.

The Soviet Union has agreed to restrict production of the plane to 30 a year. But some Senators want the bombers counted as part of the 1,200 weapons with intercontinental range and warheads permitted to each country.

Verification Is an Issue
The loss of American listening posts in Iran, and other factors, prompts some Senators to question the accuracy of the equally verifiable and immune to possible Soviet cheating.

Some Senators have given enhanced importance today when Senator Helms and Senator Garn, appearing at a news conference, demanded that the Senate floor debate be televised to give treaty opponents a forum roughly equivalent to that accorded Carter's ready access to television.

Senator Robert C. Byrd, the Democratic leader in the Senate, said he is likely to resist this idea. He said he would like to see Senator Baker to "run for President" while debating the SALT II. Advocates of the treaty said they would offer a vote on the issue if necessary.

Senator Helms also called on Mr. Carter to insist on clapping hands to the Agency and Defense Intelligence Agency witnesses to be completely credible in forthcoming testimony on the treaty, even if those views conflict with those of the President.

Mr. Helms also urged that the treaty be signed only if the risk of harming their careers or of being rebuked.

Key Defendant Is Given 12 Years In Long West German Spy Trial

DUESSELDORF, West Germany, June 18 (Reuters) — Lohar Lutze, chief defendant in the long-running West German trial, today received a 12-year sentence for spying for East Germany.

His wife, Renata, was sentenced to six years. Both are former employees of the West German Defense Ministry.

They were found guilty of passing more than 100,000 documents to the Communists.

Soviet Lifts Its Secrecy On Arms Designations

WASHINGTON, June 18 — Breaking with tradition, the new strategic arms treaty includes the Soviet Union's own designations for its new generation of missile systems.

For years, American negotiators have used their own terms for Soviet missiles and warheads. In the new talks because Moscow was unwilling to divulge its designations. For example, the SS-17 is designated as the RS-17, and the SS-19 is designated as the RS-19, while a new Soviet missile is designated as the SS-18, known in the West as the SS-18.

In addition, the treaty reveals that the new Soviet submarine-launched missile, known in the West as the SS-N-18, is designated the RSM-50 by the Russians.

According to Administration officials, "RS" stands for "raketychnaya sistema," or "rocket system," and "RSM" means "raketychnaya sistema, morskaya," or "naval rocket system."



The New York Times/WILSON, E. SAUNDERS

Adm. Elmo R. Zumwalt Jr., former Chief of Naval Operations, at news conference yesterday in Washington. Using models of Soviet and American missiles, he warned against Soviet superiority in the strategic balance.

Carter-Brezhnev Farewell: Spontaneous and Poignant

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According to an American official participating in the summit meetings, Mr. Brezhnev's speech was so allured it was not understandable, and he appeared to doze or lapse into unconsciousness at times during the three hours of meetings.

At no point in the three days of summit discussions, an American participant said, was Mr. Brezhnev capable of lively give-and-take with the American Senators. He read only from prepared position papers and then not always with full clarity, the official said. Yet, despite his infirmity, the delegation accompanying Mr. Carter, especially Konstantin U. Chernenko, who has emerged as Mr. Brezhnev's chief of staff and personal aide — clearly deferred to him as the man in charge.

It was with the background of these traits that the President and Mr. Carter entered the Redoutensaal, a white-paneled ballroom with seven chandeliers, just before the President, at 1:40 P.M., Rosalynn Carter was in the front row of the audience, as were the Austrian leaders, Chancellor Bruno Kreisky and President Rudolf Kirchschlager.

Mr. Brezhnev, following Soviet custom, began clapping in answer to the applause of those present, and Mr. Carter followed suit. Then both sat at a green-tiled table built 12 years ago for the State Council of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and sides behind the finished — but never used — for Mr. Brezhnev and blue for Mr. Carter — to sign.

Soviet leader took 20 seconds to write the first of his signatures. He appeared to be making one labored stroke of the pen at a time. Mr. Carter

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the future, perhaps on an annual basis, American officials said.

Although the treaty had been negotiated before the summit, the two leaders made little visible progress on other issues, they pronounced their "mutual satisfaction" with the three days of talks. Personally they got along well and the treaty, they said, helps promote, "the deepening of détente."

Other participants said that, after two lengthy years since Mr. Carter took office, the low-key, realistic candor he had helped put Soviet-American relations back on a more even keel though the sessions did not resolve differences over how to deal with regional conflicts in Africa, Asia and the Middle East or with conventional force reductions in Europe.

