MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE HUMAN SERVICES COMMITTEE
February 7, 1983

The meeting of the Human Services Committee was called to order by Chairman Marjorie Hart, February 7, 1983, at 12:30 p.m. in Room 325 of the Capitol Building. All members were present.

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 8. REP. VINCENT, sponsor, stated this bill urges the President of the United States to propose to the Soviet Union a freeze on the development, testing and deployment of nuclear weaponry and the eventual disarmament of all nations. IN HJR 8 we are offering the opportunity to implement Initiative 91 and to lend in an official capacity the official voice of the Legislature to the voice of our people.

PROPONENTS:

DON CLARK, journalist, writing a column on international affairs, stated there are three reasons for supporting HJR 8: (1) because the people of the state have shown interest in nuclear freeze; (2) the people are eager to support this issue now; and (3) a freeze does not undermine the current negotiations going on with the United States in Geneva. A freeze is going to create the best possible climate for Geneva negotiations. He urged support of HJR 8 (EXHIBIT 1).

JOHN HEFFERNAN, Common Cause of Montana, Lobbyist, stated that both the national Common Cause board and the Montana Common Cause board have taken strong positions in support of a bilateral, mutually verifiable freeze on the development, testing, production and deployment of nuclear weaponry and therefore support HJR 8. Common Cause feels that further buildup of nuclear weapons will increase the risk of nuclear war (EXHIBIT 2).

CHESTER HOPE, M.D., Family Physician, Columbia Falls, stated when faced with an illness or epidemic with consequences so awesome and for which there is no effective treatment or cure, prevention becomes the only reasonable medical response. The prospect of a nuclear war resulting from our current arms race can be considered such an epidemic. HJR 8, calling for a bilateral verifiable freeze on the development and deployment of new nuclear weapons, would be a significant initial step preventing a nuclear holocaust (EXHIBIT 3).

FRANKLIN KOHL, Montana Association of Churches, spoke in favor of HJR 8. He hoped that the arms race could be slowed and stopped.

REP. KADAS, entered a letter from John McNamer, Author, Initiative 91, into the records. He supports HJR 8. (EXHIBIT 4)

CHRISTINE TORGRIMSON, state coordinator, Montana Citizens to End the Arms Race, said by strongly passing I-91, Montana voters clearly stated our alarm about the nuclear arms race and indicated our desire that it be halted. I believe those same voters, and by now more, also would support HJR 8, primarily because three more months have passed and we seem no closer to either a nuclear freeze or arms negotiations with the Soviet Union. Today the U. S. and Soviets are closer to parity in nuclear arms than any time since World War II. And if we don't freeze soon, the risk of nuclear war will increase significantly because of the scheduled deployment of new U. S. first- strike weapons, which will increase Soviet vulnerability and may cause them to develop an extremely dangerous launch-on-warning response. She strongly supported HJR 8 (EXHIBIT 5).

NANCY HARTE, legislative coordinator for the Montana Democratic Party, stated, in a resolution passed at last summer's Democratic Party Platform Convention, the Democratic Party resolved: "we support the adoption of a national policy to effect an immediate freeze on the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons throughout the world, and further, to effect the equal reduction of nuclear arsenals throughout the world." She urged the Committee to support HJR 8 (EXHIBIT 6).

ELLEN MURPHY, Last Chance Peacemakers Coalition; TERRY MENO; BECKY HEIMGARTNER, Great Falls; JOHN CATON, Anaconda; and ROB SAND, Charlo,Montana all supported HJR 8.

OPPONENTS:

REP. PHILLIPS, District 43, said there were two points he did not agree with. First, the resolution infers that we have almost twice the nuclear capability as the Soviet Union. A second point is that it talks of a mutual freeze without regard as to whether we are in an equitable situation with the Soviets (EXHIBIT 7).

REP. VINCENT closed the hearing s a ying that we will not be able to negotiate a verifiable freeze if or when we are in a superior position. Now is the time to do that because neither side is superior.

QUESTIONS:

REP. KEYSER: How well can the Russian people speak out in their objections of the build up.
MR. CLARK: They cannot.

REP. KEYSER: Is it not true that three out of 4 Soviet warheads sit on top of ICBM's while only 22% of ours do.
REP. VINCENT: The Soviet Union is slightly ahead.

REP. KEYSER: The U. S. has more warheads than the Soviets do and they have more delay systems than we do. In ICBM's, the Soviets have almost 2 to 1 more than we do.
REP. VINCENT: I don't know if 2 to 1 is entirely accurate.

REP. DRISCOLL: Do you think we have enough to destroy less or more; and if we do, what difference does it make.
REP. PHILLIPS: We probably do. That type of figure indicates that we are superior to Russia. They have gained heavily in the ICBM category. They only have 150 bombers carrying 430 warheads. We have 316 bombers, carrying 2,528 warheads. There is some question regarding the bomber capability--whether the bomber is going to get through.

REP. FABREGA: What is the dollar amount per capita in relation to the gross national product.
REP. VINCENT: Dollarwise, military spending is quite comparable. But the population is 20% greater than ours, so we are spending more than they are.
MR. CLARK: No one knows how much the Soviets are spending. The United States pays their recruits $500 per month; the Soviets pay their recruits $6 per month.

CHAIRMAN HART closed the hearing on HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 8.

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 10. REP. KADAS, sponsor, stated that this resolution is directed at what is going on in Montana. This would add another 100 warheads to Montana. My resolution is saying we have enough warheads in Montana. We don't want any more. There are already 300 warheads in Montana and that is enough. Secondly, the warheads that are going to be put in are much more accurate than Minuteman 2's. Building in accuracy is a destabilizing factor. The final point of the bill is that it offers Montana as an initial site for negotiated arms reduction.

PROPONENTS:

SHERMAN H. JANKE, Bozeman, spoke in favor of HJR 10.

BELLE RICHARDS, pediatrician, spent two weeks in October 1982 in the Soviet Union. Individuals in the Soviet Union expressed their desire for peace. She supports the position of these joint resolutions. (EXHIBIT 8)

ED KAMMERER, supported HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 10, relating his own personal experience--having retirement property in the Black Hills but not being able to build there because of the hazards of the missiles, bombers, the smell of fuel being overpowering, and watching lips move without being able to understand what is being said.

CHARLES A. BANDEROH, Ballentine Montana, stated that the cornered beast and the cornered man are in no position to reason. He said it was up to the Committee to reason in this case. He read a letter from Tom Ryan, Montana Senior Citizens Association, who also supported HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 10. (EXHIBIT 9)

JUDY OLSEN, Montana Nurses Association, supported HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 10. (EXHIBIT 10)

KATHLEEN ROYLAND, Missoula Democratic Party; NANCY J. HARTE, Montana Democratic Party; BECKY HEIMGARTNER, Great Falls; and MAC McDONALD supported HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 10.

FRANKLIN KOHL, representing the Montana Association of Churches, said we need to risk some de-escalation initiatives and to publicize these limiting steps as a challenge to the Soviet Union to take similar steps. (EXHIBIT 11)

CHRISTINE TORGRIMSON, state coordinator, Montana Citizens to End the Arms Race, also appeared in support of HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 10.

OPPONENTS:

REP. PHILLIPS said he thinks we are talking a moot point because there are no funds and no one sees any funds in the horizon. I think this is a dead issue of upgrading Minuteman 2 to 3. He stated if and when we can cut arms reduction, Montana is the best place to phase down. He thought it should be left to the so-called experts and planners.

ALBERT E. LONGTON, Great Falls, private citizen, working for Secretary of the Army, urged that HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 10 be dropped in the interest of the United States.

ROGER YOUNG, executive vice president of the Great Falls Area Chamber of Commerce, spoke in opposition of HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 10.

REP. NEUMAN expressed his opposition to HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 10.

REP. KADAS closed the hearing on HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 10.

QUESTIONS:
REP. WINSLOW: During the introduction you talked about accuracy being destabilizing. Is it fair to say less accuracy is stabilizing. If we had less accurate weapons, we would naturally be considered weaker.
REP. KADAS: If we have the ability to destroy hard targets, then we have too much accuracy.
REP. WINSLOW: I see less accuracy as being a term of weakness.
REP. KADAS: All I am saying isthat we have the ability to put our missiles on target (Soviet missiles) without destroying cities and population.

REP. MENAHAN: If you believe like Anaconda Company does, they are moving their plants to Japan where work is cheaper when we really need them.
MR. LONGTON: Right now, our plants are antiquated. The Department of Defense has nothing to do with it.

Additional written testimony is attached (EXHIBIT 12).

CHAIRMAN HART closed the hearing on HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 10.

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 13. REP. NORDTVEDT, sponsor, stated the purpose of this resolution is to work towards that goal of minimizing the threat of nuclear war in such a way as to safeguard the interests and the freedom of the western world of which the United States is a part. This resolution supports the ongoing negotiations in Geneva for major reductions in the level of nuclear weapons. He urged support of this resolution.

PROPONENTS:

ROGER YOUNG, executive vice president of the Great Falls Area Chamber of Commerce, stated that Malmstrom is very much in the running to become the headquarters for the Strategic Air Command's Strategic Training Range Complex. It could mean more than 2,000 permanent civilian and military jobs and many, many millions of dollars in construction. If you must support one of these measures, we urge your support of HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 13 (EXHIBIT 13).

REP. PHILLIPS said the basic question is how can we prevent a nuclear conflict, stop the arms race, and start a genuine reduction in our massive arms arsenal. He supported HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 13 (EXHIBIT 14).

TONY CUMMING, American Legion of Montana, spoke in favor of HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 13.

WILLIS H. WILSON, Veterans of Foreign Wars, stated one thing he learned while spending thirty years in the air force, defense is very important for this country. He urged that we not let the defense of the country deteriorate.

REP. SWIFT, District 91, said we need to, as a nation, support our government's direction not to freeze but to work for a reduction in nuclear capability.

OPPONENTS:

REP. KADAS introduced amendments to HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 13 and briefly discussed them with the Committee (EXHIBIT 15).

DON CLARK, Journalist--writing column on international affairs, said the Russians are buying time. That time gives them the opportunity they need to regain nuclear superiority. By supporting this resolution, it is costing a three-to-five year delay to limit the nuclear arms race. I am a great believer in strength but both the United States and Russia have enough weapons to do any kind of damage we want to do. Why do we need to add more missiles? That is what this resolution would allow you to do. As we build up our forces, the Soviets are going to do the same thing.

SHERMAN H. JANKE, Bozeman, suggested that we look at the motivation and real policy as to the actual objectives of the present national administration. He stated we have no alternative but to push for the deployment of the Pershing and cruise missiles. Whether the current U. S. proposals could be accepted by the Soviet Union, the Administration can in effect say, "We tried, and we told you so; an agreement cannot be reached." He urged rejection of HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 13. (EXHIBIT 16)

REP. VINCENT rose in opposition of HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 13. He said HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 8 says enough is enough. STOP; FREEZE; NEGOTIATE.

REP. NORDTVEDT closed by saying that we have a fundamental difference of judgment as to what will best promote peace. We must negotiate now because in a few years one side will be in a position to give ultimatums to the other side. The Soviets have large megaton weapons that we do not build. Contrary to REP. KADAS, it is not simply a matter of accuracy. It is a combination of accuracy and megaton power of the warhead. We will negotiate and we will still have increased expenses of conventional weapons. The nuclear arms race is a tragedy because of the incredible resources that both sides are using.

QUESTIONS:

REP. CONNELLY: What do you mean by destabilizing.
REP. NORDTVEDT: I believe that most people were referring to a weapon system that is so threatening to the other side that it might shorten the response time with regard to the use of their own weapons.

REP. KEYSER: Can you explain a reason why people that are supporting a nuclear arms reduction and a complete freeze come in opposition to another piece of legislation. Have we finally taken such a great thing that affects the nation and put it on a partisan basis.
REP. NORDTVEDT: If the negotiations have a chance of succeeding and reducing the military expenditures, it would reduce the chance of calculated war.

The meeting adjourned at 2:55 p.m.

Marjorie Hart
CHAIRMAN MARJORIE HART

Geri Brusett
Secretary

Ex 1
HJR

Biography

FOR

Don Clark

-- Retired Colonel, USAF.

-- Journalist writing column on International Affairs.

-- Served as Joint Staff representative and Member of Us Delegations to international negotiations and National Security Council deliberations such as SALT, MBFR. Law of the Sea, Laws Of Humanitarian Warfare, US/Soviet Naval Rules of the Sea, Chemical and Biological Warfare negotiations. 71-74.

-- First USAF Fellow to the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. 70-71.

-- Head, Dept of International Negotiations,Air Command and Staff College, 68-70.

-- Asst.USAF Air Attache, USSR 66-68.

-- Lectured at all of the military professional schools on US/Soviet relations and arms control issues.

-- Selections from columns used by Voice of America to demonstrate editorial comment in America.

-- Twice winner of Air University Review "Best Article Award" for articles on Soviet Union , its military and national strategy.

Out of step on freeze

8-29-82

Hither and Yon

Don Clark

After little more than a year the nuclear freeze movement has garnered the open support of 202 U.S. Representatives. It would be an incredible story except that 204 members of the House of Representatives decided to vote againnst a mutual freeze resolution. I suggest the slight majority will prove to be the ones out-of-step with the nation, thus continuing the tradition that America's so-called leaders are often neither listening nor leading.

The 204 do have a reasonable excuse, however, for they were hoodwinked by one of the best political ploys as well as conditioned by a historic reality of politics. The ploy was the same one used by the Nixon administrtion in the early '70s to defeat a Mike Mansfield-authored Senate resolution calling for a significant reduction of U.S. forces stationed overseas. The resolution passed strongly one day but within 48 hours was defeated on a re-vote. The successful argument for reversal was that a vote for the reductions would undermine the U.S.-Soviet negotiations on conventional force reductions that were about to begin in Vienna.

The Reagan administration followed that same line on the nuclear freeze vote offering a counter-resolution that supported the administration's START proposal. Vote for our resolution, they told the members, and you will be voting not for a freeze at the already intolerable numbers, but for a significant reduction of U.S.-Soviet nuclear forces. But a vote for the mutual freeze, the argument went on, will undermine our leverage in the START talks for making the Russians agree to reduce.

Thus, the representatives could vote for the alternative Bloomfield proposal, yet, still claim to their constituents that they were in favor of limits on the nuclear race.

But both of these administration positions were fraudulent and served other purposes. In the case of the troop reductions some nine years have passed, and the United States has not only not reduced its overseas forces, but has slightly increased their numbers in central Europe. While the so-called bad guys, the Soviets, have actually reduced their's slightly in that region. The United States simply did not want to reduce.

The mutual freeze, which the Russians have said they would accept, would not undermine the START talks, but instead set a fine starting point for them, making later reductions easier to negotiate due to the enhanced climate of agreement. And more importantly, it would be easier to negotiate reductions if limited to the systems now deployed, than it would be if the planned future systems on both sides are added.

But without a freeze it seems highly likely that those future systems will become fact. Everyone agrees that the initial U.S. proposal is non-negotiable, and that the negotiations will provide more than enough time for Reagan to add systems like the MX, B-1 bomber, cruise missiles, invisible bomber, etc. But from them he will not acquire superiority — the Russians too will add, and the result will be a more complicated mix making it even harder for the negotiators to find a reasonable equity standard. That will mean a more spiraled arms race which the freeze could halt now.

Polls show that the American public favors arms control over the build-up, but Congress has voted the other way. In fact Congress this year passed a defense budget with more than a 15 percent increase while faced with the largest deficit ever and high interest rates that are killing our economy. Why?

Because Congressmen have been conditoned by a post-World War II history which shows them that a vote for defense spending seldom if ever hurts them at the election booth, but that a vote against defense spending can be used by an opponent to brand them as soft on communism, and is thus quite costly. I suggest the voters of this land have for too long accepted the premise that dollars spent on defense increase our security and thus have to be good. This, in spite of numerous widely reported examples of intolerable waste, and the statements of men like ex-defense chief McNamara, who tells us that in the current military balance, arms reductions will probably buy us more security than arms increases.

So you and I are the real culprits. Congressmen will react only when they receive a clear message from us. That message has now reached over 200 of them, and it is up to us to change that count to 400 or more by letting them know that the deficits must go, and that defense spending is no longer automatically sacrosanct. That nuclear superiority is now only a myth, and that the mutual freeze is the logical first step toward getting a lock on the arms race. Simultaneously we can reduce deficits and make the world safer without taking any risks. What more could we ask for, and what are you going to do to make it happen?

EX 2
HJR 8

TESTIMONY SUBMITTED IN SUPPORT OF H.J.R. 8
COMMITTEE ON HUMAN SERVICES
REPRESENTATIVE MARJORIE HART, CHAIRMAN
FEBRUARY 7, 1983

BY: John Heffernan
lobbyist
Common Cause of Montana

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, I thank you for this opportunity to testify. My name is John Heffernan;I represent Common Cause of Montana as a lobbyist. Common Cause has more than 700 members in Montana and 250,000 nationally. Both the national Common Cause board and the Montana Common Cause board have taken strong positions in support of a bilateral, mutually verifiable freeze on the development, testing, production and deploymant of nuclear weaponry and therefore support H.J.R. no. 8.

The nuclear arms buildup by our government is the business of every citizen in the U.S.. A free self-governing people cannot afford to leave nuclear arms policy to so-called"experts." Experts who are vulnerable to becoming blinded and trapped by their special roles: the Military by their duty to plan war; scientists engaged in weapons development enthusiastic to build and test the products of their imagination and hours of effort; industries by the lure of government contracts. Peace and threats to peace are the peoples business.

Those who assert that the United States suffers a window of vulnerability" are speaking of the risk that Soviet land-based missiles by a first strike could wipe out many, perhaps most, of the U.S. land-based missiles. But the comparison is to narrow. It ignores our bombers and submarines that would still have the capacity to devastate every major city and military installation in the Soviet Union if the unthinkable first strike by the Soviet Union were to occur.

Common Cause feels that further buildup of nuclear weapons will increase the risk of nuclear war. Knowing that wars start in strange places and unpredictable ways, no one can write the scenario. We do know though, as Jerome Weisner, former science adviser to President Kennedy, tells us, "The weapons of today are easier to count and monitor than those of tomorrow will be." Provision for verification is essential. No one should confuse pressure to work for a nuclear weapons freeze with unilateral disarmament.

While we should not ignore the possibilities of pressures from within the Soviet citizenry, we must also agree that the pressures on the Soviet government for nuclear arms controls will not come from a citizens movement. To wait for that is to risk escalation and the destruction of civilization. By putting ourselves in the shoes of the Soviet leaders , can we not see that we and they may have one common interest--the survival of civilization? Common Cause enthusiastically supports H.J.R. 8 by the Montana Legislature urging The President of the United States to propose a bilateral nuclear weapons freeze to the Soviet Union and other nations.

THANK YOU

Ex 3
HJR 8

As a physician, I am obligated by tradition to relieve suffering and prevent unnecessary death and disability. When faced with an illness or epidemic with consequences so awesome and for which there is no effective treatment or cure, prevention becomes the only reasonable medical response. The prospect of a nuclear war resulting from our current arms race can be considered such an epidemic. There can be no meaningful medical reaction to a situation where hundreds of millions of people would be killed outright, where millions more will be critically ill, most hospitals destroyed, most medical personnel killed and most medical supplies unavailable and where damage to the environment will threaten the very existence of the human race.

House Joint Resolution #8, calling for a bilateral verifiable freeze on the development and deployment of new nuclear weapons, would be a significant initial step preventing a nuclear holocaust. House Joint Resolution #10, calling for a nuclear arms reduction, would be the next logical step in reaching this goal.

Senate Joint Resolution #10, which calls for reduced funding for nuclear weapons and defense hardware and increased funding for human services, would promote national security by helping eliminate poverty, hunger, despair and much illness - all of which contribute to global insecurity.

We need to examine the costs and benefits of health programs that are being cut in favor of increased military spending. Programs whose allocations are being reduced by President Reagan's proposed federal budget include proven cost effective programs dealing with maternal and infant nutrition, immunizations, etc. An example of a cost effective program is the effort by the World Health Organization that over ten years completely irradicated smallpox, a disease that infected 10 to 15 million people and caused 2 million deaths annually. The cost was estimated at $300 million (less than the cost of two B-1 bombers). The United States contribution amounted to $3 million annually (we spend this much every 15 minutes on our

current U. S. military programs). The United States now saves $130 million each year by being able to discontinue vaccination surveillance and quarantine programs. We wonder how many programs with similar cost benefit ratios are being cut.

The $30 billion annual raise in defense spending advocated by the Reagan adminstration would provide access to safe drinking water to the half of the world's population now lacking it. Unsafe drinking water is responsible for an estimated 80 percent of deaths due to communicable disease (cholera, hepatitis, parasitic infestations, etc.) in third world countries. Millions of additional lives could be saved if similar funds were transferred from military to health related programs such as those devoted to malaria control, immunizations, and world hunger. Such a transfer of funds would lead to more world (and hence national) security than if we continue our present course of arms buildup.

In conclusion, I would encourage you to vote for a verifiable freeze on the development and deployment of new nuclear weapons (HJR-8), for a reduction in nuclear weapons (HJR-10), and for an <u>increase</u> in spending for national security (SJR-10).

Chester Hope, M. D., Family Physician
Columbia Falls, MT 59912

a marketplace) and where squeezing out every last bit of performance is far less crucial. Changing their methods and mind-sets will require a carefully thought-out plan for retaining and reorientation.

Of course, the transition of engineers and scientists from military to civilian activity is only one aspect of the overall conversion problem. Nevertheless, it illustrates a common requirement of all components of the conversion process — the necessity for serious, detailed advanced planning. Ideally, such planning should be highly decentralized, simply because to be successful a conversion plan for a military facility, be it a base or an industrial establishment, must be tailored to the special characteristics of the facility and is best developed by those who know it best: the work force, management, and the community involved.

While it has become increasingly clear that reversal of the arms race is now an indispensable *economic* policy for returning the United States to a condition of constructive growth, it is of utmost *political* importance that concrete plans for assuring a smooth transfer of resources have been developed and are ready for implementation. This will serve two critical purposes. First, it will allay the fears of those working in the military sector that their personal economic security is threatened by those who would reverse the arms race (a crucial step toward broadening the political constituency for conversion). Second, it will unambiguously demonstrate that the formal U.S. commitment to negotiating arms limitation and disarmament treaties is real and strong. That of itself will be a contribution to national security and human survival.

LOOTING THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION

Seymour Melman

Reprinted from *The New York Times*, 26 July 1981.

"America in Ruins" is both the title and forecast of a 1981 report by the Council of State Planning Agencies, an organization of the planning and policy staffs of the nation's governors. The Council finds major deterioration in parts of the country's infrastructure — that is, vital services such as clean water, reliable transportation, efficient ports, and competent waste disposal, which are indispensable underpinnings for an industrial system. The reports finds — as any traveler on United States railroads knows — that "the maintenance of public facilities essential to national economic renewal has been deferred."

Simultaneously, the means of production of United States industry have been deteriorating.

Production incompetence, now endemic, is spreading fast, not only in the well-publicized case of automobile firms but also in the following industries: steel, machine tools, radio and television manufacturing, railroad equipment, precision optics, fine cameras, men's shoes, flatware, hi-fi electronics, etc., etc., etc.

As private and public managers become better at making money without making economically useful goods, a new issue finally will have to be confronted: Will American industry reach a condition of "no return," making the achievement of industrial renewal problematic?

The way that an economy uses its capital — its production resources — is a crucial determinant of its productivity and economic well-being.

By 1977, for every $100 of new (producers) fixed capital formation, the United States applied $46 to the military economy. In Japan, the ratio was $3.70 for the military. The concentration of Japan's capital on productive economic growth goes far to explain the current success of that country's industry, where productivity *grew* 6.2 percent in 1980. By contrast, with the United States' aging machinery stock, the average output per person in manufacturing industry *decreased* 0.5 percent in 1980.

The United States has "achieved" its present state of industrial deterioration by assigning to the military economy large quantities of machinery, tools, engineers, energy, raw materials, skilled labor, and managers — resources identified everywhere as the "fixed and working capital" that is vital for production.

Since a modern military budget is used to purchase such resources, it is, effectively, a capital fund. A large ratio of military to civilian capital formation drains the civilian economy. The viability of the United States as an industrial society is threatened by the concentration of capital in a fund that yields no product useful for consumption or for further production. This looting of the means of production on behalf of the military economy can only be accelerated as a consequence of the unprecedented size of the war budgets advocated by the Reagan Administration.

The vital resources that constitute a nation's capital fund cannot be enlarged by waving a budgetary wand. Neither can manufacturing facilities by multiplied by ever richer subsidies to the managers of military industry. Basic machinery, skilled labor, engineers, and scientists — all are finite in number and difficult to increase.

The concentration of capital on the military portends sharply diminished opportunity for a productive livelihood for most Americans. Clearly, a choice must be made as to where these resources will be used.

The accompanying list of trade-offs illustrates the kinds of choices that the Reagan Administration and the Congress are now making with their budget and tax plans, intended or not.

The following are principal sources of these data: military-program and unit costs, and cost changes (overruns), the Department of Defense: "SAR Program Acquisition Cost Summary (Unclassified)," Dec. 31, 1980, and related reports, and "Procurement Programs (P-1)," March 10, 1981; and news media reports. The civilian capital-cost data range from reported prices (machine tools, buses, trolleys) and reported Federal budget items to informed estimates of industrial research and project costs and of costs of public works. Economic and engineering estimates are from Representative Les Aspin (Congressional Record, April 17, 1981); Prof. John E. Ullmann of Hofstra University; Mark Hipp, a Colum-

bia University doctoral candidate; the Council on Economic Priorities; the city of San Diego; and the California Public Policy Center.

Seven percent of the military outlays from fiscal 1981 to 1986.	= $100 billion =	the cost of rehabilitating the United States' steel industry so that it is again the most efficient in the world.
The cost overrun, to 1981, on the Navy's Aegis-Cruiser program.	= $ 8.4 billion =	the comprehensive research-and-development effort needed to produce 80- to 100-mile-per-gallon cars.
The cost overrun, to 1981, on the Navy's current submarine, frigate, and destroyer programs.	= $ 42 billion =	for California, a 10-year investment to spur solar energy for space, water-, and industrial-process heating; this would involve 376,000 new jobs and lead to vast fuel savings.
Sixty-three percent of the cost overruns, to 1981, on 50 current major weapons systems.	= $110 billion =	the 20-year cost of solar devices and energy-conservation equipment in commercial buildings, saving 3.7 million barrels of oil per day.
The cruise-missile programs.	= $ 11 billion =	the cost of bringing the annual rate of investment in public works to the 1965 level.
Two B-1 bombers.	= $400 million =	the cost of rebuilding Cleveland's water-supply system.
Cost overruns, to 1981 on the Navy's Trident and the Air Force's F-16 programs.	= $ 33 billion =	the cost of rehabilitating or reconstructing one out of five United States bridges.
The Navy's F-18 fighter program.	= $ 34 billion =	the cost of modernizing America's machine-tool stock to bring it to the average level of Japan's.
Seventy-five percent of the cost overrun, to 1981, on the Navy's 5-inch guided projectile program.	= $263 million =	President Reagan's proposed fiscal 1981 and 1982 cuts in the Northeast rail-corridor improvement programs, and in the alcohol-fuels development program.

Two nuclear-powered aircraft carriers.	= $ 5.8 billion =	the cost of converting 77 oil-using power plants to coal, saving 350,000 barrels of oil per day.
Eighty-eight percent of the cost overrun, to 1981, of the Navy's Tomahawk cruise missile.	= $444 million =	President Reagan's proposed fiscal 1981 – 1982 cuts in the Federal solar-energy budget.
Three Army AH-64 helicopters	= $ 82 million =	100 top-quality, energy-efficient electric trolleys (made in West Germany)
One F-15A airplane	= $ 29 million =	the cost of training 200 engineers to design and produce electric trolleys in the United States.
46 Army heavy (XM-1) tanks.	= $120 million =	500 top-quality buses (West German-made).
The cost overrun, to 1981, on Navy Frigates (F-FG-7)	= $ 5 billion =	the minimum additional annual investment needed to prevent water pollution in the United States from exceeding present standards.
The cost of unjustified noncombat pentagon aircraft.	= $6.8 billion =	six years of capital investment that is needed to rehabilitate New York City transit.
The cost overrun, to 1981, on the Army's heavy-tank (XM-1) program	= $ 13 billion =	the shortfall of capital needed for maintaining water supplies of 150 United States cities for the next 20 years.
The MX missile system, first cost	= $ 34 billion =	the cost of a comprehensive 10-year energy-efficiency effort to save 25 percent to 50 percent of United States oil imports.
Reactivating two World War II mothballed battleships.	= $376 million =	President Reagan's fiscal 1981 and fiscal 1982 cut in energy-conservation investment.
The cost overrun, to 1981, on the Navy's F-18 aircraft program.	= $26.4 billion =	the cost of electrifying 55,000 miles of mainline railroads, and the cost of new locomotives.

The fiscal 1981 nuclear-weapons funding, adding to more than 20,000 on hand.	= $5.06 billion =	eight years of capital cost for rehabilitating New York City's sewers.
The cost of excessive, nonstandardized military aircraft service equipment.	= $300 million =	President Reagan's fiscal 1981 and 1982 reduction in capital grants for mass transit.
The cost overrun, to 1981, of the Army's UH-60A helicopter program.	= $4.7 billion =	the annual capital investment for restoring New York City's roads, bridges, aqueducts, subways, and buses.
One nuclear (SSN-688) attack submarine	= $582 million =	the cost of 100 miles of electrified rail right-of-way.
Ten B-1 bombers	= $ 2 billion =	the cost of dredging six Gulf Coast and Atlantic Coast harbors to handle 15,000-ton cargo vessels.
One A-6E Intruder (attack plane).	= $ 23 million =	the annual cost of a staff of 200 to plan mutual reversal of the arms race, and conversion of the military economy to a civilian economy.

SCIENTISTS AGREE: NO ONE CAN WIN A NUCLEAR WAR

Dr. Frederic Solomon and Dr. Mary Coleman

Reprinted from *The Miami Herald*, 11 March 1980.

A belief that the United States should be able to win an all-out nuclear war with the Soviet Union appears to be one foundation of George Bush's approach to military and foreign policy. He rejects the idea that nuclear war has no winners. Bush foresees "survivability" of industrial potential, command and control functions, and a "percentage of the citizens" -- even if "everybody fires everything he has" in a nuclear exchange.

As physicians, we are dismayed and alarmed by these pronouncements of a

respected political leader, because current medical knowledge shows Bush's assumptions to be dead wrong.

Earlier this month, a group of distinguished physicians and natural scientists met in Cambridge to review the medical consequences of nuclear weapons and nuclear war. The symposium was co-sponsored by the Harvard and Tufts medical schools and Physicians for Social Responsibility. At the conference, renowned authorities documented the futility of medical disaster planning for nuclear war. Effective civil defense and ecological recovery were likewise shown to be essentially impossible.

Consider this information, presented at the symposium:

The single bomb dropped on Hiroshima had the explosive force of about 15 kilotons (15,000 tons of TNT). Nuclear weapons in present-day arsenals range in size from one kiloton to 20 megatons (20 million tons of TNT). Today the United States has over 30,000 nuclear bombs, and the Soviet Union has 20,000.

In an all-out nuclear exchange, all major population and industrial centers would be hit, both in the United States and the Soviet Union. Such an exchange could be complete in one hour. At least 90 percent of the population of both countries would die as a direct result of the thermonuclear blast and radiation.

The survivors, many of them blind and grievously injured, would have to cope with an environmental and ecological catastrophe. Worldwide fallout would contaminate the earth for thousands of years. Plant and bacterial mutations, the disappearance of most birds and mammals, alterations in the earth's temperature, and other atmospheric changes would result in disease, famine, and floods on an unprecedented scale.

After an all-out nuclear war, most of the ozone layer in the earth's atmosphere would be destroyed, according to Professor Henry Kendall, a physicist at M.I.T. The sun's rays would then become terrifying and dangerous. Anyone in the world whose uncovered skin is exposed to daylight would risk incapacitating sunburn within ten minutes and lethal sunburn within an hour. Skin cancer would become rampant. In the long run, only insects can be assured of survival in such a postwar world.

The Cambridge conferees offered conservative estimates of the effects of one 20-megaton thermonuclear bomb upon one large city. Such a bomb would be 1,000 times more powerful than the bomb used on Hiroshima.

If the bomb exploded on ground level on a clear day it would create a fireball one and a half miles in diameter, with temperatures of 20 million to 30 million degrees Fahrenheit. Every structure and every living thing in the downtown area would be vaporized.

Within a ten-mile radius the blast wave, 180-mph winds, and fire would inflict death or injury on almost every human being. At least 50 percent would die immediately. Even at twenty miles from the explosion, half the population would be either killed or injured by the blast pressure and heat. Thus a single nuclear device would result in tens of thousands of life-threatening burn injuries. The entire United States has intensive-care facilities for fewer than 2,000 such cases.

Many would be killed by random spontaneous fires fueled by oil-storage

Ex 4

HJR 8,10

TESTIMONY ON HJR 10

The voters of Montana are clearly on the record in opposition to the placement of the MX in Montana and to the further testing, development or deployment of nuclear weapons by any nation. At issue in House Joint Resolution 10 is whether the representative form of government as manifested by the Montana Legislature is truly representative of its constituency.

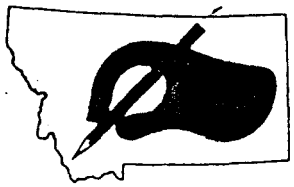
The passage of Initiative 91 required clear thinking and courage by the voters of Montana. The passage of House Joint Resolution 10 will also require clear thinking and courage on the part of our elected representatives.

I am hopeful that the will of the people of Montana will be accurately reflected by passage of House Joint Resolution 10 and I support it.

John McNamer

JOHN McNAMER
Author, Initiative 91
Route 1, Box 104
Charlo, Montana 59824

February 7, 1983



INITIATIVE NO. 91

Attorney General's Explanatory Statement

This initiative would declare that the people of Montana are opposed to the placement of MX missiles in this state. It also expresses opposition to further testing, development or deployment of nuclear weapons by any nation. Passage of this initiative is an expression of the opinion of the voters in Montana and would have no legal effect.

Be It Enacted By The People Of Montana:

Section 1. Declaration of policy. It is hereby declared that the people of Montana are opposed to:

1) the placement of MX missiles in Montana; and

2) any further testing, development, or deployment of nuclear weapons by any nation.

Seciton 2. Conveyance to national authorities. The Secretary of State of the State of Montana is hereby directed to immediately convey a copy of this initiative to the Congress and the President of the United States of America.

Section 3. Effective date. This initiative is effective January 1, 1983.

☐ FOR the initiative — I oppose the placement of MX missiles in Montana and the further testing, development or deployment of nuclear weapons by any nation.

☐ AGAINST the initiative — I do not oppose the placement of MX missiles in Montana and the further testing, development or deployment of nuclear weapons by any nation.

ARGUMENT FOR INITIATIVE NO. 91

It is with a deep sense of stewardship for this land and respect for all living things that we advocate the approval of Initiative 91. It is with an equally deep sense of conviction, alarm and sadness that we as conscientious citizens of these United States of America recognize our right and duty to speak directly to an issue which has captured our utmost concern: The further testing, development or deployment of nuclear weapons by any nation; more specifically, the placement of the MX missile system in Montana.

The nuclear arms race has transcended the bounds of decency; it is an evil that can no longer be allowed to have its will if we are to survive as civilized and thinking human beings.

The MX missile system which may be placed in Montana poses significant and severe negative consequences for the people of this state morally, economically, environmentally and socially and yet Montanans have been offered an insignificant role in the MX decision-making process.

The strategic implications of the MX missile system are awesome. A massive nuclear weapons system designed with first-strike offensive capability, the MX not only invites a massive and equally undesirable response from potential adversaries — it demands it.Common sense tells us not to add fuel to a fire that needs to be put out. The MX has the potential to ignite an unstoppable nuclear arms race.

The many billions of tax dollars about to be spent on the development and deployment of the MX and other nuclear weapons systems have a direct and adverse impact on Montanans through the creation of more inflation, higher taxes and further decreases in the civilian budget. This money should instead be channeled into areas far more beneficial in creating long-term productive jobs for Montanans and for the economy of the United States as a whole.

Every major religious denomination in Montana has publicly opposed deployment of the MX missile system, as have many thousands of individuals and many groups and public bodies in this state: Montanans have judged the MX to be immoral. With the placement of the MX in Montana, we would look forward to the gross misuse of our fields, our roads and highways, our water, our power, our resources, our money, ourselves. We would surrender ourselves to a destiny beyond our control.

With the approval of Initiative 91, Montanans as a unified electorate for the first time have the capacity to send a clear message to the leaders of this nation and to the people of this world: That the further testing, development or deployment of nuclear weapons by any nation is done without our consent and that we specifically object to the misuse of Montana's resources for the placement of the MX.

Montanans pride themselves on their common sense and their independence. The MX missile system and the further testing, development or deployment of nuclear weapons are an affront to both.

s/Christine Torgrimson, Chairman
John McNamer
Diane Waddell

ARGUMENT AGAINST INITIATIVE NO. 91

Every American would like to see an end to the threat nuclear war. Montanan's have the right to consider, question and disagree with our national defense program but as one of the 50 states of the Union do we have the expertise necessary to make final decisions on national defense? Do we have the constitutional right to isolate ourselves from the national defense program which the majority of our elected leaders from both political parties determined necessary for future national defense?

The nuclear superiority which this nation held for many years is gone. If the Soviet Union were not what it is today, the world would not fear a nuclear holocaust. There was no fear when the United States alone held the secrets. The Soviet Union has fielded powerful strategic forces which have shifted the balance of power. This shift increases the chances for Soviet adventurism making arms reduction more difficult.

Deployment of the MX missile as a follow-on to the 20 year old Minuteman Missile is a major step in upgrading our strategic forces.

Montanan's should oppose Initiative 91 because:

1. We will be inviting rather than preventing enemy aggression in our State if we don't continue to modernize our strategic defenses since Montana is in a geographically strategic location.
2. It will be a clear sign to the nation and to the Soviets that Montanans are willing to be part of the deterrent process which continues to prevent World War III.
3. If we position ourselves so we are incapable or by law unable to use or develop nuclear weapons, we would be unable to defend ourselves against the Communist block in conventional war and this would encourage Communist aggression.
4. The concept of deterrence which has prevented nuclear war for almost 40 years is not dependent on the U.S. and the Soviet Union having enough warheads to destroy each other, but on how the Soviet Union perceives our strength to survive an attack and retaliate. Any unilateral freeze or ban on our part signals to them a growing weakness in our resolve to remain strong and free.
5. However well intended, those now parading the "nuclear

VOTE FOR I-91 BY LEGISLATIVE DISTRICT

*-wide margin

House of Representatives

District	Representative	Vote FOR I-91	Vote AGAINST I-91	Passed?
1	Jacobsen	1856	973	*Yes
2	Solberg	1328	867	*Yes
3	Vinger	1416	1093	*Yes
4	Schye	1207	1196	Yes
5	Compton	1575	1291	Yes
6	Bardanouve	1534	1068	*Yes
7	Bachini	1347	967	*Yes
8	Peck	1157	753	*Yes
9	Iverson	1281	1027	Yes
10	Bliss	1646	1451	Yes
11	Manuel	1846	1595	Yes
12	Underdal	1608	1429	Yes
13	Roush	1379	1477	No
14	Kennerly	1057	769	Yes
15	Connelly	1852	1254	*Yes
16	Lybeck	2646	1875	*Yes
17	Jones	2199	1530	*Yes
18	Smith	2286	1397	*Yes
19	Harp	2206	1351	*Yes
20	Curtiss	1973	1307	*Yes
21	Mueller	1221	1026	*Yes
22	Darko	1314	1110	Yes

District	Representative	Vote FOR I-91	Vote AGAINST I-91	Passed?
23	Stobie	2014	1463	*Yes
24	Hammond	2460	1511	*Yes
25	W. Jensen	2173	1265	*Yes
26	Seifert	2507	1733	*Yes
27	Bertelsen	1917	1671	Yes
28	Brand	1286	1068	Yes
29	Donaldson	3483	2194	*Yes
30	Harper	2273	1399	*Yes
31	Metcalf	1637	841	*Yes
32	J. Brown	2248	1411	*Yes
33	Neuman	1466	1836	No
34	O'Connell	945	1012	No
35	Nisbet	1066	1158	No
36	Bergene	1080	1377	No
37	Nilson	643	677	No
38	McCormick	902	1074	No
39	Pistoria	759	868	No
40	Hemstad	1154	1323	No
41	Farris	1186	1402	No
42	Miller	934	1215	No
43	Phillips	23	66	*No
44	Fabrega	1148	1779	*No
45	Koehnke	1471	1402	Yes
46	Holliday	2095	1652	Yes
47	Ernst	1792	1621	Yes
48	Schultz	1584	1563	Yes
49	Ryan	1526	1393	Yes

District	Representative	Vote FOR I-91	Vote AGAINST I-91	Passed?
50	Asay	2479	1962	Yes
51	Zabrocki	1158	790	*Yes
52	Devlin	1522	1336	Yes
53	Schontz	1569	1098	*Yes
54	Switzer	2060	1332	*Yes
55	Hart	1535	929	*Yes
56	Abrams	1548	1145	*Yes
57	M. Hanson	1441	1037	*Yes
58	Howe	2029	1230	*Yes
59	Bengtson	2136	1684	Yes
60	Kitselman	2459	1896	*Yes
61	Dozier	728	539	Yes
62	Addy	966	558	*Yes
63	Fagg	1378	965	*Yes
64	Ramirez	2135	1810	Yes
65	Winslow	1402	894	*Yes
66	J. Jensen	1375	809	*Yes
67	Hannah	1303	934	*Yes
68	Sands	1364	1051	Yes
69	Driscoll	1045	828	Yes
70	Williams	2104	1487	*Yes
71	Spaeth	2597	1457	*Yes
72	Saunders	889	659	Yes
73	Ellison	2285	1814	Yes
74	Yardley	1806	1162	*Yes
75	Ellerd	2884	2173	*Yes
76	Wallin	2538	1357	*Yes

District	Representative	Vote FOR I-91	Vote AGAINST I-91	Passed?
77	Nordtvedt	1664	676	*Yes
78	Vincent	1850	722	*Yes
79	Sales	2244	1881	Yes
80	Marks	2516	2059	Yes
81	Keyser	1804	1686	Yes
82	Hand	1354	1155	Yes
83	D. Brown	2123	1816	Yes
84	Quilici	1360	1078	Yes
85	McBride	1520	1191	Yes
86	Pavlovich	1230	811	*Yes
87	Daily	1320	1000	Yes
88	Harrington	1209	892	*Yes
89	Keenan	740	715	Yes
90	Menahan	1330	1045	Yes
91	Swift	2347	1774	*Yes
92	Thoft	2926	2352	*Yes
93	Ream	2332	1273	*Yes
94	Kemmis	1577	466	*Yes
95	Kadas	2090	1005	*Yes
96	S. Hansen	1824	547	*Yes
97	Waldron	1417	642	*Yes
98	Veleber	1585	1038	*Yes
99	Lory	2162	1093	*Yes
100	Eudaily	2069	1365	*Yes

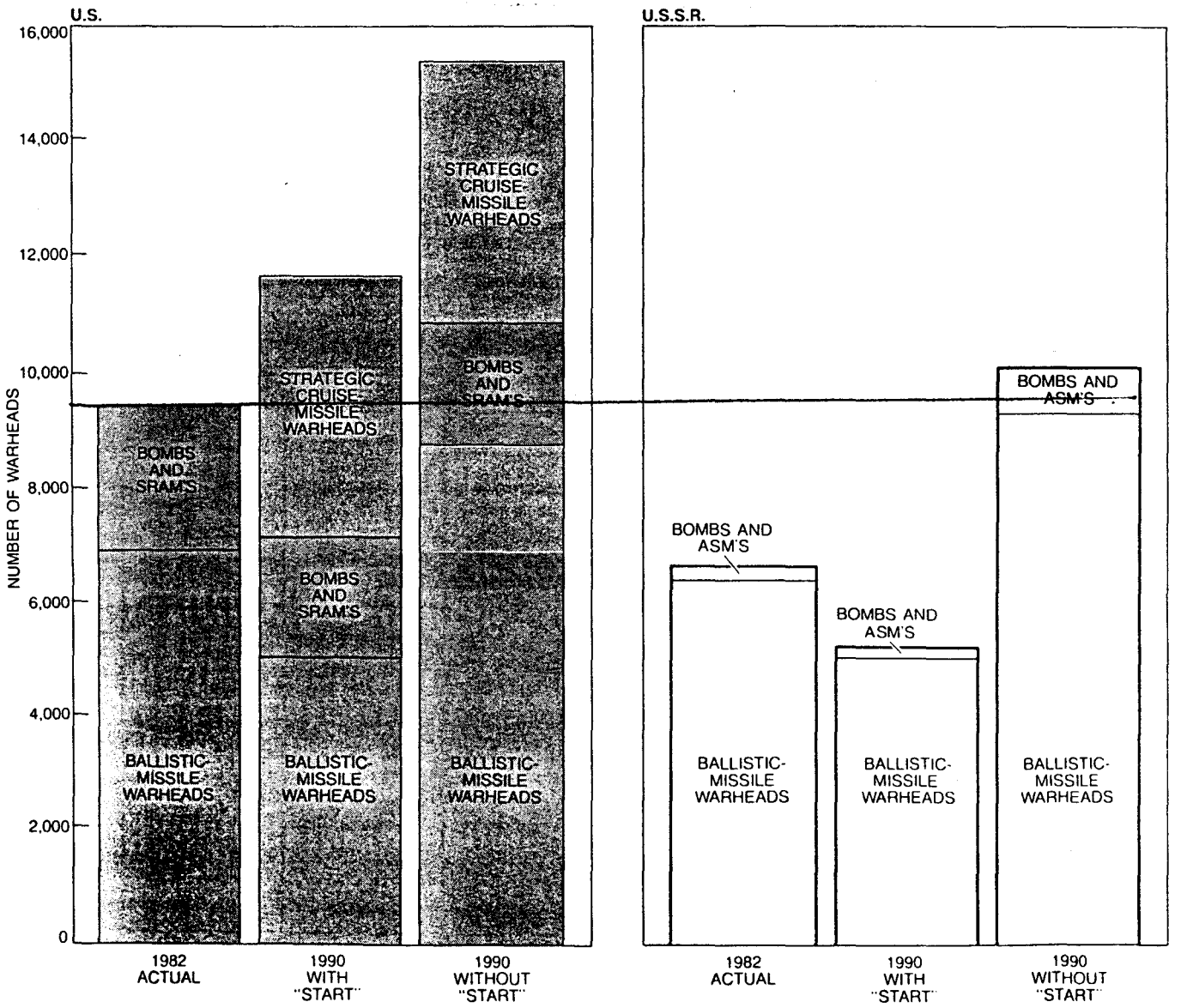
Initiative 91 failed in 13 districts. Except for District 13, all of these were in Cascade County.

SRAM - Short Range Attack Missile
ASM - Air to Surface Missile

Comparison of the ___ missile

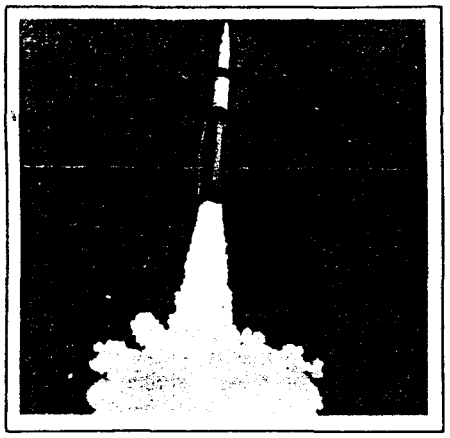
START Proposal with a Nuclear Freeze

Scientific American, November 1982, Vol. 247, No. 5, pp 52-61



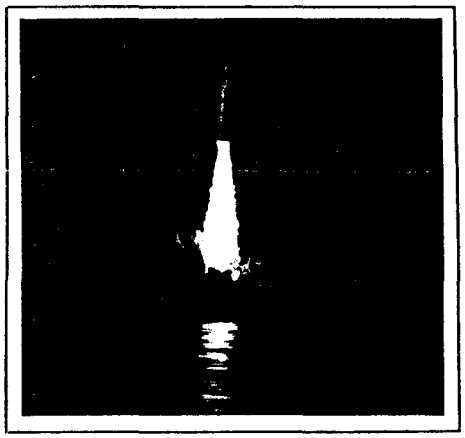
EFFECTS OF START PROPOSAL by the Reagan Administration on strategic warheads deployed by the U.S. (*left*) and the U.S.S.R. (*right*) are plotted. The proposal would limit both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. to 5,000 warheads on ballistic missiles but would not limit warheads on bombers and cruise missiles. The nuclear-freeze proposal would hold the U.S. and U.S.S.R. to current nuclear force levels.

The United States Already Has 26,000 Nuclear Warheads.



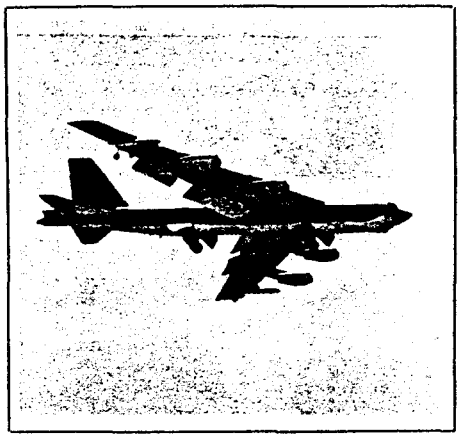
Intercontinental Nuclear Missiles Based on U.S. Land

1,054 missiles with a total of 2,154 warheads



Sea-Based Ballistic Missiles

576 missiles with a total of 4,816 warheads



Long-Range Bombers

1,900 nuclear weapons

Plus

17,000 Short or Medium Range Nuclear Warheads.

The Soviet Union Has Over 20,000 Nuclear Weapons of Their Own.

The Council for a Livable World

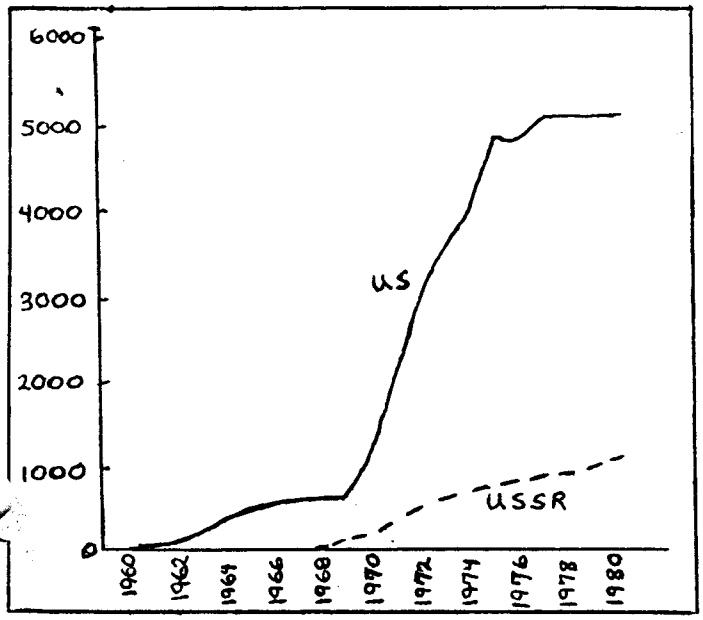
100 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002 (202) 543-4100
11 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02108 (617) 742-9395

(over please)

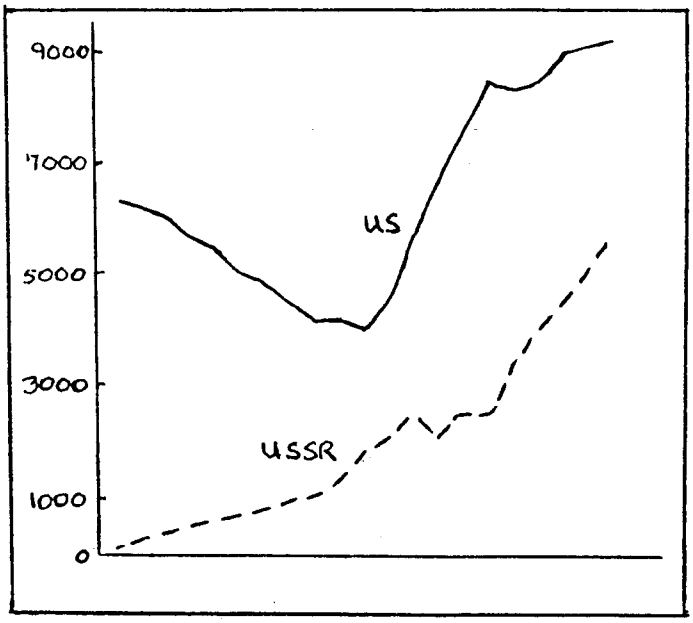
Strategic Warhead

Comparisons

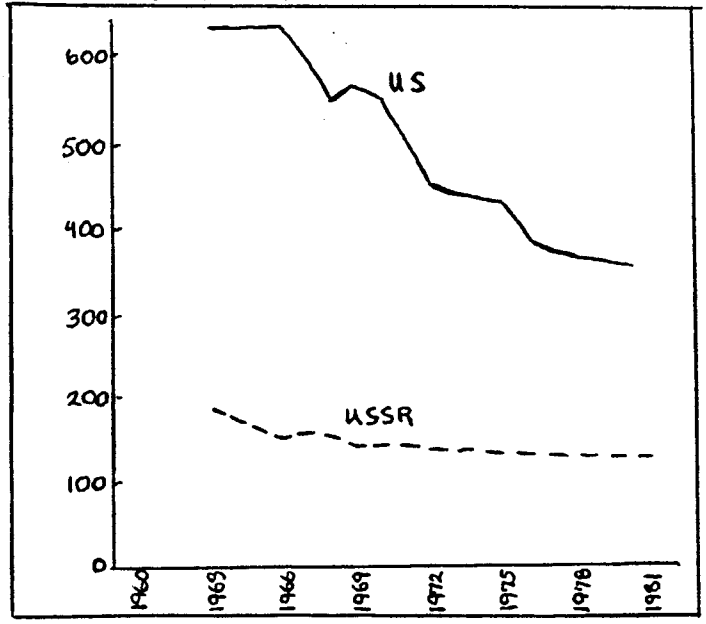
Warheads on Submarines



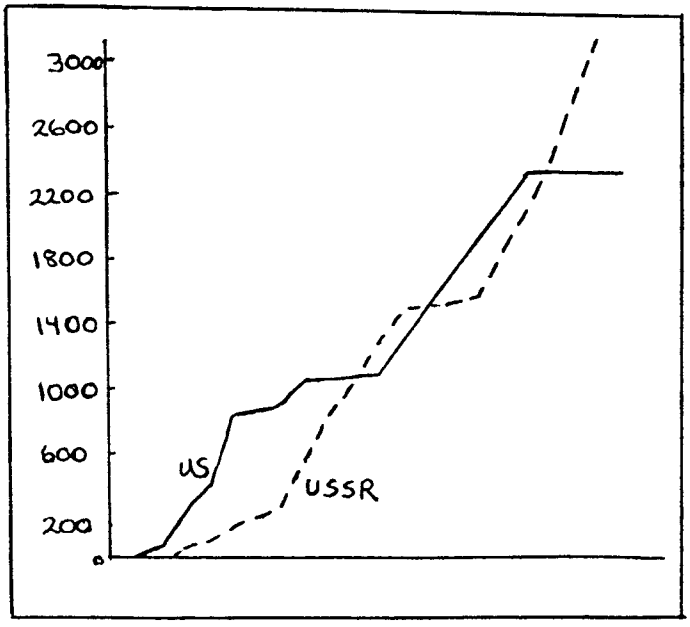
Total Warheads



Long-Range Bombers



Land Based Warheads



A NEWSWEEK POLL: NUCLEAR FOREBODINGS

Which one of these categories best describes you?

Frequently worry about the chances of nuclear war	19%
Concerned, but try to put nuclear war out of mind	49%
Don't think nuclear war likely—don't worry	30%
Don't know	2%

The advocates of a nuclear freeze say that both the United States and the Soviet Union already have enough nuclear weapons to destroy each other and want both sides to ban all testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons. What is your view of the nuclear-freeze movement?*

Strongly favor	30%
Favor	38%
Oppose	17%
Strongly oppose	8%
Don't know	7%

The major problem in arms control is the difficulty in verifying whether the other side is complying with the agreement. Some people feel that verification is essential for such an agreement. Others feel that it is more important for the United States to halt the growth of its nuclear arsenal even if we cannot be sure the other side is doing the same. Which is more important in your view?

Verification	67%
Halting growth	25%
Don't know	8%

If we should get into a limited nuclear war in which the Soviet Union attacked some of our military bases and installations with nuclear weapons, what do you think would be your chances of living through it?

Good	9%
Poor	51%
Just 50-50	38%
Don't know	2%

Do you think a stepped-up civil-defense program would increase your chances of surviving a nuclear attack?

A great deal	18%	Somewhat	34%	Not very much	26%	Not at all	20%	Don't know	2%

*Based on the 43% who had heard of the nuclear-freeze movement.

Cynthia Z. Rachlin, Jerry Eitelberg—Newsweek

Ex 5
HJR 8

Testimony in support of HJR 8

Christine Torgrimson, state coordinator
Montana Citizens to End the Arms Race
1017 S. Church, Bozeman 586-3568

I would like to express wholehearted support for HJR 8 as the coordinator for Montana Citizens to End the Arms Race, a broad-based, statewide group of Montanans. I also was the state coordinator for the campaign for Initiative 91, which Montana voters passed by a 57% margin in November. (168,594 for, 125,092 against).

Initiative 91 stated that "the people of Montana are opposed to the placement of MX missiles in Montana and any further testing, development or deployment of nuclear weapons by any nation.

By strongly passing I-91, Montana voters clearly stated our alarm about the nuclear arms race and indicated our desire that it be halted. I believe those same voters, and by now more, also would support HJR 8, primarily because three more months have passed and we seem no closer to either a nuclear freeze or arms negotiations with the Soviet Union.

The bi-lateral nuclear freeze resolution soon coming up in the U.S. House of Representatives has now been supported by over 323 city councils around the nation (including Missoula and Bozeman), 446 New England town meetings, 64 county councils (including Lewis and Clark), 11 state legislatures (Massachusetts, Oregon, Connecticut, Hawaii, Maine, Vermont, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Delaware, Iowa and New York), 9 states through initiatives or referendums (including Montana), and 109 national and international organizations. Recent polls of Americans' support for a nuclear freeze range from 65 to 80 percent.

The arms race is clearly going out of control and the American people want it halted. And the time is right for a nuclear freeze. Today the U.S. and Soviets are closer to parity in nuclear arms than any time since World War II. And if we don't freeze soon, the risk of nuclear war will increase significantly because of the scheduled deployment of new U.S. first- strike weapons, which will increase Soviet vulnerability and may cause them to develop an extremely dangerous launch-on-warning response.

For Montanans, a nuclear freeze is particularly relevant as this state is one of the top nuclear targets in the world because of our 200 Minuteman missiles and would surely be devastated in any U.S.-Soviet nuclear exchange.

Since Montanans passed Initiative 91 so strongly this November, you may wonder why the Montana Legislature should pass a nuclear freeze resolution.

First of all, it is important to continue to keep the issue in the public and government eye. Secondly, we need to build as much support as possible to exert enough pressure to actually halt and reverse the nuclear arms race. Furthermore, the more our U.S. senators and representatives hear from their Montana constituents and decisionmakers on this issue, the more clearly they can represent and reflect our whishes. And finally, your support for this resolution will put you clearly on the record on an issue that will certainly be a key factor in the 1984 elections.

In the 16 house districts represented on this committee, Montana voters passed I-91 in all but 2. Of those 14, 8 are represented by Democrats on this committee and 6 by Republicans. Concern about the nuclear arms race and support for a freeze is not a partisan issue.

I urge this committee to reiterate the wishes of Montana's voters, your constituents, and support the nuclear freeze proposed in HJR 8, and put yourselves on the record for an end to the nuclear arms race.

Initiative 91 support in this committee's districts:

Rep	For	Against
Hart, D, 55	1535	929
Farris, D, 41	1186	1402
Brand, D, 28	1286	1068
Brown, D, 32	2248	1411
Connelly, D, 15	1852	1254
Darko, D, 22	1314	1110
Dozier, D, 61	729	539
Fabrega, R, 44	1148	1779
Hansen, D, 96	1824	547
Jensen, R, 25	2173	1265
Jones, R, 17	2199	1530
Menahan, D, 90	1330	1045
Seifert, R, 26	2507	1733
Solberg, R, 2	1328	867
Swift, R, 91	2347	1774
Winslow, R, 65	1402	894

Ex 6

HJR 8

MONTANA DEMOCRATIC PARTY

February 7, 1983

TESTIMONY PRESENTED TO THE HOUSE HUMAN SERVICES COMMITTEE IN SUPPORT OF HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 8 URGING A FREEZE ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, for the record my name is Nancy Harte, legislative coordinator for the Montana Democratic Party.

The nuclear arms race has become one of the most, if not the most, pressing issue facing our society today. House Joint Resolution 8 urges the President to propose a nuclear freeze on nuclear weapon development, testing, production and deployment.

The Montana Democratic Party strongly supports a nuclear freeze. In a resolution passed at last summer's Democratic Party Platform Convention, the Democratic Party resolved: "we support the adoption of a national policy to effect an immediate freeze on the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons throughout the world, and further, to effect the equal reduction of nuclear arsenals throughout the world."

We urge you to support House Joint Resolution 8.

Montana Democratic Central Committee • Steamboat Block, Room 303 • P.O. Box 802 • Helena, MT 59624 • (406) 442-9520

The Big Sky Country

MONTANA STATE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Rep. John E. Phillips
District No. 43
Box 7031
Great Falls, MT 59406

Committees:
State Administration,
Fish & Game

February 7, 1983

Testimony on House Joint Resolution #8

Madam Chairperson and members of the committee for the record I am Representative John Phillips, House District 43.

I agree in principle with what HJR#8 is intended to do; however, there are a couple of points that I do not agree with.

First the resolution infers that we have almost twice the nuclear capability as the Soviet Union. I don't believe real world statistics will bear that out.

In fact, I would like to furnish the committee some basic information concerning United States vs Soviet strategic capability, which will be a key issue today.

A second point is that it talks of a mutual freeze without regard as to whether we are in an equitable situation with the Soviets. A mutual freeze, if they clearly have the upper hand, would not be in our best interest.

There is another resolution coming before you today that will cover some additional points on this matter, and I will save my testimony until we address that resolution.

Thank you Madam Chairperson.

WITNESS STATEMENT

Name Stacy A. Flaherty Committee On Human Services

Address Box 1099, Helena Date 2/7/8

Representing Women's Lobbyist Fund Support ✓

Bill No. HJR 8 Oppose

Amend

AFTER TESTIFYING, PLEASE LEAVE PREPARED STATEMENT WITH SECRETARY.

Comments:

1. Just as Jeanette Rankin was concerned
2. with the threat of war and its impact on
society, Montana women are concerned with the
3. national and international proliferation
of nuclear weapons.

The Women's Lobbyist Fund supports
4. proposing a bilateral nuclear freeze.

Itemize the main argument or points of your testimony. This will assist the committee secretary with her minutes.

FORM CS-34
1-83

written

RE: HJR 8

John Frankino
Montana Catholic Conference

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, my name is John Frankino, Director of the Montana Catholic Conference.

On behalf of the Conference, I extend our support for HJR 8.

We are at a time in world history when we must view the world in a new way. The Catholic Church continues to condemn the arms race as a "danger, an injustice, a theft from the poor, and a folly."

In a letter by the Roman Catholic Bishops of Montana to the people of Montana at Christmas, 1982, they stated: "Church teaching upholds a nation's right to legitimate self-defense. However, in the words of Pope John Paul II:

'...this right, which is very real in principle, only underlines the urgency for world society to equip itself with effective means of negotiation. In this way the nuclear terror that haunts our time can encourage us to enrich our common heritage with a very simple discovery that is within our reach, namely that war is the most barbarous and least effective way of resolving conflicts.' "

The letter continues,

"Such action calls us to view the world in a new way. It calls us further to a more demanding patriotism. We must begin to recognize that the world today is interdependent, and the solution to our problems, if we are to survive, must be worked out together. Dialogue will yield understanding--and hopefully, peace!"

We recommend your favorable consideration of HJR 8.

John Frankino

WITNESS STATEMENT

Name Edward J. Kammerer Committee On _____

Address Helena MT 59601 Date _____

Representing Self Support X

Bill No. HJR 8 Oppose _____

Amend _____

AFTER TESTIFYING, PLEASE LEAVE PREPARED STATEMENT WITH SECRETARY.

Comments:

1.

2.

3.

4.

Itemize the main argument or points of your testimony. This will assist the committee secretary with her minutes.

FORM CS-34
1-83

WITNESS STATEMENT

Name ALBERT E LOVINGTON Committee On _____

Address 2745 GREENBRIAR Date _____

Representing US Army Support _____

Bill No. HJR Oppose _____

Amend _____

AFTER TESTIFYING, PLEASE LEAVE PREPARED STATEMENT WITH SECRETARY.

Comments:

1.

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4.

Itemize the main argument or points of your testimony. This will assist the committee secretary with her minutes.

FORM CS-34
1-83

WITNESS STATEMENT

Name Kathleen Rowland Committee On Human Services

Address 1608 Phillips Date 2-7-83

Representing Yuba County Democrats Support ✓

Bill No. HJR 8 Oppose

Amend

AFTER TESTIFYING, PLEASE LEAVE PREPARED STATEMENT WITH SECRETARY.

Comments:

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Itemize the main argument or points of your testimony. This will assist the committee secretary with her minutes.

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1-83

The two issues I will speak to are not central to the most important reason this Montana Legislature must affirm the Citizen's Call for a Freeze on nuclear weapons by the U.S. and Soviet Union. The reason such a Freeze is essential has little to do with whether or not Montana businesses might make or lose money because of the Freeze. And even less to do with what difficulties might present themselves in assuring that the Soviets would not cheat on a negotiated Freeze. Although these are important considerations, the issues of

. the economic impact of a Freeze, and

. the process of negotiating a Freeze with the Soviets that is verifiable

simply pale when compared to the reason this nuclear weapons Freeze is absolutely essential.

In thirty-eight years, our generation has created a legacy of Madness. A Madness that places as the top national priority attaining military superiority in the world, whatever the cost. A higher priority than feeding humans. Higher than assuring a sufficeint education for our children. Higher, even, than our own physical and national security.

And worst of all a legacy that, if we do not act now, will be passed on to the next generation with an even lesser chance of correction. Every feeling human must do everything in his/her power to end this Madness. Today we have time. Tommorrow we may not have.

That is why this Montana Legislature must act decisively, now, to give strength to the popular Citizen's Call for an immediate Freeze on testing, production, and deployment of all nuclear weapons by the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

However, Montanans are curious about economic impact and the process of negotiating verifiability. Thus, you should be apprised of the latest, freshest data we ourselves have.

I cannot possibly address these two issues completely in the time alloted. So I have brought documents you may keep of file to review when the time presents itself. I'll point to a few key facts.

Economic Impact. One. From unpublished data obtained from U.S. Congressional Budget Office, the Council on Economic Priorties and the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign have learned that within five years after the Freeze takes effect, the U.S. would save $84.2 billion. And within the mext fifteen years savings could reach as high as $200 billion. I need not describe the positive effects this could have on a economy riddled by high interest rates that result largely from deficit spending.

Two. The Montana economy gains little from the production and testing of new nuclear weapons. When the facts are produced I fully beleive we will see that Montana's economy receives a net loss from this outrageous nuclear weapons production and testing budget.

Three. Money spent on guided missiles creates fewer jobs per dollar than virtually every other industry in America. In 1972, McDonnell-Douglas in St. Louis employed 22,000 Machinist Union workers. In 1982, the figure was only 10,000. Yet, there military contract awards have risen from $1.4 billion to $4.4 billion since 1975. That perhaps is why the Montana Machinists unanimously endorsed the Freeze referendum in Montana last November. This type of capital-intensive manufacturing simply is like stuffing your investment down a rat hole. There is little return. And that is not good business.

Conclusion. Yes, a nuclear weapons Freeze will have a negative effect on some local economies. St. Louis, San Fransisco, Amarillo, to name a few. To help prepare these localities for such impact, the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign is developing economic conversion strategies Freeze supporters in those localities can implement. But overall, an

immediate Freeze will effect the national economy positively and therein the Montana economy.

Negotiating verifiability. One. A Freeze can be negotiated. It can be achieved. This is not a superfluous gesture you are being asked to make. It is an attainable arms control proposal. Here's a scenario.

. Once the U.S. Congress has passed a resolution calling upon the administration to propose a Freeze to the Soviets, and if that Freeze is not proposed, specific legislation will be introduced. Funding appropiations for testing specific new missile systems will be amended to state that although funds are set aside, money may not be spent as long as the Soviets demonstrate mutual restraint. That is, as long as the Soviets do not test the SS-X the U.S. may not test the M-X. As long the Soviets do not test the SS-N-20 the U.S. may not test the Trident II. Etc. If the popular Citizen's Campaign to bring about the such a Freeze continues to gain support in 1983 as it did in 1982, such legislative action could begin within 60 days and could conceivably achieve headway by the end of this year.

Two. Many so-called 'experts' who have political or economic gain at stake if a Freeze is negotiated are suggesting that a Freeze may not be verifiable. I commit to you the objective experts: Paul Warnke, Chief Salt II negotiator, Leslie Gelb, former head of State Department Bureau on Political-Military affairs, Navy Admiral Gene LaRocque. The best wisdom of these and others has been pulled together by Mark Niedergang of the Institute of Defense and Disarmament Studies. The conclusion is clear: it is not the technical problems that stand in the way but political resistance, diplomatic elitism and economic pressure from wealthy arms buiders.

Only citizen pressure at a optimum degree in 1983 will turn back this bureaucratic recalcitrance and force an American administration to negotiate with the Soviets a nuclear weapons Freeze.

Once these data are reviewed in detail I believe a clear choice becomes self-evident.

. The Madness must end. Give strength to the voice of 57% of Montana voters. Call for an end to the nuclear weapons Madness.

Submitted by:
Rob Bartlett, Billings

Verification of a Nuclear Weapons Freeze

by Mark Niedergang
Institute for Defense
and Disarmament Studies

A common objection to the proposal for a US-USSR nuclear weapons Freeze is: 'You can't trust the Russians. The Freeze is a nice idea, but this is a nasty world and they would take advantage of us. The USSR is a closed society, so we wouldn't know if they cheated.' This article is about how we would know if the USSR cheated. It also discusses past Soviet treaty adherence.

Challenges to the verifiability of a bilateral Freeze must not be avoided, deflected or minimized. As Congressman Les Aspin wrote in Scientific American, "The keystone of any international arms control agreement is the ability of each side to make sure the other side abides by it."[1]

One can assert with confidence that a Freeze agreement could be made adequately verifiable. Potential obstacles exist, but the problems could be worked out, for they are more political than technical. This is the case for most major arms control proposals. The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute states, "Verification is said to be the main stumbling block,...but history shows that, once political will to obtain an agreement exists, verification problems are easily dealt with."[2]

This article attempts to give basic answers to most questions about the verifiability of the Freeze. But some verification issues, especially those relating to production of nuclear weapons, have not been thought about much. Experts disagree on several key points. More research is needed in order to know what provisions and agreements between the US and the USSR would be necessary to verify some parts of the Freeze proposal.

More important than detailed answers, at the moment, is the perspective, the framework, for approaching issues of verification.

I. A FRAMEWORK FOR APPROACHING VERIFICATION

The Meaning of 'Verifiable'

Verification is not an open-and-shut proposition. Experts are almost unanimous in saying that verifiability is a relative concept. We do not need to be 100 percent certain that the Soviets are observing an agreement. The critical questions are: How much might they cheat before we detected it? Could they gain any advantage without our noticing it? And could we respond in time to protect ourselves?

In a New York Times Magazine article of November 29, 1981, Leslie Gelb, former head of the State Department's Bureau of Political-Military Affairs, observed:

> *The basic test of a verification technique is whether it can catch militarily significant treaty violations in time to put together a comparable weapon or to take defensive action. But as Paul H. Nitze, a leading defence expert and an arms negotiator for the Reagan Administration, has testified, verifiability is not "an absolute requirement; it is a means toward the end of a good agreement. If those provisions of an agreement which are strategically significant to us are adequately verifiable, the agreement might be a good agreement, even if its less important provisions are not confidently verifiable."*[3]

How Are Arms Control Agreements Verified?

Most arms control agreements are now policed by what are called 'national technical means.' These are spy satellites (reconnaissance satellites), aircraft, and ship- and shore-based listening posts, equipped with photographic, infrared, radar, radio and other electronic sensors. The satellite-based cameras, which cover every inch of the USSR, are said to be "accurate enough to capture an automobile license plate on film."[4] Close-look cameras can zoom in on anything suspicious and snap ultra-detailed photos. "Missile silos, launch-control systems, airbases, bombers on the ground, naval bases and submarines in port are all visible. Factories, submarine-construction yards, highways, and railroads stand in clear view."[5]

'Cooperative' verification measures are negotiated and can take many forms, such as seismic installations, restrictions on concealment practices, on-site inspection and data exchanges.

The Soviet Record of Treaty Compliance

The Soviet record of adherence to arms-control agreements is clear. In the past 21 years, the USA and the USSR have signed 15 agreements. None has been violated by the Soviets.[6] These agreements include the 1963 Partial Test Ban Treaty, the 1967 ban on nuclear weapons in outer space, the 1972 SALT I Agreement and Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. The SALT II Treaty, signed in 1979 but not formally ratified or legally binding, has been upheld by both parties by informal agreement.

Despite this good record, "officials involved in monitoring SALT compliance in the Nixon, Ford and Carter Administrations acknowledge that the Soviets have tried to exploit ambiguities and have disregarded US views on the spirit of the accords. But they argue that little basis exists for the charge that actual violations have been committed."[7]

SALT I established a US-Soviet Standing Consultive Commission, a forum in which the USA and the USSR can question or challenge each other about compliance with strategic arms agreements. As of June 1979, eight issues had been raised by the USA and five by the Soviet Union. "In each case the United States has raised, the activity in question has either ceased or additional information has allayed our concern."[8]

Cheating: Small Gains, Great Risks

The greatest fear that people have is that the Soviets, after agreeing to a Freeze, will secretly develop a super weapon and spring it on us. Such a development is totally implausible, for it takes nearly 10 years for a significant new development in the nuclear arms race to come to fruition. Congressman Les Aspin, commenting on the steps in this process, has said: "The introduction of a new strategic weapon involves at least five stages: research, development, testing, production and deployment. At any one of these stages the present ability of the US to detect clandestine activity on the part of the USSR ranges from fair to excellent. The key point, however, is that the Russians would have to disguise all five stages, and that the odds against their successfully doing so are extremely high."[9]

It should be emphasized that the testing of a new strategic weapon generally takes 1-3 years while the deployment of significant numbers of a new weapon usually takes 3-5 years and sometimes even longer. These two stages, which are easily detected, offer highly-reliable evidence of new developments well in advance of the time when they might tip the military balance.

Perhaps more important, in an age of enormous nuclear overkill, with nuclear arsenals numbering in the tens of thousands, the clandestine production by one side of a few tens or even some hundreds of new nuclear missiles would not diminish the nuclear deterrent of the other side much, if at all.

Government leaders would have to weigh the marginal advantage that might be offered by concealed production against the great risks and penalties of discovery. The larger the transgression, the greater would be the risk of detection. The price in the event of exposure, in terms of international prestige, future international relations, and future agreements, would be terrible. "The Soviets...know that, rather than tolerate cheating, the US would scrap the new agreement and take countermeasures before any threat to our national security could develop."[10] In addition, the Soviets would recognize that relations generally—not only with the United States but also with other countries—would be impaired for years, possibly decades.

Soviet Position on On-Site Inspection

The most reliable way to check that cheating is not occuring is to go in and check in person, on the ground. This is called 'on-site inspection.'

While most parts of the Freeze proposal can be verified without on-site inspection, some parts would clearly benefit from this form of control. However, in the past, excessive demands for on-site inspection have been advanced by those who wanted to continue the arms race, in order to block arms control agreements. Thus, it is important to insure that the independently-verifiable parts of the Freeze not be held hostage to those which are more difficult to verify without on-site inspection.

The USSR has been reluctant to allow any sort of on-site inspection in the past. But in recent years, as Leslie Gelb has observed, "there have been signs of a softening in the Soviet position. In the Threshold Test Ban Treaty, signed in 1974 but still unratified, for the first time, Moscow and Washington agreed to exchange data on their nuclear weapons programs and to limit testing to specific areas to assist verification. In the related treaty on Peaceful Nuclear Explosions, signed in 1976 and also unratified, the two parties agreed not only to exchange information to enhance confidence,...but also to allow for observers and for access to the sites of the explosions."[11] (The two treaties in question, like the SALT II treaty, have been supported by the USSR but not brought to a vote in the US Senate.)

A breakthrough came during the negotiations for a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty in 1978. "American and British negotiators extracted a significant concession from the Soviet Union. This was an agreement to allow the employment of ten seismic stations—black boxes that would accurately record every Soviet test of nuclear weapons—on Russian soil."[12] "At the same time, the USSR also agreed to on-site inspections to buttress the data provided by the seismic stations in particular circumstances."[13]

One would think that the more stringent the US demands for on-site inspection, the less likely the USSR would be to agree to an arms control proposal. However, according to Yuri Kapralov, First Secretary at the Soviet Embassy in Washington DC, "...the more comprehensive the substance of the treaty in question, the greater degree of on-site inspection we would agree to."[14] Thus the Freeze proposal may win greater Soviet cooperation on verification than might be expected.

II. THE FREEZE PROPOSAL

The Freeze proposal, as described in the "Call to Halt the Nuclear Arms Race,"[15] covers all types of nuclear weapons, short-range as well as strategic, intercontinental systems. It applies to three activities: testing, production and deployment. (Research and development, including design, "breadboard" and theoretical studies of new weapons, are not included in the proposal because they are not reliably verifiable.) The proposal covers nuclear warheads, weapon-grade material used in making nuclear warheads, and aircraft and missile systems designed to deliver nuclear warheads.

Verification of Non-Testing

Tests of nuclear warheads:

The Soviet concession on seismic sensors and on-site verification was not enough to secure agreement to a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty by the US government. (Underground testing continues.) The United States says that tests of very small nuclear warheads can escape detection. Actually, "[t]here is considerable military interest in the further development of low-yield nuclear weapons, particularly for tactical purposes."[16] The failure to conclude a CTB Treaty has little to do with verification and a great deal to do with the political power of the military in the USA.

Testing of missiles and aircraft:

US satellites, ground stations and mobile 'collection platforms' (ships and aircraft) could verify a ban on tests of ballistic missiles. Verification of limits on the number of nuclear warheads in any given missile test is included in SALT II, as is a ban on 'encryptation' (coding) of electronic

data sent back from missile tests. Naturally, checking a complete halt in ballistic-missile tests would be easier than checking limits on the number of warheads in each individual test conducted.

In the case of small cruise missiles, designed to fly close to the ground (a type currently developed only by the USA and not yet available in the USSR), independent verification of non-testing would be more difficult and less reliable, though still possible. This area needs further investigation to determine the adequacy of national means of verification.

Testing of new bomber aircraft designed to deliver nuclear weapons could be observed. More difficult would be to check that patrol and test flights of existing aircraft are not used to test advances in aircraft component technology.

Verification of Non-Production

Whether a ban on the production of nuclear warheads and of nuclear-capable aircraft and missiles could be adaquately verified is among the most controversial aspects of the Freeze proposal. Some analysts have suggested that the scope of the Freeze should exclude production. But, *"if the Freeze is limited to the testing and deployment of missiles and aircraft, leaving out the production activities that take place in factories under a closed roof, the most likely result is that the military on one or both sides will insist on taking the ban literally. They will continue to produce additional missiles and aircraft, and warheads for them, and will either store them in warehouses indefinitely or else treat the Freeze as a temporary, two-or-three year moratorium ... Either course would totally undermine the concept and the purposes of the Freeze."*[17]

The comprehensiveness of the Freeze proposal means that verification of the whole package would be significantly easier than verification of the separate parts. High-confidence verification of one link of the production chain could compensate for weaknesses in other links. Each of the three aspects of production of nuclear weapon systems constitutes a potential bottleneck for a cheater.

Production of weapon-grade fissionable material:

The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) uses on-site inspection and tamper-proof cameras to verify that plutonium (a waste product of nuclear reactors) and enriched uranium are not being removed and clandestinely reprocessed to provide nuclear-bomb fuel by non-nuclear nations which have signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). The IAEA safeguards could be extended to the USA and USSR. This would not only verify their non-production of weapon-grade fissionable material, but also make the NPT and its safeguards more attractive to countries which do not yet have nuclear weapons, thereby helping to halt the spread of nuclear weapons. The United States and the United Kingdom have already agreed in principle to allow IAEA inspection of civilian reactors; and the USSR has agreed to some demonstration checks. The United States could, as part of the Freeze proposal, require the USSR to permit IAEA inspection.

As a supplement or alternative, non-production of weapon-grade fissionable material could be verified by checking that the small number of plants which make weapons from the raw material are completely shut down. Non-activity in these few, large, highly-specialized plants could be checked by the infrared sensors on satellites, which detect the heat in active plants. Assurance of non-production would also be offered by (1) the lack of demand for new weapon-grade material, given non-production of new nuclear-capable aircraft and missiles; and (2) the military uselessness of small stocks of fissionable material, in the context of the enormous existing stocks of spare bombs and of surplus fissionable material from retired bombs.

Production of nuclear warheads:

There are only three plants central to the manufacture of nuclear warheads in the United States: the Rocky Flats plant near Denver, Colorado, where the plutonium 'triggers' for the fission part of bombs are made; the Oak Ridge, Tennessee, plant, where the lithium-deuteride fuel for the fusion part of bombs is fabricated; and the Pantex plant in Amarillo, Texas, which assembles the fission, fusion and non-nuclear components of bombs. It is likely that an equally small number of weapon-producing plants and component-producing facilities exist in the Soviet Union and that they are known and monitored by US satellites. Since the Freeze would be a complete ban, any activity at these plants—trucks or railroad cars leaving or entering—would immediately be suspect.

Production of nuclear-capable missiles and aircraft:

A freeze on the production of missiles and aircraft designed to deliver nuclear weapons can be checked by surveillance satellites. There are three reasons for this: (1) the large size and known location of existing production plants; (2) the known transportation location of existing routes of major components being brought together for assembly; and (3) the small scale and known location of existing non-deployed stocks of missiles and aircraft.

US intelligence information about Soviet military production facilities is extremely detailed. A report to Congress by the Defence Intelligence Agency on July 8, 1981 states: "There are 134 major final assemby plants involved in producing Soviet weapons and end products. In addition, we have identified over 3500 individual installations that provide support to these final assembly plants."[18] The report asserts that 37 plants produce aircraft materiel and 49 produce missile materiel. A lengthy table gives figures for Soviet production of missiles, aircraft, and even small items such as field artillery and rocket launchers.

Referring specifically to strategic nuclear missiles, the US Department of Defense October 1981 pamphlet "Soviet Military Power" states:

> *Four major Soviet design bureaus specialize in strategic missiles development. These bureaus are supported by activities at main assembly plants, at hundreds of component production plants, at test ranges, and at launch complexes. The Soviet missile development program shows no signs of slackening. We expect improvements leading to new missiles and to the modification of existing missile systems ... It is anticipated that the Soviets will develop solid-propellant ICBMs to supplement or replace some of the current liquid propellant systems.*[19]

The February 1982 "Posture Statement" of the US Joint Chiefs of Staffs adds: "[T]he Soviets are apparently ready to

begin flight testing of two new solid propellant ICBMs; either or both could reach IOC [initial operational capability] by the mid-1980s."[20]

These statements indicate that Soviet missile design, development and production facilities are so well known that activities in the early stages of development prior to flight testing can be identified with considerable precision. Large-scale production of the same items should be even easier to detect.

Deployment

A significant advantage of the Freeze is that a complete ban on new weapon deployments should be much easier to verify than the intricate limits on deployment of various categories of new weapon systems that were established in the SALT I and SALT II agreements. The bombers, land-based missiles and submarine-launched missiles covered in SALT II are large and readily visible to satellites. What about smaller intermediate- and short-range nuclear missiles and new, small cruise missiles? Intermediate-range missiles, such as the Soviet's SS-4, SS-5 and new, mobile SS-20 are large enough to be identified by satellites. This is confirmed by the precise numbers of such missiles included in Western estimates and by President Reagan's proposal to ban such missiles.

Deployment of cruise missiles may not be independently verifiable directly, but can be checked through controls on the number and loading capacity of air-, naval- and ground-platforms and launching systems. This was the procedure followed in SALT II, where the numbers of Air-Launched Cruise Missiles are controlled through limits on the numbers of bombers permitted to be fitted with cruise missile launchers and through limits on the numbers of cruise missiles to be carried by each bomber.

Conclusion

When opponents of a Freeze speak about the difficulties of verification, a political response may be more helpful than a technical one. There are risks in any nuclear-weapon policy. The absolute certainty in verifying each separate part of a Freeze package that some people demand is unreasonable. A more reasonable approach is to weigh the risks of violation of a Freeze against the risks of the alternative: an expensive and destabilizing nuclear arms race which will increase the likelihood of nuclear war.

Footnotes

1. Les Aspin, "The Verification of the SALT II Agreement", Scientific American, February 1979, p.38.

2. Frank Barnaby and Ronald Huisken, Arms Uncontrolled, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975, p.202.

3. Leslie Gelb, "Keeping An Eye on Russia", New York Times Magazine Section, November 29, 1980, p.148.

4. Ibid.

5. Union of Concerned Scientists, "Strategic Surveillance: How America Checks Soviet Compliance With SALT", Cambridge, MA, 1979, p.3.

6. Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, "Armament or Disarmament", Stockholm, June 1980.

7. Robert J. Einhorn, "Treaty Compliance", Foreign Policy, Winter 1981-82, p.30.

8. US Department of State, "SALT and American Security: Questions Americans Are Asking", US Government Printing Office, November 1979.

9. Aspin, op.cit.

10. Union of Concerned Scientists, op.cit.

11. Leslie Gelb, "US Tells Soviet Any Arms Pacts Must Include On-Site Verification", New York Times, September 2, 1981, p.9.

12. Dale Van Atta, "Inside a US-Soviet Arms Negotiation", The Nation, December 19, 1981, p.666.

13. Barry M. Blechman, "The Comprehensive Test Ban Negotiations: Can They Be Revived?", Arms Control Today, Washington DC: Arms Control Association, June 1981, p.3.

14. Telephone conversation, 1982.

15. "Call to Halt the Nuclear Arms Race", St. Louis: Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign National Clearinghouse, 1981.

16. Barnaby and Huisken, op.cit.

17. Randall Forsberg, "Is a US-Soviet Nuclear-Weapon Freeze Possible?", CALC Report, New York: Clergy and Laity Concerned, October 1980.

18. Statement of Major General Richard X. Larkin, Deputy Director, and Edward M. Collins, Vice Director for Foreign Intelligence of the Defence Intelligence Agency before the Joint Economic Committee, Subcommittee on International Trade, Finance, and Security Economics, "Allocation of Resources in the Soviet Union and China—1981, July 8, 1981.

19. Washington DC: US Government Printing Office, pp.56-57.

20. Washington DC: US Government Printing Office, p. 106.

Other Sources:

William Epstein, "A Ban on the Production of Fissionable Material for Weapons", Scientific American, July 1980.

Herbert Scoville, Jr, "SALT Verification and Iran", Arms Control Today, Washington DC: Arms Control Association, February 1979.

VISITOR'S REGISTER

HOUSE HUMAN SERVICES COMMITTEE

BILL HJR 8 DATE 2-7-83

SPONSOR REP. VINCENT

NAME	RESIDENCE	REPRESENTING	SUPPORT	OPPOSE
Carl J Donovan	22 Duncan Rd #3 GT Falls	self	X	
Kay Jean Loan	820 13th St SW GF	self	✓	
Beckie Heimgartner	2306 8 Ave S GF	SALT	X	
KARRY HEIMGARTNER	2306 8 AV S G.F.	SELF	X	
JOHN HEFFERNAN	1134 9th AVE Helena	COMMON CAUSE	X	
DAN CLARK	BOZEMAN	SELF	X	
Roger W Young	Great Falls	Chamber of Commerce	X	X
Franklin Kohl	BOX 211 Arlee, MT	Montana Assn Churches	X	
FRANK L. STEVAERT	BILLS - TWO SO	SELF		
Dave Marsolek	Helena.	LAST CHANCE PEACE MAKERS	X	
Rob Sund	Charlo	self	X	
Betty Sikes	Helena	Last Chance Peacemakers	X	
Lisa Fleischer	Polo	self	X	
Will Kerling	514 Sherwood MSO MT	self	X	
Bill Tulp	"	self	X	
Pat Bellis	507 Toole, Helena	self	X	
Lorraine Kohl	Box 211 Arlee	Citizen Women United	X	
Frank Skiles	Avon	self	X	
Marie Skiles	Avon	Self	X	
Kathleen Rogland	Missoula	Mula. Cty. Dems Party	✓	

IF YOU CARE TO WRITE COMMENTS, ASK SECRETARY FOR LONGER FORM.

WHEN TESTIFYING PLEASE LEAVE PREPARED STATEMENT WITH SECRETARY.

FORM CS-33
1-83

VISITOR'S REGISTER

HOUSE _____ COMMITTEE

BILL HJR # 8 DATE _____

SPONSOR VINCENT

NAME	RESIDENCE	REPRESENTING	SUP-PORT	OP-POSE
Rep John Phillips	GT Falls	HD. 43		
Judy Olson	Helena	MT Nurses Assoc	—	
Jean Kohl	Arlee MT	Church Women United	✓	
Ed Kammerer	Helena	Self	✓	
Nancy J. Harte	Helena	MT. Democratic Party	✓	
Hannes Jarka (HANNES JARKA)	Missoula	MT. Citizens to End the Arms Race	✓	
John R. Caton	Anaconda	Self	✓	
Stacy A. Flaherty	Helena	Women's Lobbyist Fund		
Julie Forbender	Missoula	ASUM	X	

IF YOU CARE TO WRITE COMMENTS, ASK SECRETARY FOR LONGER FORM.

WHEN TESTIFYING PLEASE LEAVE PREPARED STATEMENT WITH SECRETARY.

FORM CS-33
1-83

VISITOR'S REGISTER

HOUSE _____ COMMITTEE

BILL ~~HR~~ HJR-8 DATE _____

SPONSOR VINCENT

NAME	RESIDENCE	REPRESENTING	SUP-PORT	OP-POSE
CATON	A			

IF YOU CARE TO WRITE COMMENTS, ASK SECRETARY FOR LONGER FORM.

WHEN TESTIFYING PLEASE LEAVE PREPARED STATEMENT WITH SECRETARY.

FORM CS-33
1-83

Ex 8
HSR 10

WITNESS STATEMENT

Name _____ Committee On _____

Address _____ Date _____

Representing _____ Support _____

Bill No. _____ Oppose _____

Amend _____

AFTER TESTIFYING, PLEASE LEAVE PREPARED STATEMENT WITH SECRETARY.

Comments:

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Itemize the main argument or points of your testimony. This will assist the committee secretary with her minutes.

FORM CS-34
1-83

PHYSICIANS FOR SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

HJR 8, Nuclear freeze and disarmament, etc.

HJR 10, Opposing further deployment of nuclear warheads in Montana, offering Montana as the site for negotiated mutual arms reduction.

SJR 10, To reduce funding for nuclear weapons and the Department of Defense, Increase funding for human services and jobs programs and reduce the federal deficit.

We the undersigned, members of Physicians for Social Responsibility, support the above joint resolutions.

Belle C. Richards M.D.

E Gunderson, M.D.

M Sucic M.D.

John Mellgren

J Fulton MD.

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21. Widness JA, Rogler-Brown TL, McCormick KL, et al: Rapid fluctuations in glycohemoglobin (hemoglobin A_{Ic}) related to acute changes in glucose. *J Lab Clin Med* 95:386, 1980
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23. Bunn HE, Briehl RW: The interaction of 2,3-diphosphoglycerate with various human hemoglobins. *J Clin Invest* 49:1088, 1976
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26. Widness JA, Garcia JE, Susa JB, et al: Elevated erythropoietin in infants of diabetic mothers. *Pediatr Res* 14:542, 1980

AN APPEAL TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE U.S.S.R. SUPREME SOVIET

The growing threat of thermonuclear war and the continued development and proliferation of nuclear weapons have compelled us as physicians to examine in detail the consequences such a war would have on the people of our nations and of the world, whose health and survival are our professional commitment.

During the past several days, physicians and scientists from 31 countries have gathered to consider relevant data on the immediate and long term effects of a nuclear conflict. We were unanimous in concluding that:

...The growth in sheer numbers of nuclear weapons and the increasing complexity and sophistication of delivery systems increase the possibility that a nuclear conflict may be triggered by tragic accident.

Physicians are aware from their daily work that technologic systems are liable to malfunction and that human performance may fail because of mental derangement or even simple error. Whereas such failures in medicine may jeopardise a single life, the malfunctioning of military systems may now endanger the existence of humanity....

Respectfully yours,

ON BEHALF OF THE PARTICIPANTS
IN THE SECOND CONGRESS OF
INTERNATIONAL PHYSICIANS FOR THE
PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR
Cambridge, England

Submitted by Student

From *The Lancet*, April 17, 1982.

Ex. 9

HJ 10

WITNESS STATEMENT

Name Chas. A. Bandoroch Committee On

Address Box 86 Ballantine, MT. Date

Representing Mont. Senior Citizens Assn. Support HJ-10

Bill No. HJ-10 Oppose

Amend

AFTER TESTIFYING, PLEASE LEAVE PREPARED STATEMENT WITH SECRETARY.

Comments:

1.

2.

3.

4.

Itemize the main argument or points of your testimony. This will assist the committee secretary with her minutes.

FORM CS-34
1-83

HJR 10

Montana Senior Citizens Assn., Inc.

WITH AFFILIATED CHAPTERS THROUGHOUT THE STATE
P.O. BOX 423 - HELENA, MONTANA 59624
(406) 443-5341

CONCERN ACTION INFORMATION

7 February 1983

TESTIMONY OF TOM RYAN, THE MONTANA SENIOR CITIZENS ASSOCIATION, ON HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 10

For the record, I am Tom Ryan, of The Montana Senior Citizens Association.

Our Annual Meeting, held in Great Falls in October, adopted the following resolution: The Montana Senior Citizens Association is opposed to placing MX missiles in Montana and further testing, development and deployment of nuclear weapons by any nation.

In recorded history, it is difficult to find where great war machines have been build and maintained and not used for the purposes for which they were established. The results have been death, destruction and misery. We have a tendency to overlook terrible drains on the world's resources, something the world can ill afford.

The MSCA supports this resolution. We believe it is time we resorted to reason. We believe the voters of Montana expressed a consensus in favor of peace.

We believe the great spiritual leader Francis of Assissi was right when he said, "Let there be peace on earth and let it begin with me." By adopting this resolution, the Legislature can officially inform the congressional delegation that there must be a better way.

Let peace begin with us.

Ex 10
HJR

Montana Nurses' Association

2001 ELEVENTH AVENUE (406) 442-6710

P.O. BOX 5718 • HELENA, MONTANA 59604

TESTIMONY ON HJR'S 8, 10, and 13

The Montana Nurses' Association would like to speak in support of the resolutions being considered by the Human Services Committee today. At the 1982 Convention of the Montana Nurses' Association, the House of Delegates adopted the following resolution:

Resolution #3
ANTI-NUCLEAR WAR
(Co-sponsored by the E&GW and NSF Commissions)

WHEREAS:	Nurses are committed to preservation and the improvement of the quality of life, and
WHEREAS:	Nurses are in a position to understand the far reaching and irreversable effects of a nuclear war, and
WHEREAS:	Nurses have a responsibility to be in the forefront in helping the public understand the aftermath of nuclear war, therefore,
BE IT RESOLVED:	That the House of Delegates oppose nuclear war as an option in international conflict.
BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED:	That the House of Delegates oppose the presence of MX missles in Montana, and
BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED:	That MNA will take an active role in preventing nuclear war and weapons buildup in the state.

Ex 11
HJR 10

Hearing before the Human Services Committee
Feb.7,1983
Concerning House Joint Resolution No.8 and
House Joint Resolution No.10

I am Franklin Kohl, representing the Montana Association of Churches, an organization of 9 denominations which includes both Roman Catholic diocises, the Lutheran churches and most of the main line protestant denominations.

I rise to support House Joint Resolution Nos.8 and 10.

In December 1982 each legislator received from Kathy Campbell a summary of the Resolutions and Positions Statements of the Montana Association of Churches. The first one listed concerned World Peace in which the Montana Association of Churches called for the Montana legislature to request congress and agencies of the federal government to stop the development and deployment of MX missles and the escalating development and deployment of nuclear weapons, missles and delivery systems by the United States and other nations; and to give much greater weight in their economic and political deliberations and decision making to the desire of the people of the United States and others around the world, for a just and lasting peace and the end of the arms race.

The continuing escalation of the arms race does not seem to make sense ethically, strategically, politically or economically. From a strategic standpoint, there is presently no possible way for the Soviet Union to accomplish a suprize first strike without leaving enough United States nuclear weapons unharmed to completely devestate Russia. They undoubtedly know this. Increasing deployment of missles only increases the risk of accidental war.

We need to risk some de-escalation initiatives and to publicize these limiting steps as a challenge to the Soviet Union to take similar steps. Such steps, in our opinion, would not be nearly so risky as the present policy of increasing the numbers and sophistication of our weaponry.

We believe that the arms race can be slowed and stopped and that the human and material resources of the earth can be redirected. We affirm our commitment to a different possibility for the human community; namely, a world society of order and justice, cooperation and creative human endeavor. We choose life!

We believe that these House Joint Resolutions numbered 8 and 10 are constructive steps toward that end. Thank you.

Ex 11
HJR 10

MAJOR ARMS-REDUCTION INITIATIVES SOUGHT BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

"IN THE US-SOVIET NEGOTIATIONS ON STRATEGIC ARMS (START), WHICH BEGAN ON JUNE 30, 1982, WE ARE PROPOSING TO BEGIN WITH A ONE-THIRD REDUCTION IN THE NUMBER OF WARHEADS ON THE LAND-AND SEA-BASED BALLISTIC MISSILES AND A REDUCTION IN THE MOST DESTABILIZING SYSTEMS OF ALL, THE LAND-BASED BALLISTIC MISSILES, TO ABOUT ONE-HALF OF THE CURRENT US LEVELS. IN A SECOND PHASE, WE PROPOSE TO REDUCE THE DESTRUCTIVE POTENTIAL OF THE REMAINING MISSILES TO EQUAL LEVELS, LOWER THAN WE NOW HAVE, AND WE COULD INCLUDE OTHER STRATEGIC SYSTEMS AS WELL.

"IN THE US-SOVIET NEGOTIATIONS ON INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES (INF), WHICH BEGAN ON NOVEMBER 30, 1981, WE HAVE PROPOSED TO BEGIN WITH THE TOTAL ELIMINATION OF THE FORCES CONSIDERED THE MOST DESTABILIZING AND THREATENING BY BOTH SIDES, THE LAND-BASED MISSILE SYSTEMS. WE AND OUR NATO ALLIES HAVE OFFERED TO CANCEL PLANS FOR THE DEPLOYMENT OF US PERSHING AND GROUND-LAUNCHED CRUISE MISSILES IN EXCHANGE FOR THE CORRESPONDING DESTRUCTION OF SOVIET SS-20, SS-4, AND SS-5 MISSILES. OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE BALANCE COULD BE LIMITED SUBSEQUENTLY.

"IN THE MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS ON MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS (MBFR), THE US AND ITS NATO ALLIES ARE PROPOSING TO THE WARSAW PACT NATIONS MAJOR INITIAL REDUCTIONS IN MILITARY PERSONNEL TO COMMON CEILINGS AND A WIDE RANGE OF NEW VERIFICATION MEASURES.

"IN THE AREAS OF LIMITING NUCLEAR TESTING AND CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS, THE US IS ACTIVELY PARTICIPATING IN DISCUSSIONS IN THE COMMITTEE ON DISARMEMENT IN GENEVA TO DEVELOP THE VERIFICATION AND COMPLIANCE PROCEDURES THAT WOULD MAKE SUCH LIMITATIONS TRULY EFFECTIVE. WE ARE, OF COURSE, PARTICULARLY DISTRESSED BY THE EXTENSIVE AND INHUMAN USE BY THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES

OF TOXINS AND CHEMICALS AGAINST THE DEFENSELESS POPULATIONS OF AFGHANISTAN, LAOS, AND CAMBODIA."

"TO DETER EFFECTIVELY, WE MUST MAKE IT CLEAR TO THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP THAT WE HAVE THE CAPABILITY, AND WILL, TO RESPOND TO AGGRESSION IN SUCH A MANNER AS TO DENY THAT LEADERSHIP ITS POLITICAL AND MILITARY OBJECTIVES AND IMPOSE ON IT COSTS WHICH OUTWEIGH ANY POTENTIAL GAINS. THIS REQUIRES THAT WE HAVE THE CAPABILITY TO HOLD AT RISK THAT WHICH THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP ITSELF VALUES MOST HIGHLY - MILITARY AND POLITICAL CONTROL, MILITARY FORCES, BOTH NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL, AND THAT CRITICAL INDUSTRIAL CAPABILITY WHICH SUSTAINS WAR. FOR MORAL, POLITICAL, AND MILITARY REASONS, IT IS NOT OUR POLICY TO TARGET SOVIET CIVILIAN POPULATIONS AS SUCH. INDEED, ONE OF THE FACTORS THAT HAS CONTRIBUTED TO THE EVOLUTION OF US STRATEGIC POLICY IS THE BELIEF THAT TARGETING CITIES AND POPULATIONS WAS NOT A JUST OR EFFECTIVE WAY TO PREVENT WAR. TO TURN AWAY FROM THIS COURSE THAT HAS KEPT THE PEACE FOR MORE THAN THREE DECADES OF THE NUCLEAR AGE WOULD INCREASE THE RISKS OF WAR AND ENDANGER THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

THE US TODAY POSSESSES MORE OR LESS EXPLOSIVE POWER, OR MEGATONNAGE, THAN IT DID TWENTY YEARS AGO. MOST AMERICANS WOULD RESPOND THAT WE HAVE MORE. THE TRUTH IS THAT TODAY'S LEVEL IS LESS THAN HALF THAT WHICH EXISTED DURING THE KENNEDY ADMINISTRATION. SIMILARILY, IF I WERE TO ASK WHETHER WE HAVE MORE --OR FEWER-- WARHEADS THAN WE HAD TEN YEARS AGO, I AM SURE THAT MOST WOULD RESPOND THAT WE MUST HAVE MORE. THE TRUTH, HOWEVER, IS THAT IN THE COURSE OF THE PAST DECADE, WE HAVE REDUCED THE NUMBER IN OUR ARSENAL BY ABOUT A THIRD."

Exh 2
HJR 10

Mr. Kelly Freeman
623 Iris Drive
Great Falls, MT. 59405

Testimony In Support of SJR 10, HJR 10, and HJR 8

On behalf of the survival of the planet the current Montana state legislature should be obligated to pass and/or endorse SJR 10, HJR 10 and HJR 8 in the spirit of peace for all mankind and its future generations to come. Failure to do so will not only ignore the cry from the majority of Montanans this past election, but will also have surrendered an opportunity to join in the demand for a cessation of the ever increasing nuclear arms race which threatens us all with annihilation. Now is the time to bring a halt to the insanity we are now witness

ing not late 'cause late may be too late. Therefore, in the name of justice and sanity, I urge the Montana state legislature to pass and/or endorse SJR 10, SJR 11, and SJR 8 so some hope can be given to our youngest generation and the generations to come, and so that they, too, may enjoy the fruitfulness of life, the joy of living, and the right to live on a nuclear-free planet; a nuclear-free planet we all deserve.

Signed
Kelly Freeman
February 6, 1983

WITNESS STATEMENT

Name Carl J Donovan Committee On HJR 10

Address Box 1201 GT. Falls, Mt 59403 Date 2-7-83

Representing Self Support X

Bill No. HJR 10 Oppose

Amend

AFTER TESTIFYING, PLEASE LEAVE PREPARED STATEMENT WITH SECRETARY.

Comments:

1. The reason for support is the Gov want to add 100 more nuclear warheads to the present 300 Montana already has
2. Also the 50 minetuman II's we have are of Mark 12 type or 12 times worse than the Bomb that hit Hiroshima
3. The ones they want to add are of the Mark 12A type or 24 times worse. This is national Suicide.
4. Also we of Montana supported Initiative 91 which oppose a nuclear freeze and by adding the 100 warheads they are going against the people of Montana's wishes.

Itemize the main argument or points of your testimony. This will assist the committee secretary with her minutes.

FORM CS-34
1-83

FEB. 7, 1983

48th LEGISLATURE SENATE PUBLIC HEALTH COMMITTEE
48th LEGISLATURE HOUSE HUMAN SERVICES COMMITTEE

DEAR LEGISLATORS,

I SUPPORT THE SENATE'S JOINT RESOLUTION #10 & THE HOUSE'S JOINT RESOLUTION #8 & 10. MY REASONS FOR ENCOURAGING YOUR SUPPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS ARE MANY, BUT I WILL LIMIT MY COMMENTS TO [redacted] TWO MAIN POINTS. FIRST, SINCE I'm CURRENTLY UNEMPLOYED & FEEL VERY UNCERTAIN ABOUT MY FUTURE EMPLOYMENT STATUS, "MILITARY SPENDING PRODUCES FAR FEWER JOBS THAN COMPARABLE EXPENDITURES IN THE CIVILIAN SECTOR, THEREBY INCREASING OUR NATION'S SERIOUS PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT." MANY STUDIES SUPPORT THIS POSITION AND I FEEL PEOPLE OF THIS STATE NEED TO BE EDUCATED ON THIS FACT.

SECOND, "WHEREAS, INCREASED [redacted] MILITARY SPENDING CARRIES WITH IT THE LESS OBVIOUS COST OF A WEAKENED ECONOMY THROUGH RECORD FEDERAL BUDGET DEFICITS, HIGH INTEREST RATES, AND LESS PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRY." MY MAIN POINT IS THIS — AFTER A MISSILE IS BUILT & PUT IN PLACE, ECONOMICALLY IT STIMULATES NOTHING HELPFUL & ALSO GIVES US A FALSE SENSE OF SECURITY! NOW IS THE TIME TO EXPRESS OUR CONCERN ABOUT THESE MATTERS.

SINCERELY

[redacted]

Members of the House Human Services Committee

As the coordinator of SALT, a group in Great Falls concerned about peace in our world, We support HJR 10.

In Nov. with the passage of I-91 Montanans expressed their wish for a bilateral nuclear weapons freeze. With every nuclear weapon deployed the chance of their use increases. More nuclear weapons does not equal security. We must work for mutual arms reductions.

One of the issues of particular interest to me and many others in Great Falls is jobs. More jobs are created by dollars spent for other services, such as education, mass transit & construction than for ~~weapons~~ military. According to U.S. Bureau of Labor statistics 1 billion spent on education creates 100,000 more jobs than 1 billion spent on the military. This is supported by other studies

Money, ~~Weapons~~ resources & technology being used for the military cannot be used in the private sector. It is an expensive way to create jobs and WE cannot afford to let it continue.

I urge your support of HJR 10.

Bessie Hemgartner
2306 8 A South
Great Falls MT 59405

February 6, 1983
3115 7th Ave. South
Great Falls, MT 59405

Representative Carol Farris
Capital Station
Helena, MT 59620

Dear Carol:

I am addressing this letter to you as my Representative to Legislature (House District 41) and as Vice-Chairman of the Human Services Committee.

As a veteran of WW II and a former County Commissioner I have a problem with legislation such as HJR-10, it implies that it speaks for all citizens of Montana - - not true, there are many of us who served in the wars and police actions of the past who have a different view of protecting our country.

I personally don't care for nuclear missles or other types of war hardware, but I am not so stupid as to not understand that since recorded history, mankind has had to make some effort to protect his backside. Some of our first military men were called Minutemen, and that is what we have now in the fields of eastern Montana, a modern version of those heroes. Carol, I can't stand still and have a small group of emotional but well meaning people sell us down the road of disarmement, as that is what HJR-10 purports to do.

In summary I must say that I am against neutering our military as this bit of legislation would imply.

Our opponents would like the United States to be handed to them on a silver platter as current events seem to dictate.

I see no real reason for HJR-8, 10, or 13 but if this body feels such a resolution is necessary, then I would prefer HJR-13.

Thank you for listening to me and I hope that you will take the proper action on HJR-10.

Respectfully yours,

Franklin H. Steyaert

VISITOR'S REGISTER

HOUSE _____ COMMITTEE

BILL HJ 10 DATE _____

SPONSOR _____

NAME	RESIDENCE	REPRESENTING	SUP-PORT	OP-POSE
Harold Ketterling	Bozeman	MSCA	V	

IF YOU CARE TO WRITE COMMENTS, ASK SECRETARY FOR LONGER FORM.

WHEN TESTIFYING PLEASE LEAVE PREPARED STATEMENT WITH SECRETARY.

FORM CS-33
1-83

VISITOR'S REGISTER

HOUSE HUMAN SERVICES COMMITTEE

BILL HJR 10 DATE 2-7-83

SPONSOR Kadas

NAME	RESIDENCE	REPRESENTING	SUPPORT	OPPOSE
[illegible]	22 Division Rd # 3 G Falls	Self	X	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
RA Heimgartner	2306 8 Av S GF	SALT	X	
LARRY HEIMGARTNER	2306 8 Av. S. G.F.	SELF	X	
Franklin Kohl	Box 211 Arlee MT	Montana Assn of Churches	X	
Roger Wyong	Great Falls	Chamber of Commerce		X
Albert E Simpson	Great Falls	CIV AIDE SEC ARMY		X
Kevin Blaine	Great Falls	Disciples of Christ Church	X	
Dave Marshall	Helena	LAST CHANCE PEACE MAKERS.	X	
[illegible]	Great Falls	S.A.C.T	X	
Patty Sabo	Helena	last chance peace maker	X	
[illegible]	[illegible]	S.E.S.		
Rob Sand	RT 1 Box 121-B Charlo	self	X	
Frank Skiles	Avon	LCPC	X	
Ethel M. Skiles	Box 357 Augusta	LCPC	X	
Lisa Flescher	Polo	self	X	
[illegible]	514 Sherwood Missoula MT	self	X	
Bill Tulp	"	self	X	
P.F. Bills	507 Toole Missoula	Self	X	
Sandy Olson	Helena	Mt Nurses Assn	—	

IF YOU CARE TO WRITE COMMENTS, ASK SECRETARY FOR LONGER FORM.

S.H. JANICE BOZEMAN SELF X

WHEN TESTIFYING PLEASE LEAVE PREPARED STATEMENT WITH SECRETARY.

[illegible] Church Women United X

FORM CS-33 Ed Kommers Helena [illegible]

Hannes Jarka (HANNES JARKA)	Missoula	Mt. Citizens to End the Arms Race	
Kathleen Ryland	Missoula	Mela Cty Dems	Support!
Julie Fosbender	Missoula	ASUM	Support.

DATE

COMMITTEE ON House Human Services

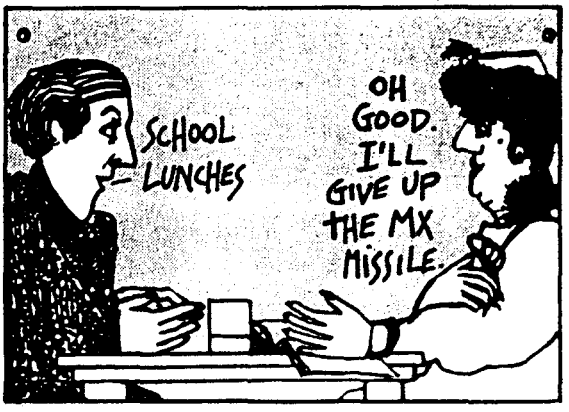
VISITORS' REGISTER

NAME	REPRESENTING	BILL #	Check One: Support	Check One: Oppose
Don Judice	Self	HJR 8	X	
Franklin Kohl	Montana Association of Churches	HJR 10 HJR 8	X	
Greg W Young	Gt Falls Area Chamber of Commerce	HJR 8, 10, 13		X
Franklin Stryker	Self	HJR 8-10-13		X
Frank & Marie Skiles	self	H 8 H 10	X	13
Bill Tulp	self	H 8 H 10	X	~~13~~
[illegible]	[illegible]	HJR 8 5 H 10	X	
Ellyn Murphy	Last Chance Peacemakers		8 & 10 ✓	not 13
[illegible]	[illegible]	HJR 8 HJR 10	✓	
Randy Miller	Self	HJR 13		X
Rang Miller	Self	HSR 8 HJR 10	X	
John R. Cater	Self	HJR ~~13~~ 8 & 10	X	~~13~~ X

(Please leave prepared statement with Secretary)

$2.50

A Short Primer For Partisans on How a Bilateral Nuclear Weapons Freeze Could Help Revitalize the Ailing American Economy.



THE FREEZE ECONOMY

Edited by Dave McFadden and Jim Wake

For the Economic Issues Task Force, Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign. With Photographs by Lionel J-M Delevingne.

EDITED BY DAVE MCFADDEN AND JIM WAKE
for the Economic Issues Task Force, Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign
Project Coordinator: Dave McFadden
Contributions by: Steve Daggett, *Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy*, Ed Glennon, *SANE*, Bill Hartung, *Council on Economic Priorities*, Robin Madrid, *SANE*, Joel Yudken, *Mid-Peninsula Conversion Project*, Jim Wake, *Humanitas International*.
Design by Kerry Tremain; Photographs by Lionel J-M Delevingne
Editorial Assistance: Cheryl Barry, Pam McIntyre, Barbara Roche
A joint publication of the National Clearinghouse Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign and the Mid-Peninsula Conversion Project, with special assistance from Humanitas International.

THE REEZE ONOMY

"A sacrifice that you can't afford for weapons that you may not ever use and which undermine your national security, is a sacrifice not worth making."

—Philip Morrison, *MIT*

"It is not mere rhetoric to say that the very survival of our planet may depend on this nation's ability to reach judgments about arms limitation proposals on their own merit, apart from considerations of economic impact and self interest. A meaningful and effective conversion program is a vital step toward creation of such a climate in the United States."

—Douglas Fraser, *President, United Auto Workers*

Single copies: $2.50 postpaid. *Bulk orders available:* 2-24 copies @ $2.00; 25-100 copies @ $1.50. *Distribution points:* Mid-Peninsula Conversion Project, 222 C View Street, Mountain View, CA 94041; National Clearinghouse, Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 4144 Lindell Blvd., St. Louis, MO 63108; Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, 120 Maryland Ave., NE, Washington, DC 20002; SANE, 711 G Street, SE, Washington, DC 20003.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS. First and foremost, the authors would like to thank the staff and supporters of the National Clearinghouse, Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, the Mid-Peninsula Conversion Project, and Humanitas International, without whom this manual would not have been possible.

Special thanks as well to all of the members of the economic issues task force of the national Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign: Seth Adler, Dianne Wanner, Chuck Guenther, Ed Burdick, Ned Stowe, Jon Wacker, Dick Greenwood, Jeff Dumas, George Lakey, Rich Rothstein, David Cortright, Bill Ramsey, Warren Linney, Rachel McNear, Tim Carpenter, Matthew Jordan, Martha Henderson, Charlie Meconis, Dave Prouty, Helena Knapp, Deborah Lorentz, Jesse Prosten, Melinda Fine.

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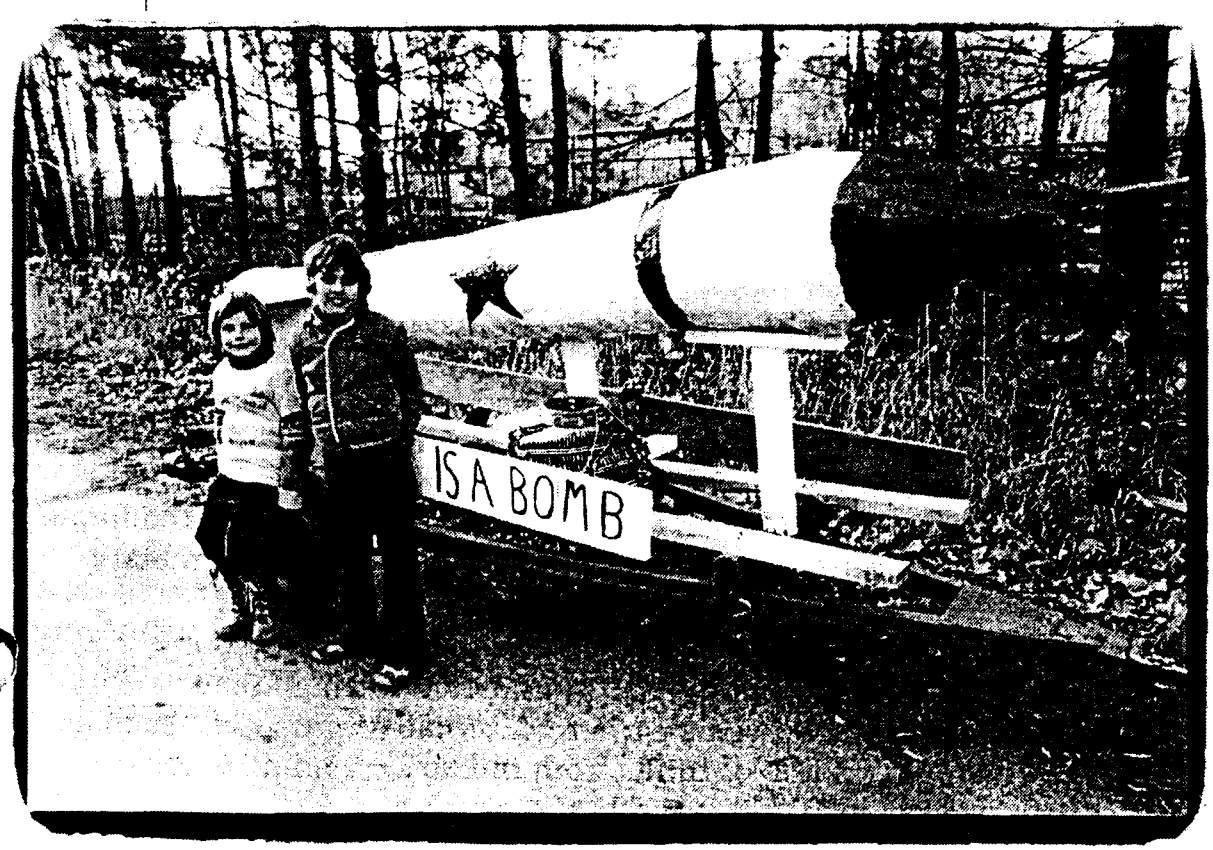
Finally, a special note of thanks for the inspiration of Randall Kehler and Randall Forsberg and the persistence of Gene Carroll.

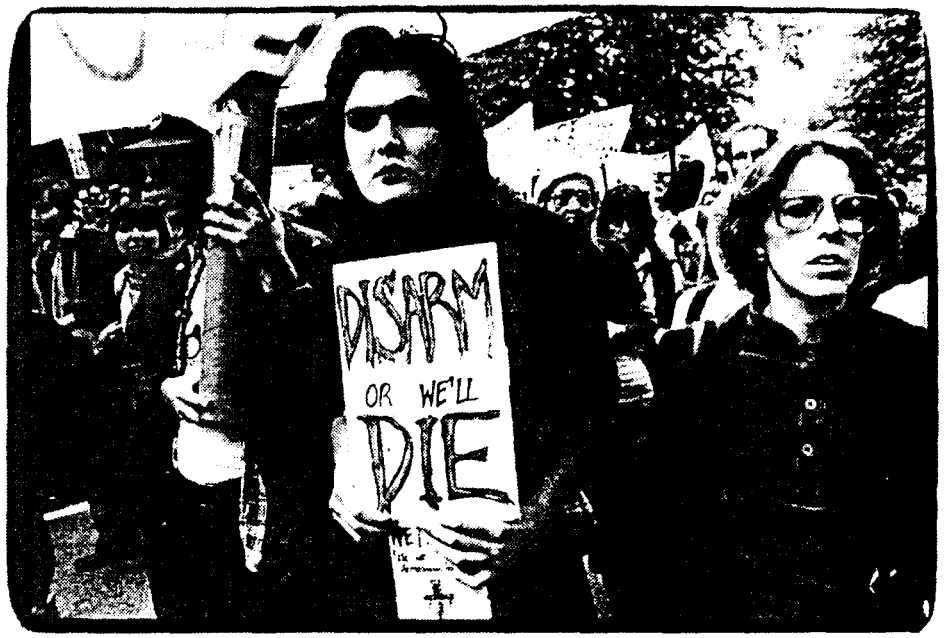
The views expressed in The Freeze Economy *are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the policies or decisions of the National Nuclear Weapons Freeze Committee, which operates on the principle of local decentralization with national coordination, or those of the Board or staff of the Mid-Peninsula Conversion Project.*



1 INTRODUCTION

THE LARGEST REFERENDUM IN UNITED STATES political history occurred November 2, 1982, when, by a 60-40 margin, over 11 million people cast ballots favoring a bilateral nuclear weapons freeze.[1] This is only the latest manifestation of an extraordinary political phenomenon. Rarely in recent years has an issue so captured the imagination of such a wide cross section of the American public so quickly. ¶At the same time, Americans are increasingly preoccupied with an economic crisis of unparalleled proportions. The Reagan administration entered office in 1981 with a pledge to improve the economy, but to date, the Administration's formula for economic rejuvenation has fallen far short of its goals. In fact, rather than seeing economic prosperity, millions of Americans are suffering economic hardships as unemployment climbs toward 11%, small business failures mount, and economic indicators remain sluggish. ¶The connections between economic stagnation and the nuclear arms race are finally becoming clear to millions of Americans. *Fortune Magazine* (November 15, 1982 issue), *Business Week* (November 29, 1982), the Business Round table, and two former chairmen of the President's Council of Economic Advisors are all warning of the dangerous economic consequences of a rapid military buildup.[2]

The Harris poll for *Business Week* of November 15 shows that support by the American people for increased military spending has plummeted to an all-time low—17%—from its high of 71% only two years earlier.[3] Alternative proposals, such as Jobs with Peace initiatives calling for shifts of funds from military spending to jobs creating civilian investment, passed in 50 cities across the nation.[4]



The connections which can be made between people's desire for peace, security, and a nuclear weapons freeze, and their yearning for *economic* security, must be made if we are to reverse the arms race.

The national Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign is committed to achieving the implementation of a bilateral Nuclear Weapons Freeze. It has always felt that one of the arguments for such a freeze is the economic benefit to the American and Soviet peoples from the savings which could be achieved by a freeze.

In February, 1982, the national conference of the nuclear weapons freeze campaign established an economic issues task force to explore in detail the economic impact of a freeze, and to develop materials and organizing handles linking economic issues and the freeze.[5]

This manual is the first publication of that task force, jointly issued by the Nuclear Weapons Campaign Clearinghouse and the Mid-Peninsula Conversion Project.

It describes in detail the potential economic impact of a freeze, including savings in tax dollars and impact on jobs and affected communities. The manual also describes a variety of organizing strategies and tools, including assessing the local impact of a freeze, researching budget cutbacks, building coalitions, and developing effective strategies. Finally, the manual mentions long term economic alternatives to present economic problems, such as alternative budget proposals, alternative use planning, revitalizing civilian industry, and economic conversion legislation.

This manual attempts to provide you with information necessary for linking the Freeze and the economy. The Economic Issues Task Force welcomes any ideas or comments you might have for future development of resources.

Then, together, we can help put America and the world back on the road to true national *and* economic security.

—Dave McFadden, EDITOR

2 THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF MILITARY SPENDING

FOR YEARS, CONVENTIONAL wisdom has suggested that war is good for the economy and that military spending creates jobs and prosperity. Most people are convinced that World War II got the U.S. out of the Depression. Most recently, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger stated that the current U.S. military buildup is "beneficial" to the U.S. economy.[1] But a growing number of economists led by Lester Thurow of MIT, Charles Schulz, former Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors under President Carter, and Murray Wiedenbaum, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors under Reagan, are dissenting from this point of view.[2] Shortly after Wiedenbaum resigned, he told reporters, "What worries me is that these crash efforts rarely increase national security. They strain resources, create bottlenecks."[3] These economists point to major problems that could result from a massive military buildup on the scale of Reagan's proposed $1.65 trillion program during the next five years.

Increased military spending and the defense dependency which accompanies it will only add to our current economic woes: unemployment, inflation, high interest rates, low investment and productivity, and the serious erosion of financial, technical, and human resources which make up our civilian technological base.

In the following section, the effects of high military spending on these areas of the economy are examined in some detail:

DEFENSE DEPENDENCY

The U.S. economy already has significant segments reliant on defense spending. Most recent estimates from the Department of ment of Defense economic unit known as the Defense Economic Impact Modeling System (DEIMS) show that the military budget currently accounts for 2.2 million industrial jobs, not counting 960,000 civilian jobs in the Department of Defense.[4] These jobs are concentrated in aeronautics, shipbuilding, guided missiles, communications, and electronics, where they account

for a percentage of the workforce ranging from 15% to 40%.[5] Additionally, defense contracting, while spread throughout the country, is concentrated geographically in certain regions and metropolitan areas including St. Louis, Boston, Dallas-Fort Worth, southeastern Connecticut, Puget Sound, and—most notably—California (Los Angeles, Orange, Santa Clara, and San Diego Counties).[6] The heavy military contracting in these areas is out of all proportion to their percentage of the population as a whole, making them particularly vulnerable to fluctuations of defense spending. Local economies and workforces become susceptible to "job blackmail" when defense cutbacks are proposed. For example, when President Carter threatened cancellation of the B-1 bomber program in 1977, Rockwell International in Los Angeles County and the Pentagon both pointed to the imminent layoffs of 6,000 workers, and successfully persuaded the United Auto Workers to lobby with Rockwell for restoration of the program. The case is a classic example of defense dependency causing "job blackmail."[7]

The Reagan military buildup will further add to the problems of defense dependency. By FY 1987, the Pentagon DEIMS estimates that military spending will account for 3.4 million industrial jobs.[8] The dependency of certain areas will be increased, and Southern California, St. Louis, and Texas stand to "gain" the most.

EMPLOYMENT

Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger has said, "You get 35,000 more jobs for every extra $1 billion you spend on national defense,"[9] attempting to justify the military buildup in economic terms. But Weinberger's statement deliberately omits reference to *other ways* of creating jobs. While it is certainly true that military spending, *like any other spending*, creates jobs, the real factors to be examined are the *kinds of jobs* created and the *numbers of jobs* for the same amount of money invested.

KINDS OF JOBS. The Reagan buildup is concentrated in three major areas: strategic nuclear weapons, conventional weapons, and electronics. This will create jobs, primarily in areas where we already have a shortage of highly skilled and highly paid managers, engineers, scientists, technicians, and skilled craftspeople. It will do nothing to reduce the basic and growing rate of unemployment among semi-skilled and unskilled workers.[10]

NUMBERS OF JOBS. Every major study over the last 10 years, by economic analysts inside and outside the government, has shown that military spending creates fewer jobs than other forms of economic stimulation, including federal, state, or local spending, or cuts in taxes. The most up to date figures from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, for example, show that military spending creates an average of 25,000 jobs per $1 billion expended, while civilian industries average upwards of 30,000 jobs per $1 billion, and services create from 43,000 to 123,000 jobs per $1 billion.[11]

Moreover, high levels of military spending generally correspond with greater unemployment among Western industrialized nations. Over the the past two decades, nearly every Western European country has spent a smaller percentage of its GNP on defense than the United States, yet maintained a lower rate of unemployment.[12]

Instead of creating jobs, defense dollars tend to bid up the price of already employed technicians,

engineers, and managers. And, since a disproportionate amount of military spending goes to the Sunbelt, military projects only exacerbate the shift in jobs away from the depressed Northeast.[13]

INFLATION

As Economist Lester Thurow explains it, "Military spending is a form of consumption. It does not produce more goods or services for the future."[14] The result is that those goods that are produced command a higher price. In addition, shortages of certain raw material and technical products result in "bottleneck inflation" as the military bids up the prices of rare commodities for which both the military and civilian sectors must compete. During the Vietnam era, bottleneck inflation was responsible for about 1.2% of the entire inflation rate. With the economy far more volatile now than during the sixties, the impact of increased military spending can be expected to be more severe.[15]

There is also the risk that high demand for certain raw materials such as copper or titanium, which are in high demand for military uses, will push up the prices of those materials. In the cases where civilian and military products both utilize the same components or raw materials, there could be a ripple effect.

Furthermore, with investment concentrated in the military sector, it will be difficult for civilian industries to expand production and supplies of consumer items, particularly in the high technology field. The result will likely be to drive up prices.

> "With much of its available capital tied up in military programs, it is no wonder that industry finds it increasingly difficult to remain competitive in growing global markets for other electronic products. Disproportionate outlays for guns threaten the industry's commercial bread and butter."[16]
> *Electronics*, Nov. 3, 1982

Higher interest rates from deficit spending also push up the inflation rate—and if the government chooses to hold down interest rates by increasing the money supply, the influx of dollars into a market where goods are in short supply can result in even more severe price increases.

INVESTMENT

With billions being poured into the military coffers and the Reagan tax plan cutting into government revenues, huge federal deficits loom for the next five years. Such deficits can only be financed in two ways—by increasing the money supply and fueling inflation, or by borrowing the billions of dollars in credit markets. But when the Federal government competes with the private sector for credit, the interest rates are forced up. Consumers suffer directly from higher mortgage rates and consumer credit costs. They also suffer indirectly when businesses pass on part of their increased borrowing costs in the form of higher prices.

Moreover, the economy in general suffers because many firms cannot afford the high costs of borrowing. Investments in equipment, product development, and research are delayed. With declines in production and sales, employment drops. High interest rates are especially devastating to small and medium-sized businesses which must pay higher rates and have less access to credit than large corporations.

EROSION OF CIVILIAN INDUSTRY

Perhaps the most serious effect of a military buildup on the economy is

the long-term erosion of our civilian technological base. In one area after another—steel, machine tools, shipbuilding, automobiles—U.S. industry is lagging. The Reagan buildup will increase the already major share of capital expenditures, research and development monies, and scientific and engineering talent which the military receives at the expense of civilian technological growth and development.[18]

COMPETITION

In the past 15 years or so, the United States has lost its position as the world's undisputed industrial leader. American companies have lost important segments of the auto, steel, and commercial electronics markets to foreign competitors like Japan and West Germany. A study of thirteen advanced industrial nations—the United States, Canada, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, West Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and Japan—indicates that the nations which spent a larger share of their total economic output on the military generally experienced slower economic growth than those spending less. The United States, which devoted the highest average percentage of its output to the military effort, experiences the third lowest growth rate. Japan, Canada, and Austria, with much smaller shares of their output going to the military, had much higher growth rates.[19]

CAPITAL

With so much capital invested in military production, relatively little is available for growth and development in the civilian sector. In the U.S., for every $100 available for domestic capital formation, $46 is spent on the military, compared to $14 for West Germany and $3.70 in Japan.[20]

Where capital is available for investment in more efficient plants and equipment, goods can be produced more cheaply. Inefficient American factories have to pass on their high costs to the consumers. Increasingly, they are unable to compete with foreign producers operating with more modern production facilities.

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

Advocates of higher military budgets have contended that increased military spending will stimulate research and development in high-

THE SOVIET MILITARY ECONOMY

The Soviet Union, like the United States, has developed a massive military economy in response to international tensions and the pressures of the arms race. The economic impacts of the arms race have probably been even greater in the Soviet Union than they have been here in the United States. While American peace activists must realize that their actions can have little direct effect on Soviet military policy, they can still point out, as part of their educational activities, what sorts of economic incentives the Soviet Union might have to divert funds from the military to produce civilian goods.