But, in a joint communiqué, President Carter won Mr. Brezhnev's public assurance of an agreement to ban radiological weapons and had agreed on the need to work toward "the elimination of obstacles to trade relations. This appeared to be an indication that Mr. Carter was preparing to seek more favored trading status for Moscow in exchange for a liberalization of emigration from the Soviet Union.

U.S. Pledge on Trade Reported
The communiqué also disclosed that the two sides had completed "major elements" of an agreement to ban radiological weapons and had agreed on the need to work toward "the elimination of obstacles to trade relations. This appeared to be an indication that Mr. Carter was preparing to seek more favored trading status for Moscow in exchange for a liberalization of emigration from the Soviet Union.

And in a separate statement, the two leaders committed themselves to work toward a third arms accord, in which they would seek "significant and substantial reductions of their offensive armaments and new qualitative curbs on new weapons. Although the Americans had

been the most active in the arms race, the Russians were not ready to commit themselves. And so when he stood to exchange the signed copies of the treaty, Mr. Carter took Mr. Brezhnev's right hand and clasped it with his left and to the right applause, the two men embraced.

Mr. Brezhnev's sides gently indicated that he was to speak. His words slow and allured, he said that "in signing this treaty, we are helping to defend the most sacred right of every individual — the right to live."

He finished speaking and sat to hear Mr. Carter's longer remarks. "I am today, as we've very carefully limits on our power," Mr. Carter said, "we draw boundaries around our fears of one another."

But as the Russian translation was broadcast into the echoing hall, Mr. Brezhnev's expression clouded, he fumbled with his left ear and seemed to rise from his chair to talk to Mr. Chernenko, who quickly summoned Mr. Brezhnev's personal interpreter, Viktor M. Sukhodrev, apparently to whisper the translation so that he could hear it better.

When it was over, they stood, shook hands again and joined in the applause. Mr. Brezhnev shook hands with every member of the American delegation, while Mr. Carter greeted the Russians present, then went on to pump the hands of his own colleagues.

Pact Signed In Vienna by Carter and Brezhnev

ons for ballistic missiles with multiple warheads, the Soviet Union has a separate limit of 308 on the number of launchers for its heavy SS-18 missiles.

After the documents had been signed, Mr. Brezhnev spoke briefly, in a low, thick and occasionally slurred voice, calling the treaty a "major step forward" in improving Soviet-American relations and praising Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance, Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko, Secretary of Defense Harold Brown and Defense Minister Dmitri F. Ustinov for their contribution.

After they had concluded, the two men rose, shook hands with the members of their own and the other delegation and made their final embrace, a resounding applause. After a brief farewell to the Soviet leader, Mr. Carter headed directly to the airport.

The communiqué provided evidence that the two had agreed generally on improving the status of Soviet-American relations without being able to settle specific points of dispute. The text enclosed the following points:

1. "Impetus to other arms control measures, but it offered no evidence of progress on a comprehensive nuclear test ban, a prohibition on anti-ballistic weapons or on conventional force reductions in Europe.

2. "Efforts to spread détente 'to all areas of the globe' and the principles of 'responsibility and restraint' in regional tensions, but no agreement on disputes over the main areas of dispute in the Middle East, Africa and Asia.

3. "More regular summit meetings, with no specific schedule.

Progress Made in Two Areas
Progress was achieved in two areas: on a treaty to ban radiological weapons and on American willingness to resume talks on limiting military involvement in the Indian Ocean. The United States suspended the Indian Ocean talks a year ago in protest over Soviet involvement in Ethiopia.

The one change negotiated here in the arms-treaty package concerned the Soviet assurance on the Blackflora. Some people in Washington consider it a strategic, long-range bomber. But for inclusion in the treaty, but the Russians insist it is an intermediate-range plane.

The United States had planned to resolve the dispute by an exchange of documents, including general assurances from Mr. Brezhnev reinforced by more specific statements by Mr. Carter. This proved to be followed in the session on Saturday afternoon, Mr. Powell said, but the Americans were not satisfied. When they raised the matter again yesterday, he said, "a lively discussion ensued," ending with Mr. Brezhnev's oral assurance that, as an American statement put it, "the Soviet Blackflora production rate would not exceed 30 a year."