The strains on the Soviet economy that have resulted from the seemingly endless arms race have been enormous. Far less wealthy and less developed than the United States, Soviet investments in the military have amounted to somewhere between 11% and 15% of the GNP for many years (compared to about 7% in the United States, with a GNP about twice as large as the Soviets'). Approximately 3.6 million Soviet citizens (out of a population of more than 260 million) are members of the armed forces, and a huge portion of the Soviet industrial economy must support this force. In the centrally planned economy of the Soviet Union, priority has been given to military projects when it comes to personnel and supplies. The best engineers, best scientists, and the easiest access to supplies of raw materials and manufactured components are provided to the military. While Soviet military equipment of high quality and advanced design may be produced efficiently, Soviet citizens suffer with shortages of consumer items, poor workmanship, and shoddy design.

After meeting with officials of the Soviet State Planning Committee, economist Seymour Melman wrote that Soviet planners "dream" about a change in planning priorities away from military enterprises "because the military enterprises consume more valuable materials and research staff and more labor per unit than are used in even good quality civilian production. That being so, a shift to civilian economy would make it easier to 'balance the economy'."[24]

Unfortunately, there is very little awareness of economic conversion theory or the need for alternative use planning in the Soviet Union and the discussion of such issues is almost non-existent. According to Melman, while Soviet managers seem to be aware of the lead-time required to shift from military production to civilian production, policymakers and economists appear disinterested and uninformed about both the potential of conversion and its difficulties. However, the centrally planned character of the Soviet economy could make it easier for the Soviets to shift away from military production to civilian production, if the government ever did make a strong commitment towards such conversion.

The Soviet Union faces new problems in the coming years which present added incentives for a shift away from the military economy. The labor surplus that the Soviet Union once enjoyed has turned into a labor deficit, at the same time that the nation approaches a limit on important natural resources such as coal and oil. Continued economic growth is threatened unless these problems are overcome. And while none of the problems are insurmountable, the solutions require new equipment, new products, and, frequently, Western technology. Short of foreign exchange, the Soviet Union needs to produce exports with which to get the capital necessary to meet these new challenges. This can only be accomplished with difficulty if military priorities continue to drain Soviet resources. A nuclear freeze would make it possible for the Soviets to shift at least a portion of their current military budget to civilian production and thus alleviate some of these economic problems.

Formerly, the momentum of the bureaucracy might have effectively impeded any significant movement away from a military economy in the Soviet Union. But as new leaders enter the power structure, there may be new opportunities to turn away from confrontation—and the arms race—and towards meaningful dialogue and a negotiated agreement to freeze the arms race and even to reverse it. There are common sense economic reasons for the Soviets to want an end to the arms race.[25]

technology fields, resulting in civilian spinoffs. During the past two decades, however, U.S. industry has had a poor record of translating advances in military technology into competitive civilian products. For example, while military research money financed the development of solid-state integrated circuits, it was the Japanese who successfully used the new technology to decrease the costs of radios, television sets, and new video-cassette recorders. Although the aerospace industry was almost entirely the creation of U.S. military know-how, a European conglomerate, Airbus Industrie, has recently made substantial inroads into the civilian-air-carrier market. At the same time, Lockheed Corporation and perhaps McDonnell-Douglas are halting production of civilian aircraft.[21]

Military technology is becoming less and less appropriate for commercial applications, which emphasize economy and reliability over advanced, state-of-the-art performance. For example, current military requirements are pushing U.S. development of computer chips in the direction of higher speed at much higher cost. At the same time, Japanese manufacturers are developing cheaper, very reliable chips with greater storage capacity.

Currently, two-thirds of all federal research and development funds go to the military, while the West German government invests only 10-15% and the Japanese less than 5%.[22] The diversion of the best American scientists and engineers from research and development in the civilian sector has had a serious effect on the American competitive position in important world markets. The best Japanese and West German engineers are perfecting video equipment and making medical instruments cheaper and smaller, while their American counterparts are perfecting new developments in electronic warfare.[23]

The problems of military spending —problems that affect jobs, prices, and the levels of economic growth— are indeed serious. In this chapter and the accompanying discussion of the Soviet military economy, we have described some of the negative impacts of military spending on the economies of the United States and the Soviet Union. Both experience a shortage of personnel, resource and development funds, and investment capital in the civilian sector as a result of concentrating on the development and production of military technology. This has resulted in an erosion of the civilian economy. In the Soviet Union, military spending also contributes to shortages of consumer goods and of foreign exchange. In the United States, military spending exacerbates the problems of high interest rates and inflation. Thus, both countries have economic incentives to reduce military spending.

3 ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF A BILATERAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS FREEZE

IN THE UNITED STATES, THE NUCLEAR weapons-related industry is big business. Although estimates on the number of jobs in the industry range dramatically, to as many as 600,000,[1] one thing is quite clear: a nuclear weapons freeze would have a very significant impact on certain sectors of the American economy. A Freeze will have both positive and negative effects. ¶The most immediate positive effect will be the money saved by implementing a freeze. Over the next five years, the United States plans to spend at least $261 billion on a new round of the nuclear arms race.[2] Negotiation of a nuclear weapons freeze with the Soviet Union would halt most of this buildup. A freeze on testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles—missiles and bombers—would directly affect weapons programs budgeted at $84 billion over the next five years. In the first year, budget outlays would be reduced by about $6 billion, and savings would mount rapidly after that.[3] ¶Although not required by the precise language of the freeze, much of the additional money budgeted from the $261 billion for new communications systems, ballistic missile defense, and new bomber defenses would be unnecessary if we had a freeze and these expenditures therefore could be reduced. In all, savings from a freeze over the next decade could total well over $200 billion.

If properly compensated for through other forms of government expenditures, that $200 billion in savings can make possible an increase in total employment nationwide. It can be used to restore essential human services, and can contribute to reducing the federal deficit. It can also be used in substantial efforts to rebuild the American economy. A major program of energy conservation, for example, can eliminate the dependence of the United States on oil from the Persian Gulf within ten years.

Of course, in analyzing the positive economic impact of a Nuclear Weapons Freeze, it is important to realize the limits to the economic benefits of such an initiative. For the past ten years, the economy of the United States has been plagued by high unemployment, high inflation, sluggish growth, low investment, and a deteriorating competitive position in the world marketplace. The nation's basic infrastructure has deteriorated substantially, particularly in urban areas. The Nuclear Freeze would

present an opportunity to free up billions of dollars of resources to deal with problems such as these, but these savings in and of themselves cannot turn around the country's basic economic difficulties. It will take more than a halt in the nuclear arms race to meet the pressing economic needs of this country.

The negative impact of a Freeze will come in the form of economic displacement for thousands of workers involved in the production of nuclear weapons and nuclear weapon delivery systems, and in the repercussions on communities that have grown dependent on military contracts. A few particular cases will be examined in greater detail in later sections of this chapter. It is important that the advocates of a Nuclear Weapons Freeze fight against job blackmail, and support planning and job security for workers and communities affected. Most workers certainly prefer an alternative to their positions in military industry, but when faced with a choice between unemployment and military work, they accept the military work.

Conversion of plants and workforces which now depend on nuclear weapons production to alternative uses and jobs must have high priority in planning for a freeze.

WEAPONS SYSTEMS AFFECTED BY A FREEZE. The 'Call to Halt the Nuclear Arms Race,'[4] the founding document of the Freeze movement, proposes "a freeze on the testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons and all missiles and new aircraft which have nuclear weapons as their sole or main payload." A Freeze would stop all work on the following systems: MX Missile, B-1B Bomber, Trident I Submarine-launched Ballistic Missile (SLBM), Air-launched Cruise missile (ALCM), Sea-launched cruise missile (SLCM), Pershing II Missile, Ground launched cruise missile (GLCM), nuclear warhead production and testing, and nuclear materials production. Two other systems, now in research and development, would be halted once production is reached in five to ten years: Stealth Bomber and Trident II missile. Once a Freeze takes effect, the following programs could be ended or reduced: Trident submarine, ballistic missile defense, and Command, Control, Communications, and Intelligence (C^3I) systems. (See Table A).

POSITIVE ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF A FREEZE

POTENTIAL BUDGET SAVINGS. In a time of drastic budget cuts for human service programs and record federal government deficits, the possible budget savings from a nuclear weapons freeze may be its clearest economic benefit. The actual amount saved by a freeze will depend on a number of factors, including when the Freeze is implemented, how many Freeze-related systems are cancelled, and what the true (as opposed to projected) costs of the various systems actually turn out to be. Since none of these variables can be predicted with certainty at this time, the savings from a Freeze must take the form of projections based on assumptions about how a Freeze will be implemented and what the costs of Freeze-related systems are likely to be.

To understand the potential magnitude of savings from a Freeze, one should look at the role of strategic nuclear weaponry in the Reagan military buildup. President Reagan's strategic modernization program, announced in October of 1981, is now being projected to cost $222 billion over the six years from Fiscal Year 1982 through Fiscal Year 1987. The categories of expenditure break down as follows:[5]

Bombers/cruise missiles	$ 78 billion
Sea-based weapons (including Trident sub and missiles)	$ 51 billion
ICBMs (including MX)	$ 42 billion
Nuclear defense (air defense, civil defense)	$ 29 billion
Command, Control, Communications (C^3I)	$ 22 billion
TOTAL	$222 billion

The strategic modernization program represents just under twelve percent of the roughly 1.65 trillion in military spending authority proposed for the FY 1982-87 period. Other costs of the strategic buildup are the $20 billion plan to upgrade and expand the Department of Energy's nuclear warhead complex over the next five years[6] and the cost of fueling, maintaining, and providing personnel to run this new generation of nuclear weapons.

At minimum, the Reagan six year strategic buildup will cost one quarter of one trillion dollars, or an average of more than $500 per year from every American household.[7]

Savings in strategic systems support

*Support costs are difficult to calculate for several reasons: (1) they are not broken down clearly in Pentagon budget documents; (2) support costs saved from a Freeze would essentially involve estimating the *difference* between support costs for some systems versus their proposed replacements (Minuteman versus MX, B-1B versus B-52). Earl Ravenal, former budget analyst in the Pentagon, has estimated that $54 billion, or 21% of the total budget authority in the FY 1983 Department of Defense budget is devoted to procurement, support and overhead costs for strategic weapons.[8] Comparing this proportion with the Reagan Administration's costing of the strategic modernization program, which excludes the costs of supporting and maintaining the new strategic weapons systems, we can assume that a minimum of another $150 to $180 billion in support costs may be associated with the strategic weapons program for the years FY 1982-1987.[9] How much of this fund of support costs might also be saved by a Freeze requires further research.

costs (e.g., fuel, maintenance) as a result of a Freeze are particularly hard to calculate, but it is clear that support costs add a substantial amount to the estimate of the strategic portion of the military budget.*

How much would a Nuclear Weapons Freeze save from the military budget if it were to begin in FY 1983 (October 1, 1982, to September 30, 1983)? Table A gives a range of possible savings which could result. Minimum savings of $84 billion over a five year period represent substantial budget savings.

The most substantial savings from a Freeze will accrue over time. The total of $230 billion in potential long term savings is only the beginning of what actual savings through the end of this century could be once a brake is put on the nuclear arms race.[10] If probable cost overruns, potential new weapons designs, and additional operating and support costs brought about by new strategic weapon systems could be taken into account, savings over the long term would be even higher than this estimate indicates.†

A Department of Defense official revealed to the *Washington Post* earlier this year that the full cost of buying all the items included in Reagan's five year buildup could exceed the figures which had so far been revealed to the public by a full $750 billion.[11]

POTENTIAL USES OF FREEZE SAVINGS

There are many potential uses for freeze savings. An impact could be made on the federal deficit and overall economic conditions. Reduced nuclear weapons spending could shift budget priorities and could help restore social program cuts. The government could combine initiatives aimed at retraining and reemploying workers affected by the Freeze, funding economic infrastructure in the form of railroads, mass transit and alternative energy and energy conservation measures. As this section will show, it is impossible to meet all of these needs from Freeze

†Every major weapon system introduced by the Pentagon during the 1970s is now projected at a final cost of *at least twice* the initial estimates, and there is no indication that the Reagan Administration's estimates of costs for strategic systems will be any more accurate than those of the past. The $200 million projected unit cost of the new B-1B bomber is more than *six times* the estimated unit cost of the original B-1 from 1970, and even this figure is being greeted with skepticism in Congress.[12]

TABLE A

Budget Savings from a Nuclear Freeze

(FY 1983-1987...And Beyond)

Systems which would be directly halted by a Freeze in 1987

SYSTEM OR PROGRAM	SAVINGS FY 1983-87 (in billions)	AND BEYOND (in billions)
MX Missile	$23.9	$60-$70 through year 2000@
B-1B Bomber	$27.2	depend on how quickly Stealth bomber is developed
Trident I Submarine-launched Ballistic Missile (SLBM)	$2.5	$10 (for outfitting 12 Poseidon subs and 8 Trident subs)
Air-launched Cruise Missile (ALCM)	$5.2	$5 to $6 under current plans
Sea-launched Cruise Missile (SLCM)	$0.8	at least $10.2 (depends on decision on how many to deploy)
Pershing II Missile Ground-launched Cruise Missile (GLCM)	$1.1	$5 to $6 for ground-launched cruise missile and Pershing through 1986
Nuclear Warhead Production	$11.5	at least $21 through 1987. No estimate
Nuclear Warhead Development & Testing	$3.6	beyond
Nuclear Materials Production	$6.0	
TOTAL*	**$84.2**	**$190-205** (includes Trident II and Stealth)

Source: Unpublished data obtained from the U.S. Congressional Budget Office, April, 1982, adjusted to reflect a reduced MX missile authorization for FY 1983. The $84.2 billion five-year total reflects budget authority—most of this will be spent in outlays during the five year period.

Systems which would be halted after 1987 by a Freeze

Trident II Missile (now in R&D)	$21.5 total program cost**
Stealth Bomber (now in R&D)	$30 through 1991**

Systems which might be reduced or eliminated once a Freeze takes effect

Ballistic Missile Defense	$10-25 total program cost***
Strategic Air Defense	$2.5 through 1987
Command, Control & Commun.	$7 added through 1987**
Trident Submarine	$30 total program costs (20 subs), $11.75 through 1987

*In constant 1982 dollars—total costs, with inflation, will be higher.

**Figures on Stealth C³ and Strategic Air Defense, from *Aviation Week and Space Technology*, October 12, 1982, pp. 18-20.

***Program costs are uncertain because final decisions have not been made on BMD.

@Based on 20 year cycle in dense pack basing mode without ABM or other modifications which may be necessary.

Background sources: Center for Defense Information, "Preparing for Nuclear War: President Reagan's Program"; Department of Defense, *Selected Acquisition Reports* as of March 31, 1982; Department of Defense, *R.D.T. and E Programs; Department of Defense Budget for Fiscal Year 1983; Office of Management and Budget, Major Themes and Additional Budget Details, FY1983.* Thanks to SANE and the Coalition for a New Foreign Policy for much of the work on which this is based—"Economic Benefits of the Freeze."

savings alone. Cuts in other military programs or changes in tax policy would also be necessary if needs in all these areas were to come close to being addressed, but a freeze would offer substantial savings which could be used to meet some of these goals.

REDUCING THE FEDERAL DEFICIT. In the next three fiscal years, the federal government deficit may run as much as $200 billion per year, according to estimates by the Congressional Budget Office and Wharton Economic Forecasting Associates.

A recent Congressional Research Service analysis of the possible economic impacts of a nuclear freeze estimated that a freeze could cut approximately $6.7 billion from the FY 1983 federal deficit, which would amount to between 4.7 and 5.8 percent of the total deficit for that year.[13]

RESTORING SOCIAL PROGRAMS. For Fiscal Years 1982 and 1983, Congress has made over $50 billion worth of cuts in social programs, and further deep cuts are planned in years ahead. The savings achieved by a nuclear freeze could be used to prevent the most damaging of these cuts. As an example, the $6 billion in FY 1983 outlay savings could be applied to the following, recently passed reductions in the domestic budget.[14]

Medicaid	$680mil
Child Nutrition	$280 mil
Food Program for Women, Infants and Children	$70 mil
Legal Services	$70 mil
Supplemental Security Income	$430 mil
Elementary and Secondary Education	$350 mil
Guaranteed Student Loans	$660 mil
Pell Grants	$120 mil
Energy and Conservation Research & Development	$360 mil
Community Development Grants	$510 mil
Mass Transit	$500 mil
Economic Development Administration	$70 mil
Food Stamps	$920 mil
Aid to Families with Dependent Children	$950 mil
TOTAL	**$5.97 bil**

REVITALIZING THE CIVILIAN ECONOMY. The nationwide shortage of high school math and science teachers is just one sign of our nation's desperate shortage of resources for civilian research and development activities. Freeze savings can be put to use in major government investment and R&D programs designed to make economic recovery easier through expanding

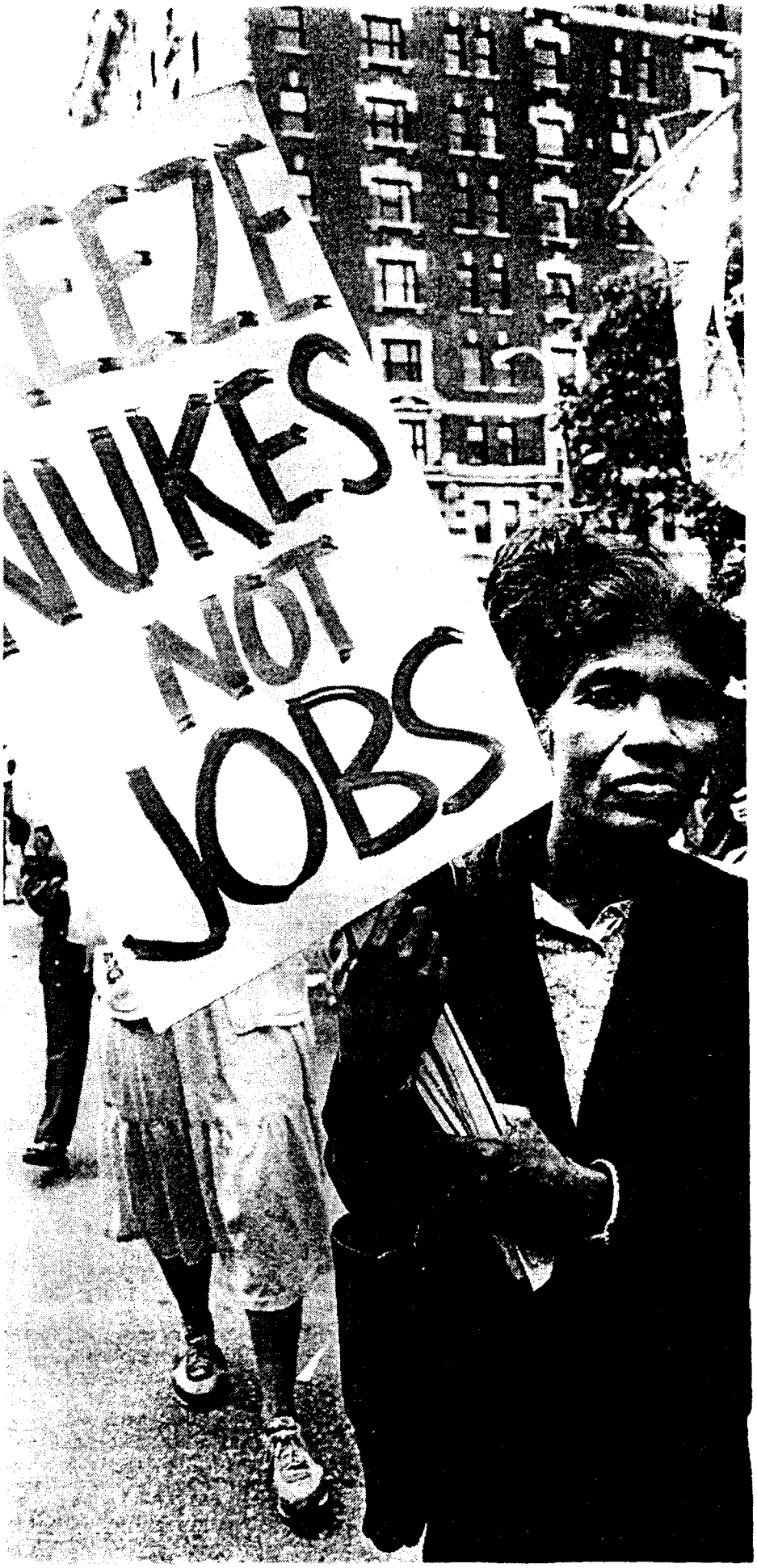


TABLE B

Principal Prime Contractors for Systems Which Would Be Affected by a Freeze

SYSTEM	CONTRACTOR	PRINCIPAL LOCATIONS OF WORK
B-1B bomber	Rockwell International	Palmdale, CA, Columbus, OH, and El Segundo, CA
	General Electric (engine contractor)	Evendale, OH
	AIL Division, Eaton Corp. (defensive avionics systems)	Deer Park, NY
	Boeing Military Airplane Co. (offensive avionics systems)	Seattle, WA, and Wichita, KS
B-52 modifications (to convert to Cruise missile carriers)	Boeing Military Airplane Co.	Wichita, KS
Minuteman II/III ICBM improvements	Boeing	Seattle, WA
	General Electric	Philadelphia, PA
	GTE Sylvania	Needham Heights, MA
	Rockwell International	Anaheim, CA
Trident I and II SLBMs	Lockheed Missiles and Space Co.	Sunnyvale, CA
Air-Launched Cruise Missile	Boeing	Seattle, WA
	General Dynamics	San Diego, CA
	Williams Research (engine)	Walled Lake, MI
	McDonnell Douglas (guidance)	St. Louis, MO
Tomahawk Sea-Launched Cruise Missile	General Dynamics	San Diego, CA
	Williams Research (engine)	Walled Lake, MI
	McDonnell Douglas (guidance)	St. Louis, MO
Ground-Launched Cruise Missile	General Dynamics	San Diego, CA
	Williams Research (engine)	Walled Lake, MI
	McDonnell Douglas (guidance)	St. Louis, MO
Pershing II IRBM	Martin Marietta	Orlando, FL
	Hercules, Inc. (engine)	Salt Lake City, UT
	Goodyear Aerospace (guidance)	Akron, OH
MX missile	TRW (system integration)	Norton Air Force Base, Vandenberg AFB, and Redondo Beach, CA
	Martin Marietta (assembly, test, and support)	Denver, CO, and Vandenberg AFB, CA
	Thiokol Corp. (stage I propulsion)	Brigham City, UT, and Elkton, MD
	Aerojet Strategic Propulsion Co., subsidiary of General Tire and Rubber (stage II propulsion)	Sacramento, CA
	Hercules, Inc. (stage III propulsion)	Magna and Bacchus, UT
	Rockwell International Rocketdyne Div. (stage IV propulsion)	Canoga Park, CA
	Avco Corp. (re-entry system)	Wilmington, MA
MX guidance and control	Charles Stark Draper Laboratory, Inc.	Cambridge, MA, Grand Rapids, MI, Dallas, TX, and San Diego, CA
	Northrop	Hawthorne, CA, and Norwood, MA
	Rockwell International, Autonetics Div.	Anaheim, CA
MX command, control and communications	GTE Sylvania	Needham Heights, MA

Source: *Militarized Supercomputing: An Analysis of the MX Missile System*, Council on Economic Priorities, 1981. This represents only major contractors from among the 37 associate prime contractors and 88 identified subcontractors listed in this study.

Department of Defense, *Program Acquisition Costs by Weapon System for Fiscal 1983*; *Aviation Week and Space Technology*, *Aerospace Forecast and Inventory*, March 8, 1982; U.S. Department of the Army, *Army Weapon Systems Aerospace Daily*, issues from the winter and spring of 1982.

TABLE C

Contractors Operating the Major Nuclear Warhead Research and Production Sites

Research and Development Sites

CONTRACTOR/OPERATOR	FACILITY AND LOCATION	PRINCIPAL FUNCTION
University of California	Lawrence Livermore Laboratories, Livermore, CA	Research, development and testing of new nuclear weapons designs
University of California	Los Alamos Scientific Laboratories, Los Alamos, NM	Same as Livermore
Western Electric subsidiary of American Telephone & Telegraph	Sandia Laboratories, Albuquerque, NM	Design of non-nuclear components of nuclear weapons systems

Nuclear Materials Production

CONTRACTOR/OPERATOR	FACILITY AND LOCATION	PRINCIPAL FUNCTION
Kerr McGee Corp.	Sequoyah, OK	Conversion of uranium ore into uranium hexaflouride gas, first step in the enrichment process
Allied Chemical Corp.	Metropolis, IL	
Union Carbide	Paducah, KY, and Oakridge, TN*	Enrichment of uranium for use in hydrogen bombs
Goodyear Atomic	Piketon, OH	
National Lead of Ohio	Feed Materials Production Center	Processing of "depleted" and low-enriched uranium hexafluoride gas from enrichment plants for use at plutonium production and bomb component fabrication sites
Reactive Metals, Inc.	Extrusion plant, Fernald, OH	
Rockwell International	Hanford Nuclear Reservation, Tri-Cities area, Washington	Plutonium production and military nuclear waste management
Dupont	Savannah River plant, Aiken, SC	Production of all tritium and most plutonium for the hydrogen bomb

Nuclear Weapons Production Sites

CONTRACTOR/OPERATOR	FACILITY AND LOCATION	PRINCIPAL FUNCTION
Union Carbide	Y-12 plant, Oak Ridge, TN*	Fabrication of uranium metal and lithium deuteride components of H-bomb
Rockwell International	Rocky Flats plant, Golden, CO	Production of plutonium "triggers" for H-bomb, reconditioning older weapons in nuclear stockpile
General Electric	Pinellas plant, Pinellas County, FL	Neutron generators for H-bomb
Monsanto	Mound Laboratory, Miamisburg, OH	Production of detonators, timers, explosive pellets for nuclear weapons
Bendix	Kansas City plant, Kansas City, MO	Most non-nuclear parts for nuclear bombs and warheads
Mason and Hangar-Silas Mason Co.	Pantex plant, Amarillo, TX	Final assembly of nuclear warheads, disassembly of retired warheads and bombs

Source: Makers of the Nuclear Holocaust, Nuclear Weapons Facilities Task Force, American Friends Service Committee, Fellowship of Reconciliation, 1981.

*Union Carbide has announced their decision to discontinue their contracts for Oak Ridge and Paducah as of September, 1986, including the Y-12 plant. In discussions with management at the Y-12 plant, it was asked whether there was an alternate use plan in the event there was a freeze in the production of nuclear weapons. No one had heard of such a plan and doubted that one existed. Strong implication was that if there were a freeze on production, the Y-12 plant would be shut down and its machines sold as surplus. (Oak Ridge Conversion Group, Lansing, Tenn.)

the economic infrastructure and removing existing obstacles to economic growth. Such revitalization can include key basic civilian industries, such as steel, machine tools, transportation, communication, and shipbuilding. This will require government and corporate commitment, and investment of capital, human resources, and skill. Phil Webre, in an unpublished report for the Exploratory Project on Economic Alternatives, *Jobs for People*, discusses the potential for creating jobs and revitalizing industry which could be accomplished with minimal government investment.[15]

A major investment program aimed at energy conservation in residences and industry is one such possibility. An analysis of the potential economic benefits of a large scale energy conservation program was carried out in the Council of Economic Priorities study, *Misguided Expenditure: An Analysis of the MX Missile System.* The analysis, based on a ten year, $52 billion program (in 1980 dollars) of energy conservation measures, aimed at industrial locations and places of residence and using existing technologies, found that such a program would cut oil imports by between 44 and 75 percent while creating 178,000 jobs. Since the Persian Gulf provided only one third of U.S. oil imports in 1980, this program could eliminate the need for any U.S. oil imports from that region.[16]

ALTERNATE USE PLANNING, RETRAINING, AND WORKER SECURITY. Another important use for a portion of freeze savings is in the careful planning, retraining, and employment transition benefits for the thousands of workers who may be affected by the freeze at industrial facilities around the country (see Chapter 5). A comprehensive program of freeze conversion legislation encompassing pre-notification, local planning at affected facilities, worker assistance and adjustment and national coordination has been proposed (see Chapter 5).

NEGATIVE ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF A FREEZE

Potential negative economic impacts of a freeze need to be understood in the context of a more detailed analysis of weapon system contractors, jobs, and regions. While the *overall* economic impacts of a freeze are positive, some serious economic consequences are found in a careful assessment of freeze related weapons industries and geographic regions. It is important for Freeze workers to have an understanding of these potential negative effects of a freeze in the short term in order to answer questions from concerned people and respond to opposition.

POTENTIAL AFFECTED CONTRACTORS AND FACILITIES. Table B lists the major prime contractors engaged in production of weapon systems which would definitely be canceled by a Freeze agreement. These contractors are the major corporate beneficiaries of the nuclear arms race, making the bulk of the profits from the production of nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles. However, they represent only the tip of the iceberg in terms of the total number of companies involved. For example, Rockwell International announced in January of this year that it expected to use over 3,000 suppliers for the B-1B bomber program alone.[17] The MX system had 37 associate prime contractors involved during the development phase of that system, each of which had its own set of subcontractors. Allowing for the prime and subcontracting networks of the Cruise missiles, the Pershing II, and the Trident I and II missiles, the full network of companies which receive funds from the nuclear arms buildup can be measured in the tens of thousands.

NUCLEAR WARHEAD PRODUCTION. Another group of companies which will be affected by the nuclear weapons freeze are the firms which run the nuclear warhead production complex. Nuclear warheads are researched, tested, and produced in a network of U.S. government-owned facilities spread throughout the U.S. from Florida to Washington State. Private companies run these facilities on long term contracts, and are reimbursed for the costs they incur, plus a management fee.

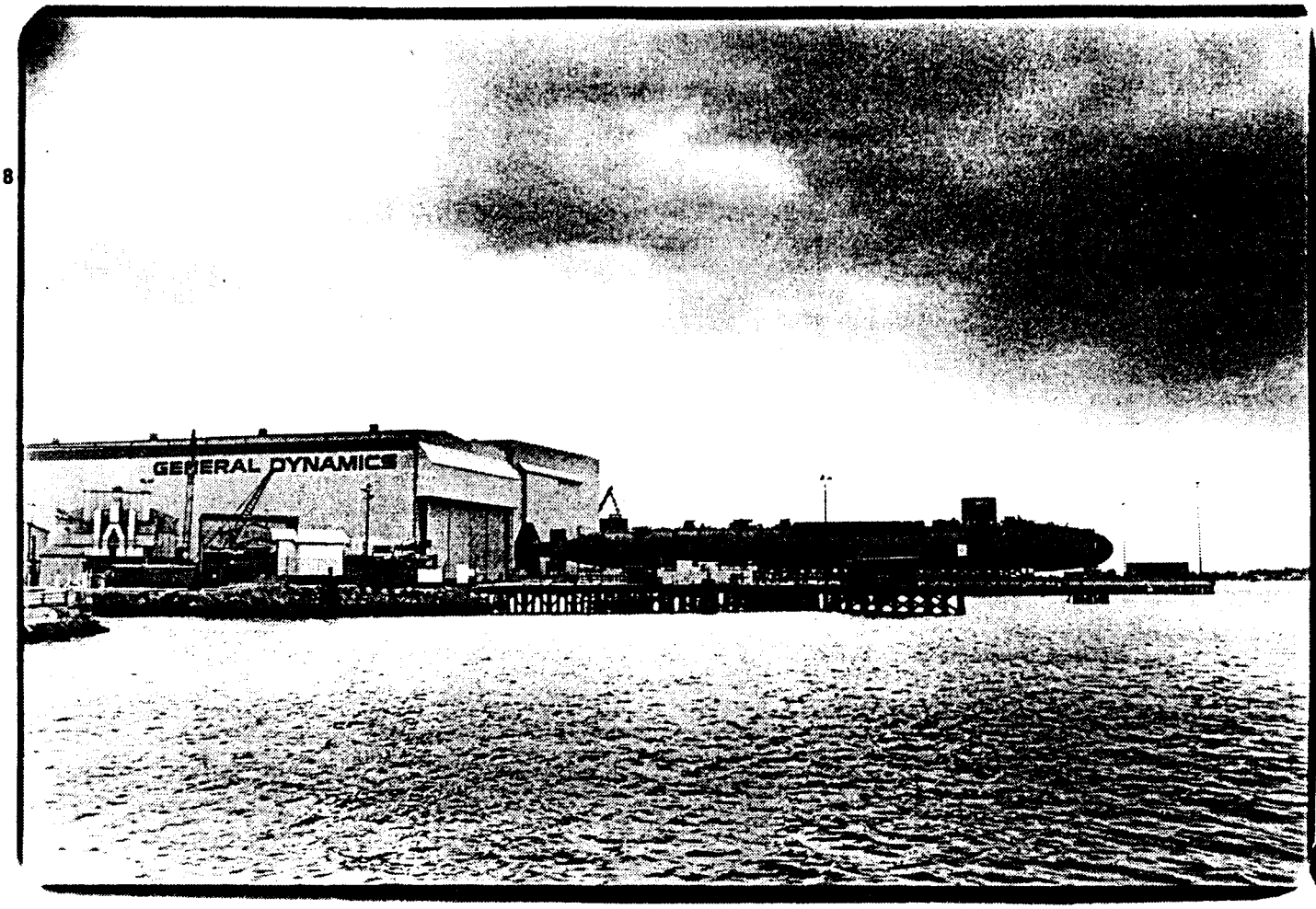
Table C lists the major research, testing, and production sites for nuclear bombs in the United States. The degree to which these sites are affected by a freeze will depend upon whether it is implemented in a form which includes a complete halt to the production of nuclear weapons and fissionable materials. Even if such a complete halt is not negotiated, the five year, $20 billion plan to expand the warhead production complex to meet the demands of the projected strategic buildup would certainly be curtailed by a freeze, and existing sites would need fewer workers to maintain a constant level of strategic warhead production than would have been needed to produce 17,000 new ones.[18]

Although the industrial network for the production of nuclear bombs and delivery vehicles is quite extensive, a relatively small group of firms are the primary beneficiaries, as a glance at Table B indicates. The *Iron Triangle*, a Council on Economic Priorities study of the politics of military contracting, found that eight firms (Boeing, General Dynamics, Grumman, Lockheed, McDonnell Douglas, Northrop, Rockwell International, and United Technologies,) received one out of four Pentagon prime contract dollars awarded during the 1970s, and more than one in three Pentagon dollars for Research, Development Test and Evaluation work.[19] Five of the eight firms (Boeing, General Dynamics, Lockheed, McDonnell Douglas, and Rockwell) are particularly important nuclear weapons system contractors, with leading roles in the production of the air, ground and sea-launched cruise missiles, the Trident missiles and submarine, the MX missile, the B-1B Bomber, and nuclear warheads.

These firms depend for a significant share of their profits and business base on the continuance of the nuclear arms race, and can be expected to use their financial and political resources to oppose a nuclear weapons freeze.‡

NUCLEAR WEAPON DEPLOYMENT SITES. A nuclear weapons freeze would also have a serious impact on the construction of military bases and deployment sites, and on the communities surrounding such facilities, whose economies are often dependent on servicing military personnel stationed at those sites. Bases which would be affected most immediately would include Vandenberg Air Force Base in Southern California, which houses develop-

‡Rockwell International, for example, has already demonstrated what activities might be expected from defense dependent corporations. In the seventies, Rockwell poured some $1.35 million into grass-roots and informational activities to push for its B-1 bomber and other military programs. Despite its efforts, President Carter cancelled the program in 1977. Still, the company continued its activities, contributing thousands of dollars to the Republican National Committee, the Reagan presidential campaign, other Republican committees, and sympathetic congressional candidates whose districts included Rockwell installations or who were members of key committees involve with military, science, and aviation policies. In the House, and in the committees, Rockwell's activities apparently paid off, as the B-1 was approved with the support of many representatives who had been aided by Rockwell.[20]



ment work for the MX missile and B-1B Bombers; Edwards Air Force Base in California, which serves as a major missile test site; and Griffis Air Force Base in New York State, which is the first official deployment site for the air-launched Cruise missile. The expansion of the submarine base at King's Bay, Georgia, and the construction of a new base in Bangor, Washington to accommodate the Trident submarine could be affected as well, depending on how the Trident sub is treated in the first stages of a Freeze.

Further impacts on deployment sites are hard to gauge at this time due to continuing uncertainties about the final basing mode for the MX missile and the question of how soon a Freeze might lead to reductions of existing nuclear forces (which would then affect B-52 and Minuteman ICBM deployment sites in nearly every region of the country.

It is important to note that the Reagan program of continued strategic modernization could have a severe impact on deployment sites as well—if, for example, MX missiles are put in a *new* basing mode which replaces ICBM silos.

Finally, there would be an equally unclear impact on command, control, communications and intelligence facilities which are the linchpins to satellite control and tying the entire nuclear weapons delivery system to command posts. California alone has 19 such facilities.[21]

TABLE D

Production Workers as a Percentage of Total Workers in Guided Missile Production, 1981

Total Employees	95,300
Total Production Workers	26,700
Production Workers as % of Total Employees in Guided Missile Production	28%
Production Workers as % of Total Employees, All Goods Producing Industries	71%

Source: Supplement to Employment and Earnings Revised Establishment Data, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, June, 1982.

JOBS. As noted in Chapter Two, military spending creates fewer jobs per dollar than almost any other form of government spending, including a tax cut. From the available evidence, it appears that production of nuclear bombs and delivery vehicles creates even fewer jobs per dollar than general military spending. This is based on the fact that strategic weapons spending is focused on the production of military hardware, and that the production of this hardware relies more heavily on expensive equipment, scarce metals, and technical and administrative labor than other forms of military production.[22]

The relative job creating potential of guided missile production was extensively analyzed in the Council on Economic Priorities Study, *Misguided Expenditure: An Analysis of the MX Missile System*.[23] The CEP study found that spending for guided missile production created fewer jobs than other sectors (mass transit, railroads, housing, energy conservation, day care) studied, using Bureau of Labor Statistics input-output data. Thus, a cut in guided missile expenditure counterbalanced by an equivalent amount of government expenditure in other areas could

mean significant numbers of new jobs for the economy as a whole.

Guided missile production not only produces fewer jobs per billion dollars than virtually any other form of expenditure, but production workers make up only 28% of the total workforce, compared to 71% average for all U.S. manufacturing (see Table D). At least this part of the nuclear arms buildup offers little or no counterbalance to the massive job losses in basic industries like steel, auto, and timber that have occurred in recent years. The CEP study found that of six alternatives surveyed (guided missiles, mass transit, public utilities, residential construction, and solar energy), guided missiles was the least effective in stimulating basic manufacturing industries.[24]

The Council on Economic Priorities has updated the figures and comparisons from their earlier study on guided missile expenditures with late figures from the Bureau of Labor Statistics Employment Requirements Table (October, 1981) which compares employment per $1 billion in various freeze-related industries (aircraft, communications, and guided missiles) with civilian industries and services. This data shows direct jobs in the freeze-related industries ranging from 8,821 to 13,979 jobs per billion with most civilian industries and services substantially higher (Table E). All of the alternatives except petroleum refining create a substantially greater number of jobs than could be created by the same amount of expenditure for guided missile production, the heaviest area of freeze-related expenditure.[25]

JOBS AFFECTED BY A NUCLEAR WEAPONS FREEZE. It is difficult to isolate employment in production of freeze-related systems from general employment in military industry due to the way that government statistics are kept and due to the fact that many military producing plants make conventional weapons, strategic weapons, and some civilian goods. However, a look at the industrial sectors which will be most affected by the Freeze should give us a general sense of the number and character of the jobs which may be affected.

The major sectors involved in nuclear weapons-related production are the guided missiles, aircraft, electronics-communications, and warhead production and testing sectors of the economy. Using

TABLE E

Employment per $1 Billion of Expenditure in Guided Missile Production and Other Selected Industries and Services

	DIRECT JOBS	TOTAL JOBS
Freeze-Related Industries[1]		
Aircraft	13,979	29,100
Radio and Communications Equipment	13,113	28,136
Complete Guided Missiles and Space Vehicles	8,821	20,715
Civilian Industries[2]		
Apparel	25,755	47,453
Iron and Steel Foundaries and Forgings	18,860	34,697
Motor Vehicles	9,041	30,394
Petroleum Refining and Related Products	2,718	15,142
Services[3]		
Educational Services	63,130	71,550
Hospitals	42,870	54,267
Local Transit and Intercity Buses	21,550	39,532

* Jobs per billion dollars are given in 1981 dollars to give a better reflection of the current job creation potential of spending in each of these categories. The input output model used to determine these figures is based on relationships in the U.S. economy as of 1972, and the employment to output ratios are re-calculated as of 1979. Since specific deflators were used to adjust each category, the ratios among the job creating potentials for each type of spending are slightly different than they would be measured in 1972 dollars, but the ranks among categories have not changed.

1. Complete guided missiles and space vehicles will get the bulk of Freeze-related outlays in the coming strategic buildup. Outlays for the B-1 bomber will be almost as high in 1986 as the total outlays for Freeze-related missiles, but the input-output category for aircraft may overstate the actual number of jobs per billion that B-1 expenditures would create, by a substantial margin due to the focus of B-1 expenditures on high cost equipment and engineering talent relative to civilian aircraft production. Radio and communications is likely to net a substantially smaller sum of Freeze-related outlays than the other two categories.
2. Some of these civilian industries, such as motor vehicles, also supply some goods to the military, but this is not their major market.
3. Since these figures represent numbers of *jobs*, not numbers of full-time equivalent jobs, the ratios between services such as education and hospitals which are more likely to use part-time workers and the job figures for other categories may be overstated.

Source: BLS 1979 Employment Requirements Table, Office of Economic Growth and Employment Projections, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, October 23, 1981.

Bureau of Labor Statistics input-output employment data and a recent survey of the warhead production complex, we estimate that at least 100,000 jobs could be affected by a Freeze if implemented during FY 1983, and over 315,000 if implemented in FY 1986. Obviously, from the point of view of minimizing economic dislocation, the sooner a freeze is implemented the better, in view of the planned buildup (see Table F).

Even at its most comprehensive, the Freeze would directly affect less than .5 of one percent of the total U.S. workforce. It is the effects on particular industries, regions, and locations of the country which are of the most concern, and which will require planning and special attention.§

GUIDED MISSILE PRODUCTION. Guided missile production is the area which would be affected most heavily by the implementation of a Freeze. The majority of delivery vehicles directly impacted by a Freeze are highly sophisticated guided missiles: the cruise missiles, the Pershing II, the MX, Trident I and II, and any improvements in Minuteman II and III ICBMs already in use.

Production of freeze-related missiles accounts for the bulk of jobs which would be affected by a Freeze implemented in FY 1983, or 56,000 jobs. By the time peak production is reached in FY 1986, 120,000 of the jobs affected would be involved in the production of guided missiles.[26]

AIRCRAFT. The aircraft industry, through impacts on the B-1B and possibly other bomber programs, would also be affected by a freeze. Much data exist from studies made during the first B-1 program during the mid-1970s and the initial projections offered by B-1B contractors recently. New data on the job impact of the B-1B program have been limited. But in the next few years, the number of workers in the program will increase dramatically, and could peak at approximately 55,000 B-1 related jobs by the middle of the decade.[27] The actual number of jobs affected by a Freeze will depend in part on when a freeze is implemented relative to the peak production years for the B-1B.

Other aircraft may be affected in future years, such as modifications of the B-52 for cruise missiles, and the new Stealth Bomber (set to follow the B-1B, now in research and development).

ELECTRONICS AND COMMUNICATIONS. The electronics and communications industry, through impacts on components used in all types of nuclear delivery vehicles, would also be affected by a freeze. Estimating employment in electronics and communications industries which depend on the production of nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles is extremely difficult, since many of the companies involved are subcontractors who produce components for both civilian and military systems, and whose employment levels, even for military work, much less nuclear weapons systems, cannot be easily determined from existing information. Estimates are also complicated by the fact that the buildup for Command, Control, Communications, and Intelligence (C^3I) is difficult to break down by function and year to year outlays. At least 20% of C^3I expenditures, if not more, is clearly identifiable as strategic systems expenditure, and current estimates in the electronics and semiconductor industries are also 20% military (although the percentage for freeze related systems is impossible to determine). Our estimates for total jobs do not, therefore, include electronics and communications, although some impact is inescapable.[28]

NUCLEAR WEAPONS RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT, AND PRODUCTION. Throughout the United States, there are 17 major sites involved in the research, development and production of nuclear warheads. While the total employment at these facilities is only 42,000, substantially less than in the development and production of nuclear weapons delivery systems, the impact of a Freeze on them would be significant indeed, especially since several of the plants are located in areas which do not have large concentrations of alternative industrial employment, including Pantex (Texas), Pinella (Florida) and Mound (Ohio). Again, the exact

TABLE F

Projected Jobs Affected by a Nuclear Weapons Freeze

	FY 1983	FY 1986
Guided Missiles[1]	56,000	120,000
Aircraft[2]	22,000	153,000
Nuclear warhead testing and production[3]	42,000	42,000
TOTAL	120,000*	315,000*

1. This is the most accurate projection because the Bureau of Labor Statistics input-output table used to calculate it has a specific figure for employment created per $1 billion in final demand by guided missile production.
2. This figure was arrived at through use of projected B-1 outlay figures applied to BLS figures for aircraft production; the resulting estimate is probably an overstatement, since B-1 outlays focus more on employment of high-paid engineers than normal aircraft production would, thereby lowering the jobs created by a given amount of expenditure to a level below the average for aircraft production. Rockwell International public affairs has given a projection of 55,000 B-1 related jobs by 1986.
3. This is based on a count of direct employees at the major facilities in the DoE warhead complex—it does not include indirect jobs in subcontracting industries, as the estimates for guided missiles and aircraft do. It also takes no account of new employment which will be associated with construction and operation of a new plutonium production facility, or other employment impacts of the DoE's warhead complex expansion plan. A version of the Freeze which halted nuclear materials production would have the greatest degree of impact on these jobs, but whether this will be demanded as being equally important as the Freeze on production of new delivery vehicles remains to be seen.
4. These totals are conservative and do not include command, control and communications, or other potentially affected areas.

§This overall estimate of the total number of jobs likely to be directly affected by a nuclear weapons Freeze is necessarily rough, due to uncertainties about when a Freeze will be implemented, and how many related systems might be cancelled. Our estimate is based on Congressional Budget Office projections on outlays for the B-1B, the MX, Trident I, cruise missiles, and Pershing II, existing information on numbers of jobs in the nuclear warhead research, production and testing network, and Bureau of Labor Statistics input-output tables.

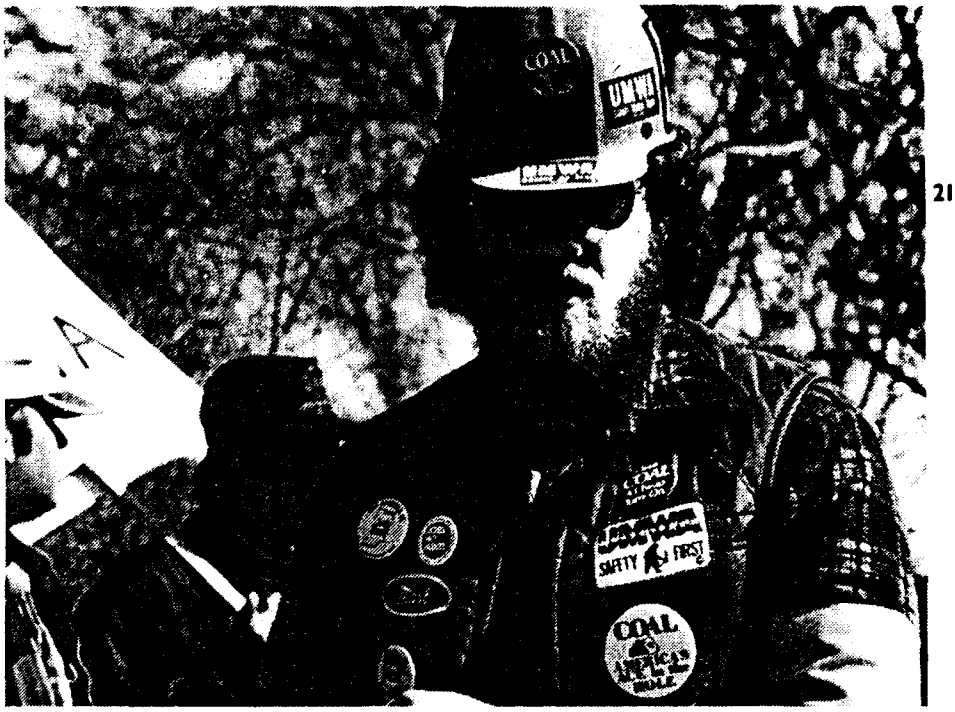
impact of a Freeze will depend on circumstances surrounding the Freeze. Certainly not all 42,000 workers would lose their jobs if a Freeze were implemented, particularly if research was permitted under the terms of any Freeze agreement. But any agreement to forgo the production of 17,000 new nuclear warheads will have a substantial impact on employment levels at these facilities, and on other communities.

REGIONAL AND LOCAL IMPACTS. While the potential effects of a Nuclear Freeze on the nation's economy as a whole are of great importance, it is the regional and local effects that matter most to the thousands of Americans whose jobs are actually at stake. These effects would not be equally distributed throughout the country because the production of nuclear weapons and their delivery vehicles, and their deployment, is not equally distributed. The major plants of the principal producing firms are concentrated in Southern California, the "Silicon Valley" of northern California, Seattle, St. Louis, Southern Ohio, and Eastern Massachusetts (see Table B and Table C for details).

The warhead production network also creates local economic dependency, particularly near research sites and plants such as Lawrence Livermore National Laboratories in Livermore, California, and the Rocky Flats plant outside Denver.

Dozens of communities around the country would have some substantial economic readjustments to make if a Freeze were implemented. A look at California, the major nuclear-weapons related contracting state in the country, may be instructive here. Other specific locales are dealt with in the appendix.

Since the early 1960s, California has been the leading military contracting state in the U.S., garnering an average of 20% of all prime defense contracts in the United States. The Reagan buildup promises to increase that percentage still further, in large part because of California's role in the production of strategic systems. A recent study by the California State Office of Business and Economic Development, and forecasts by Wells Fargo Bank and *California Business* magazine, point to California's share of military spending over the next five years to rise to over 30%, solidifying its position as the pre-eminent military state and increasing its employment dependency.[29]



Nearly every major strategic weapon system in the Reagan program has major contractors in California: the B-1B Bomber (Rockwell International), the MX Missile (Aerojet General, Northrop, Rockwell, TRW), the Stealth Bomber (Northrop), ground and sea-launched cruise missiles (General Dynamics, Litton), Trident I and II missiles (Lockheed, Westinghouse), C³I systems (Ford Aerospace, Lockheed, GTE Sylvania, Litton, ESL).

Preliminary estimates are that up to 40% of all freeze-related contracting will occur in the state of California.[30] California's top contractors—Lockheed, General Dynamics, Rockwell—are the giants of the industry and received 54% of all contract dollars in FY 1981. But the impact is more widespread than the headliners. The complete listing of California corporations with $10,000 or more in prime defense contracts totals 8,550 separate firms.[31] Many subcontractors are not included in this list at all. But in the last year that subcontractor data was gathered and released by the Pentagon, 1979, it was found that California was a net gainer of subcontract dollars to the tune of $1.33 for every dollar in prime contracts.[32]

The effect of all this money on California's employment (and the potentially affected employment by a freeze) is difficult to determine with precision. Rough estimates of total military-related direct employment in the state in 1982 range from 450,000 to 600,000, with strategic systems accounting for perhaps 200,000.[33] The State Department of Business and Transportation study estimates that as many as 200,000 *new* direct jobs could be created over the five year course of the projected military buildup.

There is no question but that a freeze would affect jobs in California: at least 40,000 in 1983 and at least 128,000 by 1986.[34]

SUMMARY. This chapter looks into the impact that a Nuclear Weapons Freeze could have on the national budget, and briefly discusses some of the alternatives to defense spending as they relate to job creation. It also attempts to evaluate the effects that the implementation of a Nuclear Weapons Freeze would have on the nation's economy, on the industries most directly involved in the production of nuclear weapons and delivery systems, and on the communities whose economies are dependent on the nuclear weapons industry.

The available information summarized in this chapter suggests that the general impact of a Nuclear Weapons Freeze would be positive and that, if tax dollars earmarked for nuclear weapons were diverted to other programs, significant progress is possible toward solving some of the basic problems that plague the American economy.

Thus it is important to recognize that without a planned program of economic conversion a Nuclear Weapons Freeze would bring with it serious economic dislocation for individuals and communities dependent on contracts to produce nuclear weapons and delivery systems.

4 LOCAL ORGANIZING ON ECONOMIC ISSUES AND THE FREEZE

AS HAS BEEN SHOWN in Chapter Three, the implementation of a Nuclear Weapons Freeze would have a substantial economic impact, both positive and negative, on various regions of the United States. Successful local organizing on the Freeze will be strengthened by maximizing the positive economic benefits and overcoming or mitigating the negative factors in the context of the local economic picture. ¶This chapter describes some methods which local Freeze workers have found helpful in their organizing efforts. It provides basic "how to" information and resources on: ***making a local assessment of the economic impact of a Freeze; building coalitions among groups which would be affected economically by a Freeze; and developing effective local strategies for addressing the economic impact of a Freeze.***

ASSESSING LOCAL IMPACTS

Every city, county, or region of the country is different in terms of the impact of a nuclear weapons freeze on the economy, and development of successful alternative strategies for industry. Broader questions of the various long range economic benefits of a freeze depend on national policy see Chapter Two), but coalition building, alternate use planning, and specific strategies and tactics will depend on careful local assessment. To get the complete picture, you will want to look at the following three elements in your local assessment:

(1) the extent to which your community is involved in the testing, production or deployment of freeze-impacted nuclear weapons and delivery systems;

(2) the impact of federal budget cuts on human needs and human services in your community;

(3) the amount of money your community pays in nuclear weapons related taxes to the federal government in relation to the federal tax dollars that return to your community.

RESEARCHING THE IMPACT OF A FREEZE ON YOUR COMMUNITY. Every local group needs to understand the extent to which its community is engaged in the testing, production, and deployment of

nuclear weapons and delivery systems which would be affected by a nuclear weapons freeze. This is equally true for areas with heavy involvement and those with comparatively little: an accurate understanding informs the economic arguments which are made in organizing, and the political alliances which can be built. For example, an area with heavy nuclear weapons production will be concerned about conversion and worker security plans, contacts with organized industrial workers, and the job impact of military contracts. Conversely, an area with little nuclear weapons systems work will likely be a net loser of tax money to the Pentagon, and a net loser of jobs through federal budget cuts for social programs and the collapse of basic industry. These factors influence which organizing strategies will be most effective.

IDENTIFYING FREEZE-RELATED CONTRACTORS AND FACILITIES IN YOUR AREA. The general outlines of freeze related nuclear weapons research, production, testing, and deployment have been indicated in Chapter Three, which is an excellent starting point for any local assessment. That is, first familiarize yourself and your group with freeze systems and contractors and their general distribution throughout the country. Next, write to the Department of Defense, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, Washington, D.C. 20435, for a copy of their *Catalog of DIOR Reports, 1982.*[1] This is basically an extended order blank for published reports and information on logistics, work force, prime contract and certain subcontracting data available yearly from the DOD. Most important among these reports for a local assessment of freeze impact is "Prime Contract Awards over $10,000 during the past fiscal year (October 1 to September 30). The corporations are listed by county and city together with the total dollar amount of contracts for each corporation. No information is given about the nature of the contract.

To match up corporations in your area with freeze systems you need two other things: (1) a working knowledge of the major freeze contractors (see Chapter Three), and the four most recent quarters of the Defense Marketing Survey (DMS) Contract Listing from NARMIC, 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102.[2] This listing is a short description of each

contract awarded to each company in your county, over $10,000 during the course of one (or more) quarters.*

Once you have determined the basic listing of companies and weapon systems involved (including work in testing and production), add any local military bases in your area that are known to be involved or potentially involved with strategic weapon systems.[3]

FINDING OUT ABOUT LOCAL CONTRACTORS AND FACILITIES. You are now ready to develop a little more information about these companies and their economic involvement in weapons production. The following is a basic list of information to be gathered:

(1) Names of companies, local addresses, affiliation with parent corporation or conglomerate (if any).

(2) Proportion of the company or plant's total business which is nuclear weapons related and therefore affected by a strategic buildup or freeze.

(3) Number of people employed, with a breakdown into blue collar/technical/clerical/management, male/female, white/minority, and civilian/nuclear weapons work.

(4) Principal products of the company: what freeze related system or part of a system, what civilian products? Does the company have contracts from other, non-Defense Department government agencies (Department of Energy, Department of Transportation)?

(5) The labor situation: Are the workers unionized? Which unions? Who are the officers of the union locals? Have there been recent strikes? What are the major issues of the union?

(6) The physical plant: What kind of buildings, machinery, research, office space, storage and loading areas are on the premises?

Don't be overwhelmed by all these questions. And don't feel you must have all the answers before you move into other areas of assessment or organizing on economic impact. The process of organizing will itself bring more information.

WHERE TO LOOK FOR INFORMATION. There are six good sources for obtaining some of this information:

(1) There are many good sources of background material about corporations. *Moody's Industrial Manual, Moody's OTC-Industrial Manual,* and *Standard Corporation Descriptions* give good general descriptions of corporations listed on the stock exchanges. These and most of the following resources are available in the business section of your nearest university and large city library. If the company is too small to be listed in *Moody's* or *Standard,* try *Dun and Bradstreet Million Dollar Directory* (for larger corporations) or *Dun and Bradstreet Middle Market Directory* (for smaller companies). Finally, if the corporation in which you are interested is not listed in any of the sources above, try *Thomas Register of American Manufactuers,* especially Volume 7, or *Directory of Corporate Affiliations: Who Owns Whom.*[4]

(2) Another excellent source of information is the corporation's annual report. It is usually available free from the corporations, or it can be found in a good business library. Annual reports frequently give useful information about the subsidiaries, products, officers and directors, sales divisions, plant locations and finances of the company.

(3) Every state publishes an industrial directory, listing even the small companies within the state. These are normally done by county and will sometimes indicate whether a firm is controlled locally or from the outside. State Industrial Directories Corporation also publishes industrial directories for most states, listing companies by county and indicating the number of employees, plant locations, names of directors or local managers and the types of products manufactured. These can be found in a good business library.

(4) Your local telephone book, especially the Yellow Pages, is also a valuable research tool. Your local Chamber of Commerce may have brochures which will give a good overview of the local economy. Your state government maintains files of information on corporations in your state. Local newspapers generally carry announcements of major contracts. For information on past contract awards, you may be able to consult clipping files at your local library or even at the newspaper.

(5) One other important source of information is your Congressional representative in Washington. Write to his/her office and ask for a list of all government contracts currently held by the company in which you are interested. Many representatives and Senators are very conscientious and thorough in supplying information to interested citizens.

(6) Talking with a company's public relations director, rank and file workers, union leaders, and management will often turn up a wealth of information not available from other sources. Workers generally know a lot about a company's pattern of business: where the orders are coming from, how many and how often, where the company gets its equipment, what political connections it has in the community, etc. The officers of the union local will have information on the work force, strike history and current issues. Management, of course, knows more than anyone else.

In general, it is a good idea to do interviewing last. You need to know what questions to ask and how to interpret the answers. Additionally, people will generally tell you more if they believe you already know a lot. This is particularly true with management; the more informed you appear, the more they feel compelled to talk to your level of understanding. It is always helpful to begin your conversation with management by asking general questions. This will allow time for both of you to become relaxed. Save the more involved questions and the "cross-examination" for last. If the person you are interviewing seems to be giving you "misleading" information, avoid reactions that might be antagonistic. Instead respond in a manner which keeps the conversation open, for example: "Gosh, I thought..."

Write down your questions beforehand in case you get a little nervous. Ask your interviewees if they mind your taping the conversation with a cassette recorder. There are several guides to doing this kind of corporate research and interviewing. Among the best are the *Corporate Action Guide, Open the Books,* and *The NACLA Research and Methodology Guide* (see Chapter Six, Resources).[5]

RESEARCHING BUDGET CUTBACKS

This aspect of research is often overlooked by local peace activists, but it is critical to understanding freeze-related economic impacts, especially in terms of demonstrating positive economic benefits, and building alliances with human service groups. You need to find out how the shift of funds from federal civilian programs to the strategic military buildup (which the Freeze hopes to stop)

*Because of the large number of requests received, priority must be given to local action/research projects, so NARMIC cannot guarantee to service requests from individuals for information. Charges will be billed for copying costs plus a nominal service charge.

affects *your* community: what programs, what dollar amounts, what jobs, what services are affected. You need to find out whether your community is a net gainer or loser of funds and/or jobs to the military. And finally, you need to understand clearly, from the people most affected, what major unmet human needs exist in your area: transportation systems? environmental pollution control, housing? What is your area's unemployment rate? How much of the area's housing is substandard? How many low-cost medical clinics are available? What programs were affected by budget reductions?

Federal budget cuts in social programs will affect local communities in three major ways: (1) individuals and organizations will see benefits and funding either terminated or reduced; (2) The local economy will suffer from the loss of federal funds; and (3) State and local taxes may be raised to offset the loss of federal monies. Two federal publications can provide basic information on federal programs in your area. The first is the "Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance," available in many public libraries and in all Federal Information Centers located in the Federal Building at a state capital. The "Catalog" includes a complete description of federal programs, including eligibility criteria, application procedures, and amounts allocated. The second is titled "Geographic Distribution of Federal Funds," which lists all federal programs and the expenditures for each, broken down by state, county, and large city. Reports for individual states come out near the end of each fiscal year (September 30) and should be available through local Community Action Agencies, County Commissioners' offices, and some public libraries. In addition, State Information Reception Offices (SIRO) keep track of federal programs and where their money goes within each state, and local or regional Clearinghouses, which can be located through the SIRO, keep track of local uses of funds.

These resources can help in determining how much federal aid currently comes into a particular community and how much will be lost because of the cuts. Additional information concerning the number of people currently receiving benefits or services, the number who will have benefits terminated or will receive reduced services, and the prospects for increases in state and local taxes because of federal cutbacks, can be tracked down through offices and agencies administering the various programs, or through groups such as teachers' unions, which are especially concerned with particular services.

Up-to-date information on federal social programs is also available from a number of organizations in Washington. Each year the U.S. Conference of Mayors, 1620 Eye Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20006, produces a response to the Administration's budget proposals as soon as they are released in late January or early February—the response is titled "The Federal Budget and the Cities," and is available very shortly after the official budget becomes public.

During the Reagan years, a number of groups have cooperated in producing manuals reviewing the Administration's various proposals. The manuals also include directories of organizations by issue area. Manuals will be produced by the Coalition on Block Grants and Human Needs, 1000 Wisconsin Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20007, and the Fair Budget Action Campaign, PO Box 2735, Washington, D.C. 20013. The Center for Community Change, 1000 Wisconsin

Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20007, produces a very useful multi-issue newsletter and acts as a clearinghouse for information.

But the best way to gather information locally is to make contact with your local budget action coalition or coalition for human services. If you aren't aware of local groups working for restoration of budget cuts, contact the Fair Budget Action Campaign.[6] Then, with their help, you can approach local government agencies and get specific information on the effect of budget cuts on human services. You can also talk with specific agencies and citizens' groups working on a variety of particular issues: jobs, services, health care, housing, etc. The office of your local congressional or state representative may also be of assistance.

Through this process, you should be able to compile a broad but detailed picture of the local human impact of budget reductions on your area *and* which important human needs are unmet.

RESEARCHING FEDERAL DOLLARS AND YOUR COMMUNITY

Another important factor is a comparison of the outgo of tax dollars to the federal government with the income from federal programs to your county or community. A most basic resource is James R. Anderson's *Bankrupting America: The Tax Burden and Expenditures of the Pentagon by Congressional District.*[7] This publication lists, by Congressional district, the amount of money spent by the Pentagon, the amount of federal taxes leaving the district for the military, and the net gain or loss in dollars per district and per family. To apply this analysis to your own community or neighborhood, call the nearest IRS office and ask them to provide you with the following information from the "Five-Digit Zip Code Data" book for your county or community (identified by zip codes): (1) the number of tax returns filed; (2) the total tax for the entire zip code(s); (3) the total tax for income groups. The "Five-Digit Zip Code Area Data" book can also be purchased from the National Technical Information Service, 5285 Port Royal Road, Springfield, VA 22151.[8] Use James Anderson's methodology to figure military tax for your zip code.

Figures on income from federal government programs are available from the National Technical Information Service. Entitled, "Federal Outlays in [Name of State]," it lists

expenditures for each county and city by federal agency and program.[9]

BUILDING COALITIONS AMONG AFFECTED GROUPS

The peace and disarmament movement has had, in the past, only limited success in developing common programs with people outside its traditional white middle-class support. A smattering of representatives from labor, low income and human service groups, and the technical community have always been active in peace-related activities, but there has been little in the way of sustained political cooperation.

For the first time, though, the upsurge of mass support for the Freeze, coupled with the obvious effects of Reaganomics, has provided an opportunity to develop effective working relationships with groups such as labor, technical people, and low income people. The sections below present a short primer outlining the strategies for organizing and coalition building with these three constituencies, at the local level.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS AND STEPS

There are six main steps that an activist can take to develop working relationships with the constituencies mentioned above:

(1) IDENTIFY AND CONTACT KEY PEOPLE. Determine the major organizations, groups, agencies, and associations which most represent the interests of any group. Learn and then follow the appropriate protocol in approaching and contacting these groups and their representatives. Especially seek to contact people in each constituency already involved with or sympathetic to the Freeze or peace issues in general. Get their advice on how to proceed in making new contacts, and build on their personal connections.

(2) GET ACQUAINTED WITH THE ISSUES, NEEDS, AND CONCERNS OF THE PEOPLE YOU ARE CONTACTING. What are the problems they face? What are the issues they are most immediately concerned with on a day-to-day basis? Each constituency and locale has its own individual and unique concerns which may be quite different from others' and which will also differ from the concerns of peace activists.

(3) GET ACQUAINTED WITH THE PEOPLE MOST ACTIVE IN THESE GROUPS. Ultimately, personal contacts and mutual trust building on the person-to-person level are what forge effective alliances. This requires recognizing and then defusing the cultural stereotypes, prejudices and myths we all have about different groups.

For example, it is often assumed that labor unions or technical professionals, especially those working in defense plants, are automatically against the Freeze. In fact, many of them are just as concerned about the arms race and the potential of nuclear holocaust as peace activists. However, as often as not, they are also either too afraid of losing their jobs, or preoccupied with more immediate problems (e.g., job security, money, etc.).

A recent poll of union households in Santa Clara County, including machinists working at Lockheed Missiles and Space Co., the county's number one military contractor, showed that 53% of the union households favored the Freeze.

The more Freeze activists overcome their prejudices, the more likely people from these constituencies can, in turn, overcome some of the stereotypes they have of peace people. The more workers, engineers, or low-income people feel Freeze activists genuinely care about them and their issues, the greater the chance of building long-term coalitions.

(4) ASSESS THE SITUATION OF THESE CONSTITUENCIES VIS-A-VIS THE ARMS BUILDUP AND THE FREEZE. It is important to consider the stake different groups have in the arms buildup; the extent they are losers or gainers; how their jobs and lives are tied into the present situation; how they would be affected by a Freeze and major arms reduction; i.e., what their short-term and long-term losses or gains would be if we had a major reduction in the arms budget.

(5) MAKE THE LINKAGES BETWEEN THEIR ISSUES AND THE FREEZE. Identify the common points of connection between the concerns of these groups and the Freeze. Remember that they do exist! Translate the arms race and its economic and social impacts into terms that different people can understand. Be sensitive to defense dependency, which is how the arms race has put many working people and communities into an essentially "hostage" situation. Disarmament is then perceived as a threat to people's immediate livelihood or to the economic survival of whole communities.

Develop and promote educational and media activities that illustrate these connections. Forums, literature, presentations, formal and informal meetings with representatives of these constituencies can be used to discuss these linkages. Engage members from different groups in discussions about these issues' connections in which they are encouraged to present their own views and come to their own conclusions.

(6) PROMOTE CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMS. Provide paths that members of different groups can easily take to get involved in Freeze activities. Educational projects; local, state or even national political legislation or initiatives which promote alternative budgets, conversion or alternate use planning; concrete alternative economic or technological projects are all examples of ways Freeze activists can join with other constituencies in constructive programs. Such projects bridge gaps between different groups and address the short-term transitional problems or long-term effects of a Freeze.

Freeze activists can also work more closely with constituency groups on their behalf, support fair budget campaigns, and work on other projects in their communities.

WORKING WITH SPECIFIC CONSTITUENCIES

LABOR. The Freeze has been relatively successful in gaining the endorsement or tacit support of many local Central Labor Councils (CLC; the local councils of unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO) and individual union locals around the U.S.[10] Some national unions have also given their endorsement. (See appendix for statements of union bodies.) If you are trying to make alliances with organized labor it is usually most effective to identify those local unions and CLC's that have endorsed the Freeze and make your initial contacts there.

Ask these endorsers for their advice about how to approach other union representatives to gain their support and endorsements. Find out who the key officers and members are in each local (names and titles). Invite your contacts to participate at your events, and to join your Freeze campaign committee keeping in mind the limited time availability of labor leaders due to their organizational demands. Keep them informed of your activities.

Be aware that the labor movement is actually very diverse. Some unions are much more conservative than others. But do not jump to

conclusions based on previous experience. For example, the building trades, quite conservative on nuclear and military issues in the past, have been particularly hard hit by Reaganomics. Consequently, some local Building Trades Councils have begun to take progressive stands with respect to the arms race and the Freeze.

Identify those unions most involved in military related production in your area. Some of the major unions with large numbers of their members in defense work include the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM) and the United Auto Workers (UAW). Both these unions have had leaderships which have been sharply critical of the arms race, and they have taken progressive stands on disarmament and peace issues.[11]

Similarly, support from local leadership does not necessarily imply support from the membership. Nevertheless, it is advisable to follow the accepted protocol for contacting and seeking endorsements from local labor bodies and leaders before making attempts to reach into the membership of a union. It is also a courtesy to let your County CLC and Building Trades Council know, by phone and/or by letter, that you will be approaching member organizations for endorsements and support.

As important as these endorsements are, forming effective working relationships with labor necessitates becoming aware of the major concerns of working people whom the unions represent. While it is true that many if not most union members probably have some concern about the arms race and may even support the Freeze, in this period of rising unemployment, work furloughs, and plant closings, *employment security* may be their biggest concern.

Issues such as job security, plant closings, occupational health and safety, wages and benefits, work hours, quality of working life, and job discrimination are just some of the issues that labor unions are facing in their day-to-day negotiations and conflicts with corporate managements. It is therefore important to find out what issues are most important to the unions in your own local area, in their own terms. Getting labor representatives to speak to your groups about their concerns is another valuable way of both strengthening personal contacts and learning first hand about labor issues.

The jobs issue in relation to the Freeze is, potentially, the most problematic for organized labor, since many workers in several regions in the country will be directly affected by Freeze cuts in weapons systems. Therefore, it is doubly important to be able to address the jobs question for these workers. Even in meetings with labor leaders supporting the Freeze, the specter of potential job losses has prompted some to express serious concern about their members going along with a Freeze without some provision for job protection.

Working with unions on issues such as job security, health and safety, or the impact of technology will help to build meaningful alliances with labor groups. It is helpful to promote an awareness among union members of the connections between these more immediate problems of labor and the issue of the arms buildup and its economic impacts within our society. It may also help to build trust if Freeze supporters can join in on some picket lines, labor-led demonstrations or full employment coalitions.

One important area that is a concern of both Freeze activists and labor unions is to start building positive alternative programs that address the economic impacts of the arms race and the potential impacts of the Freeze. This might include job-creating alternative production projects, conversion/alternate use planning projects, or local political initiatives to institute alternate use planning mechanisms at the county, municipal or even plant level.

These alliances with labor groups on the local level in which both peace and economic issues are jointly addressed by peace and labor activists should be reflected in national level alliances which push conversion, alternative budget and related economic justice legislation alongside the efforts to institute a nuclear weapons freeze.

TECHNICAL PROFESSIONALS

In many cases, especially within military industries, the problems of technical professionals—engineers, scientists, computer professionals, and kindred technical workers—are not all that different from those of other workers, especially with respect to the impacts of a Freeze. If anything, technical professionals might suffer the most direct and hardest hits if an actual Freeze is achieved. However, working with technical professionals requires a very different set of considerations than working with organized labor.

One-third to one-half of the technical talent of the U.S. works directly on military-related production. This means that a very large number of technical professionals are concentrated in a relatively small number of large aerospace and electronics firms. It is not unusual to find up to and sometimes more than half the workforce of a military plant composed of technical professionals and kindred workers.

Because they are unorganized—with a few important exceptions (e.g., engineers' unions exist in Boeing, Seattle and Lockheed, Burbank)—technical workers tend to be less visible than organized blue collar workers in the same plant. Therefore, you must relate to technical people on an individual basis.

Like organized labor, the technical community is very diverse. One can make distinctions between types of technical people by the kinds of places where they work, by their specialized skills, and by the categories of their technical work, such as research, production, etc.

As in the case of organized labor, there is probably a much larger percentage of technical people supportive of the Freeze than activists realize. Many engineers and scientists working in military industries would just as soon be working on other types of products, but, like all workers, they need their jobs to support themselves and their families. And, like blue collar workers, engineers and scientists have special concerns related to their jobs. Some of these include working conditions, job obsolescence, overspecialization, lack of bargaining power, and lack of non-defense related alternative work. Above all, if there were a serious cutback in military production, such as that which would be brought about by a Freeze, military engineers and scientists would be very heavily hit. Their situation might even be worse than other workers in that their overspecialization and military-oriented work experience often makes them poorly suited for transferring to civilian technical work. Retraining could take any-

where from a year to a year-and-a-half.

Among the many professional organizations, such as the Institute for Electrical and Electronic Engineers (IEEE), the American Society of Mechanical Engineers (ASME), etc., there are few in which engineers and scientists can join with other technical workers in working on issues of social and political concern.

This situation is beginning to change slowly. Even some of the more traditional organizations are beginning to raise the issue of the social responsibility of science and technology. Two examples are the IEEE's Society for the Social Implications of Technology, and the relatively prestigious American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS). Organizations such as Science for the People and the Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS) are now being joined by groups such as High Technologists for Peace in Boston, and the Technology and Society Committee, and Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility in Santa Clara County, California. This form of peer group organizing, most notably seen in the example of Physicians for Social Responsibility, is probably the single most effective way to get professionals involved in disarmament organizing of any kind.[12]

If you are interested in working with technical people you can begin by seeking out members of these groups or of others that may have formed in their own areas. You should build on the contacts you have already established with technical people sympathetic to the Freeze. Approaching and obtaining endorsements from well-known scientists and engineers at local universities who are supportive may help increase the credibility of a local Freeze campaign.

If there is a low level of involvement or contact with technical workers in your area, then you might want to develop special educational forums to attract engineers and scientists. Just raising the question of the social responsibility of science and technology—with well-known, respected speakers—could draw a number of potential contacts out of the technical community, as long as the presentation appears to be a non-threatening, "respectable" format.

In activities aimed at making contacts, it is important to avoid strong moralistic or anti-technology rhetoric. The approach should be more affirming of the intrinsic value of the talent and expertise of technical people that is diverted by the arms race. You may also want to work with sympathetic technical people in creating support groups for technical workers looking for others with similar concerns about not only the nuclear issue, but about occupational concerns, and other social implications of their work.

Some of the organizations mentioned above were set up to deal with a number of issues that technologists have to cope with over and beyond their role in the military. High Technologists for Peace have set up a placement center for finding alternative non-military work for technical people. The Technology and Society Committee attempts to address a wide range of issues involving the social consequences of technology, with a strong emphasis on the nuclear arms race.

LOW-INCOME AND HUMAN SERVICE GROUPS

Making substantial connections with these constituencies will at times prove more difficult for peace activists than any others. Aside from the

difficulties of overcoming cultural and ethnic barriers, organizers are faced with a situation in which powerlessness and alienation, coupled with a general mistrust of well-meaning white middle-class people is especially acute.

There is an old thirties and forties dictum "when the gravy gets thinner the knives get sharper." This aptly describes the overall context that peace activists should be aware of during a time of increasing economic and social crisis and massive cuts in social services. The combination of the economic crisis and government cuts in social programs is, on one hand, increasing the hardship of low-income people, while, on the other, depriving them of what little "safety net" existed before. Community Based Organizations (CBOs), and social and human service agencies are forced to compete even more strongly for what little remaining money is available from government and private foundation sources. Faced with an imminent economic holocaust, the threat of nuclear holocaust loses some of its force.

On the other hand, despite these obstacles, the opportunity to make links with these groups may actually be greater than ever before. In the past two years, the Reagan Administration has slashed vital programs for the needy, promoted economic policies which undermine our dustrial base and send the unemployment rate soaring, while simultaneously pushing for an unprecedented arms buildup. Many people have begun to see for themselves the connection between their own growing economic hardships and military spending. The result is that low-income groups, CBOs, and human service groups are likely to be sympathetic to peace efforts, even if they are not actively involved.

Consequently, it is important for Freeze activists to begin to learn more about the fight against the budget cuts and other issues that these groups are embroiled in. For many of them, the battles against further cuts in social program budgets at national, state, and local governmental levels are a matter of survival.

Faced with the Reagan cuts, coalitions of community based organizations and human service groups have been forming around the nation to fight back. These are the natural places for Freeze supporters to make contacts with community leaders and representatives. Many of these people may already be aligned with or directly involved in Freeze activities, and should be consulted on how to make closer ties with these constituencies.[13]

You may want to consider endorsing, actively supporting and participating in the efforts of such groups in budget battles, voter registration drives, and economic development projects as a way of making effective ties with these constituencies. This may include attending meetings, going to rallies and demonstrations, walking precincts for their electoral candidates, helping to register voters and even giving volunteer support for alternative economic projects (for example, community gardens, solar energy projects with job training, etc.).

Freeze groups can also emphasize the linkage between the arms race and the economic problems of these groups in their educational activities, their literature, and in their contacts with the press, stressing, whenever possible, the programs, budgets proposals, and alternative strategies which link peace and economic issues.

DEVELOPING EFFECTIVE LOCAL STRATEGIES

Effective local strategies bring together and incorporate the local assessment and coalition building described above. The goals of local strategies should include: increasing the breadth of local citizen support, joining with other communities around the U.S. to put effective political pressure on local, state, and national governments; laying the groundwork for workable mechanisms of conversion or alternate use planning at the local level; promoting an awareness within local constituencies that they are not powerless in developing their own approaches to support a Nuclear Weapons Freeze and address pressing economic issues.

Two organizing strategies that could be considered as part of a large local organizing strategy are efforts to promote *alternative and/or peace budgets*, and *alternate use planning initiatives*. Taken together, those two approaches address the two major economic issues which relate to the Freeze: priorities and direction of government budget allocations; and worker and community protections during transition from military to non-military production.

ALTERNATIVE BUDGET STRATEGIES. There are two main approaches to the problem of developing alternative budgets and organizing at the local level. The first is demonstrated by various coalitions which form for the purpose of lobbying to change budget priorities. Each local manifestation is a different collection of community, peace, environmental, and labor groups. Many affiliate with the national Fair Budget Action Campaign,[14] or the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy. Some work to implement alternative budget proposals such as that put forward annually by the Congressional Black Caucus.[15]

The second national effort focuses directly on the trade-offs between military and social/jobs spending but takes the form of ballot initiatives. This is the Jobs with Peace Campaign. Jobs with Peace efforts are locally based, and range from advisory initiatives and referenda to binding statements of policy. Their common thread is the following concept: "We call upon the U.S. Congress to make more money available for jobs and programs—in education, transportation, housing, health care, human services, and other socially productive industries —by significantly reducing the amount of our tax dollars spent on nuclear weapons, foreign military intervention, and wasteful military programs; these policies will promote a healthy economy, true national security, and jobs with peace."

Jobs with Peace measures have been on local ballots for several years and have repeatedly been approved. Most recently in the November 1982 elections, 50 cities and towns approved such statements with an average 65% yes vote. Of special interest was the passage of two binding referenda in Baltimore and Pittsburgh. These measures require the Mayor or Department of Finance to publish in daily newspapers the amount of taxes paid by local citizens that are used for military purposes.[16]

One of the specific organizing tactics used by Jobs with Peace is the *Alternative Peace Budget*. Such budgets have now been developed in Boston and Minnesota, showing in detail how the citizens of a local area are losing money to the military, and demonstrating concrete jobs programs that could be created for the same money.[17]

ALTERNATE USE PLANNING. Alternate use planning provides a vision of the future for military industries. Take the information you have gathered about the nuclear weapons industry in your area: job skills, equipment, products, and combine it with information about unmet human needs. What kinds of products or services could the workforce of this plant develop which would meet some of the area's needs? For what could the physical plant and machinery be used? Could new products and services generate additional jobs for unemployed or underemployed workers?

The planning process which results from such assessment is called *alternate use planning.* Alternate use planning is the development of specific plans, plant by plant and community by community, for shifting production from socially destructive to socially useful industry. There are three key components to alternate use planning: (1) involvement of all those affected; (2) detailed assessment of current skills and equipment; and (3) preparation of realistic options for the future. This process is, of course, a political one, and dependent upon skillful coalition building. At the outset, your job is to outline, in an exciting and creative way, the *potential* inherent in military skills, plants and equipment for socially useful production, and then build the political strength at the local level to enable it to happen.

Alternate use planning can be initiated by a local community group, a local governmental body, a trade union, or the management of a company. To be successful, it must ultimately involve three key constituent groups: the workforce of the plant or company, the management of the plant, and representatives of the surrounding community.[18]

Freeze activists can initiate discussions with each of these groups, and play an important role in bringing them together in a campaign for alternate use planning in preparation for a freeze.

There is a precedent for such planning. Such committees have already been established in Great Britain at the various plants of Lucas Aerospace, Britain's largest defense firm. The Lucas Aerospace Combine Shop Stewards Committee, representing over 12,000 workers at 17 plants and 13 trade unions, has facilitated the development of local plant committees which drew up a 1,200 page comprehensive plan for alternate uses for their job skills and plant equipment in the form of 120 alternative products. Parts of this plan have been implemented, and others are still under negotiation with Lucas management and the British government.[19]

In the United States, the Pentagon's Office of Economic Adjustment, established in the early 1960s, has an excellent record of assisting communities faced with base closings to plan and develop economic projects to provide jobs for displaced workers. Over 20 years, nearly 1½ times as many jobs have been created as were lost. The key to most successful OEA transitions was advance planning—a key element in alternate use planning.[20]

Work is underway in some U.S. trade unions to train shop stewards in the concepts of alternate use planning, using the Lucas model. The United Auto Workers have recently re-issued Walter Reuther's trailblazing Swords into Plowshares conversion plan, and President Douglas Fraser speaks of the need to increase trade union education on this issue.[21] In the Machinists Union, International President William Winpisinger speaks tirelessly on conversion, and has recently initiated a shop stewards' training course in new technology and alternate use planning, to equip shop floor machinist leaders in the tools of assessment and product development.[22]

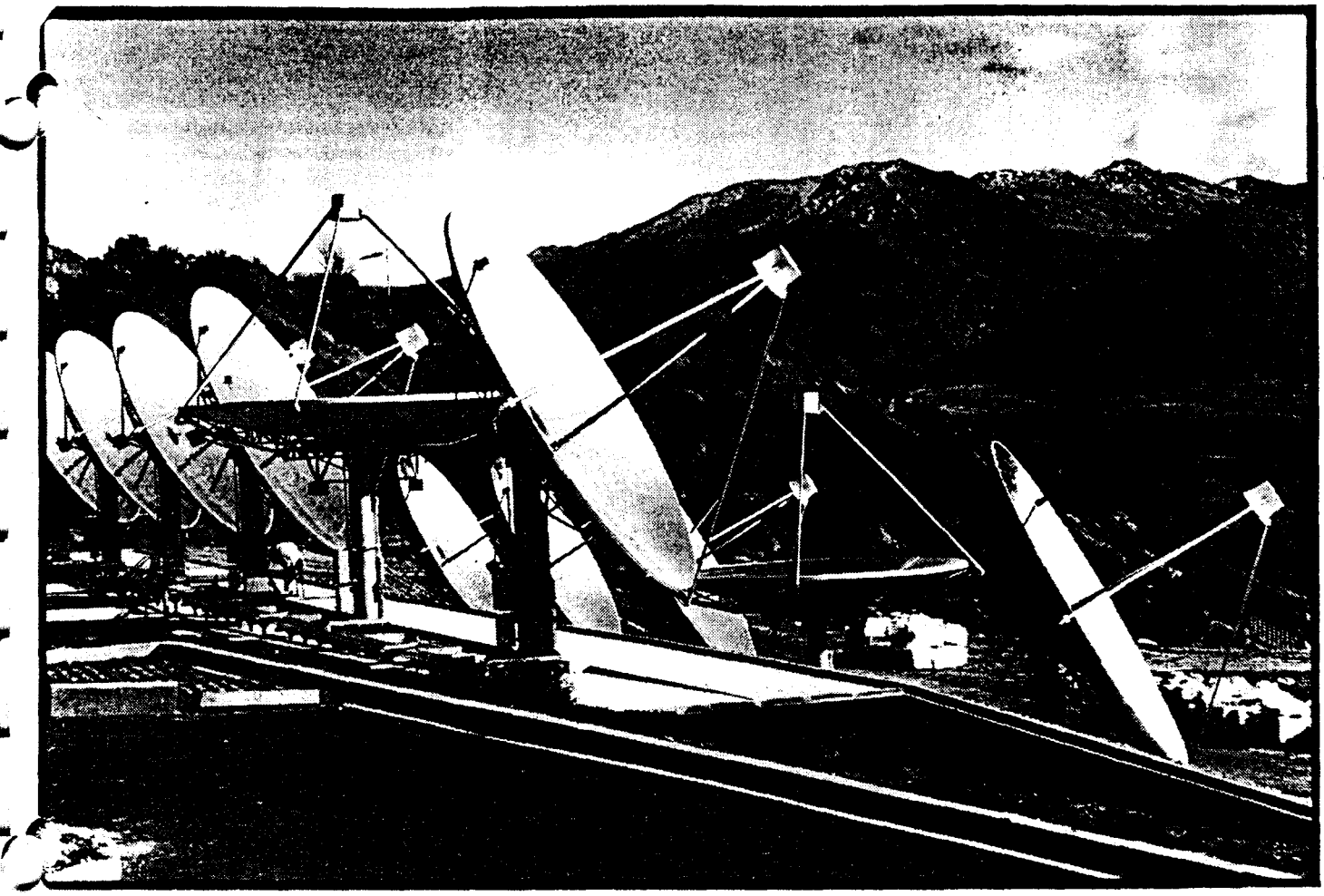
5 LONG TERM ECONOMIC ALTERNATIVES

IF WE IN THE FREEZE CAMPAIGN ARE beginning to point out economic problems inherent in high levels of military spending, and to organize in areas where people are feeling the impact of an ailing economy, then it seems necessary to begin to educate ourselves about the various long term economic alternatives advocated at the national level to address these economic problems. Because we feel that the savings from a nuclear freeze could help to stimulate economic growth, we need to take a serious look at the components of a coherent economic program that could, in the long run, begin to solve U.S. economic problems. ¶Supply-side economics has already lost much of its glitter as the current recession has dragged on. Even some conservatives are admitting that the high levels of military spending planned by the Reagan Administration cannot be sustained without undermining prospects for a prolonged economic recovery. ¶There are, then, several national economic policy alternatives that are being discussed which could take advantage of the savings that would be generated by the Nuclear Weapons Freeze. We encourage you to contact the groups mentioned in this chapter for more in-depth information on their proposals.

ALTERNATIVE BUDGET PROPOSALS

To begin with, there are a number of alternative budget proposals which advocate shifts in budget priorities from the Defense Department to other areas of government. Chief among these alternative budget proposals in Congress is the full-scale alternative budget advanced each year by the Congressional Black Caucus, calling for major shifts of funds from military to social programs.[1]

Then there are the specific items of the budget which have received attention by various organizations. For example, the Boston Jobs With Peace Campaign and the Minnesota Clergy and Laity Concerned have each developed alternative budgets detailing the local impacts of the current federal budget.[2] In addition, the Washington-based Children's Defense Fund pointed out last spring that Congress could restore money to immunize 35,000 poor children if it cut out a $1.4 million subsidy to provide veterinary care to pets of military personnel.[3]



The Fair Budget Action Campaign, a coalition of 85 peace, labor, and human service organiztaions, has been working for the past year on obtaining grass-roots support throughout the country for these alternative budget proposals as well as coordinating lobby efforts in Washington. Created in the Fall of 1981, the Fair Budget Action Campaign seeks:

(1) Adequate funding for vital human service and environmental programs;

(2) Sensible levels of military spending which provide security, prevent nuclear war, and do not undermine the economy;

(3) Federal protection of civil rights and equal opportunity for women, blacks, Hispanics, and other minorities;

(4) Equitable tax systems which place more of the tax burden on those most able to pay.[4]

The Jobs with Peace National Network is another group attempting to coordinate initiatives on budget proposals. This organization has promoted a national Jobs With Peace week each April.[5] (See Chapter Four.)

"SUNRISE" INDUSTRIES

Another area of discussion, which has been particularly prominent among a group of "neo-liberal" Democrats, has been the need for the development of "sunrise," high-tech industries which can help restore American competitiveness in the international marketplace and stimulate economic growth. Such industries require capital investments for equipment, and intensive research and development. High military budgets divert funds away from these areas, and compete for the human resources necessary to build up this sector of the economy.[6] This, then, could be another area to which the savings from a freeze might be applied.

"REBUILDING AMERICA"

Some groups, like the Machinists Union, are proposing programs for rebuilding basic American industry by redirecting capital from military industries to industries badly in need of modernized productive capacities. The deteriorating American infrastructure would also need to be revitalized in order to keep American industry competitive.

From a labor and community perspective, the creation of jobs and the development and enhancement of worker skills are fundamental to industrial revitalization. "Rebuilding America," the Machinists Union's comprehensive reindustrialization strategy, has clearly identified the need for skills development. During the decade of the 1970s, the number of skilled journeyman machinists decreased by 76,588. U.S. Department of Labor figures indicate that during the 1980s, U.S. industry needs to add 9,000 tool and die makers and 23,000 machinists each *year*. Genuine apprenticeship training, on the job, must be expanded to add these necessary skilled workers.

The Machinists' proposal, along with suggestions by the United Auto Workers,[9] economist Gar Alperovitz,[10] and others, calls for close cooperation between government and private enterprise, a greater degree of national economic planning, and significant investments by the federal government in industry and infrastructures. These goals would be further enhanced in a climate in which the federal government places a priority on incentives for the development of civilian industries rather than military industries. Since a freeze would stop the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons and thus free up monies for

alternative uses, the federal government could be urged to invest these monies in industry and infrastructure development.

Reindustrialization strategies on the local level have also received a great deal of attention. One important proposal has come in a 1981 study, *Rational Reindustrialization*, co-authored by Dan Luria of the UAW and Jack Russell, aide to a Detroit City Council member. This study proposes an economic development plan for Detroit creating 100,000 new industrial jobs by converting idle auto industry facilities to energy production facilities. The plan identifies new uses for Detroit's industrial capacity, and new ways to find start-up costs to operate such industry. The authors propose a sophisticated plan, which calls for some public ownership and dependence on federal loans, and which is developed in terms of a "public balance sheet accounting" that goes beyond usual corporate criteria.[10]

CONVERSION LEGISLATION

One possible negative effect of a freeze is the potential loss of jobs by people employed by the military industries. In order to prevent this job loss some people have advocated national economic conversion legislation. This type of legislation has been proposed in every session of Congress since 1963, but has never emerged from committee for a vote. The current version of the "Defense Economic Adjustment Act" (HR 6618), sponsored by Representative Ted Weiss, includes the following provisions:

(1) Prenotification—The Pentagon would have to provide one year notice on any plans to cut back or terminate a defense contract or military base.

(2) Alternative Use Committees—Comprised of management, labor, and community representatives, these committees would develop detailed contingency plans for conversion in case a contract was lost or reduced. Defense contracts would include a requirement for such committees in most military facilities.

(3) Worker and Community Assistance—The bill would provide income, retraining programs and planning assistance to protect against economic dislocation while conversion was underway.

(4) Defense Economic Adjustment Council—This council would coordinate federal conversion-related programs nationally, develop specific conversion guidelines, and make available a variety of resources to affected communities and workforces.[11]

Such national economic conversion legislation would provide job protection and facilitate conversion planning and procedures without creating a centralized bureaucracy.

Although versions of the Weiss bill have had difficulty in Congress, certain pieces of conversion legislation have fared better. Conversion amendments to the Public Works and Economic Development Act passed the House in 1979, but failed in conference with the Senate. The so-called Dodd-McKinney amendments would have provided for six-month prenotification and assistance to defense-dependent areas to allow for diversification of their economies.[12]

Local and statewide initiatives and resolutions can help to establish the basis for a national bill. City councils can call for conversion planning and worker security provisions for affected defense workers.[13]

When a worker or a labor representative expresses concern about job security in the wake of a freeze, it is helpful to demonstrate that there is not only concern, but some concrete steps that are being taken to address the problem at the national level. Economic conversion, it must be acknowledged, is not a simple process. The prospects for success are intimately related to the successful implementation of innovative programs on both the local and national level.

Although freeze activists working on the local level may have little opportunity to work directly on the activities discussed in this chapter, it is still important to be aware of these activities, and to discuss them with other organizers and local contacts. The Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign has taken no position regarding specific use of funds saved by a freeze. Most Freeze supporters agree that some form of economic conversion is necessary and that, in general, funds saved would be more wisely used to improve the economy, provide jobs, and meet basic human needs.

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Freeze Campaign Information Packet, reprints, newsletter samples.

Freeze Newsletter (quarterly) and update (monthly), $10 year from the Freeze Clearinghouse.

Ad Kit—Fourteen camera-ready advertisements, brochure, poster, and instructions, including several on economic issues. $10.

ORGANIZATIONS FOR MORE INFORMATION

Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign National Clearinghouse, 4144 Lindell Blvd, St. Louis, MO 63108. (413) 533-1169.

Economic Issues Task Force, Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, c/o Mid-Peninsula Conversion Project, 222 View Street, Mountain View, CA 94041. (415) 968-8798.

SANE, 711 G Street, SE, Washington, DC 20003. (202) 546-7100.

Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, 120 Maryland Avenue, NE, Washington, DC 20002. (202) 546-8400.

Council on Economic Priorities, 84 5th Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, 1300 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20036. *The Machinist.*

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Nuclear Weapons Facilities Task Force, c/o Fellowship of Reconciliation, PO Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960.

Jobs with Peace National Network, 2940 16th Street, San Francisco, CA 94110.

Institute for Policy Studies, 1901 Q Street, NW, Washington, DC 20009.

NARMIC, American Friends Service Committee, 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102.

High Technology Professionals for Peace, c/o Alan Hochberg, 52 Walker St., Newtonville, MA 02160.

Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility, PO Box 717, Palo Alto, CA 94301.

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APPENDICES

A. LOCAL AREAS WITH POTENTIAL ADVERSE ECONOMIC IMPACT

CALIFORNIA. The major military contracting areas in California are Santa Clara County (Silicon Valley) in the north, and Los Angeles, Orange, and San Diego counties in the south. Each has prime contractors of freeze-related systems.

SANTA CLARA COUNTY. The dominant military contractor within Santa Clara County is Lockheed Missiles and Space Company, which received $1.2 billion in prime contract awards within the county in FY 1981. Lockheed's employment in the county in recent years has averaged around 20,000, making it the largest employer in the county. The bulk of Lockheed's work is on sea-launched ballistic missiles: modifications to existing Poseidon SLBMs, production of Trident I missiles, and research and development work on Trident II missiles. In addition, Lockheed has major contract on military satellite control and electronics for C³I. A freeze would mean drastic reductions in Lockheed's workforce in the county. The possibility of more than half of the plant's workers being laid off over a period of three to six months after a freeze is instituted is a real one if advance conversion planning has not been done.

Impacts in Santa Clara county of a freeze would not be limited to Lockheed workers. The county has scores of military contractors, many of them involved in electronic systems and microcircuits, with contracts and subcontracts on nuclear weapons delivery vehicles and C³I. Westinghouse's plant in Sunnyvale has a contract to produce the launch vehicles for the MX, Trident, and sea-launched cruise missiles. Electronics firms such as GTE Sylvania, ESL, Hewlett Packard, Applied Technology, Ford Aerospace, and Litton have electronics on freeze related systems.

Studies done in the late 1970s estimated that 40,000 workers in the county depended on military contracts for their jobs, accounting for between 6.5% and 8% of the total labor force, and 20% of the manufacturing workforce.

LOS ANGELES, SAN DIEGO, AND ORANGE COUNTIES. Prime military contract areas in Southern California are these three contiguous counties. In FY 1981 they received $7.4 billion, $1.2 billion and $1.03 billion in prime contracts respectively, accounting for 67% of the State's contracting. These counties are not primarily dependent on one company like Santa Clara County and Lockheed. Major firms such as McDonnell Douglas, General Dynamics, Lockheed, Northrop, Litton, Hughes, and Ford Aerospace have major facilities in one or more counties. In Los Angeles County alone, 12 separate companies each received over $100 million in FY 1981. All of the major firms have freeze-related contracts. Rockwell, Northrop, and TRW have substantial amounts of work on the MX, General Dynamics is the prime cruise missile contractor, Ford Aerospace and TRW are heavily involved in C³I, and of course, Rockwell International is the prime contractor for the massive B-1B bomber. This does not even begin to detail the vast array of suppliers and subcontractors certain to be affected.

The B-1 program and its history are most instructive concerning projected employment impact of a freeze. The B-1 has already been canceled once in Los Angeles County, so local residents and government officials should be well aware of the dangers of an unplanned cutback of a program of this sort. An analysis published by the Department of Defense's Office of Economic Adjustment three months after the cancellation of the B-1 (September, 1977), found that

over 6,300 Rockwell employees had been laid off already. The study projected that 1,700 additional layoffs plus the multiplier effects of all the layoffs could mean over 19,000 layoffs in the county as a result of the B-1 cancellation. Although this represented less than one-quarter of one percent of the total Los Angeles County workforce of 3.3 million, the abruptness of the cancellation meant months or years of economic hardship for thousands of workers and their families.

Rockwell officials estimate that their El Segundo plant will reach a peak of 10,000 B-1B employees working on engineering and development by 1985, while final assembly at Palmdale, where 950,000 square feet of new plant space is being built specifically for the B-1B program, will have a peak workforce of about 4,000 doing final assembly by 1986. This would be roughly comparable to the number of Rockwell jobs created by the first B-1 in the Los Angeles area. Additional job impacts could be expected at Los Angeles area subcontractors for the program: Crane Corporation, Burbank; Menasco, Burbank; Stainless Steel Products, Burbank; McDonnell Douglas, Long Beach; Sterer Engineering, Los Angeles; Garrett, Torrance; Parker Hannifin, Irvine.

LIVERMORE. At Lawrence Livermore National Laboratories in Livermore, California, 7,000 people are employed in the highly specialized work of nuclear weapons technology. Of the total workforce, more than a third are scientists and engineers, and approximately 3,000 are technicians and craftsmen. A freeze would hit the scientific and engineering work particularly hard, since their work is so highly specialized. The city of Livermore would have to make a drastic readjustment, since approximately 25% of its population of 37,000 is directly dependent on the Department of Energy for jobs and income.

SOUTHEASTERN CONNECTICUT. In Southeastern Connecticut, General Dynamics Electric Boat submarine plant is the major employer. In the Groton, Connecticut area, approximately 20,000 people are employed by General Dynamics, many of them working on the Trident. Although it is possible that the Trident program might not be immediately affected by the freeze, the thrust of the freeze implies some eventual curtailment of the Trident submarine program, which currently calls for the construction of 12 submarines between

now and 1990. The actual impact on the area could range from minimal to severe depending on how the freeze is actually implemented.

In the late 1970s, the plant accounted for close to a quarter of the workforce in the New London-Norwich Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (according to a CEP study). The plant's only products are the Trident and SSN-688 nuclear attack submarines, so a cut in the Trident program could have severe repercussions for the local economy.

ROCKY FLATS. At another site, the Rocky Flats Plant near Denver, Colorado, 4,000 people are employed in the fabrication and assembly of plutonium "trigger" mechanisms which ignite hydrogen bombs, the recycling and reconditioning of bombs in the current U.S. nuclear weapons stockpile, and in research and development on new nuclear weapons systems. A Freeze would obviously have a significant impact on the Rocky Flats' workforce. However, a study by Batelle Laboratories concluded that "the total regional impact of a mission change at the plant will not be extensive. Activities at Rocky Flats account for a very small component of the regional economy, and factors such as growth, the small number of people displaced, and others will lead to a minimal impact.... The labor force displaced at Rocky Flats will be assimilated into the local labor force.... This is especially true because many of the critical skills at the plant—such as technicians, machinists, scientists, computer operators, and others—are in short supply in the Denver area."

B. MINORITY AND LOW INCOME ORGANIZATIONS ENDORSING FREEZE

National Conference of Black Mayors
El Concilio de La Raza, Santa Barbara, California
Japanese Welfare Rights Organization, Los Angeles
Third World Counseling Association
California Asians for the Education of Young Children, Fresno
Mexican American Political Association
Asian Americans for Nuclear Disarmament
Black American Baptist Churches of the Pacific Southwest
Nipponzan Myhonji of California, Inc.
Southern Christian Leadership Conference of Greater Los Angeles
California Gray Panthers
Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund
National Conference of Black Lawyers
National Congress of American Indians
National Council of La Raza
Japanese American Citizens League
Alabama Conference of Black Mayors
Arizona State NAACP
Central Cultural Chicano, Minneapolis
Operation PUSH, Chicago

C. NATIONAL TRADE UNIONS AND STATE LABOR FEDERATIONS ENDORSING FREEZE

American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME)
California Labor Federation AFL-CIO
United Farmworkers of America (UFW)
Screen Actors Guild
International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU)
United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCWA)
National Education Association (NEA)
Service Employees International Union (SEIU)
Communications Workers of America
Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU)
Iowa Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO
Coalition of Black Trade Unionists
International Chemical Workers
Montana Labor Federation, AFL-CIO
The Newspaper Guild
United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America

STATEMENTS OF POLITICAL POSITION VERY CLOSELY ALIGNED:

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers (UAW)
International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM)

D. EXCERPTS FROM LABOR STATEMENTS ON FREEZE

"RESOLVED, that the Oregon Labor Federation recommends that the national AFL-CIO support the immediate nuclear arms freeze in all countries of the world as a first step toward swift, complete multi-lateral nuclear disarmament, and be it further

"RESOLVED, that the Oregon Labor Federation endorses the ballot measure directed to the Governor of Oregon to inform the President of the United States that the people of Oregon wholeheartedly support an immediate bilateral nuclear arms freeze and that the funds saved be transferred to civilian use..."

—Oregon Labor Federation, AFL-CIO

"The General Executive Board of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union supports the Kennedy-Hartfield Resolution and urges the government of the United States to move as quickly as possible to halt all production of nuclear weapons. It is our hope that this move will bring about reciprocal action by all other countries.

"The issue of peace is so important and the danger of nuclear confrontation so imminent that it behooves us all to work for a nuclear freeze. To that end, we have voted immediate affiliation with "Citizens Against Nuclear War," a coalition of membership organization devoted to bringing about an end to the nuclear arms race."

—General Executive Board, ACTWU, July 28, 1982

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:

The Coalition of Black Trade Unionists call upon the United States Government to join other nations in renouncing the first use of nuclear weapons and the insane concept of a "winnable" nuclear war; and

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED:

That we undertake to educate ourselves and others to the perils to humn life and wellbeing posed by the nuclear arms race and nuclear confrontation, and to make such contributions as we can to securing a just and lasting peace in a more prosperous world."

—Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, May 30, 1982

"SEIU believes that escalation of the nuclear arm production threatens the survival of civilization. We agree that a nuclear freeze resolution is vital to stop the nuclear arms race and to revive U.S. and USSR efforts to exert real arms control and reduce the risk of nuclear war.

"SEIU believes that talk of equality or superiority of nuclear power loses all meaning when the U.S. and USSR both possess several times the weapons necessary to destroy one another.

We resolve to support resolutions for an immediate freeze of nuclear weapons and to work to make the freeze the law of the land."

—Service Employees International Union, June, 1982

"The Communications Workers of America strongly urges the Congress of the United States to strive for immediate negotiations for a bilateral nuclear weapons freeze, and hereby encourages all CWA locals to actively participate in the circulating of petitions that will allow people to vote on the bilateral uclear weapons freeze initiative."

—Communications Workers of America

"The Board of Directors of the Screen Actors Guild, responding to sentiments from within its own membership, and resonating the outcry that in recent months has been heard from people from all walks of life the world over, calls upon all government leaders to immediately initiate any and all steps necessary to bring about a mutual and verifiable reduction and eventual elimination of all nuclear weapons, by all nations in possession of such weapons, and the Screen Actors Guild also calls upon all performing artists throughout the world to join with us in this search for peace in a world free of nuclear weaponry."

—Screen Actors Guild, July 12, 1982

"The California Labor Federation recognizes that the accelerating stockpile of nuclear weapons by both the United States and the USSR poses a threat to the future existence of the entire world. Nuclear war is not in the interest of any nation, class, race or sex and must be avoided to save human civilization. Organized labor supports equitable proposals for verifiable bilateral nuclear arms freezes and reductions, as long as they are performed in good faith and with equally qualitative and quantitative reductions on the part of all parties.

"The Federation therefore asks the

National AFL-CIO to review and reconsider its policy on the nuclear weapons freeze question in view of the concerns here stated."

—California Labor Federation July, 1982

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:

That in the interest of preventing nuclear war, reversing the economic impact of weapons spending, and safeguarding the citizens of the United States, AFSCME calls for:

1. A mutual and verifiable United States-Soviet Union nuclear weapons freeze as a first step toward arms reduction;

2. Redirection of resources to job creation and human needs;

3. Avoidance of nuclear war rather than futile civil defense measures to withstand nuclear attack.

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED:

That AFSCME declares its support for the Kennedy-Hatfield Nuclear Weapons Freeze Resolution and the "Call to Halt the Nuclear Arms Race."

AFSCME, June, 1982

"The Newspaper Guild Convention joins other unions, scientific groups, organizations of every size and description, town and city councils across the land and millions of concerned North Americans in calling for an immediate bilateral freeze on the production, testing and deployment of nuclear weapons as the first step toward a reduction and elimination of thw world's nuclear arsenals."

—The Newspaper Guild, June, 1982

E. EXCERPTS FROM FREEZE CAMPAIGN DOCUMENTS ON ECONOMICS

"A nuclear-weapon freeze, accompanied by government-aided conversion of nuclear industries, would save at least $100 billion each in U.S. and Soviet military spending in 1981-1990. This would reduce inflation. The saving could be applied to balance the budget, reduce taxes, improve services, subsidize renewable energy, or increase aid to poverty-stricken third world nations. By shifting personnel to more labor-intensive civilian jobs, a nuclear weapons freeze would also raise employment.

"Either the United States or the Soviet Union could initiate movement toward the freeze by taking modest, unilateral steps that would: demonstrate its good faith, start movement in the right direction, and make it easier for the other country to take a similar step.

"For example, either country could:

1. Undertake a three-month moratorium on nuclear test explosions, to be extended if reciprocated.

2. Stop further deployment, for a specified period, of one new strategic weapon or improvement of an existing weapon.

3. Draw up and publish comprehensive conversion plans for the nuclear facilities and employment that would be affected by a freeze, as a sign of serious commitment to the goal."

—Call to Halt the Nuclear Arms Race, founding document of Freeze

F. SENATE-HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION

WHEREAS the greatest challenge facing the earth is to prevent the occurrence of nuclear war by accident or design;

WHEREAS the nuclear arms race is dangerously increasing the risk of a holocaust that would be humanity's final war; and,

WHEREAS a freeze followed by reductions in nuclear warheads, missiles and other delivery systems is needed to halt the nuclear arms race and to reduce the risk of nuclear war;

RESOLVED by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled:

(1) As an immediate strategic arms control objective, the United States and the Soviet Union should:

A. Pursue a complete halt to the nuclear arms race;

B. Decide when and how to achieve a mutual and verifiable freeze on the testing, production and deployment of nuclear warheads, missiles and other delivery systems; and,

C. Give special attention to destabilizing weapons whose deployment would make such a freeze more difficult to achieve.

(2) Proceeding from this freeze, the United States and the Soviet Union should pursue major, mutual and verifiable reductions in nuclear warheads, missiles and other delivery systems through annual percentages or equally effective means in a manner than enhances stability.

Cosponsored by Senators Kennedy and Hatfield, and Rep. Markey

FOOTNOTES

Chapter 1
Introduction

1. For details of the voting breakdown, contact the National Clearinghouse, Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 4144 Lindell Blvd., St. Louis, MO 63108.
2. See especially A.F. Ehrbar, "Stymied by the Deficit," *Fortune Magazine*, November 15, 1982; "Guns vs. Butter," *Business Week*, November 29, 1982; and "Weidenbaum Faults Defense-Budget Rises," *Baltimore Sun*, August 27, 1982.
3. "Backers of Defense Spending Start to Break Ranks," *Business Week*, November 15, 1982.
4. For details of the votes on JwP initiatives, contact the Jobs with Peace National Network, 2940 16th Street, San Francisco, CA 94110.
5. See National Strategy paper and minutes of 1982 national conference of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign.

Chapter 2
Economic Problems of Military Spending

1. See Richard Halloran, "An Internal Dispute Builds on Military Spending," *New York Times*, November 4, 1982, and "Widenbaum vs. Weinberger, "Defense Battle Goes On," *Christian Science Monitor*, November 1, 1982.
2. See Lester Thurow, "How to Wreck the Economy," *New York Review of Books*, April 6, 1981; Charles L. Shultze, "Long Term Budget Strategies" in *Setting National Priorities, the 1983 Budget*. Washington: Brookings Institution, 1982.
3. "Weidenbaum Faults Defense-Budget Rise," *Baltimore Sun*, August 27, 1982.
4. See Leonard Silk, "Cost Effective Job Creation," *New York Times*, September 22, 1982.
5. See Department of Commerce, *Shipments of Defense Oriented Industries*, 1980.
6. See *Prime Contract Awards over $10,000 by State, County, Contractor and Place, Fiscal Year 1981*. Washington: Directorate for Information, Operations and Reports, Department of Defense, February, 1982, and also Dave McFadden, "California's Military Buildup," *Plowshare Press*, September-October, 1982.
7. See Douglas Fraser, President of the UAW's, introduction to Walter Reuther, "Swords and Plowshares," Detroit: UAW, 1979, and also, for a fuller explication of "Job blackmail," see Richard Grossman and Richard Kazis, *Fear at Work*, New York: Pilgrim Press, 1982.
8. Silk, "Cost Effective Job Creation."
9. Ibid.
10. See *California Business*.
11. *Supplement to Employment and Earnings Revised Establishment Data*, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, June, 1982.
12. Robert DeGrasse, Jr., *Costs and Consequences of Reagan's Military Buildup. New York: Council on Economic Priorities, 1982.*
13. *Jacqueline Mazza and Dale Wilkinson, The Unprotected Flank: Regional and Strategic Imbalances in Defense Spending Patterns.* Washington: The Northeast-Midwest Institute, August, 1980.
14. Thurow, "How to Wreck the Economy."
15. Ibid.
16. *Electronics*, November 3, 1982.
17. See Henry Kaufman, "The Potential for Conflict in National Policies and Financial Markets," New York: Salomon Brothers, April, 1981, and also Ehrebar, "Stymied by the Deficit."
18. For a full treatment of this important topic, see Robert DeGrasse, *Costs and Consequences of Reagan's Military Buildup.*
19. Bruce Carver Jackson, *Military Expenditures, Growth and Inflation in the Seven Leading Industrial Countries.* New York: Brown Brothers Harriman and Co., July, 1981, also DeGrasse, Council on Economic Priorities study in *Costs and Consequences.*
20. Seymour Melman, "Looting the Means of Production," *New York Times*, July 26, 1981.
21. DeGrasse, *Costs and Consequences.*
22. National Science Board, *Science Indicators.* Washington: National Science Foundation, 1979.
23. See Somon Ramo, *America's Technological Slip.* New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1980.
24. Seymour Melman, *Barriers to Conversion in Planned, Market, and Developing Economies.* United Nations, New York, 1980.
25. Very little study has been done in the west on the Soviet military economy. The Melman UN study (*Barriers to Conversion*) is just the beginning of what is needed.

Chapter 3
Economic Effects of a Nuclear Weapons Freeze

1. No hard statistics on the number of jobs in the nuclear weapons industry are available. The estimate of 600,000 is derived from the proportion of contracting money in nuclear weapons related industry (up to 30% prime defense contracts, times the total number of 2.5 million defense workers (Defense Economic Indicators System), DoD.
2. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger before the Senate Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, October 28, 1981 (Part V, p. 409). He reports $222 billion in five-year costs for Department of Defense "strategic modernization programs." $39 billion is added for Department of Energy nuclear weapons production and testing activities—from Office of Management and Budget, *Major Themes and Additional Budget Details*, Fiscal Year 1983 (Washington: USGPO, 1982), p.250.
3. Unpublished data obtained from the U.S. Congressional Budget Office, April, 1982. Adjusted to reflect a reduced MX missile authorization for FY 1983. The $84.2 billion five-year total reflects budget authority—most of this will be spent in outlays during the five-year period.
4. Randall Forsberg, "Call to Halt the Nuclear Arms Race," 1980, Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign National Clearinghouse, 4144 Lindell Blvd., St. Louis, MO 63108.
5. "Preparing for Nuclear War: President Reagan's Program," *Defense Monitor*, Vol. X, No. 8, 1982, Center for Defense Information.
6. Ibid.
7. Total (conservative) estimate of $250 billion divided by total number of households in the U.S. as of 1980 (over 80 million), and then divided by six for the yearly average. This estimate is based on the stated cost of the Reagan strategic modernization plan ($222 billion over six years), the cost of expanding the nuclear warhead production complex ($20 billion over five years), and a minimal allowance for the costs of operating and maintaining new strategic weapons as they come into service.
8. Earl C. Ravenal, "Anatomy of the Defense Budget," *Chicago Tribune*, May 10, 1982.
9. Extrapolation using Ravenal's 21% figure.
10. Center for Defense Information, "Preparing for Nuclear War: President Reagan's Program," Department of Defense, Selected Acquisition Reports as of March 31, 1982; Department of Defense, R, D, T, and E Programs; Department of Defense Budget for Fiscal Year 1983.
11. *Washington Post*, January 8, 1982.
12. Department of Defense Selected Acquisition Reports summary tables as of June 30, 1982, and the Council on Economic Priorities newsletter N82-2, "The B-1: a Bomber for All Season?" February, 1982.
13. *The Implications of a Nuclear Arms Freeze for the U.S. Economy in the Short Run.* Library of Congress: Congressional Research Service, August 3, 1982.
14. Based on estimates from Congressional Budget Office and various Congressional committees, as of August 15, 1982. Compiled by the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy.
15. Phil Webre, *Jobs to People: Planning for Conversion to New Industries* (Washington: Exploratory Project for Economic Alternatives, 1978. See also Marion Anderson, *Converting the Work Force: Where the Jobs Would Be* (Lansing, MI: Employment Research Associates, 1980).

16. David Gold, et al., *Misguided Expenditure: an Analysis of the Proposed MX Missle System* (New York: Council on Economic Priorities, 1981).
17. *Aerospace Daily*, January 21, 1981.
18. Center for Defense Information, "Preparing for Nuclear War: President Reagan's Program."
19. Gordon Adams, *The Iron Triangle: The Politics of Defense Contracting* (New York: Council on Economic Priorities, 1981).
20. *Ibid.* See Also Gordon Adams.
21. Lenny Siegel, "California's Nuclear Targets," *Plowshare Press*, September-October, 1982.
22. See such diverse studies as Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Structure of the U.S. Economy 1980-1985*; Roger Bezdek, "The 1980 Impact—Regional and Occupational—of Compensated Shifts in Defense Spending," *Journal of Regional Science*, 15, February, 1975; Chase Econometrics Associates, "Economic Impact of the B-1 Program on the U.S. Economy and Comparative Case Studies" (Cynwyd, Pa: Chase Econometric Associates, 1975); Marion Anderson, "The Empty Pork Barrel: Unemployment and the Pentagon Budget" (Lansing, MI: Employment Research Associates, 1982); and David Gold, Christopher Paine, and Gail Shields, "Misguided Expenditure: an Analysis of the Proposed MX Missile System" (New York: CEP, 1981).
23. Gold, Paine and Shields, "Misguided Expenditure.
24. *Ibid.*
25. BLS 1979 Employment Requirements Table, Office of Economic Growth and Employment Projections, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, October 23, 1981.
26. See Table F.
27. Interview with Rockwell International El Segundo plant public affairs office, August 5, 1982.
28. It is very difficult to obtain clear breakdowns of C3I expenditures by function and in year-to-year outlays. Over a third of C3I expenditures are grouped under a general category called "Defense Wide Communications," which includes many systems which are designed to serve both conventional and nuclear weapons. In the FY 1983 DoD budget proposal, only a little under $3 billion in authorizations are explicitly identified as C3I for strategic systems, accounting for just under 20% of the total C3I request (Department of Defense Appropriations for FY 1983, "Hearings on Communications, Command, and Control," House Appropriations Committee, April 27, 1982. This also does not include other communications and electronics that is not C3I and not definitely under strategic weapons systems, but still related to nuclear systems. Further information will be needed before a more accurate estimate of the potential effects of a nuclear freeze on employment in electronics and radio communications industries will be possible.
29. *The Effect of Increased Military Spending in California.* State of California Office of Economic Policy, Planning and Research, Department of Economic and Business Development, May, 1982.
30. D. McFadden, Analysis of Department of Defense Contract Data and Defense Marketing Survey contracts (Prime Contract Awards over $10,000 California, Fiscal Year 1981. Washington: Directorate for Information Operation and Reports, Department of Defense, February, 1982; DMS Contract Quarterly, DMS Inc., McGraw-Hill, 1981-82.
31. Prime Contract Awards over $10,000, California, FY 1981.
32. *The Effect of Increased Military Spending in California.*
33. Data based on Employment Development Department, State of California testimony to California State Senate Hearings on Defense Dependency and Economic Conversion in California, Select Committee on Investment Priorities and Objective, November, 1978, and updated with projections from the Effect of Increased Military Spending in California and Wells Fargo Bank.
34. Preliminary analysis by Dave McFadden using prime contract data and Bureau of Labor Statistics input-output tables.
35. Preliminary analysis by Dave McFadden using prime contract data and Bureau of Labor Statistics input-output tables.

Chapter 4
Local Organizing on Economic Issues and the Freeze

1. Catalog of DIOR Reports, 1982 (Washington: Department of Defense, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports.
2. DMS contract quarterly listings from NARMIC, 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102.
3. Ian Lind, "Discovering the Presence of Nuclear Weapons in Your Community," (Honolulu: American Friends Service Committee, 1977).
4. Industrial manuals and Manufacturing directories can be found in the business section of any major library.
5. Corporate Action Project, *The Corporate Action Guide* (Washington, 1974). North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA Research Methodology Guide (New York and Berkeley, 1974 and updates since); Urban Planning Aid, Open the Books: How to Research a Corporation (Cambridge, 1977).
6. Fair Budget Action Campaign.
7. James R. Anderson, *Bankrupting America: the Tax Burden and Expenditures of the Pentagon by Congressional District* (Lansing: Employment Research Associates, 1981).
8. "Five-Digit Zip Code Area Data," National Technical Information Service, 5285 Port Royal Road, Springfield, VA 22151.
9. Federal Outlays, National Technical Information Service, 5285 Port Royal Road, Springfield, VA 22151.
10. See Appendix B for labor endorsements for the Freeze.
11. For information on IAM work and positions on these issues, write International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, 1300 Connecticut Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20036. For UAW materials, write United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers, Solidarity House, 8000 Jefferson, Detroit, MI 48214.
12. The three main technical organizations to contact for further information are listed in Chapter 6, Resources, Organizations.
13. Fair Budget Action Campaign, and Freeze Third World task force.
14. Fair Budget Action Campaign.
15. Congressional Black Caucus, House Office Building, Washington, DC 20515.
16. For further details on Jobs with Peace initiavies, votes, and contact people, contact the Jobs with Peace National Network, 2940 16th Street, San Francisco, CA 94110.
17. *Jobs and Peace: Military Spending and Its Impact on Minnesota's Economy* (Minneapolis: Clergy and Laity Concerned, 1982), *Towards a Boston Peace Budget* (Boston: Jobs with Peace, 1982).
18. See Dave McFadden, "Alternate Use Planning," *Plowshare Press*, August, 1979.
19. See Hilary Wainwright and Dave Elliott, *The Lucas Plan: a New Trade Unionism in the Making* (London: Allison and Busby, 1982); *Lucas Aerospace: Turning Industrial Decline into Expansion* (Lucas Aerospace Confederation Trade Union Committee, 1979, and "The Lucas Plan—A Briefing Paper," London, Centre for Alternative Industrial and Technological Systems, NELP, Longbridge Road, Dagenham, Essex, UK).
20. *Summary of Completed Military Base Economic Adjustment Projects*, 1961-1981 (Washington: Office of Economic Adjustment, 1981).
21. Walter Reuther, *Swords into Plowshares: a Program for Conversion (Detroit: UAW, 1979).*
22. For more information on the Machinist developments, contact the IAM.

Chapter 5
Long Term Economic Alternatives

1. Congressional Black Caucus, *Alternative Budget* (Washington: Congressional Black Caucus, 1982).
2. *Jobs and Peace: Military Spending and Its Impact on Minnesota's Economy* (Minneapolis: Clergy and Laity Concerned, 1982); *Towards a Boston Peace Budget* (Boston: Jobs with Peace, 1982).
3. Children's Defense Budget, Children's Defense Fund, Washington, 1982.
4. Fair Budget Action Manual, Fair Budget Action Campaign, 1982.
5. For information on Jobs with Peace Week, contact Jobs with Peace National Network, 2940 16th Street, San Francisco, CA 94110.
6. See Lester Thurow, *Zero Sum Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1980).
7. For a summary of these approaches, see Dave McFadden, "Rebuilding America," *Plowshare Press*, March-April, 1982.
8. *Rebuilding America*, International Association of Machinists, 1981.
9. Dan Luria and Jack Russell, *Rational Reindustrialization* (Detroit, 1981).
10. For copies of the DEAA and other conversion legislation introduced throughout the years since 1963, write SANE, 711 G Street, SE, Washington, DC 20003.
11. For information on the Dodd-McKinney amendments or new conversion legislation in the offing, contact Robin Madrid, SANE.

LABOR LETTERS

EXECUTIVE OFFICE

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION • 1201 16th St. N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036 • (202) 833-4600
WILLARD H. McGUIRE, President
BERNIE FREITAG, Vice President
MARY HATWOOD FUTRELL, Secretary-Treasurer
TERRY HERNDON, Executive Director

Dear Friends,

I believe that the threat of nuclear war is one of the most ominous issues faced by humanity and that is why I support the bilateral nuclear weapons freeze. We also know that the economic consequences of the arms race undermine our national security through loss of jobs, education and the future of our children.

We owe it to all our members, and the nation at large, to stimulate rational and informed discussion on the war-peace issues. Working people and the poor are bearing disproportionate burdens and sacrifices required by unrestrained military spending. Surely our contemporary economic malaise demonstrates that a society's will and ability to provide for its citizens - all of its citizens - must be an indispensable part of its security plans.

This manual provides a worthy outline of the economic effects of military spending and the expanding nuclear arsenal. We believe it will deepen understanding of the high price we pay for investment in weapons at the expense of investment in our people.

We recall the words of the great American labor leader, Samuel Gompers spoken in 1893: "What does labor want? We want more schoolhouses and less jails; more books and less arsenals; more learning and less vice; more constant work and less crime; more leisure and less greed; more justice and less revenge..."

We urge attention to this message.

Fraternally,

Terry Herndon
Executive Director

TH/bw

Enclosure

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING AND TEXTILE WORKERS UNION
ACTWU
AFL-CIO CLC
15 Union Square • New York, N.Y. 10003

MURRAY H. FINLEY, President
JACK SHEINKMAN, Secretary-Treasurer
SOL STETIN, Senior Executive Vice President
SCOTT HOYMAN, Executive Vice President

December 17, 1982

Dear Sisters and Brothers:

ACTWU, at its 1981 Convention, stated in its resolution on foreign policy: "Most important is the issue of war or peace. As tensions increase...the possibility of war involving the American and Canadian people becomes greater. Since the general welfare of our nations, not to mention the lives of workers and their children, is profoundly affected by war, trade unions must be concerned with international relations. In today's world of nuclear weapons and mass destruction, the issues can no longer be left only to the generals and politicians."

Both the United States and the Soviet Union have enough nuclear weapons to kill all humanity many times over. The continued stock piling of nuclear arms and development of new ones does not strengthen international peace, but rather increases international tension and the potential for miscalculation.

Further, the enormous resources being devoted to the arms race has come at severe cost to our members, to all working people. The economy is in depressing trouble and record numbers are unemployed. Yet military expenditures continue to increase. These expenditures create fewer jobs than any other kind of government or private spending, and misdirect the capital and skills we need to rebuild our nation.

This manual provides an outline of the economic effects of the expanding arms race. We believe it will deepen understanding of the high price we pay for investment in weapons at the expense of investment in our people. Know it will build support for a bilateral nuclear weapons freeze that is the essential first step in halting the current devastating arms race.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Murray H. Finley
President

Jacob Sheinkman
Secretary-Treasurer

44

UFCW

December 29, 1982

Dear Friends:

We believe that the threat of nuclear war is the most profound issue faced by humanity and that is why we support the bilateral nuclear weapons freeze. We also know that the economic forces propelling the arms race threaten to undermine our national security through loss of jobs, education and a future for our children.

We owe it to all our members — their families, communities, and the nation at large — to provide the means for rational and informed discussion on the war-peace issues. Working people and the poor are bearing the enormous burdens and sacrifices exacted by unrestrained military spending. The recent ills of our economy have helped to undermine our sense of security and to erode our society's commitment to provide decently for our most disadvantaged citizens.

This manual provides a worthy outline of the economic effects of military spending and the expanding nuclear arsenal. We believe it will deepen understanding of the high price we pay for investment in weapons at the expense of investment in our people.

We recall the words of the great American labor leader, Samuel Gompers, spoken in 1893: "What does labor want? We want more school houses and less jails; more books and less arsenals; more learning and less vice; more constant work and less crime; more leisure and less greed; more justice and less revenge."

Yours for a nuclear freeze — and an end to the arms race.

Sincerely,

William H. Wynn
International President

William H. Wynn
International President

Anthony J. Luffy
International
Secretary-Treasurer

United Food & Commercial Workers
International Union, AFL-CIO & CLC
1775 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006
(202) 223-3111

AFSCME

American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees

1625 L Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036
Telephone (202) 452-4800
Telex 89-2376

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

Last summer, I told the 3,000 delegates to the AFSCME International Convention that "in many ways, the nuclear freeze is the most important issue we will discuss at this Convention. For if we do not send a strong, overwhelming message to Presidents Reagan and Brezhnev that the madness of the arms race must be stopped immediately, then all the struggles for economic and social justice for which we have all sacrificed for so long will be meaningless."

Those delegates responded with a near-unanimous endorsement of the nuclear freeze - and thus AFSCME became the first union in Convention to declare its opposition to the continued escalation of the arms race.

We in the labor movement are already suffering from the effects of President Reagan's military buildup. We have seen domestic programs to aid the poor and disadvantaged cut to the bone and beyond; we have seen this nation plunged into the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression. We have seen unemployment reach unprecedented levels, with no relief in sight.

This manual documents the terrible toll that defense spending is taking on our economy. It makes a convincing, clearcut case that a sensible economic policy must include plans for conversion of weapons production facilities to civilian industrial uses once a freeze has been negotiated.

On behalf of the more than one million members of AFSCME, I urge you to read this manual and to use it as an organizing tool to help working people understand and speak out against the senseless economic and military policies being pursued by the Reagan Administration. There is no cause more important to our survival and continued well-being.

In Solidarity,

Gerald W. McEntee
International President

In the public service

202 452 8750

SERVICE EMPLOYEES INTERNATIONAL UNION
AFL-CIO, CLC

2020 K Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006 1846

John J. Sweeney
International President

Richard W. Cordtz
International Secretar, Treasurer

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

Few times in the past thirty years has there been so much anxiety about the prospect of worldwide war and a nuclear holocaust. The Service Employees International Union supports a bilateral nuclear freeze as a first, and most important step towards a rational defense policy for the United States and the world. A nuclear freeze is basic to all of labor's goal to make the nation safe for us, our children and future generations.

During the coming months of public discussion, debate and action about the massive build up of all military spending and nuclear arms will play a central role in determining the direction of national economic and foreign policy. With depression-level unemployment and bankruptcies in basic industries, the enormous resource drain of the nuclear arms race poses an ever clearer threat to economic security as well as threatening the survival of the world as we know it.

This manual provides an essential overview of the economic consequences of tying the nation to a nuclear arms industry. By focusing on the central issue of the impact of nuclear arms production on jobs and different regions of the country, the manual highlights the high price we pay for arms production and points to the careful thought and planning necessary to ease the conversion from a war to a peace economy.

Last month the bishops of the American Catholic Church joined Americans across the country in advocating a nuclear freeze. As we look around us at the unemployment lines and soup kitchens -- and at the race towards nuclear destruction -- we must all rededicate ourselves to seeing that more manuals such as this one reach those working to help the progress towards peace and justice in the coming year.

Sincerely,

Please send more copies of The Freeze Economy to:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

If different from the above, please complete the following:

Your Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Number of copies _____

Amount Enclosed _____

Ordering information: Single copies: $2.50 postpaid. Bulk orders available: 2–24 copies @$1.50. Copy or clip this order form and send it with your check or money order to:

Mid-Peninsula Conversion Project
222 C View St., Mountain View, CA 94041, or

National Clearinghouse, Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign
4144 Lindell Blvd., St. Louis, MO 63108

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"This manual documents the terrible toll that defense spending is taking on our economy. It makes a convincing, clearcut case that a sensible economic policy must include plans for conversion of weapons production facilities to civilian industrial uses once a freeze has been negotiated."

Gerald W. McEntee
International President
American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees

Cover design by Kerry Tremain. Illustration by **Nicole Hollander** from *Mercy, It's the Revolution and I'm Still in My Bathrobe*. St. Martin's Press, Inc. © 1982, Field Enterprises, Inc. Photograph by **Lionel J-M Delevingne.**


ECONOMIC
IMPACT
GREAT FALLS
MALMSTROM
AIR FORCE
BASE
LEWISTOWN
HARLOWTON
CONRAD
BY 1983

- Table Of Contents -

Economic Impact FY 81

October 1980 - September 1981

Prepared By:

Cost and Management Analysis Branch

Comptroller Division

- FOREWARD -

THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY IS TO PROVIDE INTERESTED PARTIES WITH DATA REFLECTING THE IMPACT OF MALMSTROM AIR FORCE BASE ON THE ECONOMY OF CENTRAL MONTANA. MALMSTROM AIR FORCE BASE IS THE SUPPORT BASE FOR THE FIRST MINUTEMAN MISSILE COMPLEX IN THE UNITED STATES. THE COMPLEX ENCOMPASSES APPROXIMATELY 23,000 SQUARE MILES OF CENTRAL MONTANA, STRETCHING FROM CONRAD TO HARLOWTOWN.

THE DATA AND STATISTICS CONTAINED IN THIS STUDY ARE FOR THE GOVERNMENT FISCAL YEAR 1981 AND REPRESENT DOLLARS SPENT FOR OPERATIONS AND SERVICES ESSENTIAL TO MALMSTROM AIR FORCE BASE IN THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF ITS MISSION.