Pact Gives Soviet Data On Arms For First Time

Special to The New York Times
WASHINGTON, June 18 — The Soviet Union, as part of the new arms treaty, has made public, for the first time, figures on its strategic arsenal.

Under the treaty, Washington and Moscow agree to provide each other at regular intervals with information about the composition of their strategic forces. Attached to the treaty are statements that give the strength of the Soviet Union and the United States in 10 categories of weapons as of Nov. 1, 1978, including the following:
Intercontinental ballistic missile launchers: Soviet — 1,388; U.S. — 1,054.

Intercontinental ballistic missiles with multiple warheads: Soviet — 608; U.S. — 350.

Submarine-launched ballistic missile launchers: Soviet — 900; U.S. — 606.

Submarine-launched ballistic missiles with multiple warheads: Soviet — 144; U.S. — 496.

Heavy bombers: Soviet — 156; U.S. — 573.

Hofburg, Site of Treaty Signing, Is a Place Bursting With History

By WOLFGANG SAXON

Looking on as President Carter and Leonid I. Brezhnev signed the strategic-arms treaty at the Hofburg in Vienna yesterday, the silent witnesses of history dating back to Charlemagne, representing the glories and woes of the continent that could become the center of nuclear desolation if the superpowers of East and West fail to curb their arsenals and keep the peace.

The Hofburg itself, a town within a town, retained a single fortress in the 13th century. It soon became the seat of the Hapsburgs and remained their favored residence until their empire collapsed in 1918.

The complex grew over the centuries along with the power of the Hapsburgs, who added to it to suit their taste and coffers. The last of its buildings was completed just before World War I. Continuity was assured when the Austrian Republic made it into the residence of its chief of state and a national treasure house.

A 15th-Century Chapel
Visitors stream to the Hofburg's 15th-century Gothic chapel, on Sundays to hear the Vienna Boys' Choir. Or they might go to the Spanish Riding School, a grassy quadrangle, to watch the Lipizzan stallions go through their paces.

Architectural styles ranging from Gothic to Renaissance to Baroque to Rococo blend into a masterpiece that overlooks elegant interior courtyards and their equestrian statuary. Altogether, the Hofburg has more than 2,000 rooms and halls, many of them containing irreplaceable art and imperials.

It also houses Austria's National Library and remarkable collections

of drawings, furniture, porcelain and jewelry. In a crypt, 26 emperors and empresses and more than a 100 archbishops and bishops lie in state.

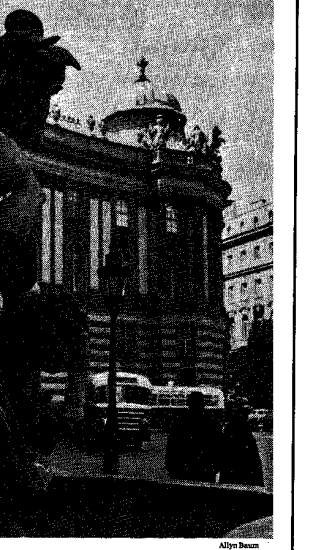
The Hapsburgs came from Alsace and Switzerland, where they held lands in the 10th century. A princely electoral college named Count Rudolf IV as King of the Germans in 1273, when he also became Holy Roman Emperor.

Base for the Crusades
But as King Rudolf II, he first had to fight it out with a resentful King Ottokar II of Bohemia, who refused to honor the election result. It was Ottokar, who fortified Vienna, a flourishing trading hub as well as a base for the Crusaders and the Teutonic Knights. He built a four-walled structure, bristling with towers west of St. Stephen's Cathedral, even then the historical and cultural center of Vienna.

After defeating Ottokar, Rudolf acquired lands in Austria, took the title of Austria and made it his fortress his own. The building on its site today is known as the Schweizerhof, because it was having housed the Empress Maria Theresa's Swiss guards.

The Hofburg reigned as Holy Roman Emperor's residence until expelled from 1438 to 1806. But from the 16th century on, imperial and Austrian affairs became virtually identical, a trend sealed by the Reformation, which pitted Protestant German princes against the Roman Catholic Emperor and led to the Thirty Years War in 1618.

The Holy Roman Emperor, a strip having slipped from much of Central Europe, died in the Napoleonic era in 1806. The Hapsburgs were simply Emperors of Austria, later Austria-Hungary. They were still a power to reckon with until World War I left only the Hofburg as a reflection of their former might.



The Hofburg in Vienna. A water fountain is in foreground.