INCOME, SPENDING STATISTICS, AND COMMUNITY SERVICE FOR APPROXIMATELY 6,300 DEPENDENTS OF MILITARY PERSONNEL IS EXCLUDED. PURCHASES FROM THE OPEN MESSES, BASE EXCHANGE, AND COMMISSARY BY MEMBERS AND CUSTOMERS ARE NOT INCLUDED IN THE STUDY; BUT, LOCAL PURCHASES FOR RETAIL SALES BY THESE ACTIVITES ARE CONSIDERED.

ALTHOUGH NOT ADDRESSED IN THIS STUDY, A RELATED SUBJECT, MILITARY RETIRED PAY, DESERVES COMMENT. THE PRESENCE OF MALMSTROM AIR FORCE BASE AND ITS SERVICES IS A MAJOR FACTOR IN MILITARY RETIREES SELECTING THIS AREA AS A PLACE OF PERMANENT RESIDENCE AND IS ANOTHER FACET OF IMPACT THAT MALMSTROM HAS ON THE LOCAL ECONOMY. INFORMATION AVAILABLE INDICATES THAT PAY FOR RETIRED MILITARY PERSONNEL IN THE GREAT FALLS AREA AMOUNTED TO 11.3 MILLION DOLLARS IN FISCAL YEAR 1981. THE ABSENCE OF DEFINITIVE DATA

ON SPENDING HABITS OF RETIREES PRECLUDES INCLUDING THEIR PAY IN THIS STUDY.

IT IS NOT THE INTENT OF THIS STUDY TO CONVEY THE IMPRESSION THAT ALL MONEY SPENT BY MALMSTROM AND ITS PEOPLE FLOWS INTO THE CENTRAL MONTANA ECONOMY. THERE IS NO DOUBT HOWEVER, THAT A SUBSTANTIAL PERCENTAGE OF THE PAYROLL OF MILITARY, CIVIL SERVICE EMPLOYEES, CONTRACTORS, AND EMPLOYEES OF RELATED BASE ACTIVITIES IS SPENT LOCALLY. MUCH OF THE CONTRACT MONEY FOR FACILITIES MAINTENANCE AND CONSTRUCTION IS AVAILABLE TO LOCAL CONTRACTORS. A SIGNIFICANT AMOUNT OF SUPPLIES, EQUIPMENT, AND FOOD ITEMS ARE OBTAINED THROUGH LOCAL SUPPLIERS. IN THIS REGARD, WHERE IDENTIFIABLE, ONLY THOSE AMOUNTS SPENT IN THE STATE OF MONTANA ARE INCLUDED IN THIS STUDY. PURCHASES BY THE BASE EXCHANGE AND COMMISSARY ARE IN THIS CATEGORY AND THE AMOUNTS SPENT FOR SUPPLIES AND EQUIPMENT HAVE BEEN ADJUSTED TO REFLECT THIS APPROACH.

ALTHOUGH THIS STUDY IS FINANCIALLY ORIENTED, IT ALSO REFLECTS ON SOME OF THE ACTIVITIES THAT THE AIR FORCE AND MALMSTROM PERSONNEL ARE INVOLVED IN THAT CONTRIBUTE TO THE WELL-BEING OF THE CENTRAL MONTANA COMMUNITY

ACCORDING TO OUR BEST ESTIMATES, USING ALL AVAILABLE DATA AND APPLYING REASONABLE FINANCIAL ASSUMPTIONS AND CONCLUSIONS, THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF MALMSTROM AIR FORCE BASE ON THE ECONOMY OF GREAT FALLS AND CENTRAL MONTANA WAS $223.8 MILLION DOLLARS IN FISCAL YEAR 1981.

CENTRAL MONTANA

CITY OF GREAT FALLS

ECONOMIC IMPACT $223.8

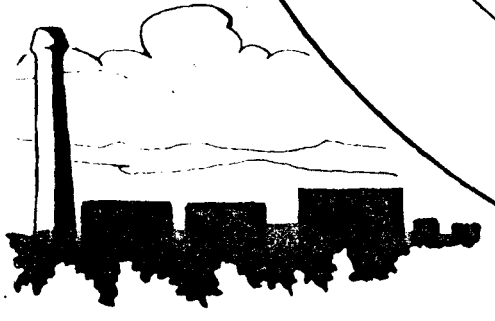
VOLUNTEER SERVICE WORK 35,000 HOURS

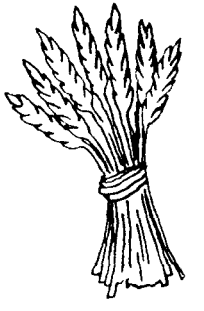
MALMSTROM AFB

COMMUNITY SERVICE

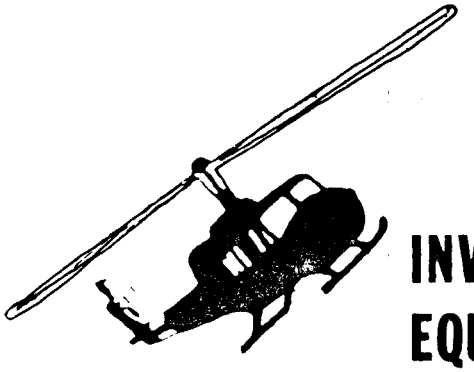
WORKERS--COACHES
SEARCH & RESCUE

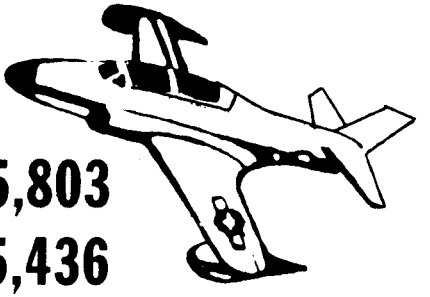
CFC PLEDGES $77,000





—ASSETS—





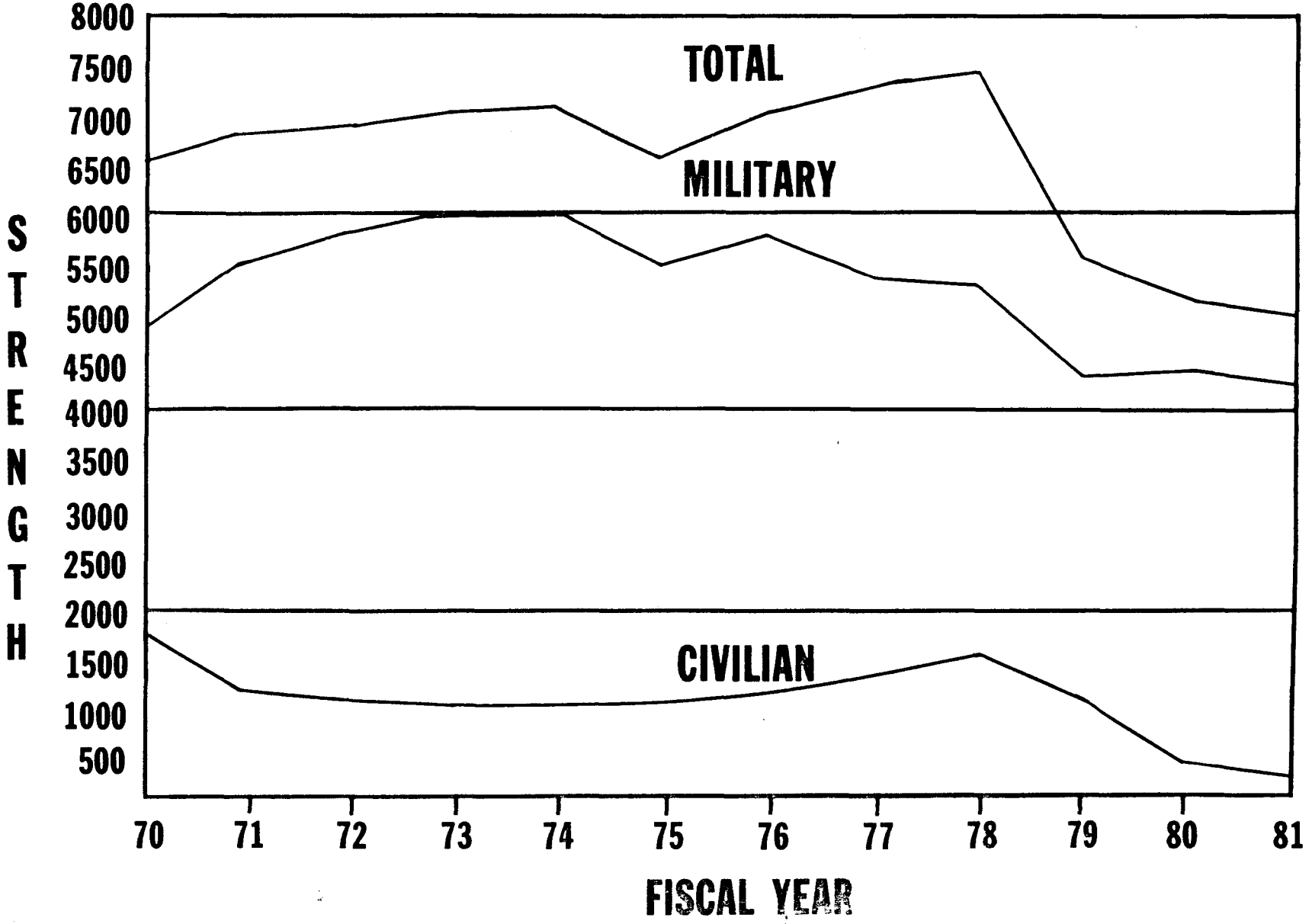
INVENTORIES	$ 28,855,803
EQUIPMENT	206,965,436
REAL PROPERTY (LAND, STRUCTURES, OTHER)	311,479,658
AIRCRAFT	4,800,000
MISSILES	541,065,391
TOTAL	$1,093,166,288

—POPULATION—

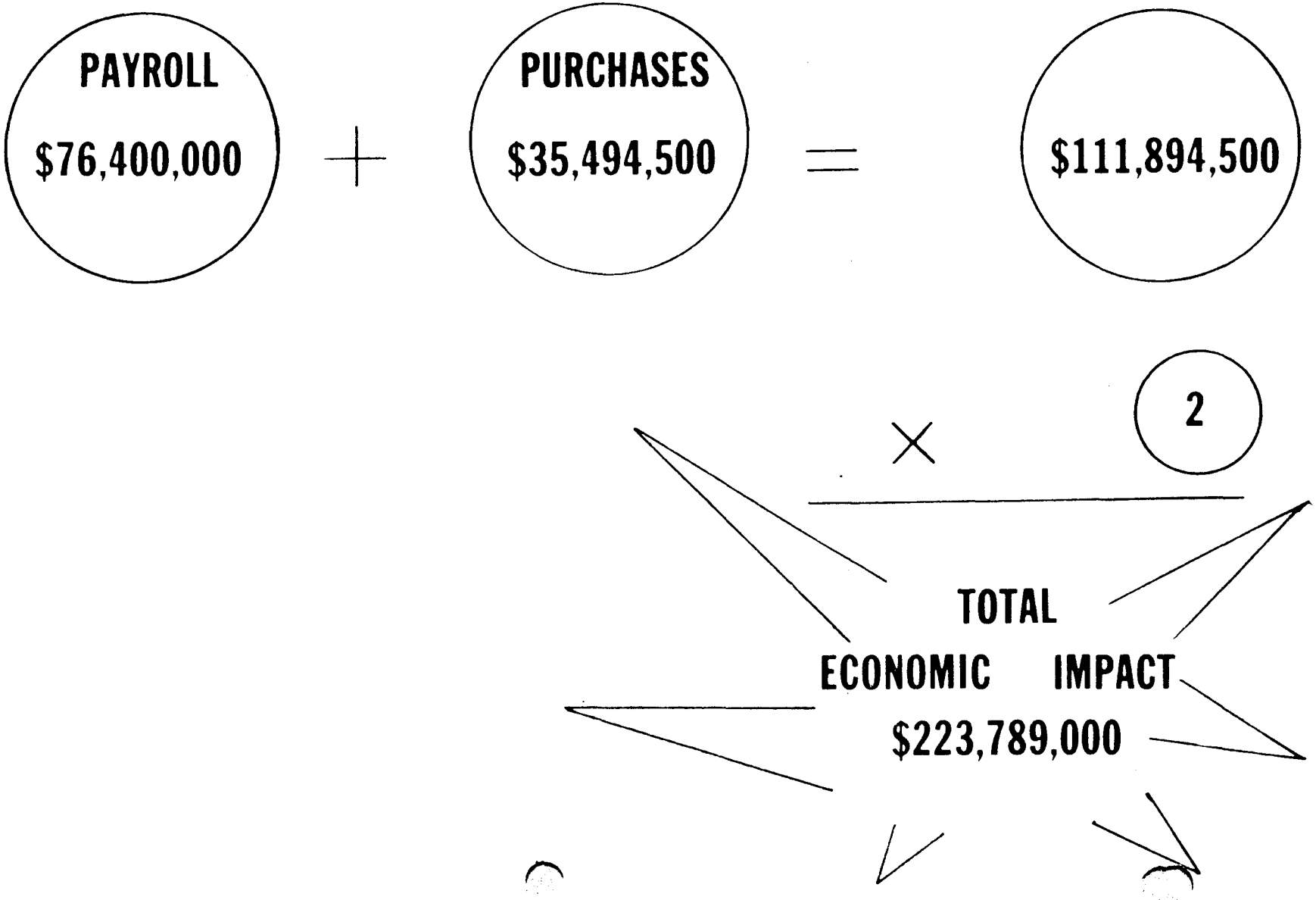
GOVERNMENT		NON GOVERNMENT	
MILITARY	4429	BASE EXCHANGE	231
CIVIL SERVICE	503	CREDIT UNION	
NON APPROPRIATED FUND (NAF)	212	MOUNTAIN BELL	
		AFIT	
		BANK	
		RED CROSS	

TOTAL 5375

POPULATION TREND



IMPACT


PAYROLL
$76,400,000
+
PURCHASES
$35,494,500
=
$111,894,500
2
X
TOTAL
ECONOMIC IMPACT
$223,789,000

- IMPACT FORMULA -

THE TOTAL ECONOMIC IMPACT IS MADE UP FROM THREE BASIC ELEMENTS: PAYROLL DOLLARS, PURCHASE DOLLARS, AND A MULTIPLIER EFFECT. PAYROLL DOLLARS AND PURCHASES WILL BE SPECIFICALLY ADDRESSED IN THE FOLLOWING PAGES. THE MULTIPLIER EFFECT IS DERIVED FROM THE PRINCIPLE THAT DOLLARS FLOWING INTO AN ECONOMY INVARIABLY BECOME INCOME FOR SOMEONE WHO IN TURN SPENDS A PORTION WHICH BECOMES INCOME FOR SOMEONE ELSE. THE 2.0 MULTIPLIER IS BELIEVED TO BE CONSERVATIVE AND IS USED HERE SOLELY TO POINT OUT THAT THE IMPACT OF ANY ACTIVITY TRANSCENDS BEYOND DIRECT CASH OUTLAYS. PRACTICALLY EVERY BUSINESS IN THE LOCAL ECONOMY RECEIVED A PORTION OF THE 111.9 MILLION DOLLAR OUTLAY AND PROVIDED SERVICES, CONSUMER PRODUCTS, EQUIPMENT, AND COMMODITIES NEEDED BY THE MALMSTROM FAMILY.

—PAYROLL—

GOVERNMENT:

MILITARY	$ 61,100,000
CIVIL SERVICE	$ 11,200,000
NON APPROPRIATED FUND (NAF)	$ 1,100,000

NON GOVERNMENT:

BASE EXCHANGE
CREDIT UNION
MOUNTAIN BELL
AFIT
BANK
RED CROSS

$ 3,000,000

TOTAL $ 76,400,000

- PAYROLL -

PAYROLL FIGURES INCLUDE SALARIES AND WAGES OF MILITARY AND CIVILIAN PERSONNEL EMPLOYED ON BASE AND AT SEVERAL GEOGRAPHICALLY SEPARATED LOCATIONS. IN ADDITION TO THE PAYROLL OF ORGANIZATIONS READILY RECOGNIZED AS BELONGING TO MALMSTROM, FIGURES ALSO INCLUDE THE PAY OF PERSONS EMPLOYED BY THE MALMSTROM FEDERAL CREDIT UNION, FEDERAL AVIATION ADMINISTRATION, FIRST NATIONAL BANK (MALMSTROM LOCATION), AIR FORCE INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY AND MOUNTAIN BELL TELEPHONE COMPANY (MALMSTROM).

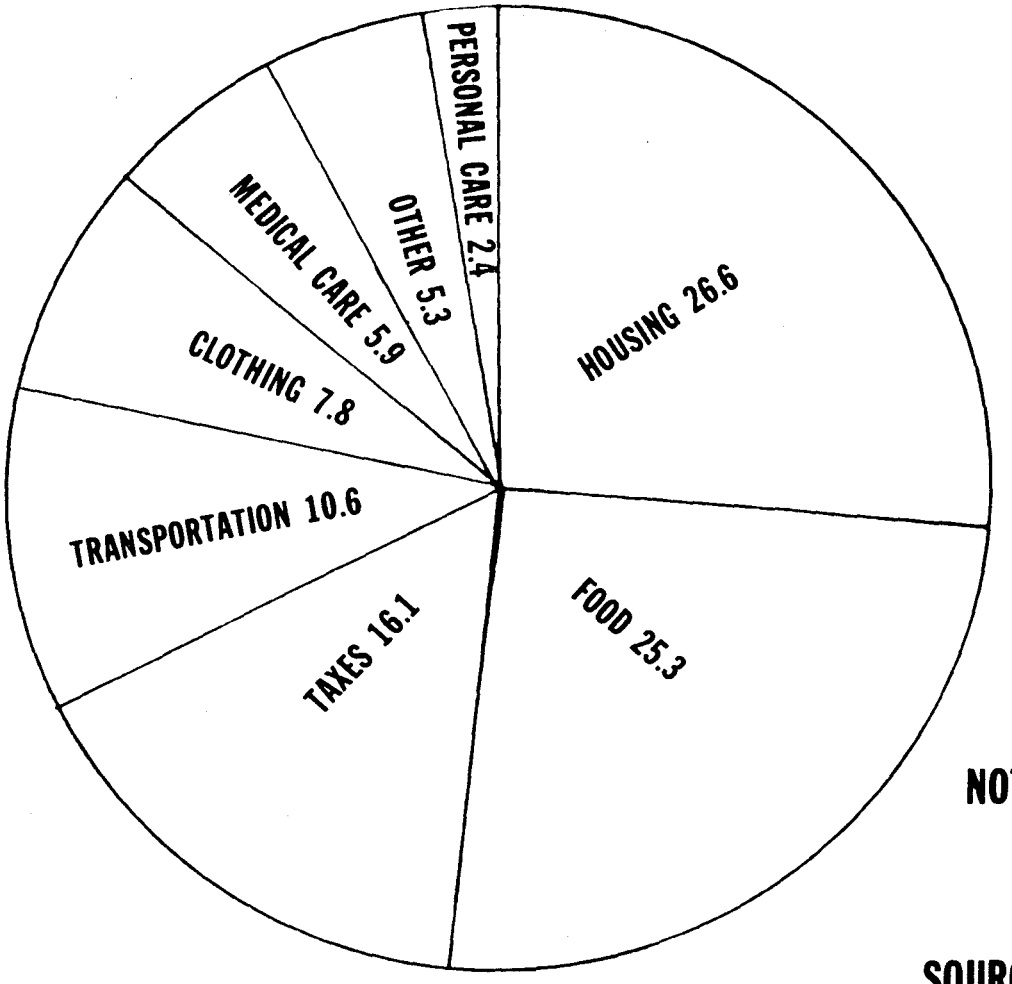
THE FY81 PAYROLL AT MALMSTROM AMOUNTED TO ABOUT 76.4 MILLION DOLLARS. THIS FIGURE REFLECTS AN INCREASE OF 10% OVER THE PAYROLL FOR LAST YEAR.

THE MALMSTROM FAMILY SHOPPING IN CENTRAL MONTANA SPENT A LARGE PART OF THEIR PAYROLL FOR HOUSING, FOOD, CLOTHING, AND OTHER NEEDS SUPPLIED BY BUSINESSES IN THE LOCAL AREA. HOUSING IS A SIGNIFICANT ITEM OF EXPENSE. REALTORS, HOTEL AND MOTEL MANAGERS, AND APARTMENT OWNERS FROM KALISPELL TO BILLINGS SHARED MORE THAN 11.8 MILLION DOLLARS SPENT BY MILITARY AND CIVILIAN FAMILIES FOR HOUSING. MANY MILITARY PEOPLE, APPROXIMATELY 48%, BOTH MARRIED AND SINGLE LIVE OFF-BASE IN RENTED HOUSES, MOBILE HOMES, OR APARTMENTS; OTHERS PURCHASE REAL ESTATE. IN PROVIDING THE ESSENTIALS REQUIRED FOR DAY-TO-DAY LIVING, LOCAL SUPERMARKETS, CLOTHING, DEPARTMENT AND HARDWARE STORES ATTRACT MEMBERS OF THE MALMSTROM FAMILY BY PROVIDING A WIDE VARIETY OF MERCHANDISE AND CREDIT PLANS FOR THE PURCHASE OF FOOD, CLOTHING, FURNITURE, AND HOUSEHOLD

GOODS.

IT IS APPARENT THAT MALMSTROM PAYROLL DOLLARS FIND THEIR WAY INTO THE LOCAL ECONOMY THROUGH MANY VARIED FACETS OF LOCAL BUSINESS ENTERPRISES.

PAYROLL DISTRIBUTION (%) & ($)



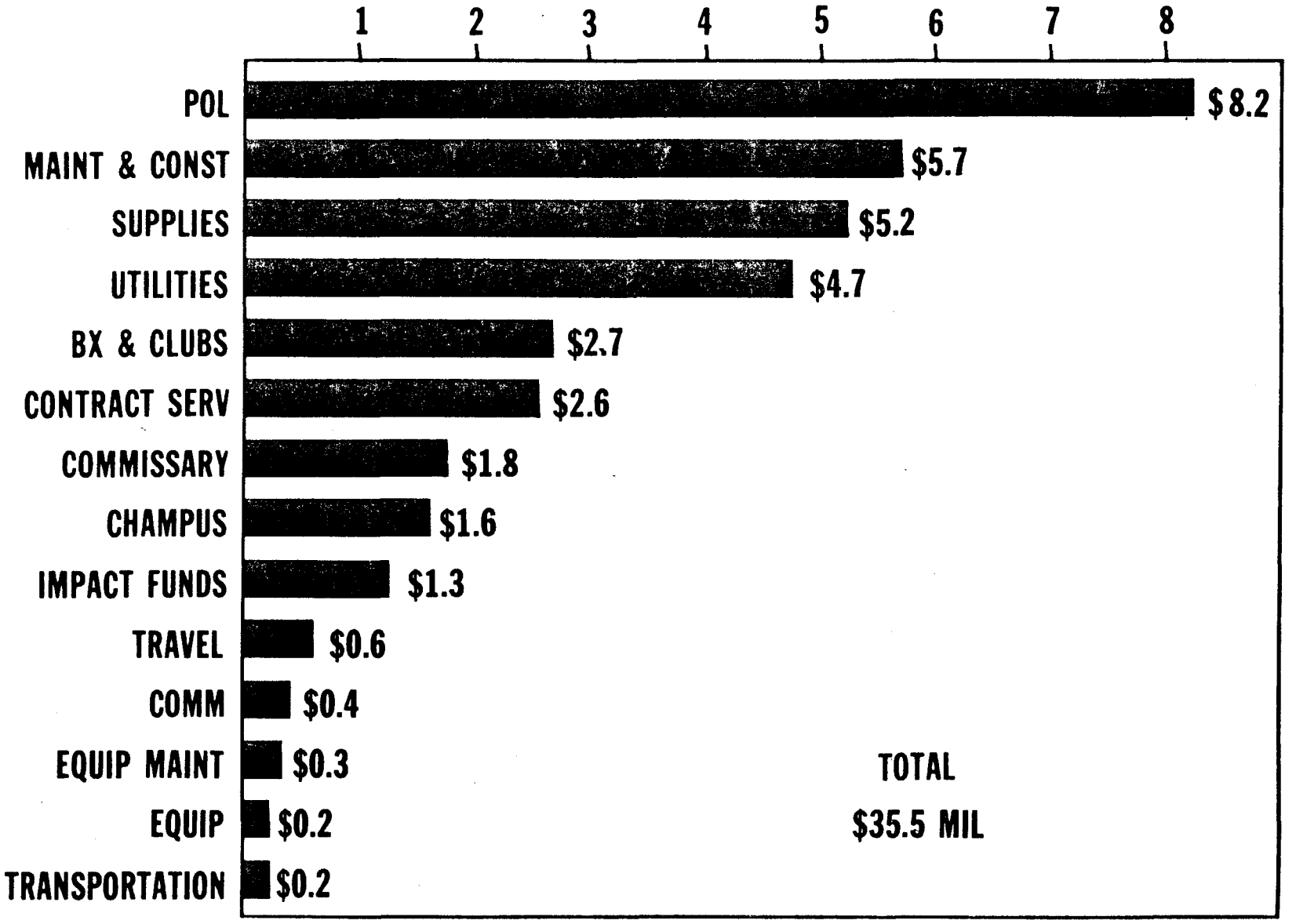
HOUSING	20,322,400
FOOD	19,329,200
TAXES	12,300,400
TRANSPORTATION	8,098,400
CLOTHING	5,959,200
MEDICAL CARE	4,507,600
OTHER	4,049,200
PERSONAL CARE	1,833,600
	$ 76,400,000

NOTE: DISTRIBUTION CALCULATED FROM STATISTICS APPLICABLE TO AN AVERAGE UNITED STATES COMMUNITY.

SOURCE: BUREAU OF ECONOMIC ANALYSIS, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

PURCHASES EXPENDITURE DISTRIBUTION

(MILLION DOLLARS)



- PURCHASE EXPENDITURES -

IN ADDITION TO PAYROLL MONIES SPENT LOCALLY, MALMSTROM AIR FORCE BASE EXPENDED ABOUT 35.5 MILLION DOLLARS IN FY81 FOR MATERIALS, SUPPLIES, COMMODITIES, AND SERVICES REQUIRED FOR OPERATION OF THE BASE. EXPENDITURES INCLUDE DOLLARS SPENT FOR SERVICES, CONSTRUCTION, SUPPLIES, AND EQUIPMENT BY AGENCIES SUCH AS: MALMSTROM FEDERAL CREDIT UNION, FEDERAL AVIATION ADMINISTRATION, FIRST NATIONAL BANK (MALMSTROM LOCATION), AND MOUNTAIN BELL TELEPHONE COMPANY (MALMSTROM). THIS IS A 3% INCREASE OVER EXPENDITURES MADE IN FY80. INCLUDED IN THE PURCHASE EXPENDITURES ARE FEDERAL IMPACT AND CHAMPUS FUNDS WHICH ARE GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES DIRECTLY RELATED TO THE EXISTENCE OF MALMSTROM AIR FORCE BASE

AIRCRAFT PETROLEUM, OILS, AND LUBRICANTS (POL):

8.2 MILLION DOLLARS WERE SPENT FOR POL. THESE FUNDS WERE PRIMARILY FOR JET FUEL. THIS EXPENDITURE IS 6% MORE THAN FUNDS SPENT IN FY80. MOST OF THIS FUEL CAME FROM REFINERIES IN THE AREA AND WAS DELIVERED TO THE BASE BY LOCAL TRUCKERS.

FACILITIES MAINTENANCE AND CONSTRUCTION:

THIS ITEM INCLUDES THE COST OF MAINTAINING AND REPAIRING BASE FACILITIES INCLUDING BASE HOUSING AS WELL AS EXPENDITURES FOR WORK DONE BY CONTRACTORS ON SUCH PROJECTS AS: CONSTRUCTION OF A NEW EDUCATION CENTER, COMMERCIAL POWER CONVERSION-

BLDG 500, COMMISSARY MODIFICATION, RACQUETBALL COURT ADDITION-BASE GYM. LOCAL CRAFTSMEN ARE NORMALLY EMPLOYED ON MAINTENANCE AND CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS AND IN FY81 ABOUT 5.7 MILLION DOLLARS WERE SPENT FOR THESE PROJECTS; THIS WAS 28% LESS THAN WAS SPENT IN FY80.

SUPPLIES:

AUTOMOTIVE PARTS, BUILDING MATERIALS, PAPER PRODUCTS, AND HOUSEKEEPING SUPPLIES ARE TYPICAL ITEMS INCLUDED IN MORE THAN 5.2 MILLION DOLLARS SPENT LAST YEAR TO SUSTAIN THE BASE OPERATIONS AND ASSOCIATED ACTIVITIES. THIS EXPENDITURE IS 13% ABOVE FUNDS SPENT IN FY80.

UTILITIES AND RENT:

MORE THAN 4.7 MILLION DOLLARS WERE SPENT FOR ELECTRICITY, WATER, GAS, AND RENTAL OF ENGINEERING AND COPYING EQUIPMENT. THIS EXPENDITURE INCREASED 31% OVER COSTS INCURRED IN FY80. IN COMPARISON TO FY80 DATA: WATER CONSUMPTION DECREASED BY 4% AND UNIT RATES REMAINED THE SAME; ELECTRICITY CONSUMPTION INCREASED BY 1% AND UNIT RATES INCREASED 4%; GAS CONSUMPTION DECREASED BY 7% AND UNIT RATES INCREASED 46%. UTILITIES FOR MALMSTROM AND FACILITIES THROUGHOUT THE ENTIRE MISSILE COMPLEX ARE PURCASED FROM MONTANA POWER AND OTHER UTILITY COMPANIES.

Local Purchases - Clubs and Base Exchange:

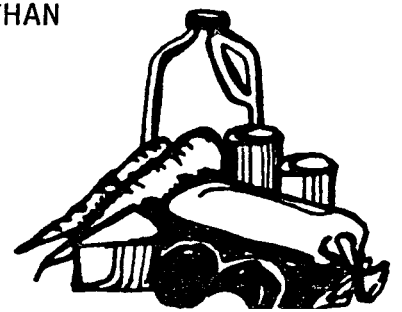
About 2.7 million dollars were spent locally by the base exchange, non-commissioned officer (NCO) and officers' clubs, base gymnasium, hobby and craft shops, and base library. Purchases included food and beverages for the clubs and resaleables for the base exchange. Supplies and materials essential for operation of craft shops, base gymnasium, and library are also included.

Contract Service - Other:

About 2.6 million dollars were spent on this item which includes education services, laundry, custodial services, food service, and medical services. This represents a 24% increase over expenditures in FY80.

Local Purchases - Commissary:

More than 1.8 million dollars were spent on local purchases for the commissary. These commodities were procured for use by dining halls and for resale by the commissary. These purchases include items such as: dairy products, soft drinks, vegetables, and bakery goods. Not included are costs for commodities obtained through Department of Defense procurement agencies on the national level rather than through local suppliers.



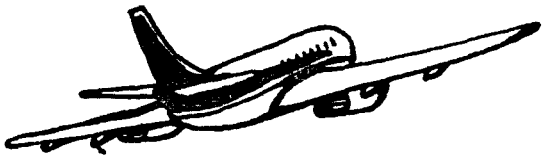
CHAMPUS:

THE CIVILIAN HEALTH AND MEDICAL PROGRAM OF UNIFORMED SERVICES (CHAMPUS) PROVIDES A WIDE RANGE OF CIVILIAN HEALTH CARE SERVICE TO ELIGIBLE BENEFICIARIES WITH A SIGNIFICANT SHARE OF THE COSTS PAID BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. ELIGIBLE BENEFICIARIES ARE: SPOUSES AND CHILDREN OF ACTIVE DUTY PERSONNEL; RETIRED MILITARY, THEIR SPOUSES AND CHILDREN; SPOUSES AND CHILDREN OF MILITARY PERSONNEL WHO DIE ON ACTIVE DUTY OR WHEN ENTITLED TO RETIRED PAY. DURING FY81 $1,604,700 IN BILLS CHARGED TO CHAMPUS WERE RECEIVED FROM THE GREAT FALLS AREA MEDICAL PROFESSION. HOSPITALS AND PHYSICANS SHARED IN THESE COSTS WHICH COVERED INPATIENT SERVICES. PATIENTS WERE FROM MALMSTROM, GREAT FALLS, AND OTHER COMMUNITIES WITHIN FORTY MILES OF MALMSTROM. THIS 1.6 MILLION DOLLARS REPRESENTS ONLY PART OF CHAMPUS MONIES WHICH FLOW INTO THE STATE AND LOCAL AREA. PAYMENTS FOR OUTPATIENT SERVICE, PRESCRIPTION DRUGS, AND SERVICES FOR THE HANDICAPPED ARE MADE THROUGH OTHER AGENCIES.

FEDERAL IMPACT FUNDS:

EDUCATING CHILDREN OF MILITARY AND OTHER FEDERAL EMPLOYEES CREATES AN ADDITIONAL EXPENSE FOR LOCAL SCHOOL SYSTEMS. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS IN THE PAST REIMBURSED THESE SCHOOL SYSTEMS BASED ON THE NUMBER OF SUCH CHILDREN IN SCHOOL. IN FY81 THE GREAT FALLS SCHOOL DISTRICT RECEIVED 1,287,000 DOLLARS UNDER

THIS PROGRAM. IN OTHER EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES, THE COLLEGE OF GREAT FALLS, UNIVERSITY OF MONTANA, AND NORTHERN MONTANA COLLEGE RECEIVED ABOUT 539,600 DOLLARS IN TUITON FEES FOR MILITARY PERSONNEL, DEPENDENTS AND CIVILIAN EMPLOYEES ENGAGED IN OFF-DUTY EDUCATION IN UNDERGRADUATE AND GRADUATE LEVEL PROGRAMS.



TRAVEL OF PERSONNEL:

$553,600 WAS SPENT FOR TRAVEL OF PERSONNEL. THIS IS A 15% INCREASE OVER FUNDS SPENT IN FY80. THESE EXPENDITURES ARE FOR TRAVEL, TEMPORARY DUTY, AND RENTAL OF VEHICLES ESSENTIAL FOR OPERATION OF THE BASE.

COMMUNICATIONS:

$422,100 WAS PAID FOR COMMUNICATIONS.

THIS REPRESENTS AN INCREASE OF 1% OVER FY80 EXPENDITURES.

PURCHASED EQUIPMENT MAINTENANCE:

$344,000 WAS SPENT LAST YEAR FOR EQUIPMENT MAINTENANCE. THE EXPENDITURE WAS PRIMARILY FOR REPAIR OF AIR FORCE VEHICLES BY CONTRACT, TIRE RECAPPING, AND

REPAIR OF COMMUNICATIONS/ELECTRONIC EQUIPMENT.

EQUIPMENT:

$210,600 WAS SPENT FOR INDIVIDUAL EQUIPMENT, FURNITURE FOR DORMITORIES, OFFICE EQUIPMENT SUCH AS TYPEWRITERS AND FURNITURE, AND SHOP EQUIPMENT AND TOOLS FOR MISSILE AND VEHICLE MAINTENANCE. THIS FIGURE REPRESENTS A 55% DECREASE FROM FY80 EXPENDITURES.

TRANSPORTATION OF PROPERTY:

$168,200 WAS SPENT FOR COMMERICAL TRANSPORTATION OF PERSONAL AND AIR FORCE PROPERTY. PERSONAL PROPERTY INCLUDES SUCH ITEMS AS HOUSEHOLD GOODS BELONGING TO AIR FORCE PERSONNEL. THE COST OF SHIPPING AIR FORCE EQUIPMENT TO REPAIR DEPOTS IS INCLUDED IN THIS EXPENDITURE.

- COMMUNITY SERVICES -

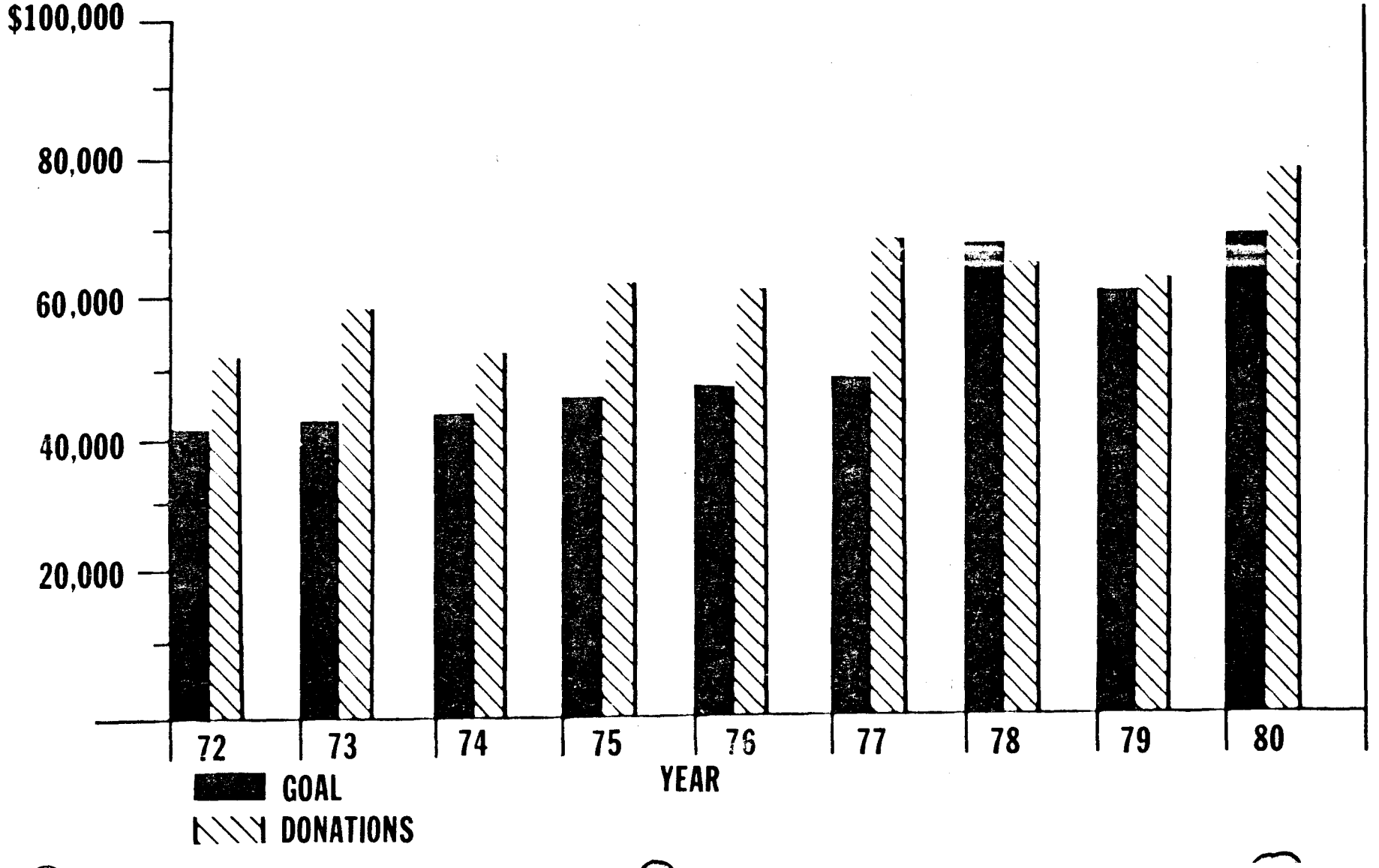
ALTHOUGH THIS STUDY STRESSES THE FINANCIAL IMPACT OF THE BASE ON THE LOCAL ECONOMY, MALMSTROM'S VALUE TO THE COMMUNITY CANNOT BE ASSESSED ENTIRELY IN DOLLARS. MALMSTROM PERSONNEL ARE HERE TO PERFORM THEIR MILITARY FUNCTION; BUT, MALMSTROM PEOPLE ALSO CONTRIBUTE MANY SERVICES WHICH ADD MUCH TO THE CIVIC AND CULTURAL WELL-BEING OF CENTRAL MONTANA. WHILE SPACE DOES NOT PERMIT DISCUSSION OF EVERY INSTANCE OF INVOLVEMENT, SPECIFIC EXAMPLES ARE AS FOLLOWS:

TO HELP MEET MEDICAL NEEDS OF THE COMMUNITY, A RECORD NUMBER 943 UNITS OF BLOOD WERE DONATED. 35,000 HOURS OF VOLUNTEER SERVICE WAS DONATED TO LOCAL CHARITIES SUCH AS CHURCHES, THE MUSCLAR DYSTROPHY ASSOCIATION, SALVATION ARMY, MARCH OF DIMES, ST. THOMAS ORPHANGE, AND THE SPECIAL EDUCATION CENTER. INDIVIDUAL PARTICIPATION IN OTHER COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES INVOLVED PEOPLE SERVING AS VOLUNTEER WORKERS, OFFICIALS, AND COACHES IN ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS: LOCAL YOUTH SPORTS, SCOUTING, BIG BROTHERS AND SISTERS, THE CRISIS CENTER, MERCY HOME, RED CROSS, RESCUE MISSION, AND MAPRIL SPRUCE-UP. MEMBERS OF DETACHMENT 5, 37TH AIR RESCUE AND RECOVERY SQUADRON FLEW SORTIES IN SUPPORT OF MEDICAL EVALUATION AND SEARCH/RESCUE OPERATIONS. BECAUSE OF THOSE MISSIONS, 5 LIVES WERE SAVED.

MALMSTROM PERSONNEL CONSISTENTLY SUPPORT THE UNITED WAY OF CASCADE COUNTY DURING THE ANNUAL COMBINED FEDERAL CAMPAIGN. THE GRAPH ON THE FOLLOWING PAGE DEPICTS MALMSTROM'S SUPPORT OF THE UNITED WAY OVER THE LAST NINE YEARS.

COMBINED FEDERAL CAMPAIGN

(SUPPORT FOR CASCADE COUNTY UNITED WAY)



- PREVIEW OF FY82 -

THE OPERATION OF MALMSTROM AIR FORCE BASE AND ITS ASSOCIATED ACTIVITIES WILL CONTINUE TO HAVE A FAVORABLE IMPACT ON THE ECONOMY OF CENTRAL MONTANA. THE BASE AND ACTIVITIES WILL CONTINUE TO NEED SUPPLIES, EQUIPMENT, AND SERVICES. ALSO, THE MALMSTROM FAMILY WILL CONTINUE TO NEED HOUSING, SERVICES, AND COMMODITIES SUPPLIED BY LOCAL ENTERPRISES.

MAINTENANCE AND CONSTRUCTION SCHEDULED FOR FY82 WILL BE SUBSTANTIALLY HIGHER (INCREASE OF 38%) THAN FY81. TYPICAL OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE PROJECTS WILL BE: RENOVATE LAUNCH CONTROL FACILITIES, REPAIR/ALTER DORMITORIES AND JOINT SEAL AIR-FIELD PAVEMENTS. MILITARY FAMILY HOUSING PROJECTS WILL BE REPLACE SIDING, REPLACE KITCHEN CABINETS AND REPLACE CARPORT SLABS.

PROJECTS INVOLVING MILITARY CONSTRUCTION PROJECT FUNDS ARE CONVERSION OF BUILDING 500 TO COMMERCIAL POWER AND MODIFICATION OF THE SMALL ARMS RANGE.

PROJECTS INVOLVING NON-APPROPRIATED FUNDS (NOT TAX DOLLARS) SCHEDULED ARE: ADDITION TO AUTO HOBBY SHOP, TEMPORARY LODGING QUARTERS REPAIR, NCO AND OFFICER CLUBS RENOVATION.

IN TOTAL, MAINTENANCE AND CONSTRUCTION SCHEDULED FOR FY82 SHOULD BE APPROXIMATELY 10.7 MILLION DOLLARS.

GREAT FALLS AND CENTRAL MONTANA WILL CONTINUE TO BENEFIT MATERIALLY AND SOCIALLY FROM THE PRESENCE OF MALMSTROM AIR FORCE BASE DURING FY82.

MAC

3-25-82

Malmstrom has big impact

Malmstrom Air Force Base and the Great Falls area have long shared what many base residents term the closest relationship they recall having seen between a military base and a local community.

But the relationship is not based simply on good will and cooperation. There is a solid money base to that relationship, also. In that light, the news released last week of Malmstrom's financial impact on the Great Falls community came as no surprise.

The base's impact on Great Falls and central Montana totaled $223.8 million, according to an analysis of fiscal year 1981. That economic impact is comprised of three basic elements: payroll, purchase dollars and a multiplier effect. The multiplier effect refers to money flowing into the economy which becomes income for someone who spends it, which, in turn, becomes income for others.

Malmstrom bought supplies, equipment and services from local markets, and, according to base officials, every business in the local economy received a portion of the $111.9 million outlay by the base.

Malmstrom is expected to continue to have a favorable effect on the economy of central Montana. Maintenance and construction alone in 1982 are expected to come to $10.7 million, a rise of 38 percent over fiscal year 1981. Expected projects include the renovation of launch control facilities, alteration and repair of dormitories and a project on runways.

The base's impact cannot be measured in dollars only, either. Many Malmstrom personnel, assigned here to perform military functions, also contribute services adding to the civic and cultural life of central Montana.

Community-minded efforts include 943 units of blood given to the American Red Cross and 35,000 hours of volunteer service donated to local chapters and groups. Malmstrom personnel also participated in other community activities such as acting as volunteer leaders and coaches for local youth sports.

Several other agencies including Detatchment 5 of the 37th Air Rescue and Recovery Squadron helped with medical evacuation and search and rescue operations. As well, Malmstrom has supported its own branch of the United Way of Cascade County for nine years. Only once did Malmstrom fail to reach its goal, which says something for the spirit of friendly cooperation at the base.

There is no doubt about it. Malmstrom is one of the best neighbors any community could ask for. Great Falls residents are proud of the spirit of cooperation they share with the base. Long may it continue.

HEADQUARTERS
341st STRATEGIC MISSILE WING

CENTRAL MONTANA
IN
ECONOMIC IMPACT FY 82
OCTOBER 1981 - SEPTEMBER 1982

COST & MANAGEMENT ANALYSIS
MALMSTROM AIR FORCE BASE, MT.

- TABLE OF CONTENTS -

- FOREWARD -

The purpose of this study is to provide interested parties with data reflecting the impact of Malmstrom Air Force Base on the economy of Central Montana. Malmstrom Air Force Base is the support base for the first Minuteman Missile complex in the United States. The complex encompasses approximately 23,000 square miles of Central Montana, stretching from Shelby to Harlowton.

The data and statistics contained in this study are for the government Fiscal Year 1982 and represent dollars spent for operations and services essential to Malmstrom Air Force Base in the accomplishment of its mission.

Income, spending statistics, and community service for approximately 6600 dependents of military personnel is excluded. Purchases from the Open Messes, Base Exchange, and Commissary by members and customers are not included in the study. However, local purchases for retail sales by these activities are considered.

Although not addressed in this study, a related subject, military retired pay, deserves comment. The presence of Malmstrom Air Force Base and its services is a major factor in military retirees selecting this areas as a place of permanent residence and is another facet of impact that the base has on the local economy. Information available indicates that pay for retired military personnel in the immediate Great Falls area amounted to over ten million dollars in Fiscal Year 1982. The absence of definitive data on spending habits of retirees precludes including their pay in this study.

It is not the intent of this study to convey the impression that all money spent by Malmstrom and its people flows into the Central Montana economy. There is no doubt however, that a substantial percentage of the payroll of military, civil service employees, contractors, and employees of related

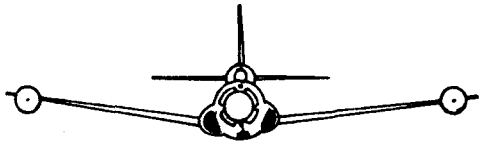
base activities is spent locally. Much of the contract money for facilities maintenance and construction is available to local contractors. A significant amount of supplies, equipment, and food items are obtained through local suppliers. In this regard, where identifiable, only those amounts spent in the state of Montana are included in this study.

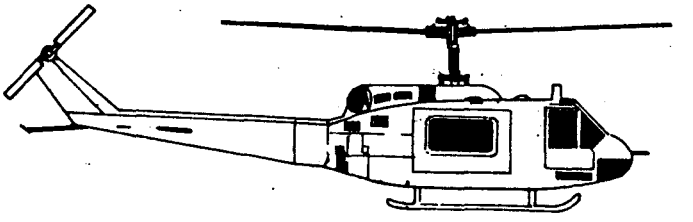
Although this study is financially oriented, it also reflects some of the activities that the Air Force and Malmstrom personnel are involved in that contribute to the well-being of the Central Montana community.

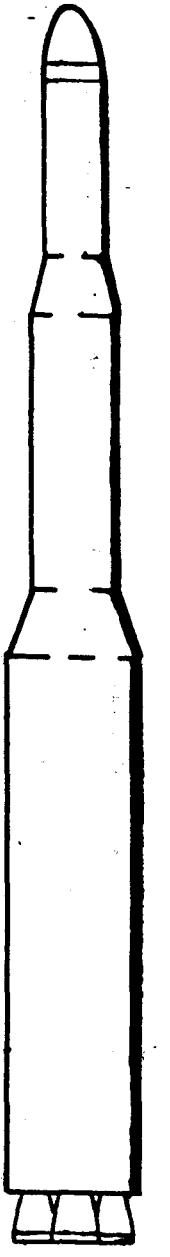
According to our best estimates, using all available data and applying reasonable financial assumptions and conclusions, the economic impact of Malmstrom Air Force Base on the economy of Great Falls and Central Montana was $233.6 million in Fiscal Year 1982.

- ASSETS -

INVENTORIES	$31,025,823
EQUIPMENT	222,930,335
REAL PROPERTY	319,507,584
AIRCRAFT	4,800,000
MISSILES	541,065,391
	$1,119,329,133







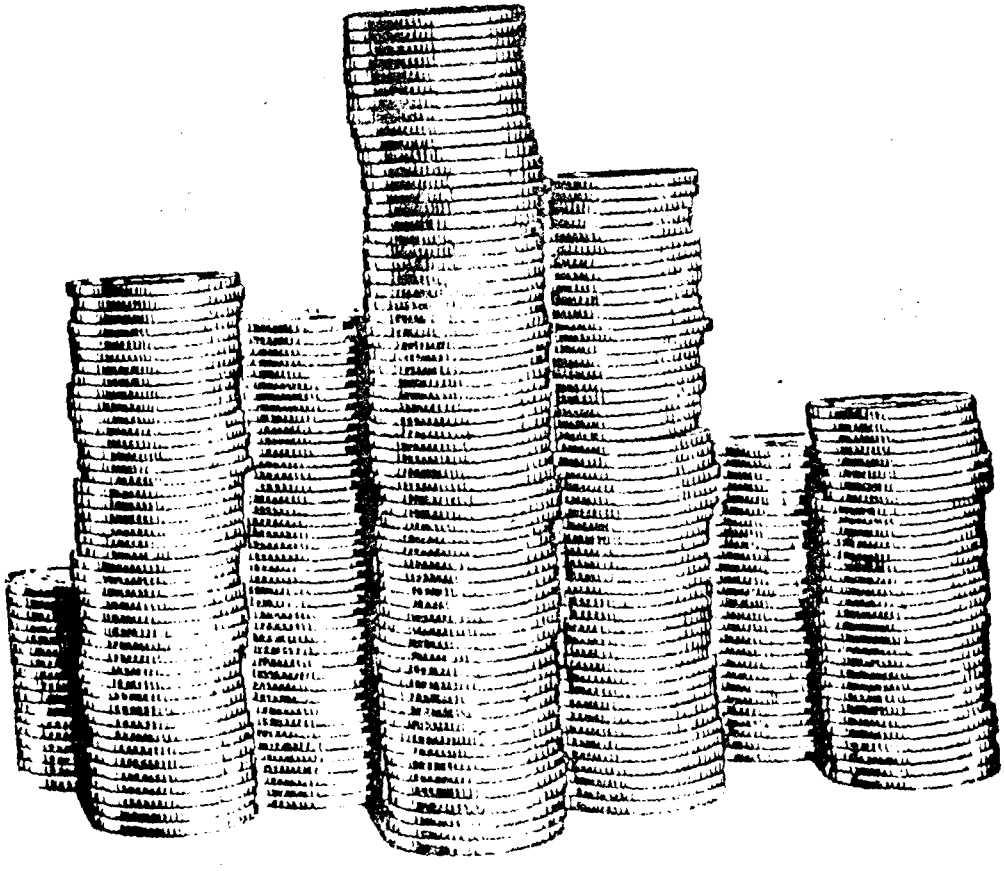
TOTAL ECONOMIC IMPACT

PAYROLL	**$80,200,000**
PURCHASES	**+ 36,600,000**
	$116,800,000
MULTIPLIER	**× 2**
	$233,600,000

IMPACT FORMULA

The total economic impact is made up from three basic elements: payroll dollars, purchase dollars, and a multiplier effect. Payroll dollars and purchases will be specifically addressed in the following pages. The multiplier effect is derived from the principle that dollars flowing into an economy invariably become income for someone who in turn spends a portion which becomes income for someone else. The 2.0 multiplier is believed to be conservative and is used here solely to point out that the impact of any activity transcends beyond direct cash outlays. Practically every business in the local economy received a portion of the $116.8 million outlay and provided services, consumer products, equipment, and commodities needed by the Malmstrom family.

PAYROLL



- PAYROLL -

The FY82 payroll at Malmstrom amounted to about $80.2 million. This figure reflects an increase of 5% over the payroll for last year.

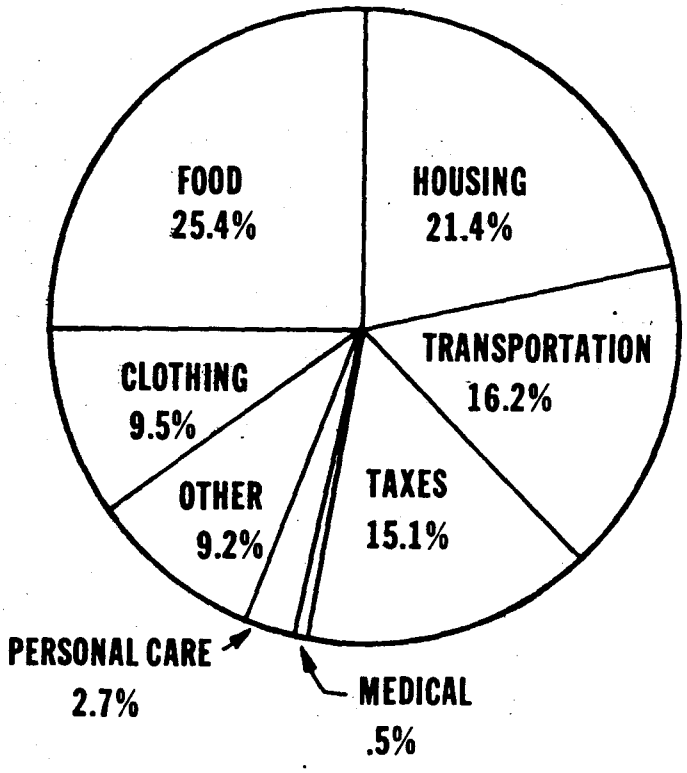
Payroll figures include salaries and wages of military and civilian personnel employed on base and at several geographically separated locations. In addition to the payroll of organizations readily recognized as belonging to Malmstrom, figures also include the pay of persons employed by the Malmstrom Federal Credit Union, First National Bank (Malmstrom location), Air Force Institute of Technology, Mountain Bell Telephone Company (Malmstrom location), the Red Cross (Malmstrom location), Base Exchange, and the Education Office.

The Malmstrom family shopping in Central Montana spent a large part of their payroll for housing, food, clothing, and other needs supplied by businesses in the local area. Housing is a significant item of expense. Realtors, hotel and motel managers, and apartment owners in Central Montana shared more than $10 million spent by military and civilian families for housing. Many military people, approximately 48%, both married and single, live off-base in rented houses, mobile homes, apartments, or are buying homes in the local area. In providing the essentials required for day-to-day living, local supermarkets, clothing, department and hardware stores attract members of the Malmstrom family by providing a wide variety of merchandise and credit plans for the purchase of food, clothing, furniture, and household goods.

PAYROLL

GOVERNMENT		
MILITARY	$66,300,000	
CIVIL SERVICE	10,200,000	
NON-APPROPRIATED FUND (NAF)	1,300,000	
		$77,800,000
NON-GOVERNMENT		
BASE EXCHANGE		
CREDIT UNION		
MOUNTAIN BELL		
AFIT		$ 2,400,000
BANK		
RED CROSS		
EDUCATION OFFICE		
TOTAL PAYROLL		$80,200,000

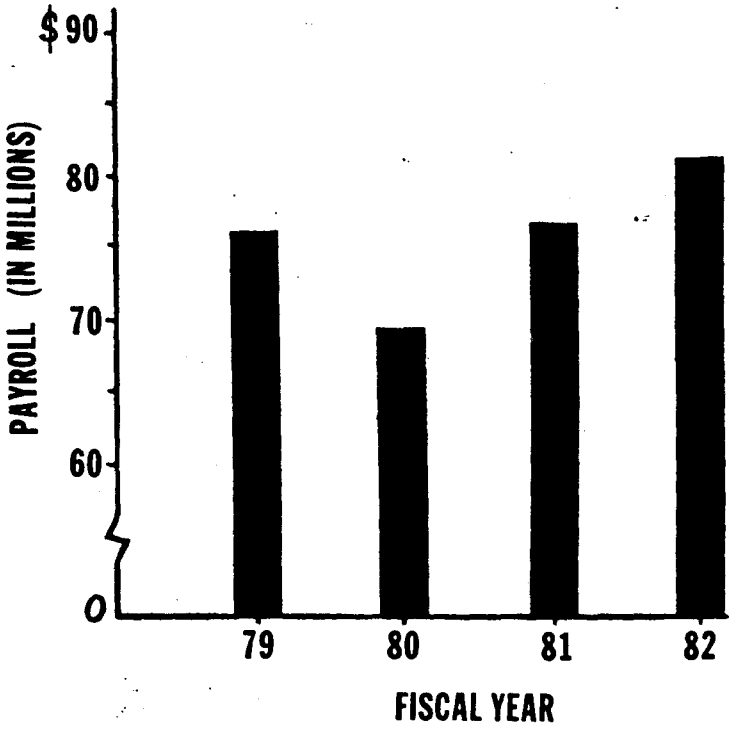
* PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION



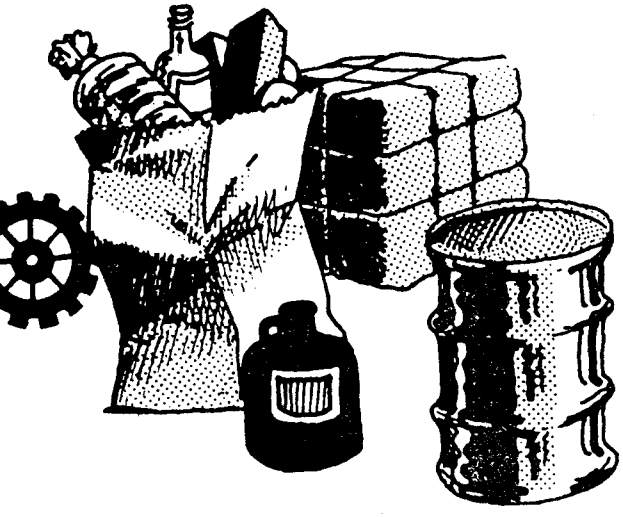
PAYROLL DISTRIBUTION
FY82: 80.2 MILLION

* DISTRIBUTION CALCULATED BASED ON STANDARDS PRESCRIBED BY AFM 173-140

YEARLY TREND



UTILITIES



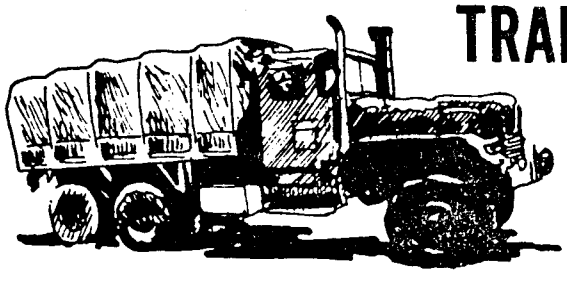
SUPPLIES

EQUIPMENT

CONTRACT SERVICES

PURCHASES

COMMUNICATIONS



TRANSPORTATION

TRAVEL

& STORAGE OF HOUSEHOLD GOODS

- PURCHASE EXPENDITURES -

In addition to payroll monies spent locally, Malmstrom Air Force Base expended about $36.6 million in FY82 for materials, supplies, commodities, and services required for operation of the base. Expenditures include dollars spent for services, construction, supplies, and equipment by civilian agencies located on base. This is a 3% increase over expenditures made in FY81. Included in the purchase expenditures are Federal Impact and CHAMPUS funds which are government expenditures directly related to the existence of Malmstrom Air Force Base.

Aircraft Petroleum, Oils, and Lubricants (POL)

About $10 million were spent for POL. These funds were primarily for jet fuel. This expenditure is 22% more than funds spent in FY81. Most of this fuel came from refineries in the area and was delivered to the base by local truckers.

Facilities Maintenance and Construction

This item includes the cost of maintaining and repairing base facilities including base housing as well as expenditures for work done by contractors on such projects as: Small Arms Range Modification, Regional Sewage Connection. Local craftsmen are normally employed on maintenance and construction projects, and in FY82 about $8.2 million were spent for these projects. This was 44% more than was spent in FY81.

Supplies

Automotive parts, building materials, paper products, and housekeeping supplies are typical items included in more than $5.8 million spent last year to sustain the base operations and associated activities. This expenditure is 12% above funds spent in FY81.

Utilities and Rent

Almost $3.7 million were spent for electricity, water, gas, and rental of engineering and copying equipment. This expenditure decreased 21% from costs incurred in FY81. In comparison to FY81 data: water consumption increased by 3% and unit rates remained the same; electricity consumption decreased by 2% and unit rates increased 28%; gas consumption increased by 13% and unit rates increased 10%. Utilities for Malmstrom and facilities throughout the entire missile complex are purchased from Montana Power and other utility companies in the area.

Local Purchases - Clubs and Commissary

About $1.4 million were spent locally by the noncommissioned officer (NCO) and Officers' Clubs (Open Messes), and the Commissary. Purchases included food and beverages for the clubs and local purchases by the Commissary. These purchases include items such as: dairy products, soft drinks, vegetables, and bakery goods. Not included are costs for commodities obtained through Department of Defense procurement agencies on the national level rather than through local suppliers.

Contract Services

About $2.3 million were spent on this item which includes educational services, laundry, custodial services, food service, and medical services. This represents a 12% decrease from expenditures in FY81.

CHAMPUS

The Civilian Health and Medical Program of Uniformed Services (CHAMPUS) provides a wide range of civilian health care service to eligible beneficiaries with a significant share of the costs paid by the Federal government. Eligible beneficiaries are: spouses and children of active duty personnel, retired military and their dependents, spouses and children of

those military personnel who die on active duty or when entitled to survivor benefits.

During FY82, $2,253,833 in bills charged to CHAMPUS were received from the Great Falls area medical profession. Hospitals and physicans shared in this outlay which covered inpatient services. Patients were from Malmstrom, Great Falls, and other communities from over 100 miles of Malmstrom. This $2.3 million (a 44% increase over FY81 expenditures) represents only part of CHAMPUS monies which flow into the state and local area. Payments for outpatient service, prescription drugs, and services for the handicapped are made through other agencies.

Federal Impact Funds

Educating children of military and other Federal employees creates an additional expense for local school systems. The Federal government has in the past reimbursed these school systems based on the number of such children in school. In FY82 the Great Falls School District received $880,446 under this program. In other educational activities, the College of Great Falls, University of Montana, and Northern Montana College received about $812,000 in tuition fees for military personnel, their dependents and civilian employees engaged in off-duty education involving both undergraduate and graduate level programs.

Travel of Personnel

Over $600,000 were spent for travel of personnel. This is a 10% increase over funds spent in FY81. These expenditures are for travel, temporary duty, and rental of vehicles essential for operation of the base.

Communications

Almost half a million dollars were paid for communications. This

represents an increase of 13% over FY81 expenditures.

Purchased Equipment Maintenance

Over $400,000 was spent last year for equipment maintenance. This expenditure was primarily for repair of Air Force vehicles by contract, tire recapping, and repair of communications/electronic equipment. This is an increase of 22% over FY81 expenditures.

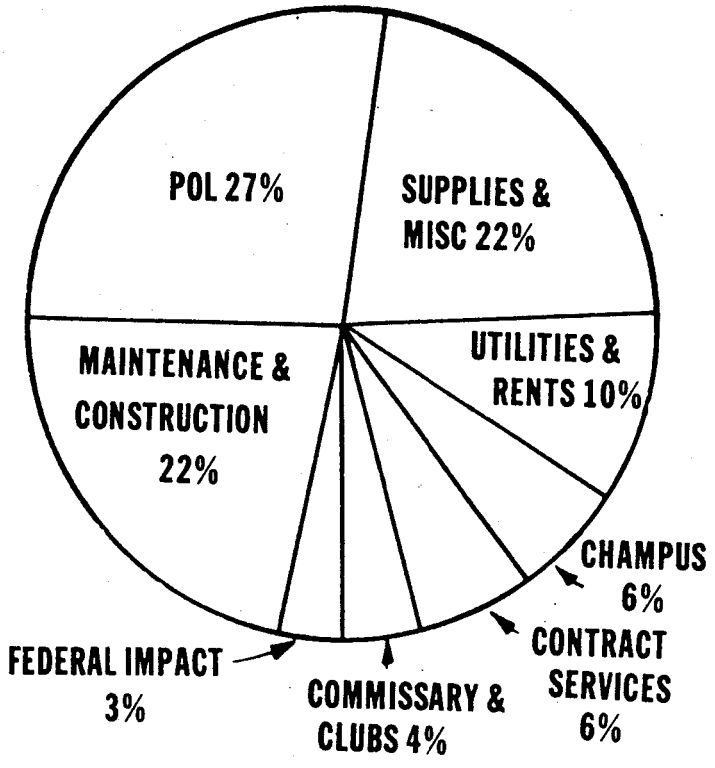
Equipment

Over $500,000 was spent for individual equipment, furniture for dormitories, office equipment such as typewriters and furniture, shop equipment and tools for missile and vehicle maintenance. This figure represents a 148% increase over FY81 expenditures.

Transportation of Property

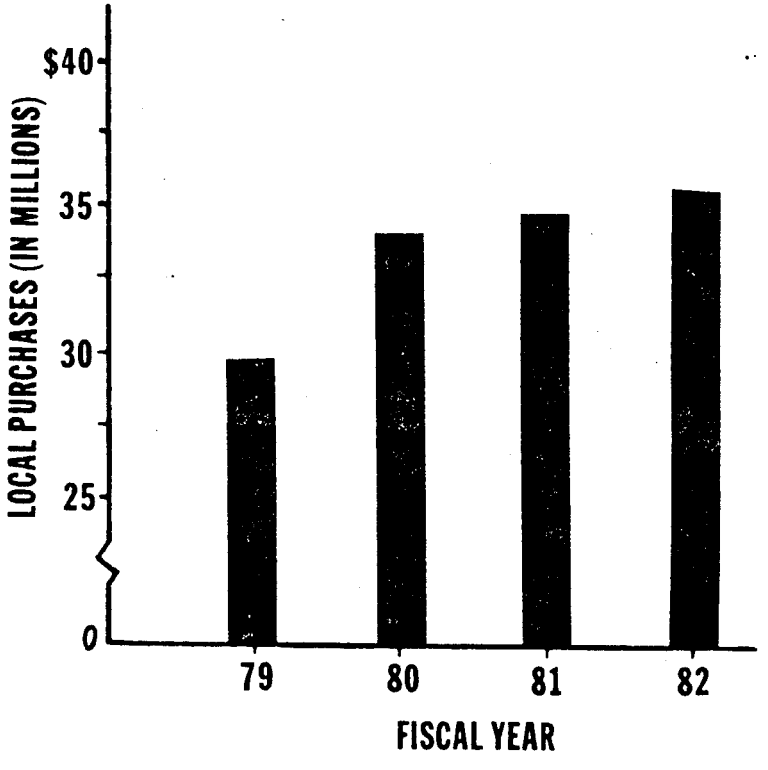
Almost $200,000 was spent for commercial transportation of personal and Air Force property. Personal property includes such items as household goods belonging to Air Force personnel. The cost of shipping Air Force equipment to repair depots is included in this expenditure. A 16% increase was noted over FY81.

LOCAL PURCHASES EXPENDITURE DISTRIBUTION FY82: 36.6 MILLION



PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

YEARLY TREND



MANPOWER

DATA

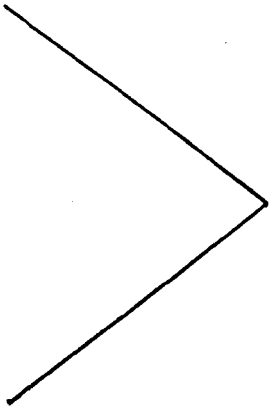
- POPULATION -

GOVERNMENT

MILITARY	4327	
CIVIL SERVICE	516	
NON-APPROPRIATED FUND (NAF)	207	
		5050

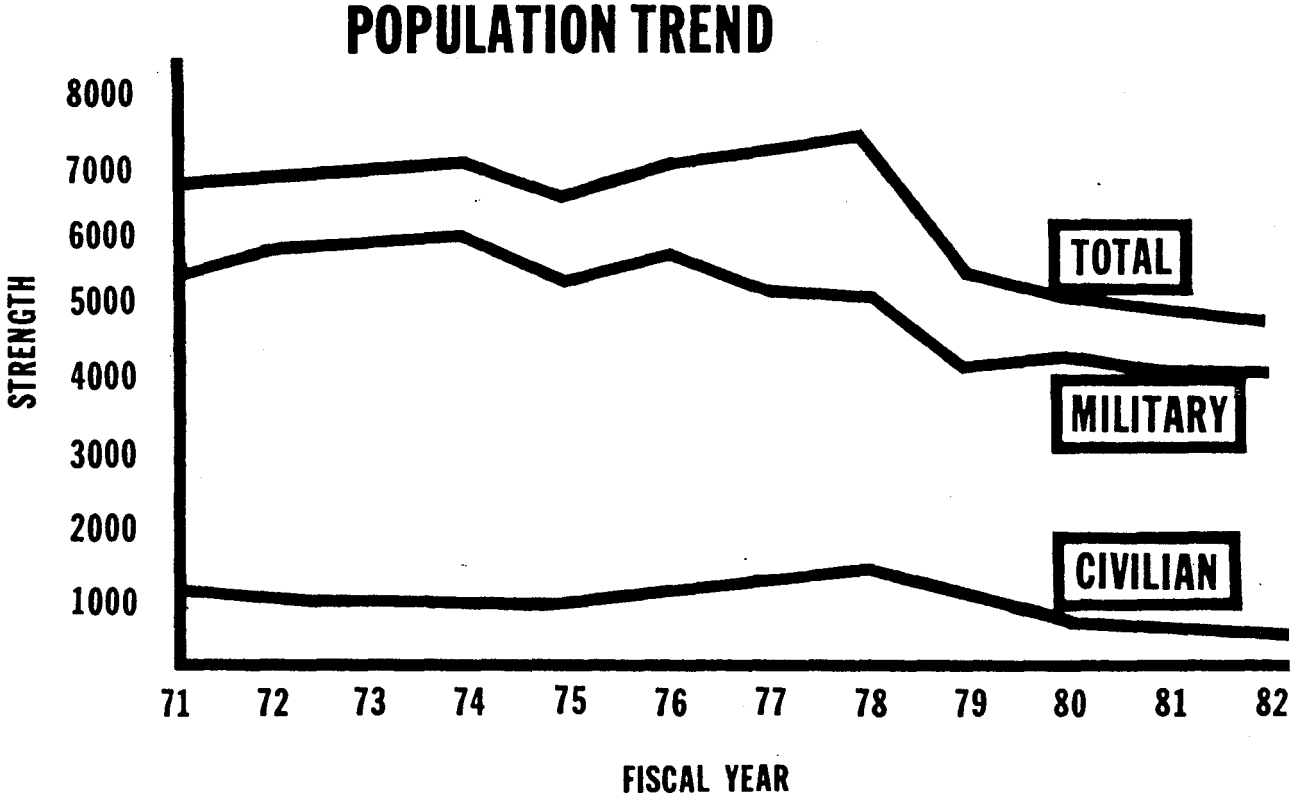
NON-GOVERNMENT

BASE EXCHANGE
CREDIT UNION
MOUNTAIN BELL
AFIT
BANK
RED CROSS
EDUCATION OFFICE



186

TOTAL PERSONNEL 5236


POPULATION TREND
8000
7000
6000
5000
4000
3000
2000
1000
STRENGTH
TOTAL
MILITARY
CIVILIAN
71
72
73
74
75
76
77
78
79
80
81
82
FISCAL YEAR

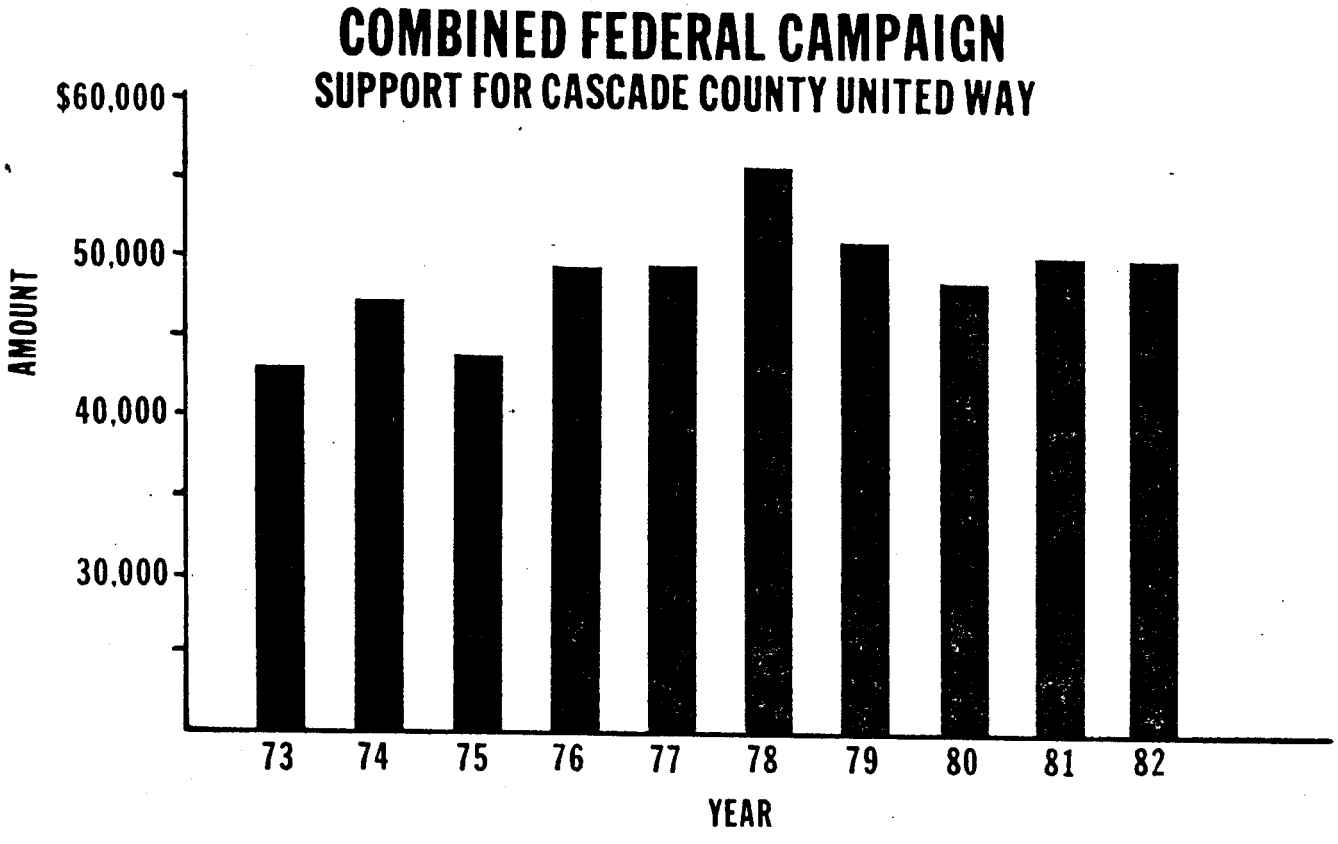
COMMUNITY SERVICES

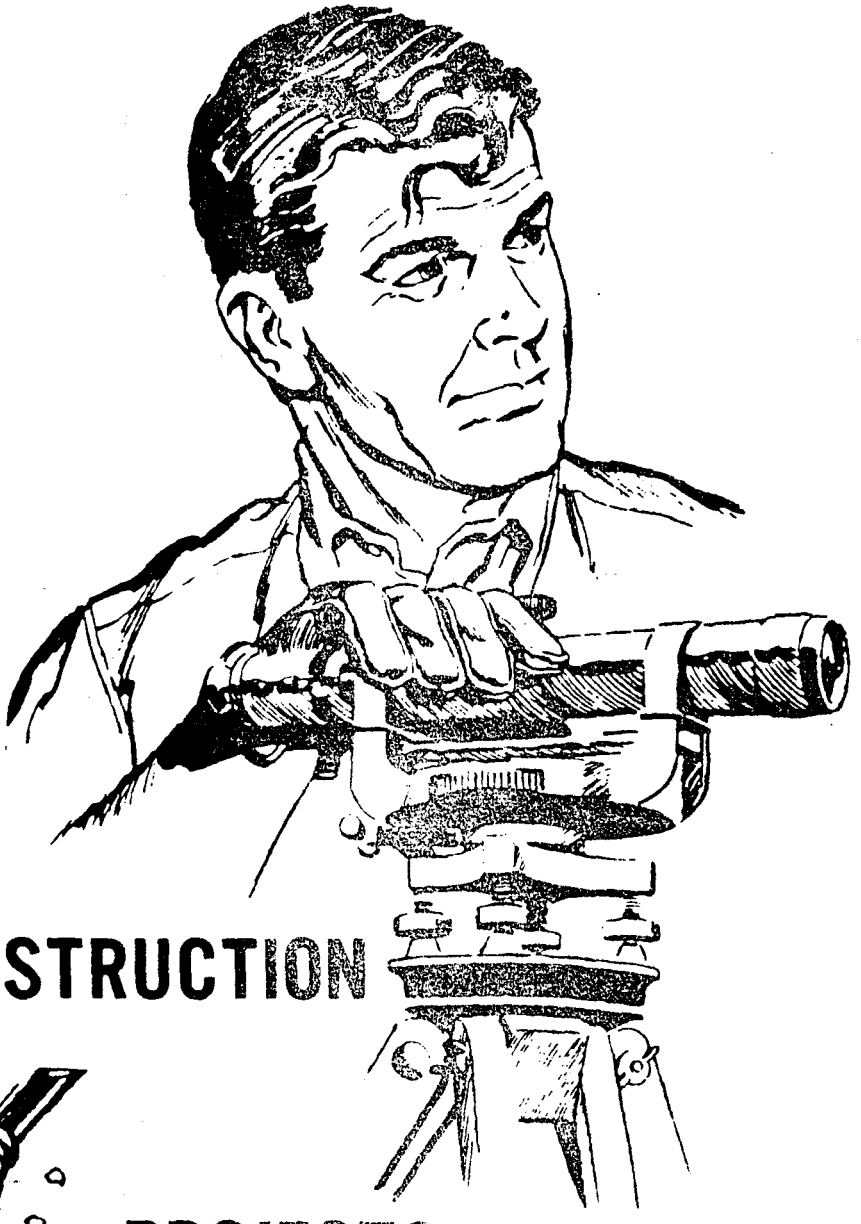
- COMMUNITY SERVICES -

Although this study stresses the financial impact of the base on the local economy, Malmstrom's value to the community cannot be assessed entirely in dollars. Malmstrom personnel are here to perform their military function, but Malmstrom people also contribute many services which add much to the civic and cultural well-being of Central Montana. While space does not permit discussion of every instance of involvement, specific examples are listed below.

To help meet medical needs of the community, a total of 939 units of blood were donated. About 19,000 hours of recorded volunteer service was donated to local charities such as churches, the Muscular Dystrophy Association, Salvation Army, March of Dimes, and the Special Education Center. Individual participation in other community activities involved people serving as volunteer workers, officials, and coaches in organizations such as youth sports, Scouting, Big Brothers and Sisters, the Crisis Center, Mercy Home, Red Cross, Rescue Mission, and MAPRIL Spruce-up. Members of Detachment 5, 37th Air Rescue and Recovery Squadron flew sorties in support of medical evacuation and search/rescue operations. Because of those missions, seven lives were saved.

Malmstrom personnel consistently support the United Way of Cascade County during the annual Combined Federal Campaign. The graph on the following page depicts Malmstrom's support of the Cascade United Way over the last ten years.


COMBINED FEDERAL CAMPAIGN
SUPPORT FOR CASCADE COUNTY UNITED WAY
$60,000
50,000
40,000
30,000
AMOUNT
73
74
75
76
77
78
79
80
81
82
YEAR



MILITARY CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS

- THE CURRENT YEAR . . .

The operation of Malmstrom Air Force Base and its associated activities will continue to have a favorable impact on the economy of Central Montana. The base will continue to need supplies, equipment, and services. Also, the Malmstrom family will continue to need housing, services, and commodities supplied by local enterprises.

BIG things are in store for Malmstrom in 1983, namely, a new coal-fired central heating plant. Construction is scheduled to begin this year and should be completed in 1986. In addition, the twenty launch control facilities are scheduled for renovation, and a number of remodeling projects on selected family housing units will also begin.

. . . AND BEYOND -

Malmstrom has set its sites high for the decade of the 80s. The following charts show future as well as current projects.

NOTE: ALL FUTURE PROJECTS (FY84 AND BEYOND) ARE AS YET UNFUNDED AND COST PROJECTION TOTALS ARE ONLY ESTIMATES.

- THE CURRENT YEAR . . .

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- FY84 -
FUTURE PROJECTS
(NOT FUNDED)

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION PROGRAM	
Child Care Center, Addition/Alteration	
Strategic Training Range, Havre MT	
Strategic Training Range, Forsyth MT	
	$19,000,000
BASE O&M	
Cathodic Protection System (100 Launch Facilities)	
Repair/Alter Building 762	
Repair and Resurface Runway and Taxiways 'T' and 'O'	
	10,300,000
FAMILY HOUSING	
Siding Replacement (approx 210 Capehart)	
Kitchen Cabinet Replacement (approx 150 Capehart)	
Repair and Overlay Lincoln Drive	
Garage Siding Replacement, Lincoln Drive	
	2,200,000
	$31,500,000

- FY85 -
FUTURE PROJECTS
(NOT FUNDED)

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS	
Solid State ILS Support	
Strategic Training Range Sites (3)	$29,300,000
BASE O&M	
Resurface Base Roads	
Alter/Repair Railroad Tracks	
Replace Taxiways	
Repair/Alter Dorm 635	2,000,000
FAMILY HOUSING	
Siding Replacement (approx 150 Capehart)	
Level Foundations/Correct Drainage (approx 50 Relocatable)	
Replace Windows (approx 100 Relocatable)	2,000,000
	$33,300,000

- FY86 -
FUTURE PROJECTS
(NOT FUNDED)

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS

Composite Medical Facility	
Base Gymnasium	
	$35,800,000

FAMILY HOUSING

Replace Entrance Doors (approx 710 Capehart)	
Replace Dining/Living Room Windows (approx 560 Capehart)	
Repair and Overlay Malmstrom Drive	
Repair Window Wells, Malmstrom Drive Wherry	
	2,400,000
	$38,200,000

IMPACT SUMMARY
FY 82

ECONOMIC IMPACT = $233.6 MILLION

CASCADE COUNTY UNITED WAY = $50,000

SERVICE HOURS = 19,000

Ex 13
HJR 13

Members of the Committee, my name is Roger Young. I am executive vice president of the Great Falls Area Chamber of Commerce. Our organization is comprised of approximately 800 firms; 1360 business men and women are on our membership rolls.

I appear before you to testify that the Great Falls Area Chamber of Commerce opposes the passage of HJR 10 which makes the suggestion that Montana be considered as the initial site for nuclear arms reductions. Such a suggestion has to be interpreted only as encouragement that Malmstrom Air Force be closed. My testimony will be to urge the Montana Legislature to seriously consider the adverse economic and social consequences of such a grave matter.

The 1983 Montana State Legislature is meeting at a time when most people are saying that the Number One concern of Montanans is jobs and the state of the economy. The Montana Poll says economic development is the priority concern of most Montanans. We are all very concerned these days about sending out the right signals about Montana's attitude toward development. As legislators, you must be very careful when you consider HJR's 8, 10 and 13, that you will be sending the right signals --- not just on what some consider to be the "moral" issues of disarmament, but also on the economic impact your action will have on the state. Let's not throw the baby out with the bath-water, or cut our noses off to spite our face.

Montana communities are familiar with the difficulties of being dependent on single industries: Butte and Anaconda on its mining; Libby, Missoula and Kalispell on forest produects; Bozeman, Missoula, and Dillon on the University System; Havre on the railroad; Deer Lodge on the State Prison; and Helena on state government. In Great Falls the economic underpinnings have come from the Anaconda Company and Malmstrom Air Force Base. The drastic consequences of losing that single important industry has been demonstrated in

Montana more than once. We also have had some experience with the difficulties in replacing the jobs lost. Empty, barren, Glasgow Air Force Base stands as testimony to the difficulty in filling up a former military installation that was once home for 10,000.

Everyone in the state is pretty well aware, I think, that Agriculture is the number one industry in the state. But the important role of the federal payroll is less known. Figures released by the Bureau of Business and Economic Research at the University of Montana recently showed that the Federal government is the largest single source of nonfarm basic income in this state. Other than the Forest Service, most of that income is military related, either directly through Malmstrom Air Force Base or at the Montana Air National Guard, both in Great Falls.

Since the closure of the ACM refinery, Great Falls is even more dependent on Malmstrom and the ripple effect of its primary/basic earnings income than ever. Two years ago the U of M's Bureau of Business and Economic Research theorized that more than 50% of all our primary jobs were either federal military or federal civilian related. The multiplier effect of a government job on other jobs in the community cannot be underestimated.

Figures released by the Air Force last week pinpoint the economic impact of Malmstrom Air Force Base on Great Falls and its surrounding trade area for FY82 to have been $233.6 million. Payroll for 5236 persons employed at Malmstrom for the period October 1, 1981 to September 30, 1982 totaled $80.2 million - - - 5% above the previous year. Local purchases of materials, supplies, commodities and services required for operation of the base totaled $36.6 million, a 3% increase from last year. This combined payroll and local expenditure budget totals $116.8 million and applying a conservative multiplier of 2 to it accounts for the total economic impact of $223.6 million. Let me emphasize that impact is on all of Montana's economy, not just on Great Falls and Central Montana. Pass HJR10 and you are saying Montana can do without this impact!

Great Falls is exerting considerable effort to broadening its economic base. Through the efforts of the Economic Growth Council we are striving to develop a more diversified industrial, agricultural processing base. We want to become less of a single-industry town. However, in the meantime, we are doing all we can to preserve the important jobs we have and that means working to make the most of the assets we have. ~~One~~ such asset is a fantastic runway at Malmstrom . . . a ~~runway now currently largely unused since the phasing out of a flying mission at the base in 1979. We have been working to attract an acceptable, compatible flying mission before the runways lack of use results in its deterioration, and it is lost as an economic development asset for the state.~~

~~Although things are still far from nailed down, Malmstrom is very much in the running to become the headquarters for the Strategic Air Commands Strategic Training Range Complex. It could mean more than 2000 permanent civilian and military jobs and many, many millions of dollars in construction. It remains to be seen whether this new mission will be funded but chances are very good since it represents a consolidation-economy move for the military; very much in line with efforts to find economies in government spending.~~

Although things are still far from nailed down, Malmstrom is very much in the running to become the headquarters for the Stragegic Air Commands Strategic Training Range Complex. It could mean more than 2000 permanent civilian and military jobs and many, many millions of dollars in construction. It remains to be seen whether this new mission will be funded but chances are very good since it represents a consolidation-economy move for the military; very much in line with efforts to find economics in government spending. Think of it, 2000 new, primary, income/basic earnings jobs for Montana! Why, thats nearly half those lost in this state in the last year or two!

Malmstrom and Montana however, aren't the only contenders for this new mission. North and South Dakota and their bases can also accommodate the mission. Pass HJR10, send out the wrong signals about how Montana appreciates its military presense and you jeopardize Montana's chances for jobs - - - the primary issue of this Legislature.

We are grateful for the support Governor Schwinden has given this new mission. With the deactivation of the 24th NORAD Region's Headquarters at Malmstrom this coming July, Governor Schwinden wrote this to Congress and the Air Force: "I feel that these mission changes leave Montana in a less than satisfactory position in regards to our share in and support of the nation's defense posture. Montana should play a more active military defense role". In asking for the Strategic Training Mission Governor Schwinden added, "I feel that the people of Montana are supportive of an expanded effort in the defense of our nation".

We in Great Falls and Cascade County have always been mystified by the fear so many well-intentioned people have for the military presence in this state. Maybe that's our fault. The missiles of the 341st Strategic Missile Wing have fit so comfortably and unobtrusively into our landscape and lives that we see them only as our neighbors and friends.

We are surprised that our fellow Montanas are so insensitive to the consquences of suggesting that the entire disarmament process of the world begin at Malmstrom. We would never have suggested the closure of the Berkley Pit, the shutdown of Champion International or the University at Missoula. Why? Because we appreciate the economic consequences of such acts.

We ask the Legislature and this Committee to likewise be conizant of our situation and need to oppose HJR10. If you must support one of these measures - - - and we are not sure this is the type of issue the Legislature of Montana should even be considering - - - we urge you support the concept of mutual-bilateral disarmament embodied in HJR13.

I-91 spoke to preventing something from happening in Montana. I believe the vote was for the status quo; it was reactive and not for a pro-active solution like that suggested in HJR10.

HJR13

The Big Sky Country

MONTANA STATE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Rep. John E. Phillips
District No. 43
Box 7031
Great Falls, MT 59406

Committees:
State Administration,
Fish & Game

February 7, 1983

Testimony on House Joint Resolution #13

Madam Chairperson and members of the committee for the record I am Representative John Phillips, House District 43.

We have been discussing an issue that is of grave concern to the people of our nation and I'm sure to most people throughout the world.

The basic question is how can we prevent a nuclear conflict, stop the arms race, and start a genuine reduction in our massive arms arsenal.

I believe the goal of all here today is one and the same, but the method of how it is to be accomplished is where our beliefs differ. Some believe that if we stop the Soviet Union will follow suit. Recent history has proven this to be a false concept. In the Johnson years, when we had a clear superiority in ICBMs, we said OK we will stop building and the Soviets will stop when they catch up. I think some information I furnished you earlier clearly indicates that they haven't stopped and from the facts presented do not intend to stop until they clearly lead the race.

Most of us probably agree that there must be negotiations for any real progress, but to negotiate effectively we must be able to do it from a position of strength.

There is an argument that we already have more warheads, but you have to examine the type of systems each has and their effectiveness. We should be concerned with ICBMs which in reality are as close as our own back yard and that is where I submit to you the Soviets have placed their efforts. Seventy-five percent of their warheads versus twenty-two percent of ours are riding atop an ICBM.

I have heard the term offensive and first strike in regards to missiles. I suppose any weapon from a baseball bat on up would be offensive if you wanted to use it in that manner. But I ask you why would we go to such measures of hardening our Minuteman silos for survivability or trying to find a survival basing mode for the MX if we were thinking first strike.

There are probably people in the Kremlin who would have smiles on their faces if they were witnessing our proceedings here today. While not intentionally, I'm sure we are sending signals that our country is divided on this subject and may not be keeping our resolve to maintain a strong defense. The resolution before you urges all to refrain from actions that would impair the success of ongoing negotiations.

With difficult times in our economy the matter of defense spending seems to have turned into a "guns or butter" type issue. I believe it is wrong to pit our defense needs against our social needs.

Our constitution states that we must "provide for the common defense" and "promote the general welfare." It is not either/or. We can and must do both. Air Marshal Sir John Slessor said, "It is customary in democratic countries to deplore expenditures on armaments as conflicting with the requirements of the social services. There is a tendency to forget that the most important social service a government can do for its people is to keep them alive and free."

I urge you to support HJR #13

Ex 15
HJR 13

Amendments to House Joint Resolution 13 (Introduced copy)

1. Page 1, lines 19 and 20.
Strike: "on the initiative of the United States, two important sets of"

2. Page 1, line 21.
Strike: "well"

Page 1, line 24.
Following: "Organization"
Insert: "and the Warsaw Pack"

3. Page 1, line 25.
Following: "negotiations"
Insert: "both"
Following: "States"
Strike: "has"
Insert: "and the Soviet Union have"

4. Page 2, line 1.
Strike : "serious and"

5. Page 2, lines 2 and 3.
Strike: ", focusing on the most destabilizing weapons of both powers"

6. Page 2, lines 5 and 6.
Strike: "the negotiations are moving in the direction of substantial reductions and that"

7. Page 2, line 24.
Following: "feasible,"
Insert: "limitations on first-strike capable weaponry and"

8. Page 3, line 4.
Following: "their"
Insert: "accuracy, short flight time, ease of concealment or"

9. Page 3, line 5.
Following: "destructiveness"
Strike: "and speed"

10. Page 3, lines 10 and 11.
Strike: "and refrain from actions that could denigrate them or impair their success"

Ex 16
HJR 1

Testimony regarding House Joint Resolution 13, offered February 7, 1983,

by Sherman H. Janke, 415 North 17th Avenue, Bozeman 59715

At first glance and under casual inspection, anyone's reaction to this resolution would likely be, "How could we do other than support negotiations aimed at strategic and theater nuclear arms reduction?" Yet I would suggest that citizens in general, and in the case of this resolution compared to others before the Montana legislature, the committee members in particular might well probe the motivation and actual objectives of the present national administration.

I. Regarding European theater negotiations

A. The negotiations may be an attempt to placate or defuse, as it were, the peace movement, as manifested by recent large street demonstrations in European cities.

B. They may further be a move to reassure, or even use, NATO allies so as to maintain their support, especially for the eventual deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles in Europe.

C. They may be a ruse to cause, or attempt to cause, the Soviets to believe that the administration is sincere in its desire to bring about reductions in theater nuclear weapons.

D. To support B. and C., consider a quotation from Paul Nitze, chief theater force negotiator:

" A sound negotiating position is.... an essential element in the ideological conflict. For some time after a decision to build up strength, any offer of, or attempt at negotiation of a general settlement...could be only a tactic. Nevertheless, concurrently with a decision and a start on building up the strength of the free world, it may be desirable to pursue this tactic both to gain public support for the program and to minimize the immediate risks of war."

From the document National Security Council 68, April 1950

" There are two senses in which we can say they (arms negotiations) will succeed. Are we going to reach an agreement with the Russians? I do not know and I will not promise....The other measure of success is our relations with our allies....On that I think we can win and we should win and we will win. I think we will come out of this with stronger alliances than when we started."

Arms Control and Disarmament Agency Director (until recently) Eugene Rostow, in testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, November 1981

E. One must question whether United States proposals, termed "serious" in Line 1, page 2 of the Resolution, can be so regarded by the Soviets, especially the "zero option" plan under which the USSR would dismantle all its medium range missiles targeted at Europe, in exchange for which the US would not deploy its cruise and Pershing II missiles. Such a plan would leave 162 submarine-based missiles, French and British, intact.

F. If, on the basis of proposals which the Soviets cannot accept in the absence of a US willingness to be flexible and to compromise, the negotiations fail, the Administration can in effect say, "We tried, and we told you so; an agreement cannot be reached." This would provide justification for the deployment of the cruise and Pershing missiles which were intended for installation all the time.

II. Regarding the START negotiations

A.

B. The same as points A, B, and C with respect to theater talks

C.

D. Again we must question whether current US proposals can be accepted by the Soviet Union

1. The President has proposed a limit of 2500 warheads on land based ICBM's.

2. The US currently deploys 2152 warheads on 1052 land-based ICBM's.

3. The Soviet Union presently deploys about 4904 warheads on 1393 land-based ICBM's.

4. By contrast, the US now has 4768 warheads on submarine-based missiles, about 50- 60% of which are combat-ready (actually on patrol at sea) at any time.

5. The USSR has at present about 1494 warheads atop submarine-launched ballistic missiles, about 15- 20% of which are on patrol at a given time.

6. Clearly we would be able to deploy an additional, say 35 MX missiles with 10 warheads each, while the other side would have to reduce. (Development and deployment of MX is allowed under SALT II.)

III. In the light of these considerations, I would urge the Montana Senators and representatives to reject HJR 13 in its present form, and to support HJR 8 which upholds the freeze concept, and HJR 10, which opposes the further deployment of nuclear warheads on any launch vehicle, within Montana.

Respectfully submitted,

Sherman H. Janke

Sherman H. Janke

VISITOR'S REGISTER

HOUSE HUMAN SERVICES COMMITTEE

BILL HJR 13 DATE 2-7-83

SPONSOR NORDTVEDT

NAME	RESIDENCE	REPRESENTING	SUP-PORT	OP-POSE
Tom Cumming	Helena	American Legion	X	
Cindy Donovan	GT. Falls	Self	X	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	X	
[illegible]	BOZEMAN	Self		X
Roy W Young	Great Falls	Chamber of Commerce	X	
[illegible]	Great Falls	Self	X	
Dave Nasdoll	Helena	Self		X
Betty Silvas	Helena	[illegible]		X
KH. STEVART	BILLINGS	SELF		
Rob Sand	RR1 Box 121-B Charlo	self		X
Lisa Fleschen	Polo	self		X
Will Kelsie	514 Sherwood Missoula	self		X
Bill Tulyi	" Mola, Mt.	self		X
Rit Bellis	507 TOOLE AVE HEL	self		X
Cindy J. Olson	Helena	Mt Nurses Assoc.	X	
S.H. JANKE	BOZEMAN	SELF		X
Frank Skiles	Avon	self		X
Mane Skiles	Avon	self		X
Ed Kammerer	Helena	Self		X
Kathleen Driscoll	Missoula	Mont. Dem. Democratic Party		X

IF YOU CARE TO WRITE COMMENTS, ASK SECRETARY FOR LONGER FORM.

WHEN TESTIFYING PLEASE LEAVE PREPARED STATEMENT WITH SECRETARY.

FORM CS-33
1-83

THE EUROPEAN INTERMEDIATE RANGE BALLISTIC MISSILE DEBATE

Current Deployment:

Warsaw Pact	NATO and France
222 SS-20 missiles	162 British and French land and
300 SS-4, SS-5 missiles	submarine based missiles
522 TOTAL	162 TOTAL

Deployment by 1985 without Arms Control:

Warsaw Pact	NATO and France
522 or more total	162
	108 U.S. Pershing II missiles
	464 U.S. Cruise missiles
	734 TOTAL

U.S. Arms Control Proposal (zero-zero plan):

Warsaw Pact	NATO and France
none	162 British and French missiles

Soviet Union Arms Control Proposal:

Warsaw Pact	NATO and France
162 missiles	162 missiles

Current European Theatre Nuclear Warhead Deployment (including short-range "tactical" weapons):

Warsaw Pact	NATO and France
4,000	7,000

PROBLEMS WITH HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 13

Page 1, lines 19-22 - The current negotiations were not initiated solely by the U.S. In fact, President Reagan delayed negotiations until he'd been in office eighteen months. Whether right or wrong, the U.S. has often "linked" arms negotiations with other world events. The USSR rejects the notion of linkage.

Page 1, line 25 to page 2, line 1 - Few international arms control experts consider the Reagan START proposals to be serious. Most agree that these proposals ask the Soviet Union to give up much more than the U.S. Specifically, they call for major reductions in the one area that the Soviets can be considered equal to the U.S., land-based missiles. The areas where the U.S. is clearly superior, submarines and aircraft, were not mentioned in the proposals.

Similarly, Reagan's intermediate-range missile proposals were unbalanced. Reagan has refused to let British and French forces, as well as U.S. submarines, be brought into the discussion. These weapons are clearly part of the European nuclear balance.

Page 2, lines 2-3 - The most destabilizing weapons are those which are very accurate or are unverifiable. The START proposals would not prevent development of MX missiles, Minuteman III missiles with Mark 12A warheads, or the Trident D-5 missiles. All of these are accurate and powerful enough to be considered first-strike capable.

The cruise missile, due to its size, mobility and versatility, would be virtually unverfiable for arms control purposes. The START proposals would not prevent development of these weapons either.

Page 2, lines 4-6 - Negotiations are presently moving nowhere and Reagan's arms control policy is said to be in a state of disarray. Many experts believe that this situation is due to U.S. intransigence.

Page 2, lines 24-25 - The best confidence building measure would be to halt deployment of first-strike capable weapons. Doing this would also do the most to prevent accidental nuclear war. This is why an immediate freeze is vital. The USSR has unilaterally pledged to never be the first to use nuclear weapons. The U.S. has refused to make this pledge.

A first-strike against the U.S. would be impossible due to the current invulnerability of our submarine and bomber forces. On the other hand, the USSR is much more vulnerable due to its arsenal being primarily land-based, its lack of an intercontinental bomber force and the relative unsophistication of its submarines.

Any discussion of confidence building or accidental nuclear war should mention first-strike weaponry.

Page 3, lines 4-6 - Destructiveness has little to do with a weapon being destabilizing. Speed has nothing to do with it. Unless they are accurate, powerful weapons are deterrent, not destabilizing. In general, destructiveness has not been increased for at least fifteen years. It is the move to smaller, more accurate MIRVed missiles which is destabilizing. The U.S. has taken the lead in these advances.

While speed has nothing to do with stability, flight time does. It is for this reason that the proposed deployment of Pershing II missiles by the U.S. would be destabilizing. It's flight time to the USSR would be six minutes. The USSR has nothing comparable aimed at the U.S.

Interestingly, HJR 13 does not mention accuracy as being a component of instability. This is a major failing.

Page 3, lines 9-10 - Given that the negotiations are being run by recognized hawks and that their objective seems to be to establish U.S. nuclear superiority, support for them should be qualified. The head of the START team, a recent appointee, is generally seen as being unqualified and inexperienced. Negotiations should be supported, but not necessarily the Reagan administration's approach to them.

Page 3, lines 10-11 - This seems to be a veiled criticism of the recent upsurge in public involvement in the disarmament debate. It also reinforces the notion that it is solely the government's responsibility to seek and achieve disarmament.

Undoubtedly, it was the great outcry, here and in Europe, against Reagan's hawkish statements which caused him to finally agree to negotiate with the Soviets.

"People want peace so much that one of these days governments had better get out of their way and let them have it."
--Dwight D. Eisenhower

GENERAL COMMENTS

This resolution implies that the Reagan administration is deeply committed to arms negotiations and control. Besides what has already been mentioned, other facts belie this implication.

1. Last summer Reagan suspended negotiations on a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

2. The Soviets have offered to freeze now. The Reagan administration has rejected this offer.

3. SALT II remains unratified and unsupported by Reagan.

4. The Reagan administration has announced that it is considering renegotiating (read abrogating) the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty.

With the passage of Initiative 91, Montanans clearly rejected the notion that the only thing to be done for peace is to support administration actions.

"We are living in a pre-war and not a post-war world."
--Eugene Rostow;

Reagan's Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency until forced to resign for being too flexible with the Soviets.

—

"I want to come out of it number one, not number two."
--James B. Edwards;

Secretary of Energy, on nuclear war.

—

START "may be a secret agenda for sidetracking disarmament while the United States gets on with rearmament--in a hopeless quest for superiority in these things."

"Today's bargaining chips are tomorrow's deployed forces."
--Edmund Muskie;

Former Secretary of State

—

"The United States should plan to defeat the Soviet Union and to do so at a cost that would not prohibit U.S. recovery."
--Colin Gray;

Arms control advisor to the Reagan government.

—

"If you believe there's no such thing as a nuclear winner, the argument (that nuclear superiority is meaningless) makes sense. I don't believe that."
--Vice President George Bush

—

"The (nuclear) contest is increasingly turning into a qualitative race whose outcome can yield meaningful superiority."
--Richard Pipes;

Former senior Soviet specialist on Reagan's National Security Council staff.

"The Russians are much more exposed to a possible first-strike from us than we are to one from them."

--Hans Bethe;

Nobel Prize winning physicist and member of the Manhattan project team.

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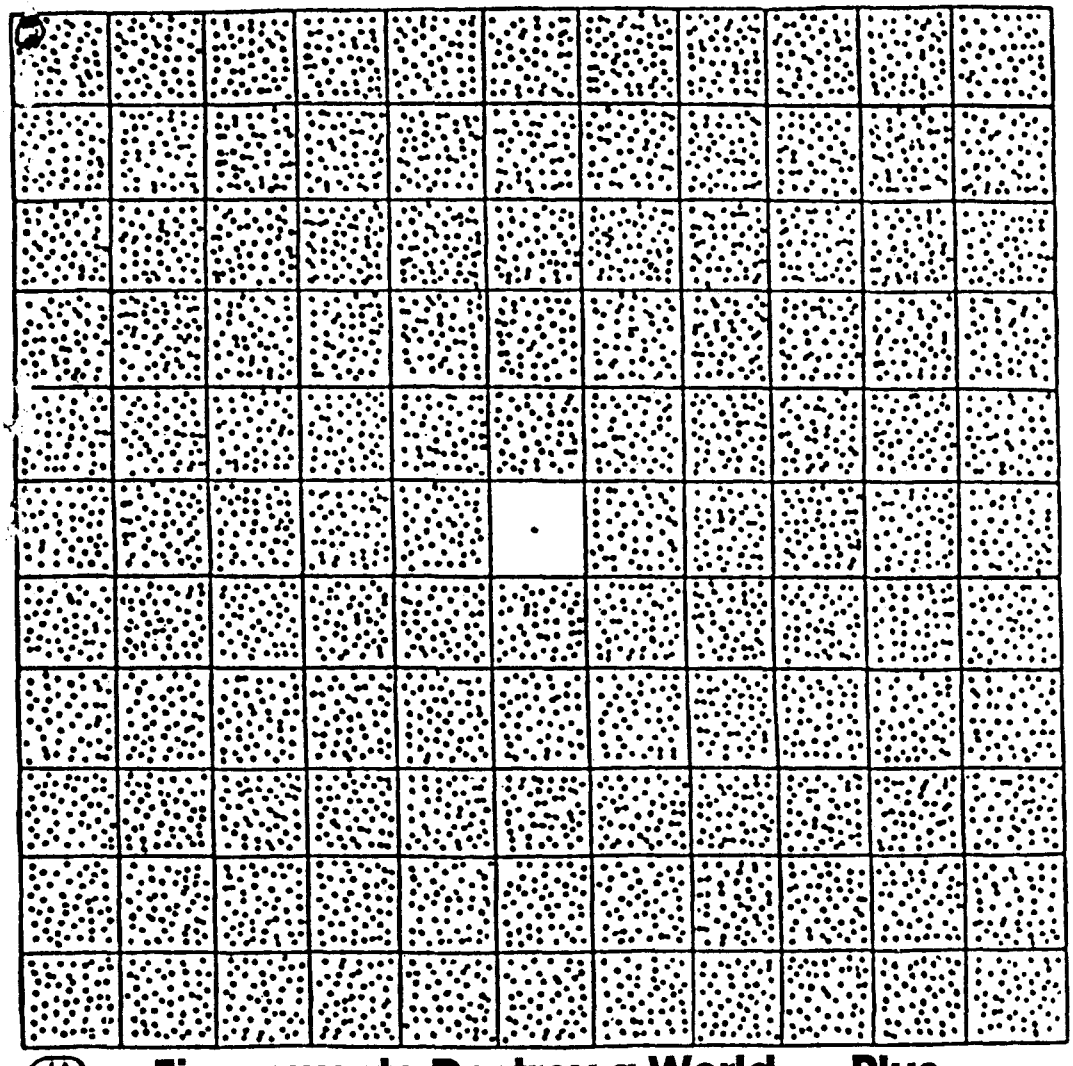
November 1, 1982

FRIENDS JOURNAL

Quaker Thought and Life Today



Firepower to Destroy a World . . . Plus

The dot in the center square represents all the firepower of World War II—3 megatons. The other dots represent the firepower in existing nuclear weapons—18,000 megatons (equal to 6,000 WW IIs). About half belong to the Soviet Union, the other half to the U.S.

The top left circle represents the weapons on just one Poseidon submarine—9 megatons (equal to the firepower of 3 WW IIs)—enough to destroy over 200 of the largest Soviet cities. The U.S. has 31 such subs and 10 similar Polaris subs. The lower left circle represents one new Trident sub—24 megatons (equal to the firepower of 8 WW IIs)—enough to destroy every major city in the northern hemisphere. The Soviets have similar levels of destructive power.

Place a dime on the chart; the covered dots represent enough firepower to destroy all the large and medium-size cities in the entire world. What are you going to do with the rest of your coins?

CALL TO HALT THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE

To improve national and international security, the United States and the Soviet Union should stop the nuclear arms race. Specifically, they should adopt a mutual freeze on the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons and of missiles and new aircraft designed primarily to deliver nuclear weapons. This is an essential, verifiable first step toward lessening the risk of nuclear war and reducing the nuclear arsenals.

The horror of a nuclear holocaust is universally acknowledged. Today, the United States and the Soviet Union possess 50,000 nuclear weapons. In half an hour, a fraction of these weapons can destroy all cities in the northern hemisphere. Yet over the next decade, the USA and USSR plan to build over 20,000 more nuclear warheads, along with a new generation of nuclear missiles and aircraft.

The weapon programs of the next decade, if not stopped, will pull the nuclear tripwire tighter. Counterforce and other "nuclear warfighting" systems will improve the ability of the USA and USSR to attack the opponent's nuclear forces and other military targets. This will increase the pressure on both sides to use their nuclear weapons in a crisis, rather than risk losing them in a first strike.

Such developments will increase hairtrigger readiness for a massive nuclear exchange at a time when economic difficulties, political dissension, revolution and competition for energy supplies may be rising worldwide. At the same time, more countries may acquire nuclear weapons. Unless we change this combination of trends, the danger of nuclear war will be greater in the late 1980s and 1990s than ever before.

Rather than permit this dangerous future to evolve, the United States and the Soviet Union should stop the nuclear arms race.

A freeze on nuclear missiles and aircraft can be verified by existing national means. A total freeze can be verified more easily than the complex SALT I and II agreements. The freeze on warhead production could be verified by the Safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Stopping the production of nuclear weapons and weapon-grade material and applying the Safeguards to US and Soviet nuclear programs would increase the incentive of other countries to adhere to the Nonproliferation Treaty, renouncing acquisition of their own nuclear weapons, and to accept the same Safeguards.

A freeze would hold constant the existing nuclear parity between the United States and the Soviet Union. By precluding production of counterforce weaponry on either side, it would eliminate excuses for further arming on both sides. Later, following the immediate adoption of the freeze, its terms should be negotiated into the more durable form of a treaty.

A nuclear-weapon freeze, accompanied by government-aided conversion of nuclear industries, would save at least $100 billion each in US and Soviet military spending (at today's prices) in 1981-1990. This would reduce inflation. The savings could be applied to balance the budget, reduce taxes, improve services, subsidize renewable energy, or increase aid to poverty-stricken third world regions. By shifting personnel to more labor-intensive civilian jobs, a nuclear-weapon freeze would also raise employment.

Stopping the US-Soviet nuclear arms race is the single most useful step that can be taken now to reduce the likelihood of nuclear war and to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons to more countries. This step is a necessary prelude to creating international conditions in which:

— further steps can be taken toward a stable, peaceful international order;

— the threat of first use of nuclear weaponry can be ended;

— the freeze can be extended to other nations; and

— the nuclear arsenals on all sides can be drastically reduced or eliminated, making the world truly safe from nuclear destruction.

For list of endorsers and to endorse the Call, see last page.

Rev. 1981

Statement on the Nuclear-Weapon Freeze Proposal

Scope of the Freeze

(1) Underground nuclear tests should be suspended, pending final agreement on a comprehensive test ban treaty.

(2) There should be a freeze on testing, production and deployment of all missiles and new aircraft which have nuclear weapons as their sole or main payload. This includes:

US Delivery Vehicles	Soviet Delivery Vehicles
In Production:	*In Production:*
Improved Minuteman ICBM	SS-19 ICBM
Trident I SLBM	SS-N-18 SLBM
Air-launched cruise missile (ALCM)	SS-20 IRBM
	Backfire bomber
In Development:	*In Development:*
MX ICBM	SS-17, SS-18, SS-19 ICBM improvements
Trident II SLBM	New ICBM
Long-range ground- and sea-launched cruise missiles (GLCM, SLCM)	New SLBM (SS-N-20)
Pershing II IRBM	
New bomber	

(3) The number of land- and submarine-based launch tubes for nuclear missiles should be frozen. Replacement subs could be built to keep the force constant, but with no net increase in SLBM tubes and no new missiles.

(4) No further MIRVing or other changes to existing missiles or bomber loads would be permitted.

All of the above measures can be verified by existing national means of verification with high confidence.

The following measures cannot be verified nationally with the same confidence, but an effort should be made to include them:

(5) Production of fissionable material (enriched uranium and plutonium) for weapon purposes should be halted.

(6) Production of nuclear weapons (bombs) should be halted.

There are two arguments for attempting to include these somewhat less verifiable steps. First, with a halt to additional and new delivery vehicles, there will be no need for additional bombs. Thus, production of weapon-grade fissionable material and bombs would probably stop in any event. Second, the establishment of a *universal* ban on production of weapon-grade fissionable material and nuclear bombs, verified by international inspection as established now for non-nuclear-weapon states under the Nonproliferation Treaty and the International Atomic Energy Agency, would greatly strengthen that Treaty and improve the prospects for halting the spread of nuclear weapons.

The Agreement to Freeze

The US and Soviet governments should announce a moratorium on all further testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons and nuclear delivery vehicles, to be verified by national means. The freeze would be followed by negotiations to incorporate the moratorium in a treaty. The negotiations would cover supplmentary verification measures, such as IAEA inspections; and possible desirable exceptions from the freeze, such as an occasional confidence test.

This procedure follows the precedent of the 1958-61 nuclear-weapon test moratorium, in which testing was suspended while the USA, USSR and UK negotiated a partial test ban treaty.

Relation to SALT Negotiations

The bilateral freeze is aimed at being introduced in the early 1980s, as soon as sufficient popular and political support is developed to move the governments toward its adoption.

The freeze would prevent dangerous developments in the absence of a SALT treaty. It would preclude exploitation of loopholes in past treaties and, at the same time, satisfy critics who are concerned that the SALT process may not succeed in stopping the arms race.

The freeze does not replace the SALT negotiating process, but should supplement and strengthen it. The freeze could be adopted as a replacement for SALT II or as an immediate follow-on, with the task of putting the moratorium into treaty language the job of SALT III.

The Case for a Nuclear-Weapon Freeze

There are many reasons to support a halt to the nuclear arms race at this time:

Parity—There is widespread agreement that parity exists between US and Soviet nuclear forces at present.

Avoiding "Nuclear Warfighting" Developments—The next generation US and Soviet nuclear weapons improve "nuclear warfighting" capabilities—that is, they improve the ability to knock out the enemy's forces in what is termed a "limited" nuclear exchange. Having such capabilities will undermine the sense of parity, spur further weapon developments and increase the likelihood of nuclear war in a crisis, especially if conflict with conventional weapons has started. It is of overriding importance to stop these developments.

Stopping the MX and New Soviet ICBMs—Specifically, a freeze would prevent the deployment of new and improved Soviet ICBMs, which are expected to render US ICBMs vulnerable to preemptive attack. This would obviate the need for the costly and environmentally-destructive US mobile MX ICBM, with its counterforce capability against Soviet ICBMs. That, in turn, would avoid the pressure for the USSR to deploy its own mobile ICBMs in the 1990s.

Stopping the Cruise Missile—The new US cruise missile, just entering production in an air-launched version and still in development in ground- and sea-launched versions, threatens to make negotiated, nationally-verified nuclear arms control far more difficult. Modern, low-flying, terrain-guided cruise missiles are relatively small and cheap and can be deployed in large numbers on virtually any launching platform: not only bombers, but also tactical aircraft, surface ships, tactical submarines, and various ground vehicles. They are easy to conceal and, unlike ICBMs, their numbers cannot be observed from satellites. If the United States continues the development and production of cruise missiles, the USSR will be likely to follow suit in 5-10 years; and quantitative limits on the two sides will be impossible to verify. A freeze would preclude this development.

Preserving European Security—A freeze would also prevent a worsening of the nuclear balance in Europe. To

No. 393

Is a U.S.-Soviet Nuclear Weapon Freeze Possible?

by Randall Forsberg,
Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies

Most people think it would be a great achievement to stop the nuclear arms race, but that it probably isn't possible to do so. The following dialogue sets out the most common doubts and some answers to them.

THE RUSSIANS

"Sure I want to stop the arms race, but the Russians don't want to, and we can't stop it if they don't. In fact, they are pushing ahead right now."

Reply: The USSR has even more reason to stop the arms race now than the USA does. The Soviets cannot use their liquid-fueled fixed ICBM technology in a less vulnerable, mobile mode, as the USA is planning to do with the solid-fueled MX missle. In addition, Soviet strategic submarines are relatively vulnerable to the extensive, sophisticated and growing US antisubmarine warfare capabilities, while US strategic submarines are totally invulnerable. Thus, Soviet land-and submarine-based missiles will be more vulnerable to a preemptive first-strike in the 1990s than US missiles will. The Soviets would do better to stop now, while neither side can destroy most of the other's missiles.

There are undoubtedly Soviet 'hawks' who will not want to stop, but the military situation strengthens the hand of the Soviet 'doves.' We cannot tell whether the Central Committee will be persuaded to accept a freeze unless we try. The Soviets actually proposed a ban on "new" missiles in the SALT II negotiations, which the US rejected because it did not cover "improved" missiles. The freeze should satisfy both countries by stopping both types of advance.

"But we can't trust the Russians."

Reply: We don't have to. We can check their compliance with the freeze using highly capable satellites, as we have been doing for the SALT I and proposed SALT II agreements. Satellite sensors can now read a license-plate in Moscow. They can tell not only how many missiles and submarines there are, but also which types are being produced and transported around the country. No major additions could be made to the intercontinental missile and bomber forces without being detected.

VERIFICATION

"Can we really check a nuclear freeze entirely by satellite and other national means?"

Reply: For the most part, yes. This covers production and testing of intercontinental- and medium-range missiles and aircraft, production of weapon-grade fissionable material, and testing of nuclear warheads.

To the extent that national means of detection are weaker or less certain—for example, for clandestine production of additional warheads out of existing surplus stocks of weapon-grade material, production of smaller missiles, or testing and installation of improved missile components—any cheating would have only small-scale effects, relative to the size, technology and potential uses of the existing arsenals (50,000 nuclear weapons on the two sides). Cheating would be highly unlikely because the risk of detection would be considerable, the price in the

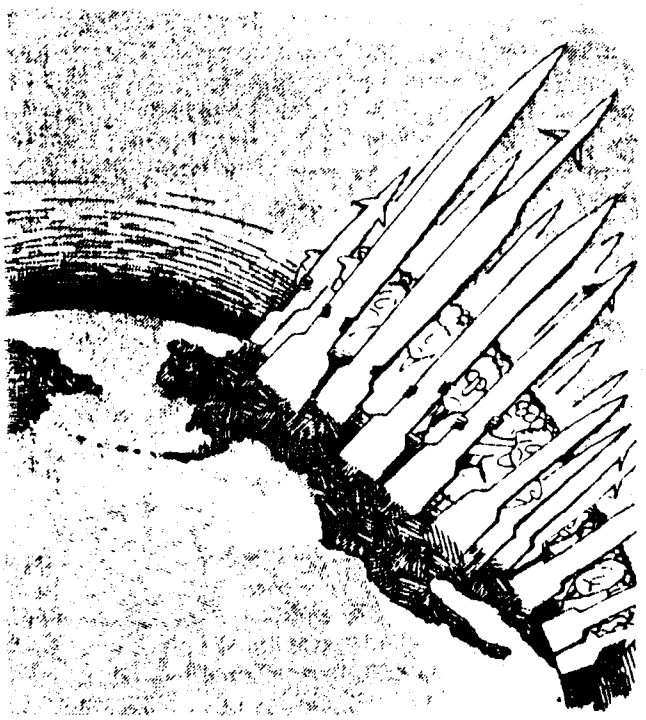
"Is a U.S.-Soviet Nuclear Weapon Freeze Possible?" by Randall Forsberg.

event of detection would be terrible, while the benefits of the small scale activities that might be undertaken would be negligible.

In all, the risks of undetected cheating would be far outweighed by the gains of (1) a halt to major missile production, (2) a considerable lessening of the chances of the spread of nuclear weapons to other countries, and (3) the reduced likelihood of nuclear war in comparison with the situation if the arms race continues unabated.

"Why not limit the scope of the freeze to the activities that can be detected with very high confidence by satellites, radars, seismic stations and air samplying—that is, the actual deployments out in the field of ICBMs, strategic bombers and strategic submarines, the testing of missiles and warheads, and the production of new weapon-grade material?"

Reply: If the freeze is limited to the testing and deployment of strategic missiles and aircraft, leaving



ut the production activities that take place in actories under a closed roof, the most likely result is hat the military on one or both sides will insist on aking the ban literally. They will continue to roduce additional missiles and aircraft, and warheads for them, and will either store them in arehouses indefinitely or else treat the freeze as a emporary, 2-3 year moratorium, after which deloyment in the field will be allowed. Either course ould totally undermine the concept and purposes of ıe freeze.

Nonproduction of nuclear warheads and of missiles and aircraft designed specifically to deliver nuclear warheads can be adequately checked through (1) the large size and known location of existing production plants, (2) the known transportation routes of major components being brought together for assembly, (3) the small scale and known location of existing non-deployed stocks of missiles and aircraft, and (4) the comprehensive nature of the freeze. (Since all new delivery vehicles would be banned there would be no use for additional warheads and any relevant production activities would be immediately suspect.) Non-improvement of existing missiles and aircraft would be adequately guarded against by the aversion of the military to deployment of vehicles that have never been tested in their full configuration.

Ideally, the freeze should be monitored not merely by national means, but also by on-site inspection of facilities that could be used for production of weapon-grade material and warheads. This would put the United States and the Soviet Union under the same strictures as all of the countries that adhere to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and would provide the strongest incentive and model for preventing the spread of nuclear weapons. In the past, the Soviet Union has generally opposed such inspection, but with nothing to hide, given a total, permanent freeze they might reverse that position.

JOBS

"What about all the people who would lose their jobs if we stopped developing and manufacturing the new missiles—the MX, the Trident I and II, the various types of cruise missiles, the Pershing II? This country already has a big unemployment problem. You can't expect the government to suddenly put thousands more people out of work. The plan will fail merely on that ground."

Reply: It is the ultimate absurdity in deliberate human behavior to have governments sponsor the production of nuclear weapons as a high-technology "public works" program.

All of the money that is now going into nuclear weapon development and production can and should be used, in the first several years after the freeze, to finance retraining and capital investment programs that would convert current employment, because civilian fields are more manpower-intensive and less capital-intensive than military production.

A study by the US Government Bureau of Labor Statistics shows that for every $1 billion spent in the military area, 75,000 jobs are created. In other areas the figures are: 92,000 in mass transit, 100,000 in construction, 139,000 in health care, 187,000 in education.

date, the USSR has replaced less than half of its medium-range nuclear missiles and bombers with the new SS-20 missile and Backfire bomber. The United States is planning to add hundreds of Pershing II and ground-launched cruise missiles to the forward-based nuclear systems in Europe, capable of reaching the USSR. Negotiations conducted *after* additional Soviet medium-range weapons are deployed are likely to leave Europe with more nuclear arms on both sides and with less security than it has today. It is important to freeze before the Soviet weapons grow to large numbers, increasing pressure for a US response and committing both sides to permanently higher nuclear force levels.

Stopping the Spread of Nuclear Arms—There is a slim chance of stopping the spread of nuclear weapons if the two superpowers stop their major nuclear arms race. The freeze would help the USA and USSR meet their legal and political obligations under the Nonproliferation Treaty. It would make the renunciation of nuclear weapons by other countries somewhat more equitable and politically feasible. In addition, a US-Soviet freeze would encourage a halt in the nuclear weapon programs of other countries which are known or believed to have nuclear weapons or nuclear-weapon technology. These are Britain, France and China, with publicly acknowledged nuclear weapon programs, and India, Israel and South Africa, without acknowledged programs.

Timing—There is a unique opportunity to freeze US and Soviet nuclear arms in the early 1980s. The planned new US and Soviet ICBMs and the US Pershing II and ground-launched cruise missile are not scheduled to enter production until 1982 or later. The Soviets have offered to negotiate the further deployment of their medium-range nuclear forces and submarine-based forces. Given the pressure to respond to new weapons on both sides and the existing nuclear parity, an equally opportune time for a freeze may not recur for many years.

Popular Appeal—Campaigns to stop individual weapon systems are sometimes treated as unilateral disarmament or circumvented by the development of alternative systems. The pros and cons of the SALT II Treaty are too technical for the patience of the average person. In contrast, an effort to stop the development and production of all US and Soviet nuclear weapons is simple, straightforward, effective and mutual; and for all these reasons it is likely to have great popular appeal. This is essential for creating the scale of popular support that is needed to make nuclear arms control efforts successful.

Economic Benefits—Although nuclear forces take only a small part of US and Soviet military spending, they do cost some tens of billions of dollars annually. About half of these funds go to existing nuclear forces, while half are budgeted for the testing, production and deployment of new warheads and delivery systems. A nuclear-weapon freeze, accompanied by government-aided conversion of nuclear industries to civilian production, would yield several important economic benefits:

— About $100 billion each (at 1981 prices) would be saved by the United States and the Soviet Union over the period from 1981 to 1990 in unnecessary military spending.
— The savings could be applied to balance the budget; reduce taxes; improve services now being cut back; subsidize home and commercial conversion to safe, renewable energy resources; or increase economic aid to poverty-stricken third world regions, thereby defusing some of the tinderboxes of international conflict.
— With the shift of personnel to more labor-intensive civilian jobs, employment would rise. At the same time, the highly inflationary pressure of military spending would be mitigated.

Verification

The comprehensive nature of a total freeze on nuclear weapon testing, production and deployment (and, by implication, development) would facilitate verification.

Long-range bomber and missile production would be proscribed. The letter of assurance attached to the draft SALT II Treaty that the USSR will not increase its rate of production of Backfire bombers indicates not only *deployment* but also *production* of the relatively large aircraft and missiles in question can be observed with considerable confidence. While concealed production and stockpiling of aircraft and missiles is theoretically possible, it would be extraordinarily difficult to accomplish with no telltale construction or supply. Any attempt would require the building or modification of plants and the development of new transport lines that are not operational at present. It would also involve high risks of detection and high penalties in worsening relations without offering any significant strategic advantage.

Verification of a ban on *tests* of missiles designed to carry nuclear weapons can be provided with high confidence by existing satellite and other detections systems. Here, too, a comprehensive approach is easier to verify than a partial or limited one.

Verification of aircraft, missile and submarine *deployments*, by specific quantity, is already provided under the terms of the SALT II and SALT I Treaty language. Verifying *no* additional deployments or major modifications will be considerably easier, in fact, than checking compliance with specific numerical ceilings in a continually changing environment.

Verification of a comprehensive nuclear *weapon test* ban, the subject of study and negotiation for many years, has been determined to be possible within the terms of the existing draft comprehensive test ban treaty.

Initiatives Toward the Freeze

Either the United States or the Soviet Union could initiate movement toward the freeze by taking modest, unilateral steps that would: demonstrate its good faith, start movement in the right direction, and make it easier for the other country to take a similar step.

For example, either country could:

1. Undertake a three-month moratorium on nuclear test explosions, to be extended if reciprocated.
2. Stop further deployment, for a specified period, of one new strategic weapon or improvement of an existing weapon.
3. Draw up and publish comprehensive conversion plans for the nuclear facilities and employment that would be affected by a freeze, as a sign of serious commitment to the goal.

Endorsers of a Bilateral Nuclear-Weapon Freeze

American Friends Service Committee
Richard Barnet, co-founder
*Institute for Policy Studies**
Catholic, Episcopal, Jewish, and Presbyterian Peace Fellowships
Church Women United
Clergy and Laity Concerned
Representative Ron Dellums, CA
Disarmament Working Group, Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy
Fellowship of Reconciliation
Randall Forsberg, Director
*Institute for Defense & Disarmament Studies**
Rabbi Daniel Freelander
*Union of American Hebrew Congregations**
Executive Committee, Leadership Conference of Women Religious
Mennonite Central Committee
Mobilization for Survival
Representative Toby Moffett, CT
National Council of Churches
Network
New Call to Peacemaking
Pax Christi
Riverside Church Disarmament Program
Victor Sidel, M.D.
*Physicians for Social Responsibility**
Sisters of Loretto
Sojourners
Office for Church in Society, United Church of Christ
Representative Howard Washington, IL
Representative Ted Weiss, NY
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
World Peacemakers

*Organizations for identification only (partial list)

FOR Endorses Call for Initiatives

The Fellowship of Reconciliation endorses this "Call to Halt the Nuclear Arms Race" as a first step toward worldwide disarmament. The unilateral initiatives listed on the bottom of page three are the kind of steps that the F.O.R. supports to stimulate negotiations for a multilateral nuclear weapons moratorium.

A unilateral initiative is an independent action taken by one nation to signal its willingness to negotiate disarmament agreements with another nation or nations. It may or may not involve actual disarmament. However, the ultimate aim of unilateral initiatives is the achievement of universal disarmament and world peace.

A freeze on further testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons and nuclear weapons systems would not in itself involve disarming nuclear weapons that now exist. The F.O.R. sees such a moratorium on nuclear weapons as only the first step toward reversing the arms race.

Our faith commitment to the achieving of a peaceful world community calls us also to advocate initiatives for unilateral disarmament. The time has come for the human race to find a way to divest itself of *all* nuclear weapons.

Local Contact

ACTION SUGGESTIONS

1. Endorse the Call by checking the box below and sending in the coupon. Make copies of the Call and send them to three friends.
2. Identify three leaders in your community. Send them the Call and follow up by telephone or in person. Send names of prominent endorsers to the address below.
3. Get the organizations to which you belong to endorse the Call and send a letter stating support to the address below.
4. Use a petition format of the Call for a bilateral freeze for house-to-house and large-meeting canvassing and to gather names and funds for local newspaper ads calling for a bilateral nuclear-weapon freeze.
5. Initiate city or town government resolutions, state government resolutions, or statewide election referendum questions in support of the freeze.
6. Create a citizens' group to take petitions, resolutions, and other expressions of support for a freeze to discuss with your Representative, Senators, and Governor. Learn their opinions and work for their support and endorsement of the freeze.

☐ Yes, I endorse the Call for a US-Soviet Nuclear-Weapon Freeze.

☐ I also support the United States' taking one or more of the independent initiatives to start a movement toward a Freeze.

☐ You may use my name in printing and publicizing the Freeze and/or the initiatives as listed above.

Please send .....additional copies of the Call. Cost: 10¢ each / 50 or more 8¢ each, plus postage.

Name ..... Congressperson or District .....

Address .....

City, State, Zip .....

Organization and Title, if any .....

Please clip and mail to: Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960—914/358-4601

The Big Sky Country

MONTANA STATE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Rep. John E. Phillips
District No. 43
Box 7031
Great Falls, MT 59406

Committees:
State Administration,
Fish & Game

UNITED STATES VERSUS SOVIET DEFENSE AND STRATEGIC BUILDUP

Soviets currently devote 12-14% of Gross National Product for defense vs 5-6% for the US defense effort. (We spent 10-11% during Eisenhower period and 8% during Kennedy years.)

In dollar terms Soviets have outspent us by more than 50% in each of the past 5 years.

In the past decade Soviet Military manpower has gone from 4.5 to 4.8 million while US manpower has gone down from 3.1 to 2 million.

Also in the past decade Soviets have added 2879 ICBM warheads while US has added 1080.

Soviets have at least four new ICBM's under development - US has the MX.

The Soviet throw weight capability of delivery systems is 11.8 million pounds vs 7.2 for the US.

Since 1970 the Soviets have deployed 758 new ICBM launchers. We haven't built any.

Three out of four Soviet warheads sit atop an ICBM while only 22% of US war heads are on ICBM's.

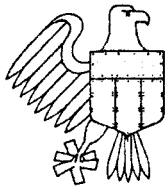
STATIC BALANCE (Source: Military Balance 1981-82, International Institute of Strategic Studies, London)

US warheads:	36 SSBNs carry 576 SLBMs with 4912 warheads 1052 ICBMs carry 2152 warheads 316 bombers carry 2528 warheads
Total:	1944 delivery systems, 9592 warheads
Soviet warheads:	62 SSBNs carry 950 SLBMs with 1480 warheads 1398 ICBMs carry 5540 warheads 150 bombers carry 430 warheads
Total:	2502 delivery systems: 7470 warheads

Static figures show a US lead in deliverable weapons, and a Soviet lead in delivery systems (and in total megatonnage due to their reliance on large yield ICBM warheads)

Defending the United States

Spending more money on defense does not necessarily guarantee greater national security. In a wide-ranging analysis, NEWSWEEK explores the serious flaws in the Pentagon's budget-making process and calls for immediate cuts in defense spending for fiscal 1983.



It was the 41st anniversary of the attack on Pearl Harbor and the speeches rang heavy with the lessons of history. But in Washington they played to a nearly empty House. Most congressmen had long since made up their minds about MX, the proposed new intercontinental ballistic missile—and when the vote came, it was stunning: by 245 to 176, the House said no to building the first five MX missiles this fiscal year. The vote was much more than a blow to one controversial defense system. It was a direct challenge to Ronald Reagan's five-year, $1.6 trillion defense buildup, to the make-America-strong-again message that helped bring him to office. Warning ominously that the vote was a "grave mistake"—a threat to the national security—the president accused the House of "sleepwalking into the future." But congressmen disagreed. "The sleepwalkers are in the Pentagon," countered Democrat Joseph Addabbo of New York, chairman of the House Defense Appropriations Subcommittee and the chief opponent of MX. "The majority of Congress is wide awake."

That is not necessarily true. In the next few months Congress will continue to vote on the hundreds of programs and billions of dollars involved in Reagan's unprecedented buildup. But will the United States emerge any more secure? An exhaustive analysis of the issues and the system behind them, presented on the following pages, suggests that the answer is no. America's defense system—from the strategic planning that ought to define it to the congressional debate that bestows the taxpayers' blessing—is in need of serious reform. More money does not necessarily guarantee greater national security: in fact, Reagan's enormous demands could be harmful. National security also rests on economic health, and with the federal deficit already at an alarming level, higher defense spending—for spending's sake—threatens to leave the United States in an even more precarious position than before.

Congress is well aware of that fact, and there are clear signs that the consensus for increased military spending is eroding. "In 1980 . . . there was an enormous liability in being antidefense. The liability now is in being blindly prodefense," said Rep. Newt Gingrich, a Georgia conservative. Sen. Dan Quayle, an Indiana conservative, put it even more bluntly to Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger: "The perception," he said, "is that the Pentagon is out of control."

To its critics, the MX provides a glaring example of misguided Pentagon planning. The defense establishment itself was not unanimous on "dense pack"—the close-packed basing mode that was only the last of some 30 suggested systems. The day after the vote, Gen. John W. Vessey Jr., chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, told the Senate Armed Services Committee that three of the five service chiefs had advised against the plan. Indeed, as Rep. Paul Simon of Illinois reminded his colleagues, "Many of us have also had these quiet telephone calls from top military people who have said, 'This is an unwise use of defense dollars'."

Time to Sell: Still, the House did not kill MX entirely. It left $2.5 billion in the 1983 budget for continued research and development of the missile. It also approved a $231.6 billion defense appropriation for fiscal 1983, including virtually everything else Reagan wanted. The Republican-controlled Senate is likely to go along with most, if not all, of those items—perhaps even "fencing off" the MX funds, giving the administration more time to try to sell Congress on dense pack or come up with yet another basing mode.

Both Houses should reconsider. As the NEWSWEEK analysis shows, many of the new weapons in the proposed budget—including the MX, the B-1 bomber, two Nimitz-class aircraft carriers and a host of other aircraft and guns—could be scrapped without harming national security (page 24). Deleting them now will do little to reduce the current budget deficit; most of the b won't come due for several years. But thos cuts would save $56.4 billion by 1988, an once production starts, the weapons will b nearly impossible to kill without wastin money and throwing people out of work.

Before the nation can rearm effectively, it must address a far more basic problem. "Putting out a hit list on individual weapon systems is like chasing bumblebees with sticks," says Larry Smith, a private defens consultant. "You have to go after the hive—the system." As that system currently works, the individual services recommend their own weapons, and deeply entrenched rivalries virtually ensure incompatibilities and duplication. The Joint Chiefs of Staf provide little coordination, since each service chief remains loyal to his own service (page 32). Meanwhile, congressional committees that oversee the budget-making process too often are swayed by hom e-district interests. As a result, coherent planning is almost always lost in the scramble for available funds. Says John Collins, a Library of Congress defense expert, "If you do not plan effectively, the *only* way you can spend money effectively is by accident."

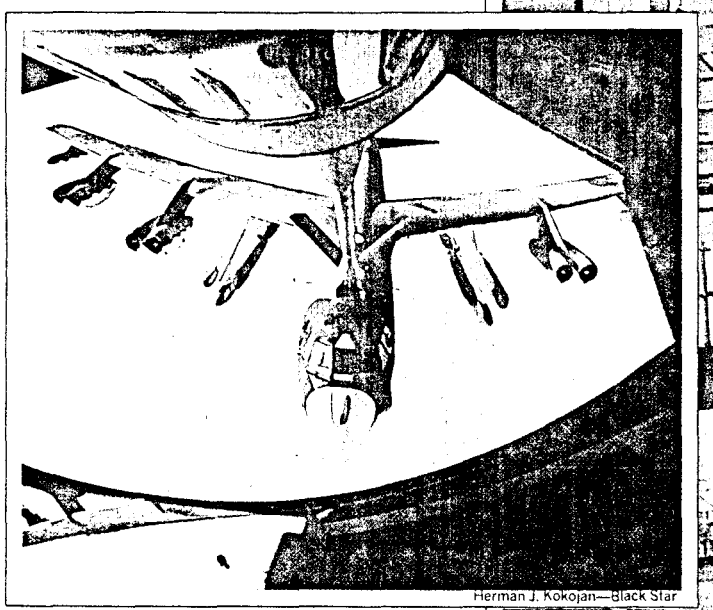
Strategy for What? Before the Pentagon can plan effectively, before Congress can determine "how much is enough," both must address the question: "Enough for what?" Without a realistic assessment of America's military goals, its limitations and its most present dangers, its *weapons* too often determine its strategy, instead of the other way around. The United States must protect its vital interests, such as the NATO allies (page 34), and reasonably ensure against attacks on its own shores. Beyond that, it has chosen to try to "contain" the spread of communism elsewhere in the world. But given the relative nuclear parity between the superpowers, and the use of Soviet "proxies" and aggressions by smaller nations, it is increasingly clear that the United States is unprepared for conventional conflicts and overprepared for nuclear war.

Even within its strategic arsenal, the Pentagon has placed too much emphasis on preserving the survivability of its land-based ICBM force. Long considered the most reliable leg of the land, sea and air triad, it is now the most vulnerable, given the increasing accuracy of Soviet missiles. That fact should be recognized and accepted. As Rep. Charles Bennett, a Florida Democrat, told the House last week, "Mr. Chairman, the triad is not the Trinity."

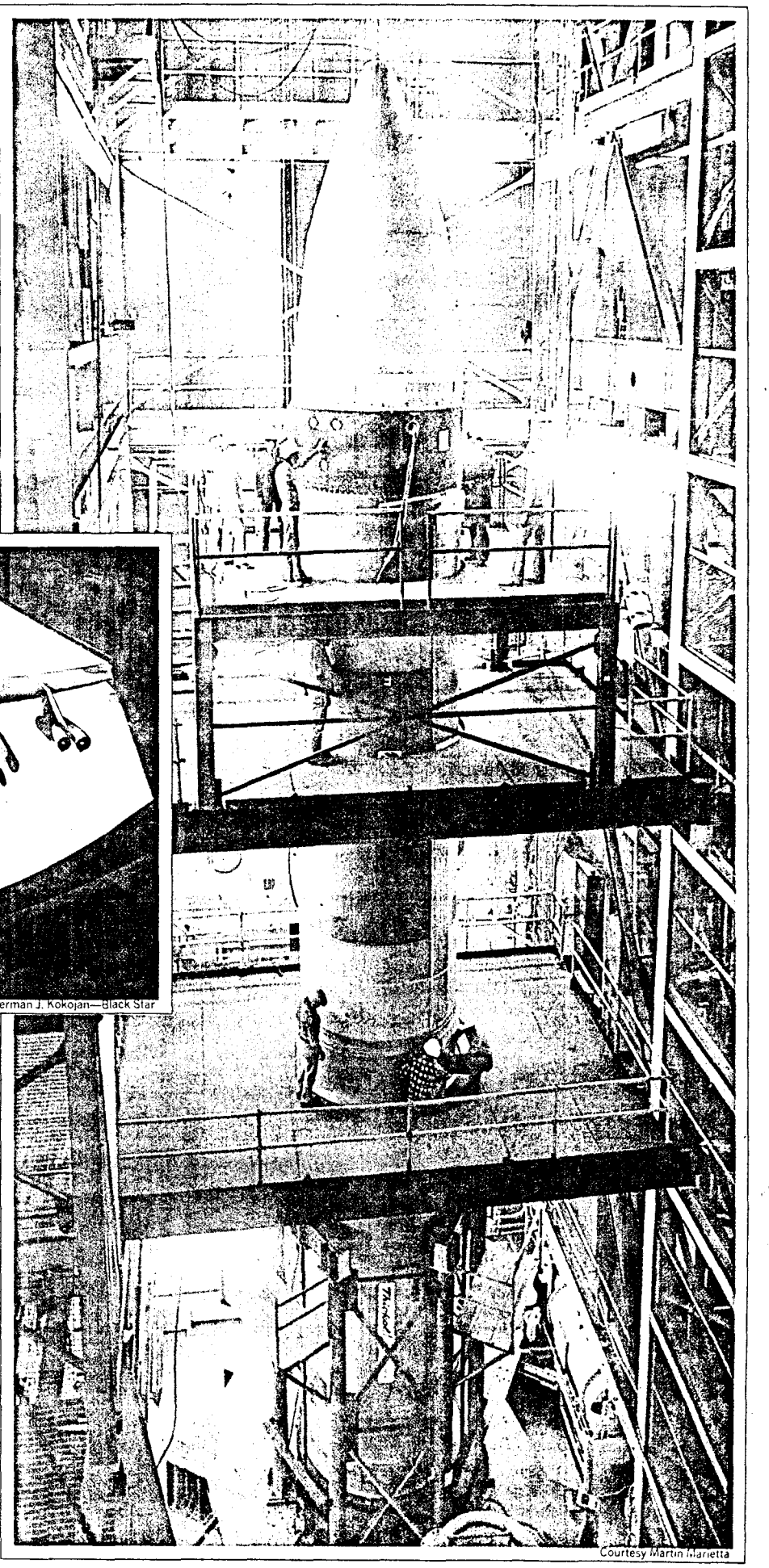
Continuing improvements to the sea- and air-based legs now coming on line will ensure the United States a credible first- and second-strike capability. Each of the 15 Trident submarines—the first of which went to station last month—will eventually be armed with 24 Trident II missiles, each with accuracy and silo-busting power superior to the current U.S. Minuteman force. This week the first 16 B-52 bombers rebuilt to

carry cruise missiles will go on daily alert, giving the United States the capability of striking deep within the Soviet Union from a "standoff" position. And the current fleet of 1,000 Minuteman missiles is not inconsequential. Hardening their silos would force the Soviets to target up to three warheads against each one—a costly challenge to Soviet military resources.

No Glamour: Meanwhile, the Pentagon must correct the glaring weaknesses in its "general purpose" forces, including personnel, operations, maintenance, spare parts and training—the items that ensure "readiness" for conventional war. Those items are more expensive than nuclear missiles. They lack the glamour of aircraft carriers or new bombers. And unlike "big ticket" weapons systems, they must be paid for in current outlays, not paper authorizations, so they have traditionally been the first to go when defense budgets are cut.



Herman J. Kokojan—Black Star



Courtesy Martin Marietta

B-52 fitted with cruise missiles (above), the MX: Is the Pentagon out of control?

Congress must avoid that temptation. It also must not be deluded that it can have it all. As Sen. Sam Nunn of Georgia points out—correctly: "The Reagan budget cannot buy all that the president is trying to buy even if it got every dollar." That fact will inevitably become clear if Congress "buys into" the major weapons programs now; "readiness" will again suffer in the scramble to cut the deficit and the nation will end up, as Gingrich says, "slightly weaker, slightly more confused, with slightly less momentum, having unnerved the Russians, irritated our allies and all without having substantially increased the security of the American people." Cuts can and should be made in the defense budget without harming national security, and the time to act is now.

MELINDA BECK with JOHN J. LINDSAY, DAVID C. MARTIN and MARY LORD in Washington

For a more detailed analysis of the problems we may face if we do not adhere to SALT II, I refer to the July 30 "Dear Colleague" sent by Congressman Downey and myself. Suffice it to stress here my profound belief that SALT II is in the national interest and that it complements any substantive nuclear freeze proposal.

Perhaps the most mischievous notion in modern politics is that the United States may be in a position of nuclear inferiority with the Soviet Union and that American security is somehow jeopardized by a "window of vulnerability."

As Dickens might have said: "this is humbug." When American armed forces have the capacity to destroy the Soviet Union many times over there is no such conceptualization as inferiority. Death is death. A human being cannot die twice.

Finally, it should be stressed that the nuclear freeze movement is not a fad. A fad in American politics might be defined as an idea without a constituency. The monumental difference between the arms control movement today compared to a year ago or twenty-six years ago is that it has become quintessentially middle-class. It is not a liberal movement, nor a youth movement, nor a partisan undertaking.

For the first time in American politics arms control initiatives are grassroots; they are pushing energetically from the bottom up, from the hamlets and cities of America to our government here in Washington.

In no uncertain terms the American people are saying that issues of survival cannot be allowed to stultify in the demagoguery of Presidential campaign rhetoric. Expressions of concern have become institutionalized in churches, synagogues, business, unions, professional associations of doctors, lawyers, scientists, and teachers. Middle-class America is taking a stand.

The surprise isn't how rapidly the arms control issue has materialized as a popular national movement, but how late it has been in blooming.

Let's not as a Congress or political party fail our constituencies on this the most important issue of our age.

Sincerely,

Jim Leach
Member of Congress

BEYOND WAR

The technological genius of the human mind has made war obsolete. Full-scale nuclear war would destroy civilization as we know it and could cause the extinction of life itself. In the past we have attempted to avoid this final war by an ever-escalating weapons race. Public opinion is now recognizing that we are reaching a point of no return. The production of arms must stop and the massive stockpiles must be reduced.

The only lasting solution to the threat of extinction is for the human species to move BEYOND WAR. War can no longer resolve differences between nations. We are technologically beyond war already. What must now move beyond war is the human mind.

The precedent for such a shift in thinking has been established. There was a time when slavery was an institution supported by powerful religious, economic and political forces. People could not have imagined society existing without slavery. Yet today, we are beyond slavery.

The mind can change, evolve and mature. In fact, human nature includes the ability to change. All significant changes in history have been produced by the accumulated effects of individual changes in attitude and action.

The next crucial step in human history must also begin with individuals - individuals who are willing to change and who hold a vision of the future. We must move beyond conquering, violence and force to hope, acceptance and understanding of our interrelatedness. This vision must be shared with every nation, race, and religion as we work together to bring about a world BEYOND WAR.

Draft 11/12/82

TESTIMONY OPPOSING HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 13

I am a computer programmer and a member of the Last Chance Peacemakers Coalition. I mention these because as a programmer I pride myself on my ability to think clearly and logically, and as a member of the Last Chance Peacemakers Coalition I have invested a good deal of time in studying the issue of nuclear disarmament.

Although I disagree with other portions of HJR 13, I specifically wish to address the paragraph beginning on page two, lines 7 to 13 which calls on all peace-loving people to support the administration's negotiating efforts and to not denigrate these efforts.

I believe Rep. Nordtvedt is asking us to abrogate our right, even more-so, our resposibility to speak out on nuclear disarmament. I believe the way to best help this administration and our country is to speak out when we feel it is making a serious error, whether in nuclear disarmament policy or on any other issue. I would not be here if it were not for the right of all citizens to disagree with our government.

I believe this administration, as well as previous administrations, have made a serious error in pursuing further arms production while trying to negotiate arms reductions.

It has been this administration's stated goal to use nuclear superiority as bargaining chips for arms reductions. Does this make sense? I think not. It assumes the Soviet Union is less intelligent than the U.S. and is willing to negotiate from a position of inferiority. It also assumes that nuclear superiority can be acheived. While we continue to maintain a technological lead it is debateable whether this is significant in an era when both superpowers can destroy each other many times over. In addition, as you have previously heard the current generation of new weapons are a destabilzing force. (see note below).

To support this resolution as it is now stated is to deny our right and our responsibility to be heard on an issue that is of the utmost importance. To quote Dwight Eisenhower, "People want peace so much that one these days governments had better get out of their way and let them have it."

James E. Senkler
2600 Columbia
Helena, MT 59601

NOTE ON THE NEW GENERATION OF WEAPONS:

The previous deterrant policy of mutually assured destruction (MAD) relied on the fact that neither the U.S. or the Soviet Union had weapons accurate enough to target military objectives but accurate enough to destroy cities. Thus if a nuclear war started it was assured that both sides would be totally destroyed.

With the new generation of weapons that policy has changed. Cruise missiles, Pershing II missiles, Trident II missles, and to a lesser extent, M-X and Minuteman III are more accurate and are now targeted on military targets with vastly improved chances of destroying those targets. As a result a philosophy of 'use them or lose them' is developing, that is, if world tensions become severe enough that one side feels in mortal danger of being attacked that side may decide that, in order to protect their missiles, they have to be used or be lost.

Over the years our defense computers have signaled a Soviet attack over 150 times. The fact that missles launched from the Soviet Unoin against the U.S. will take about 30 minutes to arrive and vice versa has no doubt given us the time to decide not to launch a counter-attack. The Pershing II missles scheduled for deployment in Europe have a 10 minute time to target, vastly increasing the chance that an error by Soviet computers will lead to the launching of their nuclear weapons.

JIM LEACH
1st District, Iowa

COMMITTEES:
BANKING, FINANCE AND URBAN AFFAIRS
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CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

August 4, 1982

Dear Republican Colleague:

Arms control discussions hold a precariously brief place in mankind's history. Uniquely, however, in an American context leadership in arms control has been largely Republican. It would be a tragedy to allow the recent debate on the issue to cause a public policy debacle for the political party which has heretofore been the driving force for responsible restraint in the security arena.

Many aspects of the nuclear freeze movement are highly emotive. Some liberals seem to support any arms control initiative without concern for practicality or verification. Some conservatives, on the other hand, object to anything that implies agreement with the Soviets or concommitant restraint on the United States. It is imperative as we vote on the freeze to look not at the constellations of political groupings supporting one approach or another, but at the precise words of the resolutions before us and the ideas that underpin their crafting. In this regard, I challenge serious students of arms control to find objection to the nuclear freeze approach passed by the House Foreign Affairs Committee by a vote of 28 to 8, including majority support of Republican committee members. The failure of the Republican Party to identify with the philosophy of the freeze would appear imprudent. As conservative columnist James Kilpatrick has said:

> Kennedy and Hatfield have seized on an issue of life-or-death meaning to the whole planet, and there is not a sentence in their resolution that thoughtful conservatives could not support.

The problem with anti-freeze partisans is that their position hinges on two assumptions: 1) that the Soviets will stand still as we develop more weapons. This is nonsense. History shows that the Soviet Union will commit at least as much as we do to further weapons development. 2) anti-freeze partisans assume that more nuclear weapons really matter. This, too, is nonsense. In a world of nuclear overkill and redundance, the U. S. and the Soviet Union are like two rivals locked in a small room in a dual to the death where one has 1,400 pistols and the other 1,200. The one with 1,400 has no advantage. One or both of the parties are likely to be killed or maimed with the first pistols used.

In addition, H.J. Res. 521, the House Foreign Affairs Committee Resolution, adopts language supportive of SALT II. In my judgment this strengthens and enhances the resolution. While SALT II may be imperfect, it is better than nothing. It is an essential building block for more comprehensive agreements. The fruit of years of negotiations, SALT II so serves our mutual interest that it has thus far been informally observed by both sides even in the absense of formal ratification. But as former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger has recently observed, it is difficult to understand why it is safe to adhere to a non-ratified agreement while it's unsafe formally to ratify what one is already observing.

over

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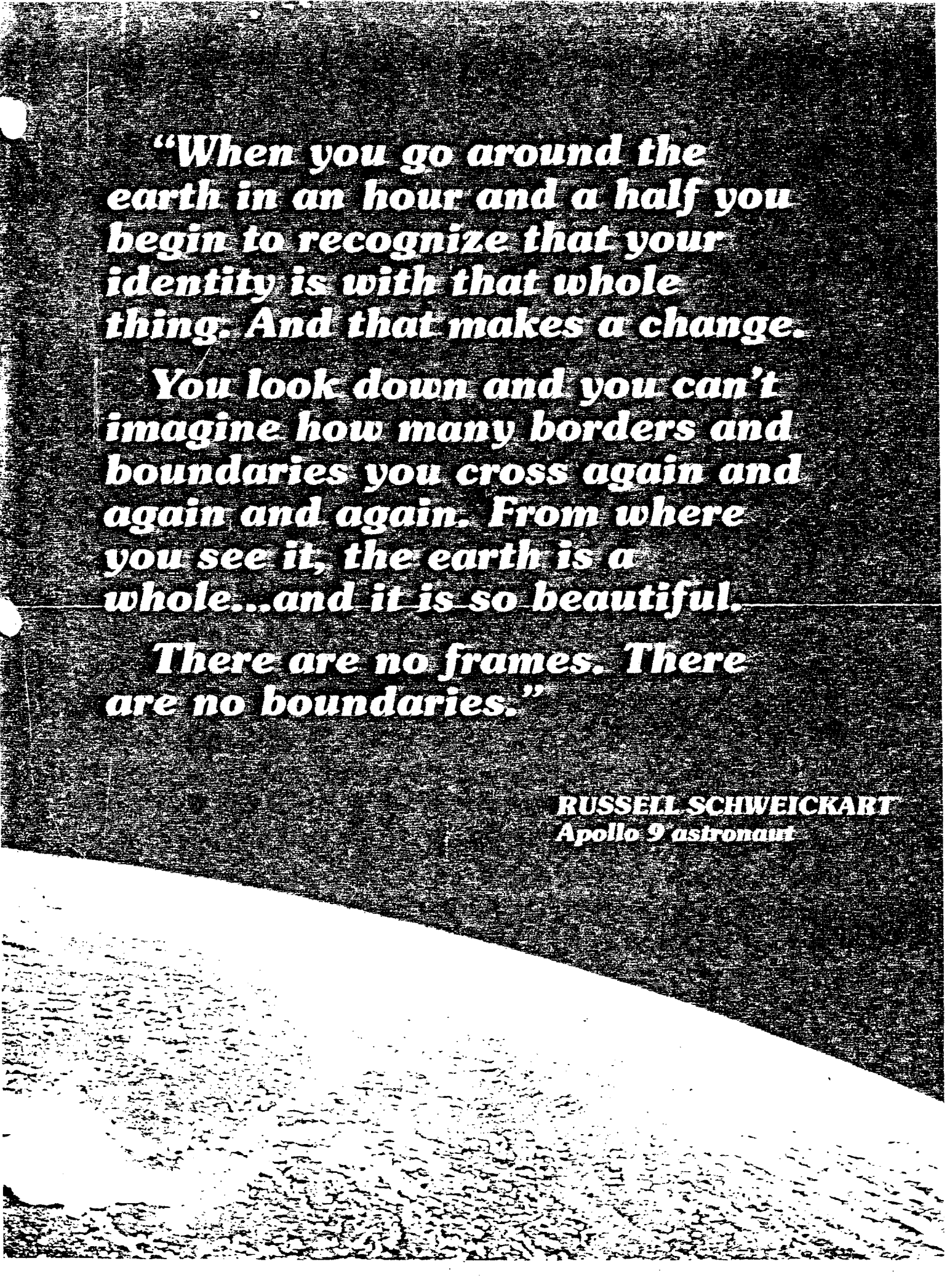
"When you go around the earth in an hour and a half you begin to recognize that your identity is with that whole thing. And that makes a change.
You look down and you can't imagine how many borders and boundaries you cross again and again and again. From where you see it, the earth is a whole...and it is so beautiful.
There are no frames. There are no boundaries."
RUSSELL SCHWEICKART
Apollo 9 astronaut

BANKRUPTING AMERICA

The Tax Burden and Expenditures of the Pentagon by Congressional District

By Dr. James R. Anderson

1982 Edition

Introduction

Seventy percent of the U.S. public live in Congressional Districts which suffer a net loss of tax money when the Pentagon budget goes up. Of the 435 Congressional Districts, 302 have a net loss in their balance of payments with the Pentagon. This means that the Federal government acts as a giant syphon funneling tax money out of over 300 Congressional Districts into those which have large military bases or very high military contracts.

This fact is not generally known. The majority of Congressmen put out press releases and announcements when their District gets a military contract. But they do not tell the whole story in these releases. For that would mean informing their constituents as to how much money leaves their District to go to the Pentagon.

This report seeks to complete the picture. It documents for 1980 and projects for 1982 the Pentagon Tax burden borne by each Congressional District, and the amount of money returning through military contracts and military salaries.

The Impact On Congressional Districts

The Pentagon's budget is the largest item in the Federal Program budget. It creates a drastic imbalance in the tax burdens imposed on major regions and Congressional Districts.

The Pentagon Tax measures the portion of the U.S. military tax burden imposed upon a given area, in this case, a Congressional District. It is paid by the taxpayers of an area through federal taxes. This study shows exactly how the Pentagon Tax burden was distributed among Congressional Districts for Fiscal Year 1980 and where military spending is distributed and concentrated. It further projects the tax burden distribution by Congressional Districts for the Fiscal 1982 military budget.

Taxpayers would be startled if their Congresspersons announced that they were routinely voting for measures that drained hundreds of millions of dollars from their Congressional Districts. Yet, an analysis of the impact of the military budget on Congressional Districts indicates that for a majority of Congresspersons this is precisely the case.

A total of 302 of the nation's 435 Congressional Districts are suffering net losses each year from the budgetary impact of military spending. Only 133 Congressional Districts are receiving more from the Pentagon budget than they pay out in taxes going to the military. (See Table I, page 6). This means that the Pentagon budget is draining resources from 302 Congressional Districts and funneling them into only 133 Districts. Thus, military spending is a principal source of drastic imbalance and inequity in the Federal tax burden and budget allocation.

Every major industrial state in the country but California has more Congressional Districts which lose than gain. Of New York's 39 Districts, 32 lose. Of Pennsylvania's 25, 20 lose. Of Illinois' 24, 23 lose, of Michigan's 20, 19 lose. Of the 100 Congressional Districts in the upper Midwest (Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois, Michigan, Indiana, and Ohio), 94 are net losers. This means that almost 95% of the upper Midwest is drained by the Pentagon Tax.

The Northeast is also hard hit, with 78 of its 104 Congressional Districts losing. Even Texas, long regarded as a major recipient of Pentagon spending, has 14 Congressional Districts which are drained by military spending, and only 10 which gain.

A clear majority of the House of Representatives, 232 Congressional Districts, suffered a net Pentagon Tax loss of $100

Contents

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million or more in 1980. This number will increase in 1982 and beyond, indicating that the depletion of the U.S. economic base by military spending is spreading.

The Illinois Tenth District (Porter-R), comprising the northern suburbs of Chicago, has the dubious distriction of suffering the largest Pentagon Tax drain in the U.S., with a net loss of $513.3 million for 1980. The Texas Seventh, in Houston (Archer-R), is close behind with a net loss of $513.2 million. The Illinois Ninth, Chicago's North Shore (Yates-D), is third among heavy losers with an annual drain of $432.3 million. A disturbing 142 Congressional Districts have net losses of $200 million or more per year.

The principal gainers are concentrated in the South and Southwest. The Southern California Districts are mostly gainers, but the Northern California Congressional Districts have a surprisingly high proportion of losers. Twenty-eight states are losers, 22 (generally small) gain. California has six Congressional Districts with a net gain of $500 million or more each year as a result of the Pentagon budget, while Virginia has four. The Virginia First, comprising Newport News and Hampton (Trible-R), where major Navy bases are located, had an incredible net gain of almost exactly $2.0 billion for 1980. This means that every Congressional District in the country contributed an average of $4,600,000 for their Pentagon Tax bonanza.

The nearby Virginia Second (Whitehurst-R-) encompassing Norfolk, another major Navy base area, had a net gain of $1.4 billion. The billion dollar Pentagon budget club also includes the Missouri Third, in South St. Louis and St. Louis County (Gephardt-D), with a gain of $1.5 billion. The Missouri First, in North St. Louis and St. Louis County (Clay-D), had a net gain of $1.3 billion, the Virginia Tenth (Wolf-R), home of the Pentagon, gained $1.3 billion, and the Texas Twelfth (Wright-D), in Fort Worth, gained $1.2 billion.

Table 2 (page 9) provides projections of net gains and losses for Congressional Districts for 1982, based on a military budget increased by over 30% from 1980 to $186.1 billion for 1982, and assuming the same rate of change for all Congressional Districts. This table shows the accelerating drain of the military budget on extensive areas of the U.S.

The analysis of the tax impact of the Pentagon budget by Congressional District has an important advantage over calculating the breakdown by states. As the study area is reduced, it becomes evident that disparities in the impact of Pentagon spending are extreme even within states with large overall military outlays.

For example, Mississippi has overall Pentagon expenditures of just over $1.5 billion, with a Pentagon Tax burden of $977.4 million, for a net Pentagon Tax gain of $534 million. It would appear that the entire state of Mississippi shares in a sizable net inflow of Pentagon dollars. Yet when the pattern of Pentagon spending in Mississippi is analyzed by Congressional District a surprise emerges. Four of its five Congressional Districts, comprising the northern four-fifths of the state's population and land area, suffer a net drain when their Pentagon Tax burdens are compared with Pentagon spending in them. About $1.0 billion of Pentagon spending is concentrated entirely within the southeastern corner of the state, along the Gulf Coast. A similar pattern can be seen in Texas, a major gain state in dollars, where 14 of its 24 Congressional Districts are in the net loss category.

In terms of tax dollars, the Pentagon budget draws from the many and gives to the few. The military budget is taken from all taxpayers, but it is funneled to a relatively narrow group of military contractors and employees. The net gain or loss per family equivalent illustrates this point. Although the Mississippi Fifth Congressional District has a net gain of $4,900 per family equivalent, the families in eleven of its twelve counties experience a net drain of tax dollars to finance

military spending. Only in Jackson County, where Litton Industries operates naval shipbuilding facilities, is there any sizable number of families or households which gain substantially from military spending.

> **In the figures in Tables 1 and 2 (pages 6-12), the net gain per family appears higher for the majority of familes in the Congressional District than it is in reality, for included are salaries and expenses for all armed forces personnel as well as the military contracts. So averaged on a per family basis, the amount can look quite large whereas only a relatively small number of people may be benefitting.**

Despite the bias of Pentagon spending in favor of states in the South and West, a large number of southern Congressional Districts are in the net loss category. In the Sun Belt states, 86 Congressional Districts experience net losses. Among Southern states, North Carolina has 8 net loss Districts, Florida has 10, Georgia 6, Alabama 4, Louisiana 7, and Arkansas 4, in addition to the 18 losers in Mississippi and Texas.

Four major findings emerge from this data:

First, when examined closely, by Congressional District, the Pentagon budget shows up as a major source of inequity and imbalance in the Federal budget and the Federal tax burden.

Second, the drain from the Midwest and Northeast is severe, even spectacular, and contributes substantially to the economic stagnation of these regions.

Third, the fact that 302 Congressional Districts, representing almost 70% of the nation's population, are suffering net drains on their community's economic resources, is an indication that military spending is a continuing source of economic drain, thus undermining civilian industry, generating unemployment and leading to political instability.

Fourth, as Pentagon spending adds relatively little to the productive capital base, private and public, of a community and consumes rather than creates equity, even the Congressional Districts with sizable net gains should find little comfort in this analysis. Although St. Louis has a major net inflow of military spending, the city is nevertheless under severe financial stress.

Impact on the Economy

The capital base of the United States, which is the foundation upon which both jobs and real income ultimately rest, is eroding at an accelerating pace, relative both to other major industrial nations and to the domestic demands being placed upon it. Our capital base, both public and private, is not equal to the demands being placed upon it. For 302 Congressional Districts, the Pentagon budget is an immediate and direct threat to their economic and political well-being.

A Pentagon Tax burden of this magnitude will make impossible the achievement of higher industrial employment, higher productivity, lower inflation rates, and lower interest rates.

Substantial capital outlays are needed to improve industrial productivity and expand job opportunities. Major outlays of capital are also needed to build and maintain homes, as well as to build and maintain an efficient transportation network and adequate public facilities. The simplest conclusion which one may draw about this military budget, is that at a time of an acute and growing capital shortage in the U.S., and at a time of declining U.S. productivity, more than $200

billion per year of U.S. capital resources will be expended for unproductive and destructive purposes in the name of national security. It might be pointed out that if peace prevailed, the United States could double the basic capitalization of every firm on the New York Stock Exchange over the next five years.

The economic dislocation from this level of peace-time expenditure will be substantial. If the U.S. becomes involved in a war, especially a prolonged one, the breakdown of our financial and industrial structure is a real possibility.

Cause of Inflation

The level of inflation is one of the principal symptoms of severe dislocation under way in the economy. This level of military expenditure threatens to accelerate the inflation that continues at a persistent level in excess of 10 percent and which is eroding the fabric of American society.

It is no longer possible to pretend that inflation is being accelerated solely by social or non-defense spending, because the budget that President Reagan recently announced allows for real, i.e. inflation adjusted, increases only for the Pentagon. All other major categories of the Federal budget are being reduced in real terms through a combination of direct cuts and reductions in real outlays through inflation.

Increased military spending means that more demands are placed on increasingly scarce resources: skilled labor, key materials, and advanced industrial capacity. This inflation, which would be made permanent by high levels of military spending, reveals an underlying, deep-seated weakness to our allies and antagonists alike, thus undercutting the image of steadfast power which the U.S. government seeks to project by military means.[1]

The military threat to U.S. economic health is stressed by Wassily Leontief, a Nobel-Prize-winning economist:

> If handled improperly, these huge jumps in military spending will mean higher inflation, a worsening balance of payments gap, a drain on productive investment, soaring interest rates, increasing taxes, a debased currency and, in the longer run, more unemployment. Reagan hopes our gross national product will expand so much that we will be able to pay for higher defense spending without raising taxes. **This is not likely to happen. In fact, I personally guarantee that it will not happen.**[2]

Although fretting about inflation has now become quite fashionable, there is virtually no willingness within the Reagan Administration circles to admit the direct and dominant contribution of military spending to the inflationary pattern. However, even conservatives have begun to consider this possibility, as they view the havoc being wreaked on the American economy. The **Wall Street Journal** carried an article on its editorial page entitled "Burning Up $1 Trillion." Contained in that article is the following statement:

> Government spending of any kind tends to be more inflationary than private spending: it increases incomes without increasing the supply of goods that consumers can buy. **Defense spending, in this sense, is the worst kind of government outlay, since it eats up materials and other resources that otherwise would be used to produce consumer goods.**[3] (Emphasis added)

It is clear that the only major investment the United States will make in the next five years will be in military production. Investment capital is being diverted from the productive sectors of the economy, as the serious weaknesses in the automobile, construction, and steel industries show.

Interest Rates

The recond-high levels of the U.S. interest rates are another major symptom of economic dislocation. Within 48 hours after President Carter announced his military spending intentions in a State of the Union address in early 1980, interest rates began a sharp rise in anticipation of further inflation. This interest rate rise has continued, and represents the worst collapse in the history of the American bond and financial markets. Interest rates now are at or near all-time highs, and very few experts are willing to predict that their ultimate peak has been reached.

Notwithstanding President Reagan's talk about getting interest rates down from the high level of Carter's last year in office, their levels have remained high. There are fears that as military spending adds to inflationary pressures, interest rates could be pushed still higher to reflect the steadily declining value of paper assets, such as government and corporate bonds.

The heavy priority being given to the Pentagon is requiring a massive drain of the resources available for human and social needs through Federal, state and local government channels. Starvation is already underway for many city and state governments. A major national newspaper carried the following headline in early 1980: "Municipal Snarl: Cities and States Recoil as Costs of Borrowing in Bond Markets Soar: Many Cannot or Won't Pay the Rates of 8% or More." The lead paragraph stated: "The collapse of the Wall Street bond market is sending financial tremors across the land as state, cities, school districts and other municipal agencies find themselves temporarily shut out of the market and unable to raise money."[4]

Federal Shift From Civilian to Military Expenditures

Reagan's budget cuts are designed to take resources from the human resources and public capital segments of the Federal budget, such as health, nutrition, and transportation, and transfer them to Pentagon programs, rather than to achieve a genuine **overall net** reduction in the scope of Federal spending. A Congressional Budget Office analysis of the Fiscal 1982 Federal Budget reports:

> If the Administration's proposals for reducing spending are enacted, programs that now account for about 30 percent of the Federal budget will absorb essentially all of the effects. The major share of the reductions would affect areas such as education, employment and training, nutrition, health and social services; there would also be a profound impact on transportation and energy programs.[5]

A subsequent study by the Congressional Budget Office, reported in the **Washington Post** indicated "at least 20 to 25 million people, most of them living below the poverty line, would have their incomes cut as a result of President Reagan's proposed reductions in welfare, public service jobs, food stamps, and the school lunch programs."[6]

Conclusion

The conclusion is inescapable: accelerated military spending will result in the impoverishment of major sectors of American society and worsening budget problems for over 300 Congressional Districts. Inflation will continue to reduce the real incomes of most working Americans. Inflation will keep interest rates at levels where only the government, the military industries, and the largest American corporations will have access to capital and credit. Unemployment will probably continue to rise, although it may be somewhat masked if the draft is renewed. In short, sustained high military budgets will make the United States a poorer, weaker, and more divided nation than it is today.

TABLE I

The Pentagon Tax Gain or Loss by Congressional District Fiscal Year 1980

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT	PENTAGON EXPENDITURES ($ MILLIONS)	PENTAGON TAX BURDEN ($ MILLIONS)	NET GAIN OR LOSS ($ MILLIONS)	NET GAIN OR LOSS PER FAMILY
Alabama				
Hellin-D, Denton-R	$2,092.0	$1,841.5	+$250.5	
1 Edwards-R	242.0	252.0	−10.0	−$100
2 Dickinson-R	640.3	256.8	+383.5	+2,600
3 Nichols-D	318.2	234.4	+83.8	+600
4 Bevill-D	100.6	233.6	−133.0	−900
5 Flippo-D	561.7	296.2	+265.5	+1,800
6 Smith-R	123.5	335.9	−212.4	−1,400
7 Shelby-D	105.7	263.1	−157.4	−1,100
Alaska				
Stevens-R, Murkowski-R	762.3	410.8	+351.5	
1 Young-R	762.3	410.5	+351.5	+2,400
Arizona				
DeConcini-D, Goldwater-R	1,648.4	1,402.3	+246.1	
1. Rhodes-R	404.6	352.0	+52.6	+300
2 Udall-D	615.6	344.6	+271.0	+1,800
3 Stump-D	342.3	322.5	+19.8	+100
4 Rudd-R	285.9	383.2	−97.3	−600
Arkansas				
Pryor-D, Bumpers-D	610.2	977.4	−367.2	
1 Alexander-D	100.0	212.6	−112.6	−800
2 Bethune-R	238.2	285.2	−47.0	−300
3 Schmidt-R	123.9	249.0	−125.1	−800
4 Anthony-D	147.4	230.7	−83.3	−600
California				
Hayakawa-R, Cranston-D	22,571.7	16,445.7	+6,126.0	
1 Chapple-R	163.4	315.5	−152.1	−1,000
2 Clausen-R	75.2	322.0	−246.8	−1,700
3 Matsui-D	743.0	376.0	+367.0	+2,500
4 Fazio-D	929.3	315.1	+614.2	+4,100
5 J. Burton-D	245.5	532.8	−287.3	−1,900
6 P. Burton-D	343.8	387.0	−43.2	−300
7 Miller-D	105.8	421.5	−315.7	−2,100
8 Dellums-D	360.3	431.8	−71.5	−500
9 Stark-D	379.9	393.5	−13.6	−100
10 Edwards-D	683.7	335.4	+348.3	+2,300
11 Lantos-D	259.1	441.0	−181.9	−1,200
12 McCloskey-R	1,024.5	473.5	+551.0	+3,700
13 Mineta,D	1,143.6	444.8	+698.8	+4,700
14 Shumway-R	156.8	312.9	−156.1	−1,000
15 Coelho-D	164.2	282.6	−118.4	−800
16 Panetta-D	495.4	326.2	+169.2	+1,100
17 Pashayan-R	494.9	284.9	+210.0	+1,400
18 Thomas-R	570.9	293.7	+277.2	+1,900
19 Lagomarsino-R	1,018.9	367.5	+651.4	+4,400
20 Goldwater-R	567.6	451.7	+115.9	+800
21 Fiedler-R	442.2	378.6	+63.6	+400
22 Moorhead-R	510.2	491.5	+18.7	+100
23 Bellenson-D	612.3	644.1	−31.8	−200
24 Waxman-D	510.2	320.5	+189.7	+1,300
25 Roybal-D	374.2	337.3	+36.9	+200
26 Rousselot-R	476.2	431.8	+44.4	+300
27 Dornan-R	544.3	600.5	−56.2	−400
28 Dixon-D	442.2	371.4	+70.8	+500
29 Hawkins-D	374.2	245.5	+128.7	+900
30 Danielson-D	442.2	329.7	+112.5	+800
31 Dymally-D	374.2	382.8	−8.6	−100
32 Anderson-D	510.2	340.4	+169.8	+1,100
33 Grisham-R	374.2	373.7	+.5	+*
34 Lungren-R	511.4	443.3	+68.1	+500
35 Dreier-R	476.5	365.6	+110.9	+700
36 Brown-D	404.1	276.1	+128.0	+900
37 Lewis-R	496.1	322.4	+173.7	+1,100
38 Patterson-D	597.9	341.9	+256.0	+1,700
39 Dannemeyer-R	637.1	410.8	+226.3	+1,500
40 Badham-R	744.8	431.4	+313.4	+2,100
41 Lowery-R	1,191.7	418.0	+773.7	+5,200
42 Hunter-R	1,028.5	301.0	+727.5	+4,900
43 Burgener-R	922.7	396.2	+526.5	+3,500
Colorado				
Armstrong-R, Hart-D	1,774.6	1,798.9	−24.3	
1 Schroeder-D	504.6	428.9	+75.7	+500
2 Wirth-D	101.6	395.8	−294.2	−2,000
3 Kogovsek-D	278.4	272.4	+6.0	+*
4 Brown-R	74.6	323.1	−248.5	−1,700
5 Kramer-R	631.0	378.8	+252.2	+1,700
Connecticut				
Weicker-R, Dodd-D	$4,239.3	$2,478.9	+$1,760.4	
1 Cotter-D	1,383.9	422.7	+961.2	+$6,500
2 Gejdenson-D	843.5	350.8	+492.7	+3,300
3 DeNardis-R	127.8	388.8	−261.0	−1,800
4 McKinney-R	667.0	507.8	+159.2	+1,100
5 Ratchford-D	317.2	418.1	−100.9	−700
6 Moffett-D	906.1	392.9	+513.2	+3,400
D.C.	2,348.0	552.4	+1,795.6	+9,500
Delaware				
Roth-R, Biden-D	409.4	425.0	−15.6	
1 Evans-R	409.4	425.0	−15.6	−100
Florida				
Chiles-D, Hawkins-R	5,105.3	5,425.3	−320.0	
1 Hutto-D	1,097.3	293.0	+804.3	+5,400
2 Fuqua-D	121.3	268.7	−147.4	−1,000
3 Bennett-D	548.7	315.8	+232.9	+1,600
4 Chappel-D	291.7	332.0	−40.3	−300
5 McCollum-R	369.5	312.9	+56.6	+400
6 Young-R	286.7	388.1	−101.4	−700
7 Gibbons-D	392.0	334.6	+57.4	+400
8 Ireland-D	94.1	332.0	−237.9	−1,600
9 Nelson-D	1,019.7	388.8	+630.9	+4,200
10 Bafalis-R	159.9	347.2	−187.3	−1,300
11 Mica-D	296.2	453.6	−157.4	−1,100
12 Shaw-R	78.3	447.4	−369.1	−2,500
13 Lehman-D	100.5	381.9	−281.4	−1,900
14 Pepper-D	107.5	401.8	−294.3	−2,000
15 Fascell-D	142.4	426.8	−284.4	−1,800
Georgia				
Nunn-D, Mattingly-R	2,953.8	2,677.2	+276.6	
1 Ginn-D	537.0	228.9	+308.1	+2,100
2 Hatcher-D	180.5	204.3	−23.8	−200
3 Brinkley-D	772.2	243.1	+529.1	+3,600
4 Levitas-D	93.8	385.2	−291.4	−2,000
5 Fowler-D	44.7	360.6	−315.9	−2,200
6 Gingrich-R	217.2	283.5	−66.3	−400
7 McDonald-D	452.3	302.5	+149.8	+1,000
8 Evans-D	62.0	221.1	−159.1	−1,100
9 Jenkins-D	71.4	243.1	−171.7	−1,100
10 Barnard-D	408.9	234.0	+174.9	+1,200
Hawaii				
Matsunaga-D, Inouye-D	1,648.3	623.3	+1,025.0	
1 Haftel-D	982.3	358.7	+623.6	+4,200
2 Akaka-D	666.0	269.9	+396.1	+2,700
Idaho				
McClure-R, Symms-R	360.6	467.5	−106.9	
1 Craig-R	68.7	238.9	−170.2	−1,100
2 Hansen-R	292.3	228.6	+63.7	+400
Illinois				
Percy-R, Dixon-D	2,306.2	8,725.7	−6,419.5	
1 Washington-D	48.7	303.2	−254.5	−1,700
2 Savage-D	52.6	348.7	−296.1	−2,000
3 Russo-D	55.2	391.9	−336.7	−2,300
4 Derwinski-R	57.2	415.9	−358.7	−2,400
5 Fary-D	50.0	306.9	−256.9	−1,700
6 Hyde-R	62.6	445.4	−382.8	−2,600
7 Collins-D	46.7	264.3	−217.6	−1,500
8 Rostenkowski-D	50.0	322.5	−272.5	−1,800
9 Yates-D	61.8	494.1	−432.3	−2,900
10 Porter-R	68.4	581.7	−513.3	−3,400
11 Annunzio-D	57.2	422.5	−365.3	−2,500
12 Crane-R	187.2	473.4	−286.2	−1,900
13 McClory-R	280.7	371.2	−90.5	−600
14 Erlenborn-R	88.4	446.5	−358.1	−2,400
15 Corcoran-R	20.1	331.9	−311.8	−2,100
16 Martin-R	95.7	336.3	−240.6	−1,600
17 O'Brien-R	52.5	333.8	−281.3	−1,900
18 Michel-R	67.4	337.8	−270.4	−1,800
19 Railsback-R	227.8	311.6	−83.8	−600
20 Findley-R	56.2	310.1	−253.9	−1,700
21 Madigan-R	225.9	333.0	−107.1	−700
22 Crane-R	23.8	282.5	−258.7	−1,700
23 Price-D	323.2	305.4	+17.8	+100
24 Simon-D	45.4	249.0	−203.6	−1,400

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT	PENTAGON EXPENDITURES ($ MILLIONS)	PENTAGON TAX BURDEN ($ MILLIONS)	NET GAIN OR LOSS ($ MILLIONS)	NET GAIN OR LOSS PER FAMILY
Indiana				
Lugar-R, Quayle-R	$1,864.6	$3,470.5	-$1,605.9	
1 Benjamin-D	124.1	320.2	-196.1	-$1,300
2 Fithian-D	56.3	317.4	-261.1	-1,800
3 Hiler-R	233.5	338.2	-104.7	-700
4 Coats-R	264.6	323.4	-58.8	-400
5 Hillis-R	156.4	338.5	-182.1	-1,200
6 Evans-D	229.8	319.6	-89.8	-600
7 Myers-R	76.1	288.1	-212.0	-1,400
8 Deckard-R	153.7	274.5	-120.8	-800
9 Hamilton-R	146.9	283.3	-136.4	-900
10 Sharp-D	22.4	305.1	-282.7	-1,900
11 Jacobs-D	401.2	361.9	+39.3	+300
Iowa				
Jepsen-R, Grassley-R	425.4	1,869.8	-1,444.4	
1 Leach-R	112.5	326.9	-214.4	-1,400
2 Tauke-R	173.2	306.6	-133.4	-900
3 Evans-R	39.4	309.1	-269.7	-1,800
4 Smith-D	51.9	339.4	-287.5	-1,900
5 Harkin-D	23.0	296.7	-273.7	-1,800
6 Bedell-D	25.3	291.1	-265.8	-1,800
Kansas				
Kassenbaum-R, Dole-R	1,407.7	1,515.6	-107.9	
1 Roberts-R	73.4	274.9	-201.5	-1,400
2 Jeffries-R	247.6	289.5	-41.9	-300
3 Winn-R	299.4	371.6	-72.2	-500
4 Glickman-D	640.4	319.5	+320.9	+2,100
5 Whittaker-R	147.3	260.4	-113.1	-800
Kentucky				
Huddleston-D, Ford-D	1,181.4	1,813.1	-631.7	
1 Hubbard-D	355.9	242.2	+113.7	+800
2 Natcher-D	435.9	245.0	+190.9	+1,300
3 Mazzoli-D	110.3	315.2	-204.9	-1,400
4 Snyder-R	71.2	341.1	-269.9	-1,800
5 Rogers-R	45.9	178.2	-132.3	-900
6 Hopkins-R	66.0	297.9	-231.9	-1,600
7 Perkins-D	96.2	193.7	-97.5	-700
Louisiana				
Johnston-D, R. Long-D	1,478.3	2,181.5	-703.2	
1 Livingston-R	221.0	315.5	-94.5	-600
2 Boggs-D	185.2	308.4	-123.2	-800
3 Tauzin-D	85.7	307.3	-221.6	-1,500
4 Roemer-D	540.6	277.1	+263.5	+1,800
5 Huckaby-D	60.1	220.9	-160.8	-1,100
6 Moore-R	125.1	286.6	-161.5	-1,100
7 Breaux-D	85.4	257.7	-172.3	-1,200
8 G. Long-D	169.7	208.3	-38.6	-300
Maine				
Mitchell-D, Cohen-R	684.7	524.1	+160.6	
1 Emery-R	555.9	281.2	+274.7	+1,800
2 Snowe-R	128.9	242.9	-114.0	-800
Maryland				
Sarbanes-D, Mathias-R	3,910.4	3,017.2	+893.2	
1 Dyson-D	646.9	297.9	+349.0	+2,300
2 Long-D	148.7	433.7	-285.0	-1,900
3 Mikulski-D	328.6	353.4	-24.8	-200
4 Holt-R	865.0	381.3	+483.7	+3,200
5 Spellman-D	379.8	395.6	-15.8	-100
6 Byron-D	362.0	321.7	+40.3	+300
7 Mitchell-D	365.5	265.9	+99.6	+700
8 Barnes-D	811.4	566.1	+245.3	+1,600
Massachusetts				
Kennedy-D, Tsongas-D	4,453.3	3,711.3	+742.0	
1 Conte-R	154.9	283.6	-128.7	-900
2 Boland-D	65.7	286.7	-221.0	-1,500
3 Early-D	166.6	292.3	-125.7	-800
4 Frank-D	503.6	390.0	+113.6	+800
Shannon-D	761.5	288.6	+472.9	+3,200
Mavroules-D	1,097.9	312.4	+785.5	+5,300
7 Markey-D	597.8	317.3	+280.5	+1,900
8 O'Neill-D	500.4	334.9	+165.5	+1,100
9 Moakley-D	148.5	296.9	-148.4	-1,000
10 Heckler-R	175.0	297.2	-122.2	-800
11 Donnelly-D	139.0	300.0	-161.0	-1,100
12 Studds-D	140.7	292.9	-152.2	-1,000

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT	PENTAGON EXPENDITURES ($ MILLIONS)	PENTAGON TAX BURDEN ($ MILLIONS)	NET GAIN OR LOSS ($ MILLIONS)	NET GAIN OR LOSS PER FAMILY
Michigan				
Riegle-D, Levin-D	$2,338.9	$6,615.1	-$4,276.2	
1 Conyers-D	37.4	315.4	-278.0	-$1,900
2 Pursell-R	58.6	383.0	-324.4	-2,200
3 Wolpe-D	88.8	340.9	-252.1	-1,700
4 Siljander-R	21.0	305.7	-284.7	-1,900
5 Sawyer-R	77.6	329.7	-252.1	-1,700
6 Dunn-R	73.6	347.5	-273.9	-1,800
7 Kildee-D	17.8	339.5	-321.7	-2,200
8 Traxler-D	33.2	307.1	-273.9	-1,800
9 Vander Jagt-R	186.5	289.7	-103.2	-700
10 Albosta-D	70.9	283.4	-212.5	-1,400
11 Davis-R	205.9	249.5	-43.6	-300
12 Bonior-D	575.1	353.7	+221.4	+1,500
13 Crockett-D	32.6	264.3	-231.7	-1,600
14 Hertel-D	366.4	427.9	-61.5	-400
15 Ford-D	37.7	356.5	-318.8	-2,100
16 Dingell-D	38.7	377.8	-339.1	-2,300
17 Brodhead-D	44.3	446.7	-402.4	-2,700
18 Blanchard-D	315.5	420.9	-105.4	-700
19 Broomfield-R	47.5	456.4	-408.9	-2,700
Minnesota				
Durenberger-R, Boschwitz-R	1,313.1	2,634.7	-1,321.6	
1 Erdahl-R	24.4	319.8	-295.4	-2,000
2 Hagedorn-R	68.1	322.1	-254.0	-1,700
3 Frenzel-R	400.4	445.6	-45.2	-300
4 Vento-D	308.0	377.1	-69.1	-500
5 Sabo-D	348.8	380.4	-31.6	-200
6 Weber-R	44.6	256.2	-211.6	-1,400
7 Stangeland-R	35.2	244.0	-208.8	-1,400
8 Oberstar-D	83.5	289.8	-206.3	-1,400
Mississippi				
Stennis-D, Cochran-R	1,511.4	977.4	+534.0	
1 Whitten-D	130.9	180.2	-49.3	-300
2 Bowen-D	175.2	177.1	-1.9	*
3 Montgomery-D	92.1	173.0	-80.9	-500
4 Hinson-R	166.6	218.9	-52.3	-400
5 Lott-R	946.9	221.7	+725.2	+4,900
Missouri				
Danforth-R, Eagleton-D	4,446.5	2,918.0	+1,528.5	
1 Clay-D	1,568.4	285.7	+1,282.7	+8,600
2 Young-D	30.7	420.5	-389.8	-2,600
3 Gephardt-D	1,838.2	327.7	+1,510.5	+10,100
4 Skelton-D	232.3	280.7	-48.4	-300
5 Bolling-D	270.9	327.4	-56.5	-400
6 Coleman-R	67.9	277.8	-209.9	-1,400
7 Taylor-R	75.1	237.8	-162.7	-1,100
8 Bailey-R	276.1	258.0	+18.1	+100
9 Volkmer-D	57.5	284.5	-227.0	-1,500
10 Emerson-R	29.4	221.2	-191.8	-1,300
Montana				
Melcher-D, Baucus-D	179.9	453.3	-273.4	
1 Williams-D	37.6	225.1	-187.5	-1,300
2 Marlenee-R	142.5	228.2	-85.7	-600
Nebraska				
Zorinsky-D, Exon-D	549.5	963.2	-413.7	
1 Bereuter-R	56.3	307.6	-251.3	-1,700
2 Daub-R	460.7	366.0	+94.7	+600
3 Smith-R	31.3	289.6	-258.3	-1,700
Nevada				
Cannon-D, Laxalt-R	567.8	552.4	+15.4	
1 Santini-D	567.8	552.4	+15.4	+100
New Hampshire				
Humphrey-R, Rudman-R	649.4	551.9	+97.5	
1 D'Amours-D	190.4	271.0	-80.6	-500
2 Gregg-R	459.0	280.9	+178.1	+1,200
New Jersey				
Williams-D, Bradley-D	2,677.5	5,581.1	-2,903.6	
1 Florio-D	113.7	307.3	-193.6	-1,300
2 Hughes-D	106.9	303.6	-196.7	-1,300
3 Howard-D	387.2	364.3	+22.9	+100
4 Smith-R	320.8	327.5	-6.7	-*
5 Fenwick-R	173.7	475.5	-301.8	-2,000
6 Forsythe-R	579.9	360.2	+219.7	+1,500
7 Roukema-R	87.9	469.6	-381.7	-2,600
8 Roe-D	157.0	348.3	-191.3	-1,300
9 Hollenbeck-R	93.9	430.9	-337.0	-2,300
10 Rodino-D	87.6	281.3	-193.7	-1,300

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT	PENTAGON EXPENDITURES ($ MILLIONS)	PENTAGON TAX BURDEN ($ MILLIONS)	NET GAIN OR LOSS ($ MILLIONS)	NET GAIN OR LOSS PER FAMILY
New Jersey continued				
11 Minish-D	$107.9	$443.5	−$335.6	−$2,300
12 Rinaldo-R	103.8	430.5	−326.7	−2,300
13 Courter-R	178.1	362.8	−184.7	−1,900
14 Guarini-D	123.4	319.6	−196.2	−1,300
15 Dwyer-D	55.4	357.9	−302.5	−2,000
New Mexico				
Domenici-R, Schmitt-R	1,490.8	623.3	+867.5	
1 Lujan-R	962.7	332.5	+630.2	+4,200
2 Skeen-R	528.1	290.8	+237.3	+1,600
New York				
Moynihan-D, D'Amato-R	6,885.4	11,898.6	−5,013.2	
1 Carney-R	142.6	277.6	−135.0	−900
2 Downey-D	134.0	266.7	−132.7	−900
3 Carman-R	548.5	353.0	+195.5	+1,300
4 Lent-R	789.2	356.3	+432.9	+2,900
5 McGrath-R	818.5	388.7	+429.8	+2,900
6 LeBoutillier-R	380.9	439.9	−59.0	−400
7 Addabbo-D	43.5	327.7	−284.2	−1,900
8 Rosenthal-D	46.4	380.5	−334.1	−2,200
9 Ferraro-D	44.1	317.0	−272.9	−1,800
10 Biaggi-D	43.4	274.6	−231.2	−1,600
11 Scheuer-D	40.2	279.5	−239.3	−1,600
12 Chisholm-D	31.3	175.4	−144.1	−1,000
13 Solarz-D	42.1	315.5	−273.4	−1,800
14 Richmond-D	34.7	206.9	−172.2	−1,200
15 Zeferetti-D	39.3	279.5	−240.2	−1,600
16 Schumer-D	41.7	310.6	−268.9	−1,800
17 Molinari-R	133.0	292.6	−159.6	−1,100
18 Green-R	514.4	749.3	−234.9	−1,600
19 Rangel-D	320.5	262.1	+58.4	+400
20 Weiss-D	214.4	376.5	−162.1	−1,100
21 Garcia-D	32.2	154.7	−122.5	−800
22 Bingham-D	44.0	276.7	−232.7	−1,600
23 Peyser-D	56.4	377.7	−321.3	−2,200
24 Ottinger-D	53.9	450.0	−396.1	−2,700
25 Fish-R	38.5	298.1	−259.6	−1,700
26 Gilman-R	134.5	285.3	−150.8	−1,000
27 McHugh-D	470.9	256.9	+214.0	+1,400
28 Stratton-D	408.7	299.6	+109.1	+700
29 Solomon-R	55.8	244.4	−188.6	−1,300
30 Martin-R	163.4	212.0	−48.6	−300
31 Mitchell-R	336.7	242.5	+94.2	+600
32 Wortley-R	132.4	269.7	−137.3	−900
33 Lee-R	128.4	252.6	−124.2	−800
34 Horton-R	69.2	329.5	−260.3	−1,700
35 Conable-R	49.6	279.5	−229.9	−1,500
36 LaFalce-D	128.2	275.5	−147.3	−1,000
37 Nowak-D	60.8	237.7	−176.9	−1,200
38 Kemp-R	65.9	296.5	−230.6	−1,500
39 Lundine-D	80.4	231.6	−151.2	−1,000
North Carolina				
Helms-R, East-R	2,387.9	2,847.2	−459.3	
1 Jones-D	278.6	213.0	+65.6	+400
2 Fountain-D	30.9	212.8	−181.9	+1,200
3 Whitley-D	552.4	206.6	+345.8	+2,300
4 Andrews-D	90.9	300.0	−209.1	−1,400
5 Neal-D	69.1	280.8	−211.7	−1,400
6 Johnston-R	264.8	315.0	−50.2	−300
7 Rose-D	890.5	228.3	+662.2	+4,400
8 Hefner-D	46.7	252.9	−206.2	−1,400
9 Martin-R	52.7	328.5	−275.8	−1,800
10 Broyhill-R	31.3	270.2	−239.8	−1,600
11 Hendon-R	79.8	238.1	−158.3	−1,100
North Dakota				
Burdick-D, Andrews-R	309.0	368.3	−59.3	
1 Dorgan-D	309.0	368.3	−59.3	−400
Ohio				
Metzenbaum-D, Glenn-D	3,850.9	7,139.3	−3,288.4	
1 Gradison-R	278.8	348.9	−70.1	−500
2 Luken-D	261.5	308.5	−47.0	−300
3 Hall-D	434.2	360.1	+74.1	+500
4 Guyer-R	140.2	283.1	−142.9	−1,000
5 Latta-R	48.9	278.1	−229.2	−1,500
6 McEwen-R	421.3	244.6	+176.7	+1,200
7 Brown-R	752.4	298.6	+453.8	+3,000
8 Kindness-R	107.7	300.5	−192.8	−1,300
9 Weber-R	62.3	332.4	−270.1	−1,800
10 Miller-R	24.6	230.0	−205.4	−1,400
11 Stanton-R	43.1	316.3	−273.2	−1,800
12 Shamansky-D	246.8	316.9	−70.1	−500
13 Pease-D	43.0	302.0	−259.0	−1,700
14 Seiberling-D	$184.0	$328.4	−$144.4	−$1,000
15 Wiley-R	243.2	317.9	−74.7	−500
16 Regula-R	46.0	302.3	−256.3	−1,700
17 Ashbrook-R	97.6	275.6	−178.0	−1,200
18 Applegate-D	20.7	256.1	−235.4	−1,600
19 Williams-R	17.2	308.9	−291.7	−2,000
20 Oakar-D	82.8	306.4	−223.6	−1,500
21 Stokes-D	77.5	265.7	−188.2	−1,300
22 Eckart-D	95.0	451.3	−356.3	−2,400
23 Mottl-D	95.3	406.0	−310.7	−2,100
Oklahoma				
Boren-D, Nickles-R	1,675.6	1,657.3	+18.3	
1 Jones-D	147.6	338.1	−190.5	−1,300
2 Synar-D	102.1	234.5	−132.4	−900
3 Watkins-D	90.4	214.6	−124.2	−800
4 McCurdy-D	574.7	258.5	+316.2	+2,100
5 Edwards-R	508.3	339.2	+169.1	+1,200
6 English-D	235.3	272.6	−37.3	−200
Oregon				
Hatfield-R, Packwood-R	448.2	1,685.6	−1,237.4	
1 Aucoin-D	116.4	480.8	−364.4	−2,400
2 D. Smith-R	91.6	375.9	−284.3	−1,900
3 Wyden-D	139.7	439.5	−299.8	−2,000
4 Weaver-D	100.2	389.0	−288.8	−1,900
Pennsylvania				
Heinz-R, Specter-R	4,473.4	7,465.0	−2,991.6	
1 Foglietta-D	359.4	265.5	+93.9	+600
2 Gray-D	351.9	307.0	+44.9	+300
3 Lederer-D	359.4	261.9	+97.5	+600
4 Dougherty-R	381.8	331.1	+50.7	+300
5 Schulze-R	192.2	374.1	−181.9	+1,200
6 Yatron-D	83.2	283.1	−199.9	−1,300
7 Edgar-D	240.3	343.4	−103.1	−700
8 J. Coyne-R	177.5	340.1	−162.6	−1,100
9 Shuster-R	206.3	245.2	−38.9	−300
10 McDade-R	174.4	256.2	−81.8	−500
11 Nelligan-R	42.4	254.7	−212.3	−1,400
12 Murtha-D	38.2	238.9	−200.7	−1,300
13 Coughlin-R	213.9	459.2	−245.3	−1,600
14 W. Coyne-D	155.6	316.8	+161.2	−1,100
15 Ritter-R	42.0	321.9	−279.9	−1,900
16 Walker-R	120.0	298.3	−178.3	−1,200
17 Ertel-D	94.4	280.4	−186.0	−1,200
18 Walgren-D	163.6	350.6	−187.0	−1,200
19 Goodling-R	681.9	316.5	+365.4	+2,500
20 Gaydos-D	150.2	300.1	−149.9	−1,000
21 Bailey-D	65.0	284.6	−219.6	−1,500
22 Murphy-D	43.6	253.8	−210.2	−1,400
23 Clinger-R	62.4	242.8	−180.4	−1,200
24 Marks-R	40.6	268.4	−227.8	−1,500
25 Atkinson-D	35.8	268.1	−232.3	−1,600
Rhode Island				
Pell-D, Chafee-R	486.2	566.6	−80.4	
1 St. Germain-D	382.4	288.4	+94.0	+600
2 Schneider-R	103.8	278.2	−174.4	−1,200
South Carolina				
Thurmond-R, Hollings-D	2,242.0	1,410.5	+831.5	
1 Hartnett-R	954.4	234.1	+720.3	+4,800
2 Spence-R	329.7	243.1	+86.6	+600
3 Derrick-D	401.9	247.8	+154.1	+1,000
4 Campbell-R	62.1	269.6	−207.5	−1,400
5 Holland-D	151.3	224.0	−72.7	−500
6 Napier-R	126.4	191.4	−65.0	−400
South Dakota				
Pressler-R, Abdnor-R	188.5	340.0	−151.5	
1 Daschle-D	31.0	173.4	−142.4	−1,000
2 Roberts-R	157.5	166.4	−8.9	−100
Tennessee				
Baker-R, Sasser-D	1,297.6	2,294.8	−997.2	
1 Quillen-R	136.0	259.0	−123.0	−800
2 Duncan-R	71.6	283.7	−212.1	−1,400
3 Bouquard-D	275.7	300.0	−24.3	−200
4 Gore-D	258.0	251.0	+7.0	+100
5 Boner-D	97.6	357.1	−259.5	−1,700
6 Beard-R	76.5	282.0	−205.5	−1,400
7 Jones-D	155.2	262.2	−107.0	−700
8 Ford-D	227.0	299.2	−72.2	−500

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT	PENTAGON EXPENDITURES ($ MILLIONS)	PENTAGON TAX BURDEN ($ MILLIONS)	NET GAIN OR LOSS ($ MILLIONS)	NET GAIN OR LOSS PER FAMILY
Texas				
Tower-R, Bentsen-D	$10,117.4	$8,669.1	+$1,448.3	
S. Hall-D	236.2	289.7	−53.5	−$400
Wilson-D	77.2	291.9	−214.7	−1,400
3 Collins-R	437.6	580.8	−143.2	−1,000
4 R. Hall-D	309.5	347.1	−37.6	−300
5 Mattox-D	378.5	441.0	−62.5	−400
6 Gramm-D	600.9	392.6	+208.3	+1,400
7 Archer-R	122.9	636.1	−513.2	−3,400
8 Fields-R	94.5	348.2	−253.7	−1,700
9 Brooks-D	359.7	376.4	−16.7	−100
10 Pickle-D	282.7	340.6	−57.9	−400
11 Leath-D	724.6	309.9	+414.7	+2,800
12 Wright-D	1,559.8	394.8	+1,165.0	+7,800
13 Hightower-D	430.3	363.4	+66.9	+400
14 Patman-D	380.7	310.6	+70.1	+500
15 De La Garza-D	151.7	205.2	−53.5	−400
16 White-D	482.8	308.5	+174.3	+1,200
17 Stenholm-D	245.8	318.2	−72.4	−500
18 Leland-D	90.1	326.2	−236.1	−1,600
19 Hance-D	92.1	352.2	−260.1	−1,700
20 Gonzalez-D	1,025.0	260.4	+764.6	+5,100
21 Loeffler-R	790.5	407.4	+383.1	+2,600
22 Paul-R	62.5	425.9	−363.4	−2,400
23 Kazen-D	449.5	249.6	+199.9	+1,300
24 Frost-D	815.2	397.7	+417.5	+2,800
Utah				
Garn-R, Hatch-R	895.4	679.9	+215.5	
1 Hansen-R	629.5	316.8	+312.7	+2,100
2 Marriott-R	265.8	363.1	−97.3	−700
Vermont				
Stafford-R, Leahy-D	168.6	240.8	−72.2	
1 Jeffords-R	168.6	240.8	−72.2	−500
Virginia				
Byrd-I, Warner-R	8,648.7	3,272.1	+5,376.6	
1 Trible-R	2,266.2	293.5	+1,972.7	+13,300
2 Whitehurst-R	1,764.1	319.4	+1,444.7	+9,700
3 Bliley-R	284.0	363.9	−79.9	−500
4 R. Daniel-R	$897.2	$268.3	+$628.9	+$4,200
5 D. Daniel-D	54.6	248.7	−194.1	−1,300
6 Butler-R	72.7	300.7	−228.0	−1,500
7 Robinson-R	136.9	281.1	−144.2	−1,000
8 Parris-R	921.5	435.5	+486.0	+3,300
9 Wampler-R	243.3	226.8	+16.5	+100
10 Wolf-R	1,824.0	533.7	+1,290.3	+8,700
Washington				
Jackson-D, Slade-R	4,098.0	2,762.2	1,335.8	
1 Pritchard-R	839.3	503.5	+335.8	+2,300
2 Swift-D	334.1	382.4	−48.3	−300
3 Bonker-D	384.5	353.6	+30.9	+200
4 Morrison-R	382.5	339.0	+43.5	+400
5 Foley-D	190.0	343.0	−153.0	−1,000
6 Dicks-D	1,357.0	393.0	+964.0	+6,500
7 Lowry-D	825.0	451.4	+373.6	+2,500
West Virginia				
Randolph-D, Byrd-D	238.6	977.4	−738.8	
1 Mollohan-D	25.4	278.8	−253.4	−1,700
2 Benedict-R	115.6	215.8	−100.2	−700
3 Staton-R	38.0	251.7	−213.7	−1,400
4 Rahall-D	59.6	231.2	−171.6	−1,100
Wisconsin				
Proxmire-D, Kasten-R	592.9	2,818.8	−2,225.9	
1 Aspin-D	33.1	319.2	−286.1	−1,900
2 Kastenmeier-D	74.3	332.0	−257.7	−1,700
3 Gunderson-R	76.2	263.7	−187.5	−1,300
4 Zablocki-D	77.7	355.5	−277.8	−1,900
5 Reuss-D	73.7	328.5	−254.8	−1,700
6 Petri-R	14.8	301.6	−286.8	−1,900
7 Obey-D	49.3	256.8	−207.5	−1,400
8 Roth-R	92.4	277.5	−185.1	−1,200
9 Sensenbrenner-R	60.7	390.2	−329.5	−2,200
Wyoming				
Wallop-R, Simpson-R	139.5	325.8	−186.3	
1 Cheney-R	139.5	325.8	−186.3	−1,200

TABLE 2

The Pentagon Tax Gain or Loss by Congressional District Fiscal Year 1982‡

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT	PENTAGON EXPENDITURES ($ MILLIONS)	PENTAGON TAX BURDEN ($ MILLIONS)	NET GAIN OR LOSS ($ MILLIONS)	NET GAIN OR LOSS PER FAMILY
Alabama				
Heflin-D, Denton-R	$2,748.5	$2,419.3	+$329.2	
1 Edwards-R	317.9	331.0	−13.1	−$100
2 Dickinson-R	841.2	337.4	+503.8	+3,400
3 Nichols-D	418.0	308.0	+110.0	+700
4 Bevill-D	132.2	306.9	−174.7	−1,200
5 Flippo-D	738.0	389.1	+348.9	+2,300
6 Smith-R	162.2	441.3	−279.1	−1,900
7 Shelby-D	138.9	345.7	−206.8	−1,400
Alaska				
Stevens-R, Murkowski-R	1,001.5	539.7	+461.8	
1 Young-R	1,001.5	539.7	+461.8	+3,100
Arizona				
DeConcini-D, Goldwater-R	2,165.7	1,842.3	+323.4	
1. Rhodes-R	531.6	462.5	+69.1	+500
2 Udall-D	808.8	452.7	+356.1	+2,400
3 Stump-D	449.7	423.7	+26.0	+200
4 Rudd-R	375.6	503.4	−127.8	−900
Arkansas				
Pryor-D, Bumpers-D	801.7	1,284.1	−482.4	
1 Alexander-D	131.4	279.3	−147.9	−1,000
2 Bethune-R	312.9	374.7	−61.8	−400
3 Schmidt-R	162.8	327.1	−164.3	−1,100
4 Anthony-D	193.7	303.1	−109.4	−700
California				
Hayakawa-R, Cranston-D	$29,654.5	$21,606.2	+$8,048.3	
1 Chapple-R	214.7	414.5	−199.8	−$1,300
2 Clausen-R	98.8	423.0	−324.2	−2,200
3 Matsui-D	976.1	494.0	+482.1	+3,200
4 Fazio-D	1,220.9	414.0	+806.9	+5,400
5 J. Burton-D	322.5	700.0	−377.5	−2,500
6 P. Burton-D	451.7	508.4	−56.7	−400
7 Miller-D	139.0	553.8	−414.8	−2,800
8 Dellums-D	473.4	567.3	−93.9	−600
9 Stark-D	499.1	517.0	−17.9	−100
10 Edwards-D	898.2	440.6	+457.6	+3,100
11 Lantos-D	340.4	579.4	−239.0	−1,600
12 McCloskey-R	1,346.0	622.1	+723.9	+4,900
13 Mineta,D	1,502.5	584.4	+918.1	+6,200
14 Shumway-R	206.0	411.1	−205.1	−1,400
15 Coelho-D	215.7	371.3	−155.6	−1,000
16 Panetta-D	650.9	428.6	+222.3	+1,500
17 Pashayan-R	650.1	374.3	+275.8	+1,900
18 Thomas-R	750.0	385.9	+364.1	+2,400
19 Lagomarsino-R	1,338.6	482.8	+855.8	+5,800
20 Goldwater-R	745.7	593.4	+152.3	+1,000
21 Fiedler-R	581.0	497.4	+83.6	+600
22 Moorhead-R	670.3	645.7	+24.6	+200
23 Bellenson-D	804.4	846.2	−41.8	−300
24 Waxman-D	670.3	421.1	+249.2	+1,700
25 Roybal-D	491.6	443.1	+48.5	+300
26 Rousselot-R	625.6	567.3	+58.3	+400
27 Dornan-R	715.1	788.9	−73.8	−500
28 Dixon-D	580.9	487.9	+93.0	+600
29 Hawkins-D	491.6	322.5	+169.1	+1,100

‡Projected from 1980 data

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT	PENTAGON EXPENDITURES ($ MILLIONS)	PENTAGON TAX BURDEN ($ MILLIONS)	NET GAIN OR LOSS ($ MILLIONS)	NET GAIN OR LOSS PER FAMILY
California continued				
30 Danielson-D	$581.0	$433.2	+$147.8	+$1,000
31 Dymally-D	491.6	502.9	−11.3	−100
32 Anderson-D	670.3	447.2	+223.1	+1,500
33 Grisham-R	491.6	491.0	+.6	+*
34 Lungren-R	671.9	582.4	+89.5	+600
35 Dreier-R	626.0	480.3	+145.7	+1,000
36 Brown-D	530.9	362.7	+168.2	+1,100
37 Lewis-R	651.8	423.6	+228.2	+1,500
38 Patterson-D	785.5	449.2	+336.3	+2,300
39 Dannemeyer-R	837.0	539.7	+297.3	+2,000
40 Badham-R	978.5	566.8	+411.7	+2,800
41 Lowery-R	1,565.6	549.2	+1,016.4	+7,000
42 Hunter-R	1,351.2	395.5	+955.7	+6,400
43 Burgener-R	1,212.2	520.5	+691.7	+4,600
Colorado				
Armstrong-R, Hart-D	2,331.5	2,363.4	−31.9	
1 Schroeder-D	662.9	563.5	+99.4	+700
2 Wirth-D	133.5	520.0	−386.5	−2,600
3 Kogovsek-D	365.8	357.9	+7.9	+100
4 Brown-R	98.0	424.5	−326.5	−300
5 Kramer-R	829.0	497.7	+331.3	+300
Connecticut				
Weicker-R, Dodd-D	5,569.6	3,256.8	+2,312.8	
1 Cotter-D	1,818.2	555.3	+1,262.9	+8,500
2 Gejdenson-D	1,108.2	460.9	+647.3	+4,300
3 DeNardis-R	167.9	510.8	−342.9	−2,300
4 McKinney-R	876.3	667.1	+209.2	+1,400
5 Ratchford-D	416.7	549.3	−132.6	−900
6 Moffett-D	1,190.4	516.2	+674.2	+4,500
D.C.	3,084.8	725.7	+2,359.1	+9,500
Delaware				
Roth-R, Biden-D	537.9	558.4	−20.5	−100
1 Evans-R	537.9	558.4	−20.5	−100
Florida				
Chiles-D, Hawkins-R	6,707.3	7,127.7	−420.4	
1 Hutto-D	1,441.6	384.9	+1,056.7	+7,100
2 Fuqua-D	159.4	353.0	−193.6	−1,300
3 Bennett-D	720.9	414.9	+306.0	+2,100
4 Chappel-D	383.2	436.2	−53.0	−400
5 McCollum-R	485.4	411.1	+74.3	+500
6 Young-R	376.7	509.9	−133.2	−900
7 Gibbons-D	515.0	439.6	+75.4	+500
8 Ireland-D	123.6	436.2	−312.6	−2,100
9 Nelson-D	1,339.7	510.8	+828.9	+5,600
10 Bafalis-R	210.2	456.1	−246.0	−1,700
11 Mica-D	389.1	595.9	−206.8	−1,400
12 Shaw-R	102.9	587.8	−484.9	−3,300
13 Lehman-D	132.0	501.7	−369.7	−2,500
14 Pepper-D	141.2	527.9	−386.6	−2,600
15 Fascell-D	187.1	560.7	−373.6	−2,500
Georgia				
Nunn-D, Mattingly-R	3,880.7	3,517.3	+363.4	
1 Ginn-D	705.5	300.7	+404.8	+2,700
2 Hatcher-D	237.1	268.4	−31.3	−200
3 Brinkley-D	1,014.5	319.4	+695.1	+4,700
4 Levitas-D	123.2	506.1	−382.9	−2,600
5 Fowler-D	58.7	473.8	−415.1	−2,800
6 Gingrich-R	285.4	372.5	−87.1	−600
7 McDonald-D	594.2	397.4	+196.8	+1,300
8 Evans-D	81.5	290.5	−209.0	−1,400
9 Jenkins-D	93.8	319.4	−225.6	−1,500
10 Barnard-D	537.2	307.4	+229.8	+1,500
Hawaii				
Matsunaga-D, Inouye-D	2,165.5	818.9	+1,346.6	
1 Haftel-D	1,290.5	471.3	+819.2	+5,500
2 Akaka-D	874.9	354.6	+520.3	+3,500
Idaho				
McClure-R, Symms-R	474.3	614.2	−139.9	
1 Craig-R	90.3	313.9	−223.6	−1,500
2 Hansen-R	384.0	300.3	+83.7	+600
Illinois				
Percy-R, Dixon-D	3,029.9	11,463.8	−8,433.9	
1 Washington-D	64.0	398.3	−334.3	−2,200
2 Savage-D	69.1	458.1	−389.0	−2,600
3 Russo-D	72.5	514.9	−442.4	−3,000
4 Derwinski-R	75.1	546.4	−471.3	−3,200
5 Fary-D	$65.7	$403.2	−$337.5	−$2,300
6 Hyde-R	82.2	585.2	−503.0	−3,400
7 Collins-D	61.4	347.2	−285.8	−1,900
8 Rostenkowski-D	65.7	423.7	−358.0	−2,400
9 Yates-D	81.2	649.1	−567.9	−3,800
10 Porter-R	89.9	764.2	−674.3	−4,500
11 Annunzio-D	75.1	555.1	−480.0	−3,200
12 Crane-R	245.9	621.9	−376.0	−2,500
13 McClory-R	368.8	487.7	−118.9	−800
14 Erlenborn-R	116.1	586.6	−470.5	−3,200
15 Corcoran-R	26.4	436.0	−409.6	−2,800
16 Martin-R	125.7	441.8	−316.1	−2,100
17 O'Brien-R	69.0	438.5	−369.5	−2,500
18 Michel-R	88.5	443.8	−355.3	−2,400
19 Railsback-R	299.3	409.4	−110.1	−700
20 Findley-R	73.8	407.4	−333.6	−2,200
21 Madigan-R	296.8	437.5	−140.7	−900
22 Crane-R	31.3	371.1	−339.8	−2,300
23 Price-D	424.6	401.2	+23.4	+200
24 Simon-D	59.6	327.1	−267.5	−1,800
Indiana				
Lugar-R, Quayle-R	2,449.7	4,559.5	−2,109.8	
1 Benjamin-D	163.0	420.7	−257.7	−1,700
2 Fithian-D	74.0	417.0	−343.0	−2,300
3 Hiler-R	306.8	444.3	−137.5	−900
4 Coats-R	347.6	424.9	−77.3	-500
5 Hillis-R	205.5	444.7	−239.2	−1,600
6 Evans-D	301.9	419.9	−118.0	−800
7 Myers-R	100.0	378.5	−278.5	−1,900
8 Deckard-R	201.9	360.6	−158.7	−1,100
9 Hamilton-R	193.0	372.2	−179.2	−1,200
10 Sharp-D	29.4	400.8	−371.4	−2,500
11 Jacobs-D	527.1	475.5	+51.6	+300
Iowa				
Jepsen-R, Grassley-R	558.9	2,456.5	−1,897.6	
1 Leach-R	147.8	429.5	−281.7	−1,900
2 Tauke-R	227.5	402.8	−175.3	−1,200
3 Evans-R	51.8	406.1	−354.3	−2,400
4 Smith-D	68.2	445.9	−377.7	−2,500
5 Harkin-D	30.2	389.8	−359.6	−2,400
6 Bedell-D	33.2	382.4	−349.2	−2,300
Kansas				
Kassenbaum-R, Dole-R	1,849.4	1,991.2	−141.8	
1 Roberts-R	96.4	361.2	−264.8	−1,800
2 Jeffries-R	325.3	380.3	−55.0	−400
3 Winn-R	393.3	488.2	−94.9	−600
4 Glickman-D	841.4	419.8	+421.6	+2,800
5 Whittaker-R	193.5	342.1	−148.6	−1,000
Kentucky				
Huddleston-D, Ford-D	1,552.1	2,382.0	−829.9	
1 Hubbard-D	467.6	318.2	+149.4	+1,000
2 Natcher-D	572.7	321.9	+250.8	+1,700
3 Mazzoli-D	144.9	414.1	−269.2	−1,800
4 Snyder-R	93.5	448.1	−354.6	−2,400
5 Rogers-R	60.3	234.1	−173.8	−1,200
6 Hopkins-R	86.7	391.4	−304.7	−2,000
7 Perkins-D	126.4	254.5	−128.1	−900
Louisiana				
Johnston-D, R. Long-D	1,942.2	2,866.0	−923.8	
1 Livingston-R	290.3	414.5	−124.2	−800
2 Boggs-D	243.3	405.2	−161.9	−1,100
3 Tauzin-D	112.6	403.7	−291.1	−2,000
4 Roemer-D	710.2	364.1	+346.1	+2,300
5 Huckaby-D	79.0	290.2	−211.2	−1,400
6 Moore-R	164.4	376.5	−212.1	−1,400
7 Breaux-D	112.2	338.6	−226.4	−1,500
8 G. Long-D	223.0	273.7	−50.7	−300
Maine				
Mitchell-D, Cohen-R	899.6	688.6	+211.0	
1 Emery-R	730.3	369.4	+360.9	+2,400
2 Snowe-R	169.3	319.1	−149.8	−1,000
Maryland				
Sarbanes-D, Mathias-R	5,137.5	3,964.0	+1,173.5	
1 Dyson-D	849.9	391.4	+458.5	+3,100
2 Long-D	195.4	569.8	−374.4	−2,500
3 Mikulski-D	431.7	464.3	−32.6	−200
4 Holt-R	1,136.4	500.9	+635.5	+4,300
5 Spellman-D	499.0	519.7	−20.7	−100

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT	PENTAGON EXPENDITURES ($ MILLIONS)	PENTAGON TAX BURDEN ($ MILLIONS)	NET GAIN OR LOSS ($ MILLIONS)	NET GAIN OR LOSS PER FAMILY
Maryland continued				
6 Byron-D	$475.6	$422.6	+$53.0	+$400
7 Mitchell-D	480.2	349.3	+130.9	+900
8 Barnes-D	1,066.0	743.7	+322.3	+2,200
Massachusetts				
Kennedy-D, Tsongas-D	5,850.7	4,875.9	+974.8	
1 Conte-R	203.5	372.6	−169.1	−1,100
2 Boland-D	86.3	376.7	−290.3	−2,000
3 Early-D	218.9	384.0	−165.1	−1,100
4 Frank-D	661.6	512.4	+149.2	+1,000
5 Shannon-D	1,000.5	379.2	+621.3	+4,200
6 Mavroules-D	1,442.4	410.4	+1,032.0	+6,900
7 Markey-D	785.4	416.9	+368.5	+2,500
8 O'Neill-D	657.4	440.0	+217.4	+1,500
9 Moakley-D	195.1	390.1	−195.0	−1,300
10 Heckler-R	229.9	390.5	−160.5	−1,100
11 Donnelly-D	182.6	394.1	−211.5	−1,400
12 Studds-D	184.9	384.8	−199.9	−1,300
Michigan				
Riegle-D, Levin-D	3,072.8	8,690.9	−5,618.1	
1 Conyers-D	49.1	414.4	−365.3	−2,500
2 Pursell-R	77.0	503.2	−426.2	−2,900
3 Wolpe-D	116.7	447.9	−331.2	−2,200
4 Siljander-R	27.6	401.6	−374.0	−2,500
5 Sawyer-R	102.0	433.2	−331.2	−2,200
6 Dunn-R	96.7	456.5	−359.8	−2,400
7 Kildee-D	23.4	446.0	−422.6	−2,800
8 Traxler-D	43.6	403.5	−359.9	−2,400
9 Vander Jagt-R	245.0	380.6	−135.6	−900
10 Albosta-D	93.1	372.3	−279.2	−1,900
11 Davis-R	270.5	327.8	−57.3	−400
12 Bonior-D	755.6	464.7	+290.9	+2,000
13 Crockett-D	42.8	347.2	−304.4	−2,000
14 Hertel-D	481.4	562.2	−80.8	−500
15 Ford-D	49.5	468.4	−418.9	−2,800
16 Dingell-D	50.8	496.4	−445.6	−3,000
17 Brodhead-D	58.2	586.9	−528.7	−3,600
18 Blanchard-D	414.5	553.0	−138.5	−900
19 Broomfield-R	62.4	599.6	−537.2	−3,600
Minnesota				
Durenberger-R, Boschwitz-R	1,725.1	3,461.4	−1,736.3	
1 Erdahl-R	32.1	420.2	−388.1	−2,600
2 Hagedorn-R	89.5	423.2	−333.7	−2,200
3 Frenzel-R	526.0	585.4	−59.4	−400
4 Vento-D	404.6	495.4	−90.8	−600
5 Sabo-D	458.3	499.8	−41.5	−300
6 Weber-R	58.6	336.6	−278.0	−1,900
7 Stangeland-R	46.2	320.6	−274.4	−1,800
8 Oberstar-D	109.7	380.7	−271.0	−1,800
Mississippi				
Stennis-D, Cochran-R	1,985.7	1,284.1	+701.6	
1 Whitten-D	172.0	236.7	−64.7	−400
2 Bowen-D	230.2	232.7	−2.5	0
3 Montgomery-D	121.0	227.3	−106.3	−700
4 Hinson-R	218.9	287.6	−68.7	−500
5 Lott-R	1,244.0	291.3	+952.7	+6,400
Missouri				
Danforth-R, Eagleton-D	5,841.8	3,833.6	+2,008.2	
1 Clay-D	2,060.6	375.4	+1,685.2	+11,300
2 Young-D	40.3	552.4	−512.1	−3,400
3 Gephardt-D	2,415.0	430.5	+1,984.5	+13,300
4 Skelton-D	305.2	368.8	−63.6	−400
5 Bolling-D	355.9	430.1	−74.2	−500
6 Coleman-R	89.2	365.0	−275.8	−1,900
7 Taylor-R	98.7	312.4	−213.7	−1,400
8 Bailey-R	362.7	339.0	+23.7	+200
9 Volkmer-D	75.5	373.8	−298.3	−2,000
10 Emerson-R	38.6	290.6	−252.0	−1,700
Montana				
Melcher-D, Baucus-D	236.6	595.5	−358.9	
1 Williams-D	49.4	295.7	−246.3	−1,700
2 Marlenee-R	187.2	299.8	−112.6	−800
Nebraska				
Zorinsky-D, Exon-D	721.9	1,265.4	−543.5	
1 Bereuter-R	74.0	404.1	−330.1	−2,200
2 Daub-R	605.3	480.8	+124.5	+800
3 Smith-R	41.1	380.5	−339.4	−2,300

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT	PENTAGON EXPENDITURES ($ MILLIONS)	PENTAGON TAX BURDEN ($ MILLIONS)	NET GAIN OR LOSS ($ MILLIONS)	NET GAIN OR LOSS PER FAMILY
Nevada				
Cannon-D, Laxalt-R	$746.0	$725.7	+$20.3	+$100
1 Santini-D	746.0	725.7	+20.3	+100
New Hampshire				
Humphrey-R, Rudman-R	853.2	725.1	+128.1	
1 D'Amours-D	250.1	356.0	−105.9	−700
2 Gregg-R	603.0	369.0	+234.0	+1,600
New Jersey				
Williams-D, Bradley-D	3,517.7	7,332.4	−3,814.7	
1 Florio-D	149.4	403.7	−254.3	−1,700
2 Hughes-D	140.4	398.9	−258.5	−1,700
3 Howard-D	508.7	478.6	+30.1	+200
4 Smith-R	421.5	430.3	−8.8	−100
5 Fenwick-R	228.2	624.7	−396.5	−2,700
6 Forsythe-R	761.9	473.2	+288.7	+1,900
7 Roukema-R	115.5	617.0	−501.5	−3,400
8 Roe-D	206.3	457.6	−251.3	−1,700
9 Hollenbeck-R	123.4	566.1	−442.7	−3,000
10 Rodino-D	115.1	369.6	−254.4	−1,700
11 Minish-D	141.8	582.7	−440.9	−3,000
12 Rinaldo-R	136.4	565.6	−429.2	−2,900
13 Courter-R	234.0	476.6	−242.6	−1,600
14 Guarini-D	162.1	419.9	−257.8	−1,800
15 Dwyer-D	72.8	470.2	−397.4	−2,700
New Mexico				
Domenici-R, Schmitt-R	1,958.6	818.9	+1,139.7	
1 Lujan-R	1,264.8	436.8	+828.0	+5,500
2 Skeen-R	693.8	382.1	+311.7	+2,100
New York				
Moynihan-D, D'Amato-R	9,046.0	15,632.3	−6,586.3	
1 Carney-R	187.3	364.7	−177.4	−1,200
2 Downey-D	176.0	350.4	−174.4	−1,200
3 Carman-R	720.6	463.8	+256.8	+1,700
4 Lent-R	1,036.8	468.1	+568.7	+3,800
5 McGrath-R	1,075.3	510.7	+564.6	+3,800
6 LeBoutillier-R	500.4	577.9	−77.5	−500
7 Addabbo-D	57.1	430.5	−373.4	−2,500
8 Rosenthal-D	61.0	499.9	−438.9	−2,900
9 Ferraro-D	57.9	416.5	−358.6	−2,400
10 Biaggi-D	57.0	360.8	−303.8	−2,000
11 Scheuer-D	52.8	367.2	−314.4	−2,100
12 Chisholm-D	41.1	230.4	−189.3	−1,300
13 Solarz-D	55.3	414.5	−359.2	−2,400
14 Richmond-D	45.6	271.8	−226.2	−1,500
15 Zeferetti-D	51.6	367.2	−315.6	−2,100
16 Schumer-D	54.8	408.1	−353.3	−2,400
17 Molinari-R	174.7	384.4	−209.7	−1,400
18 Green-R	675.8	984.4	−308.6	−2,100
19 Rangel-D	421.1	344.3	+76.8	+500
20 Weiss-D	281.7	494.6	−212.9	−1,400
21 Garcia-D	42.3	203.2	−160.9	−1,100
22 Bingham-D	57.8	363.5	−305.7	−2,100
23 Peyser-D	74.1	496.2	−422.1	−2,800
24 Ottinger-D	70.8	591.2	−520.4	−3,500
25 Fish-R	50.6	391.6	−341.0	−2,300
26 Gilman-R	176.7	374.8	−198.1	−1,300
27 McHugh-D	618.7	337.5	+281.2	+1,900
28 Stratton-D	536.9	393.6	+143.3	+1,000
29 Solomon-R	73.3	321.1	−247.8	−1,700
30 Martin-R	214.7	278.5	−63.8	−400
31 Mitchell-R	442.4	318.6	+123.8	+800
32 Wortley-R	173.9	354.3	−180.4	−1,200
33 Lee-R	168.7	331.9	−163.2	−1,100
34 Horton-R	90.9	432.9	−342.0	−2,300
35 Conable-R	65.2	367.2	−302.0	−2,000
36 LaFalce-D	168.4	361.9	−193.5	−1,300
37 Nowak-D	79.9	312.3	−232.4	−1,600
38 Kemp-R	86.6	389.5	−302.9	−2,000
39 Lundine-D	105.6	304.3	−198.7	−1,300
North Carolina				
Helms-R, East-R	3,137.2	3,740.6	−603.4	
1 Jones-D	366.0	279.8	+86.2	+600
2 Fountain-D	40.6	279.6	−239.0	−1,600
3 Whitley-D	725.7	271.4	+454.3	+3,100
4 Andrews-D	119.4	394.1	−274.7	−1,800
5 Neal-D	90.8	368.9	−278.1	−1,900
6 Johnston-R	347.9	413.8	−65.9	−400
7 Rose-D	1,169.9	299.9	+870.0	+5,800
8 Hefner-D	61.4	332.3	−270.9	−1,800
9 Martin-R	69.2	431.6	−362.3	−2,400
10 Broyhill-R	41.1	355.0	−313.9	−2,100
11 Hendon-R	104.8	312.8	−208.0	−1,400

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North Dakota				
Burdick-D, Andrews-R	$406.0	$483.9	−$77.9	
1 Dorgan-D	406.0	483.9	−77.9	−$500
Ohio				
Metzenbaum-D, Glenn-D	5,059.3	9,379.6	−4,320.3	
1 Gradison-R	366.3	458.4	−92.1	−600
2 Luken-D	343.6	405.3	−61.7	−400
3 Hall-D	570.4	473.1	+97.3	+700
4 Guyer-R	184.2	371.9	−187.7	−1,300
5 Latta-R	64.2	365.4	−301.2	−2,000
6 McEwen-R	553.5	321.4	+232.1	+1,600
7 Brown-R	988.5	392.3	+596.2	+4,000
8 Kindness-R	141.5	394.8	−253.3	−1,700
9 Weber-R	81.8	436.7	−354.9	−2,400
10 Miller-R	32.3	302.2	−269.9	−1,800
11 Stanton-R	56.6	415.6	−359.0	−2,400
12 Shamansky-D	324.2	416.3	−92.1	−600
13 Pease-D	56.5	396.8	−340.3	−2,300
14 Seiberling-D	241.7	431.4	−189.7	−1,300
15 Wiley-R	319.5	417.7	−98.2	−700
16 Regula-R	60.4	397.2	−336.8	−2,300
17 Ashbrook-R	128.2	362.1	−233.9	−1,600
18 Applegate-D	27.2	336.5	−309.3	−2,100
19 Williams-R	22.6	405.8	−383.2	−2,600
20 Oakar-D	108.8	402.5	−293.7	−2,000
21 Stokes-D	101.8	349.1	−247.3	−1,700
22 Eckart-D	124.8	592.9	−468.1	−3,100
23 Mottl-D	125.2	533.4	−408.2	−2,700
Oklahoma				
Boren-D, Nickles-R	2,201.4	2,177.3	+24.1	
1 Jones-D	193.9	444.2	−250.3	−1,700
2 Synar-D	134.1	308.1	−174.0	−1,200
3 Watkins-D	118.8	281.9	−163.1	−1,100
4 McCurdy-D	755.0	339.6	+415.4	+2,800
5 Edwards-R	667.8	445.6	+222.2	+1,500
6 English-D	309.1	358.1	−49.0	−300
Oregon				
Hatfield-R, Packwood-R	588.8	2,214.5	−1,625.7	
1 Aucoin-D	152.9	631.7	−478.8	−3,200
2 D. Smith-R	120.3	493.9	−373.6	−2,500
3 Wyden-D	183.5	577.4	−393.9	−2,600
4 Weaver-D	131.6	511.1	−379.5	−2,500
Pennsylvania				
Heinz-R, Specter-R	5,877.1	9,807.5	−3,930.4	
1 Foglietta-D	472.2	348.8	+123.4	+800
2 Gray-D	462.3	403.3	+59.0	+400
3 Lederer-D	472.2	344.1	+128.1	+900
4 Dougherty-R	501.6	435.0	+66.6	+400
5 Schulze-R	252.5	491.5	−239.0	−1,600
6 Yatron-D	109.3	371.9	−262.6	−1,800
7 Edgar-D	315.7	451.2	−135.5	−900
8 J. Coyne-R	233.2	446.8	−213.6	−1,400
9 Shuster-R	271.0	322.1	−51.1	−300
10 McDade-R	229.1	336.6	−107.5	−700
11 Nelligan-R	55.7	334.6	−278.9	−1,900
12 Murtha-D	50.2	313.9	−263.7	−1,800
13 Coughlin-R	281.0	603.3	−322.3	−2,200
14 W. Coyne-D	204.4	416.2	−211.8	−1,400
15 Ritter-R	55.2	422.9	−367.7	−2,500
16 Walker-R	157.7	391.9	−234.2	−1,600
17 Ertel-D	124.0	368.4	−244.4	−1,600
18 Walgren-D	214.9	460.6	−245.7	−1,600
19 Goodling-R	895.9	415.8	+480.1	+3,200
20 Gaydos-D	197.3	394.3	−197.0	−1,300
21 Bailey-D	85.4	373.9	−288.5	−1,900
22 Murphy-D	57.3	333.4	−276.1	−1,900
23 Clinger-R	82.0	319.0	−237.0	−1,600
24 Marks-R	53.3	352.6	−299.3	−2,000
25 Atkinson-D	47.0	352.1	−305.1	−2,100
Rhode Island				
Pell-D, Chafee-R	638.8	744.4	−105.6	
1 St. Germain-D	502.4	378.8	+123.5	+800
2 Schneider-R	136.4	365.5	−229.1	−1,500
South Carolina				
Thurmond-R, Hollings-D	2,945.5	1,853.1	+1,092.4	
1 Hartnett-R	1,253.9	307.6	+946.3	+6,400
2 Spence-R	433.2	319.4	+113.8	+800
3 Derrick-D	528.0	325.6	+202.4	+1,400
4 Campbell-R	81.6	354.2	−272.6	−1,800
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	−600

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT	PENTAGON EXPENDITURES ($ MILLIONS)	PENTAGON TAX BURDEN ($ MILLIONS)	NET GAIN OR LOSS ($ MILLIONS)	NET GAIN OR LOSS PER FAMILY
South Dakota				
Pressler-R, Abdnor-R	$247.6	$446.7	−$199.1	
1 Daschle-D	40.7	227.8	−187.1	−$1,300
2 Roberts-R	206.9	218.6	−11.7	−100
Tennessee				
Baker-R, Sasser-D	1,704.8	3,014.9	−1,310.1	
1 Quillen-R	178.7	340.3	−161.6	−1,100
2 Duncan-R	94.1	372.7	−278.6	−1,900
3 Bouquard-D	362.2	394.1	−31.9	−200
4 Gore-D	339.0	329.8	+9.2	+100
5 Boner-D	128.2	469.2	−341.0	−2,300
6 Beard-R	100.5	370.5	−270.0	−1,800
7 Jones-D	203.9	344.5	−140.6	−900
8 Ford-D	298.2	393.1	−94.9	−600
Texas				
Tower-R, Bentsen-D	13,292.2	11,389.4	+1,902.8	
1 S. Hall-D	310.3	380.6	−70.3	−500
2 Wilson-D	101.4	383.5	−282.1	−1,900
3 Collins-R	574.9	763.1	−188.2	−1,300
4 R. Hall-D	406.6	456.0	−49.4	−300
5 Mattox-D	497.3	579.4	−82.1	−600
6 Gramm-D	789.5	515.8	+273.7	+1,800
7 Archer-R	161.5	835.7	−674.2	−4,500
8 Fields-R	124.2	457.5	−333.3	−2,200
9 Brooks-D	472.6	494.5	−21.9	−100
10 Pickle-D	371.4	447.5	−76.1	−500
11 Leath-D	952.0	407.1	+544.9	+3,700
12 Wright-D	2,049.3	518.7	+1,530.6	+10,300
13 Hightower-D	565.3	477.4	+87.9	+600
14 Patman-D	500.2	408.1	+92.1	+600
15 De La Garza-D	199.3	269.6	−70.3	−500
16 White-D	634.3	405.3	+229.0	+1,500
17 Stenholm-D	322.9	418.0	−95.1	−600
18 Leland-D	118.4	428.6	−310.2	−2,100
19 Hance-D	121.0	462.7	−341.7	−2,300
20 Gonzalez-D	1,346.6	342.1	+1,004.5	+6,700
21 Loeffler-R	1,038.6	535.2	+503.4	+3,400
22 Paul-R	82.1	559.5	−477.4	−3,200
23 Kazen-D	590.5	327.9	+262.6	+1,800
24 Frost-D	1,071.0	522.5	+548.5	+3,700
Utah				
Garn-R, Hatch-R	1,176.3	893.2	+283.1	
1 Hansen-R	827.0	416.2	+410.8	+2,800
2 Marriott-R	349.2	477.0	−127.8	−900
Vermont				
Stafford-R, Leahy-D	221.5	316.4	−94.9	
1 Jeffords-R	221.5	316.4	−94.9	−600
Virginia				
Byrd-I, Warner-R	11,362.6	4,298.9	+7,063.7	
1 Trible-R	2,977.3	385.6	+2,591.7	+17,400
2 Whitehurst-R	2,317.7	419.6	+1,898.1	+12,800
3 Bliley-R	373.1	478.1	−105.0	−700
4 R. Daniel-R	1,178.7	352.5	+826.2	+5,600
5 D. Daniel-D	71.7	326.7	−255.0	−1,700
6 Butler-R	95.5	395.1	−299.6	−2,000
7 Robinson-R	179.9	369.3	−189.4	−1,300
8 Parris-R	1,210.7	572.2	+638.5	+4,300
9 Wampler-R	319.6	298.0	+21.6	+100
10 Wolf-R	2,396.4	701.2	+1,695.2	+11,400
Washington				
Jackson-D, Slade-R	5,383.9	3,629.0	1,754.9	
1 Pritchard-R	1,102.7	661.5	+441.2	+3,000
2 Swift-D	438.9	502.4	−63.5	−400
3 Bonker-D	505.2	464.6	+40.6	+300
4 Morrison-R	502.5	445.4	+57.1	+400
5 Foley-D	249.6	450.6	−201.0	−1,300
6 Dicks-D	1,782.8	516.3	+1,266.5	+8,500
7 Lowry-D	1,083.9	593.0	+490.9	+3,300
West Virginia				
Randolph-D, Byrd-D	317.7	1,284.1	−966.4	
1 Mollohan-D	33.4	366.3	−332.9	−2,200
2 Benedict-R	151.9	283.5	−131.6	−900
3 Staton-R	49.9	330.7	−280.8	−1,900

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT	PENTAGON EXPENDITURES ($ MILLIONS)	PENTAGON TAX BURDEN ($ MILLIONS)	NET GAIN OR LOSS ($ MILLIONS)	NET GAIN OR LOSS PER FAMILY
Wisconsin				
Proxmire-D, Kasten-R	$778.9	$3,703.3	-$2,924.4	
1 Aspin-D	43.5	419.4	-375.9	-$2,500
2 Kastenmeier-D	97.6	436.2	-338.6	-2,300
3 Gunderson-R	100.1	346.4	-246.3	-1,700
4 Zablocki-D	102.1	467.1	-365.0	-2,400
5 Reuss-D	96.8	431.6	-334.8	-2,300
6 Petri-R	19.4	396.2	-376.5	-2,600
7 Obey-D	$64.8	$337.4	-$272.6	-$1,800
8 Roth-R	121.4	364.6	-243.2	-1,600
9 Sensenbrenner-R	79.7	512.6	-432.9	-2,900
Wyoming				
Wallop-R, Simpson-R	183.3	428.0	-244.7	
1 Cheney-R	183.3	428.0	-244.7	-1,600

METHODOLOGY

The concept of the Pentagon Tax is designed to determine the amount of direct U.S. military spending whose cost, or tax burden, should be assigned to a particular geographical area. In this study we are primarily concerned with Congressional Districts. The base year is fiscal 1980.

The Department of Defense reported domestic outlays of $130.3 billion[1], and $11.4 billion in overseas direct defense expenditures and military grants[2]. The total Pentagon Tax burden is thus $141.0 billion. This tax burden is allocated to each state in accord with a percentage distribution computed and published by the Tax Foundation[3]. The tax burden for each state is in turn allocated to each county in accord with its proportion of state population and ratio of per capita income to the per capita income for the entire state. Projections for Fiscal Year 1982 are based on the assumption that the 1982 outlays and tax burden will increase by a factor of 1.313792 for each Congressional District, the ratio of a 1982 budget of $186.1 billion to the 1980 total military expenditures of $141.0 billion.

The tax burden for the county or counties comprising the Congressional District is then tabulated. If all or part of more than one Congressional District is contained within a county, then city and/or census tract population and income levels for the Congressional District portion are totalled and then averaged to determine the portion of the county's net tax burden which should be assigned to each Congressional District or fraction thereof.

Pentagon outlays for each county and principal city of the United States are published in the **Geographic Distribution of Federal Funds, Fiscal Year 1980** series, published by the Community Services Administration. Where a county includes all or part of more than one Congressional District, city and/or census tract population and income levels for the Congressional District portion are totalled and then averaged to determine the portion of the county's military outlays which should be assigned to the Cngressional District or part thereof. Both tax burdens and outlays for split counties are thus divided according to the same percentages.

The net Pentagon tax gain or loss is then computed by subtracting the Pentagon tax burden from Pentagon outlays.

REFERENCES – TEXT

1. Rosenfeld, S.S. "The Defense Numbers Have To Add Up." **Washington Post,** April 17, 1981, p. A13.
2. Kaiser, R.G. "Reagan's Defense Spending Could Turn Into Economic Nightmare." **Washington Post,** April 25, 1981, p. 1.
3. "Burning Up $1 Trillion:" **Wall Street Journal,** January 22, 1980.
4. "Municipal Snarl." **Wall Street Journal,** February 28, 1980, p. 1.
5. Congressional Budget Office, Congress of the United States. **An Analysis of President Reagan's Budget Revisions for Fiscal Year 1982.** U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 1981.
6. "Study Sees 20 Million Losing Some Income Under Reagan's Plan." **Washington Post,** April 16, 1981, p. A1.

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1. Community Services Administration, **Geographic Distribution of Federal Funds in Summary, Fiscal Year 1980.**
2. Survey of Current Business, June, 1981.
3. Tax Foundation, **Facts and Figures on Government Finance, 1981,** Table 101.

If the Arms Race Continues, It Won't Take a Nuclear War to Destroy Us

THE DOLLARS & CENTS OF DEFENSE

Since World War II, the U.S. has spent almost $2,000,000,000,000 —two trillion dollars—on defense. With this money, we have built an arsenal of weapons capable of devastating any enemy. It has been a sacrifice for the country to divert such massive resources for this purpose, but most Americans believed it a modest one, necessary to protect our national security.

As long as the American economy was strong and growing—as it was until the early seventies—mammoth defense expenditures were a tolerable burden. Even large cost overruns, which the Pentagon seems unable to avoid, could be absorbed without immense difficulty.

Over the last ten years, however, America's prosperity has grown shaky—the victim of chronic unemployment and a persistent inflationary spiral fueled by government deficits. (Indeed, it was the deficit spending to finance the Vietnam War that helped turn a healthy economy into a declining one.) With its pressing and still unsolved economic troubles, the nation can no longer afford to hand the Pentagon an annual blank check.

The Reagan Administration proposes an open-ended arms buildup, and plans to give the Pentagon an-astronomical $1.6 trillion budget for the next five years. This money is to be used to finance a military expansion even more rapid than the one in 1965-67 that made a casualty of the American economy (as well as of many Vietnamese and U.S. soldiers). Cost overruns will likely increase the bill for the Reagan program. Pentagon officials already admit that as much as $750 billion more may be needed to fulfill the Reagan Administration's military goals. Deficit spending at an unprecedented level will be required to finance the proposed military budget. High interest rates, heightened inflation, and declining productivity will be the inevitable by-product of this massive drain of resources from the American economy.

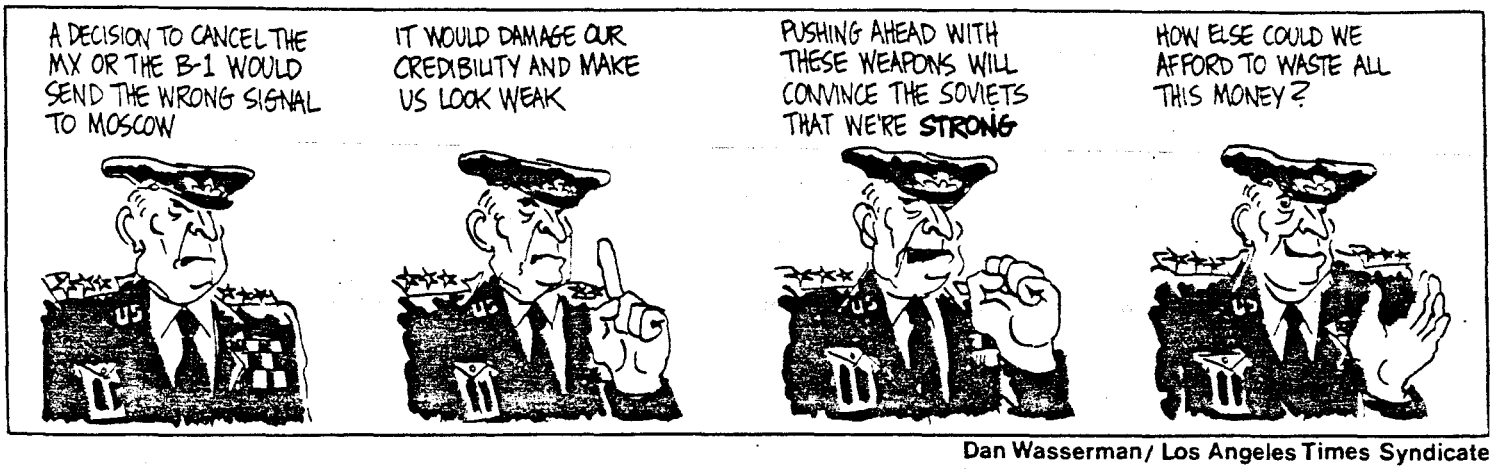
To demonstrate the impact of the proposed Reagan defense budget on the economy, we call attention to the following facts:

BURDEN ON THE TAXPAYER

The proposed defense budget will take a painful bite out of the average American family's already strained budget. Individual income taxes, which provide the bulk of government revenues, must provide most of the money to finance the $1.6 trillion Reagan defense program. THIS WILL COST THE AVERAGE TAXPAYER MORE THAN $12,000.

Corporations bear the remaining tax burden to finance the Pentagon, an expense that will, of course, be passed on to consumers. The average taxpayer, as a result, could pay as much as another $5000 over the next five years in higher prices for goods and services.

This $17,000 cost to the average taxpayer—as shocking as it is—is only a partial installment payment for the Reagan defense program. Cost overruns, program changes, sloppy Pentagon budget practices, and inflation can add hundreds of billions of dollars to the program—and thousands of dollars to everyone's tax burden. The $750 billion in additional funding that Pentagon planners may need to carry out the Reagan program would bring the total burden on the average taxpayer for the next five years up to more than $25,000.



Dan Wasserman/ Los Angeles Times Syndicate

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CONTINUING DEFICITS

Instead of meeting defense expenditures out of current revenues, the Administration is planning to finance a large part of the program through deficit spending. It has adopted a contradictory tax and budget package—which calls for whopping increases in defense spending while supposedly cutting taxes—that will lead to projected deficits of more than $100 billion per year. The average taxpayer, instead of paying $12,000 to $25,000 for defense spending in the next five years, will have to pay this amount, plus compound interest charges, as the money lavished on the Pentagon becomes part of the burgeoning national debt.

There is no mystery about the effect that the Reagan deficits will have on the economy. The government must borrow the money. This will bring it into competition with everyone else who is trying to borrow money—notably businesses who need capital and prospective homeowners who need mortgages. The fight for limited funds will keep interest rates at horrendous levels. Everything from the building of modern new plants by American industry to the financing of auto sales and home construction will be hurt.

BRAIN OF KEY RESOURCES

Defense spending costs the U.S. economy more than just the money it takes out of everyone's pocketbook. Spending to develop and manufacture sophisticated weaponry also creates long-run havoc in the civilian economy by diverting so many needed scientists and engineers. We pay a major price for this domestic brain drain—which absorbs more than 20 percent of the nation's technical talent—since these specialized personnel are urgently required to make the technological innovations that keep the civilian economy moving ahead and competitive in world markets.

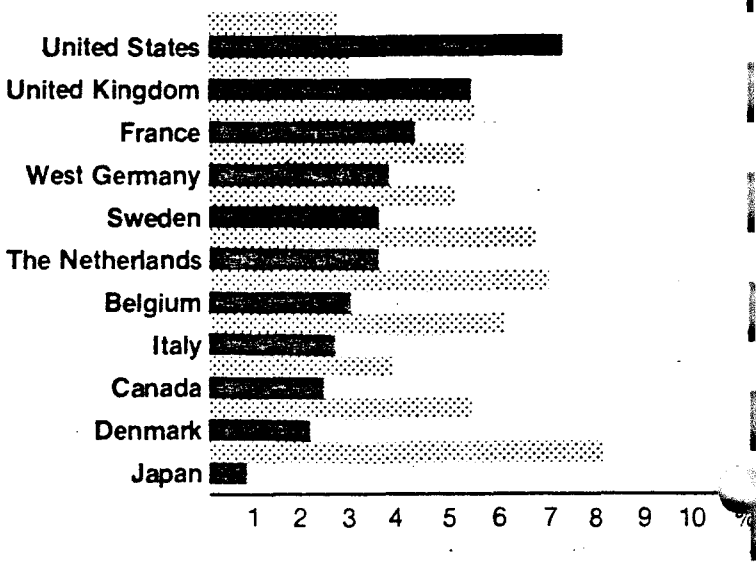
The harmful long-run consequences of continued high military spending are graphically displayed in the adjacent chart. The chart compares the level of military spending in the U.S. and other countries with a key indicator of their economic performance, their growth rate in manufacturing productivity. Japan, which spends practically nothing on defense, has had steady increases in productivity—output per manhour—while the U.S. ranks lowest on this key indicator of economic performance.

As a result of its declining productivity, and consequent high manufacturing costs, U.S. industry is slipping farther and farther behind its competitors. Its share of domestic auto sales has fallen from 95.9% in 1960 to 79% in 1979. Its share of consumer electronics has declined from 94.4% in 1969 to 49.4% in 1979.

CONCLUSIONS

An explosive increase in defense spending, as proposed by the Administration, will have devastating effects on the beleaguered American economy. It will be a paralyzing blow to the average taxpayer. It will cause a surge in federal deficits. It will stifle all hopes for lowering interest rates, a key step in bringing about a solid economic recovery. It will rob the civilian economy of the resources that are most needed to modernize our declining major industries and restore international competitiveness. If permitted, this defense program will be a death sentence for the most troubled sectors of the economy. Rethinking—and a scaling down—of the program is urgently required if such catastrophic economic consequences are to be avoided.

Military Spending vs. Manufacturing Productivity
(Average Percent, 1960-1979)



Source: Council on Economic Priorities, "The Costs and Consequences of Reagan's Military Buildup," 1982.

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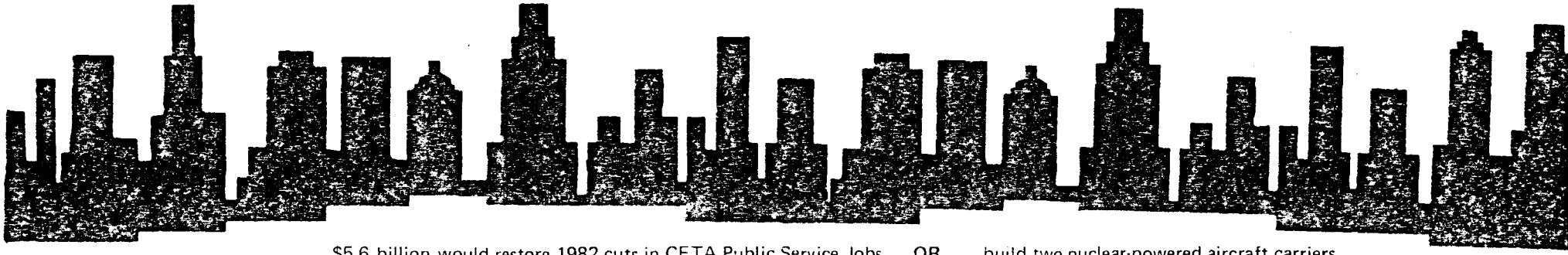
FEED THE CITIES...



Jobs	$5.6 billion would restore 1982 cuts in CETA Public Service Jobs and Training Programs,	OR	build two nuclear-powered aircraft carriers.
Food	$1.7 billion would restore full funding for Food Stamps,	OR	build one Trident nuclear submarine.
Energy	$8.4 billion would fund research and development needed to produce 80-100 miles per gallon cars,	OR	build 8 AEGIS navy cruisers.
Housing	$11 billion would restore the cuts in subsidized housing,	OR	fund the Cruise Missile program.
Mass Transit	$1.3 billion would restore 1982 mass transit subsidy cuts,	OR	build six B-1 bombers.
	$6.8 billion would rehabilitate New York City's subway system,	OR	pay for unjustified noncombat Pentagon aircraft.
Health	$400 million would restore cuts in health education and training programs,	OR	pay what Congress authorized to develop the Pershing II (first strike) missile.
Education	$450 million would restore the cut in the Guaranteed Student Loan program,	OR	buy 12 more F-15 fighter planes.
Child Care	$2.7 billion would restore cuts in funds for Aid to Dependent Children and Child nutrition programs,	OR	pay for research and development for a long-range combat aircraft.

Sources:

"What a Trillion and a Half Dollars for the Pentagon Will Mean for You," Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, Special Supplement to *Close Up*, Winter 1981/82 issue. "Looting the Means of Production" by Seymour Melman, *New York Times*, July 26, 1981.

NOT THE PENTAGON!

For more information: **Women's International League for Peace & Freedom**, 1213 Race St., Philadelphia, PA 1910[illegible]

5/82

WHAT MAKES AMERICA STRONG?

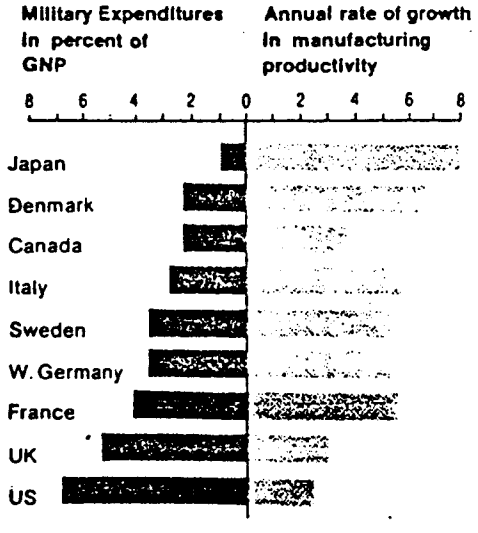
While the Administration and Congress respond to events in Iran and Afghanistan with proposals for a massive military build-up, the critical problems at home—chronic unemployment, soaring inflation, the energy crisis—remain unaddressed. To make America strong again we need far reaching proposals to put people to work solving the energy problem and rebuilding our cities. But instead moves are underway to:

- boost military spending by at least 5% over inflation
- establish new bases and naval forces overseas
- register young men for the draft
- postpone efforts towards arms control and arms reduction

These military actions will not make America stronger. Instead they will further erode America's traditional strength, the vitality of its industrial economy, by siphoning off economic resources.

The Real Danger: A Weakened US Economy

Military Burden and Productivity 1960-1978



World Military and Social Expenditures 1980, by Ruth Leger Sivard

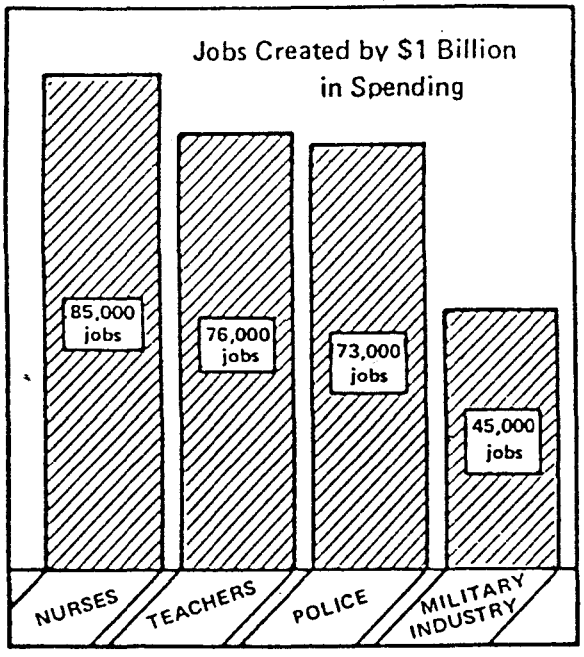
In almost every measure of a strong economy, the US now trails Japan and Germany. Since 1967, US productivity has increased 1/4 that of Japan and 1/3 that of Germany. As US military spending increases, we fall further behind our major trading partners: making fewer goods they need, while increasing our dependence on them for imports.

Since 1976, the US inflation rate has tripled—making double-digit inflation not a dreaded possibility but a fact of daily life. Inflation clocked in at over 13% for 1980, and is not expected to drop measurably in the years ahead. American wage increases are not keeping pace with price hikes, resulting in a net decline in the US standard of living.

The sluggish US economy has cut off millions of Americans, especially minorities and women, from job opportunities. The official unemployment rate in 1980 surpassed 7.5%—nearly double the goal set by the Humphrey/Hawkins Full Employment Act.

(over)

Military Spending: Small Boom, Big Bust



Bombs Away, by Greg Speeter

The major defense contractors, anticipating lavish new weapons contracts, are touting the latest military buildup as a shot in the arm for the American economy. But increased military spending will worsen, not cure, our economic ills.

More Inflation. Even Carter's own chief "inflation fighter," Alfred Kahn, has admitted that the jump in military spending will be highly inflationary. The assessment of military spending as the most inflationary form of federal procurement is now widely accepted by economists and politicians of many different persuasions.

Further Productivity Decline. If America's best engineering brains were all at work on rebuilding our industrial base, our sluggish economy would start to move again. But since the lion's share of our research talent (and funds) is now diverted to military projects, our civilian economy goes nowhere.

Fewer Jobs. Dollars spent on weapons systems create far fewer jobs than those spent on civilian projects. Increased military spending will contribute to unemployment by robbing other job-generating programs of needed funds.

FOR A STRONG AMERICA: CONVERSION

Let's save tax dollars here:

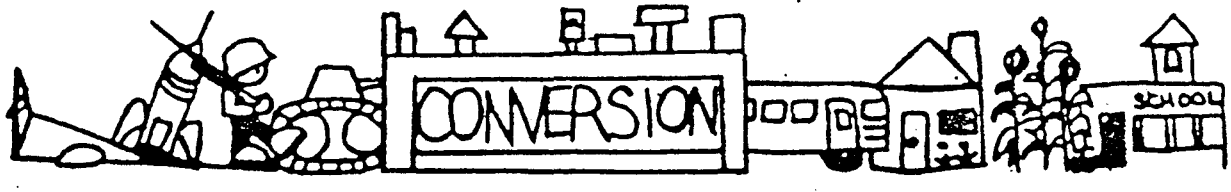
$1.5 billion Research and Development on the MX nuclear missile, destined to become the most expensive and lethal "boondoggle" in the history of mankind.

$2.5 billion for new hydrogen bombs, when our nuclear arsenal can already destroy every major Soviet city 50 times over.

And spend them here:

The same amount would cover nearly half the construction costs of a modern subway system for a major US city and would create 70,000 jobs.

That sum could buy energy conservation for 4.6 million housing units saving the equivalent of 22 million barrels of oil and create 87,000 jobs.



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Q. WHY ARE MILLIONS OUT OF WORK?

$1 billion spent on

EDUCATION  creates 187,299 jobs

HEALTH CARE  creates 138,939 jobs

CONSTRUCTION  creates 100,072 jobs

MASS TRANSIT  creates 92,071 jobs

THE MILITARY  creates 75,710 jobs

(Figures from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Structure of the U.S. Economy in 1980 and 1985.*)

WRITE YOUR REPRESENTATIVE, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515. TELL YOUR REPRESENTATIVE THAT YOU WANT LESS MONEY SPENT ON THE MILITARY AND MORE MONEY TO COME BACK TO YOUR COMMUNITY. ASK OTHERS TO WRITE. PLEASE POST THIS LEAFLET.

A. BECAUSE MILITARY SPENDING COSTS JOBS

Forty-six percent of our federal tax dollars are spent on the military, and military spending produces fewer jobs than money spent on human needs.

Economic—Social Decline

The consequences of an unchecked arms race extend far beyond the direct links previously discussed: the growing threat of nuclear catastrophe, the rising death toll in hostilities, and the militarization of political authority. Another victim is the world economy. And in its immediate and long-term effects on human existence, this victim—barring nuclear war—may count as the most disastrous boomerang of all.

The military-economic connection must be seen in both developmental and welfare terms. In quiet, devious ways the military burden undermines the growth that is essential to sustain an increasing population. It slows civilian investment and productivity, stimulates inflation, widens the gap between rich and poor, and postpones the solution of overriding global problems which can be resolved only by all nations working in concert.

For those hundreds of millions of people living at the margin of existence, the military buden on society means unrelieved poverty and massive suffering. It condemns countless individuals to live out lives without hope, destitute of the most elementary needs. Like nuclear war, this too is genocidal.

In selecting for review four major features of today's troubled social condition, the summary following will also attempt to show their military connections. Because the economic effects of the arms race occur in hidden and roundabout ways, they are too often ignored in economic analysis. The purpose here is to bring them into better focus, not to deny the complex of influences of which they are one part.

Inflation

Stubborn price inflation is one of the most visible signs of a global economy in crisis. It is a pervasive, debilitating illness but uneven in its effects, bearing most heavily on the weakest members of society.

For over three years the world average of consumer prices has increased at an annual rate of 12-15 percent. No national economies, even those over which there is strong centralized control, can be sealed off from a virulent global inflation. All suffer, although not in equal degree. The poorest countries are the hardest hit. According to the IMF price index, inflation in the non-oil developing countries is currently more than twice as rapid as in the industrialized countries.

Within nations, the effects are also uneven. Again it is the poorest and weakest elements of the population, and particularly the elderly with fixed incomes, who bear a disproportionate share of the inflation burden. They have no margin of income to spare above minimum requirements for food and shelter. For them runaway inflation can mean the sacrifice of needs basic to life itself.

Military spending is a silent partner in the inflationary spiral, stimulating it in several ways. It generates spendable income without enlarging the supply of goods available in the civilian market. It draws off capital from civilian investment, which in turn slows productivity gains and price economies. The result is a generalized upward pressure on prices.

Military procurement also has a more specific inflationary impact which derives from characteristics peculiar to it: rapid product change and obsolescence, cost-plus-profit contracts, and the excessive waste endemic to large bureaucracies beyond public control. To ensure first claim on scarce materials, labor, management and scientific talent, military buyers operate under less price constraint than civilian buyers. Few economies can prevent this privileged demand from having a spill-over effect in the rest of the market.

Unemployment

The world economy is not able to provide jobs for its expanding work force. Rising unemployment has been a persistent problem, reflecting not only the sluggish growth of the most recent years but a longer-term serious weakness in the development process.

State of the World's People

While the military burden rises, the economic-social trend is toward further contraction, reflected in a slackening of economic activity and growing social distress.

The continued deterioration of the world economy follows several years of declining growth rates and accelerated inflation.

In human terms it means an increasing number of wasted lives:

600,000,000 people unemployed or less than fully employed
900,000,000 illiterate adults
500,000,000 people malnourished
1,000,000,000 living in poverty

Boomerang

Far from making the world a safer place, the race to arm for "defense" has undermined security. A nuclear Frankenstein is the most terrifying of its creations. No known menace equals it in its potential for the annihilation of humanity. The increase in the number and destructiveness of nuclear weapons, their reckless proliferation throughout the world, the spread among more nations of the capability to produce these weapons, the apparent lack of will by national governments to achieve control, combine to put all life in jeopardy (see pp. 41-44)

Beyond the nuclear menace, there seems to be no end to man's inhumanity to man, including himself. An uncontrolled arms race boomerangs from many directions. Rather than serving as the defense it is said to be, it recoils back and imperils the safety of the people it is intended to protect. In these pages, three of these dangers are illustrated: the rising toll of civilian life in modern war, the aggressive proliferation of arms which return to threaten the exporting nations, and the violation of human rights associated with military control over governments.

At a time of grave economic-social distress world-wide, there is nothing that is more needed for the health of all nations than an environment conducive to broad cooperative action. Instead, the atmosphere is dominated by bellicose rhetoric, an emphasis on military rather than social threats to security, and on military solutions to problems that in fact are deeply rooted in social conditions. The result is a rising level of tension in the world, accompanied by civil disorder and wars of increasing destructiveness.

Hostilities

No nation can stand aloof from this turmoil. All suffer, some indirectly, through economic and political debilitation. Others are engulfed directly in violent conflict. How many and how destructive of life wars have been in recent years are illustrated opposite *(map 3)*. Fought with weapons called "conventional", they have been responsible for well over 10 million deaths since

Boomerang!
Bullets Bite Back

Arms exports and the training of foreign forces are increasingly in favor with governments as a means of political influence and a source of foreign exchange. Unfortunately, national friendships are not always durable, nor can the final destination and use of arms be foreseen. For the citizen of the supplying countries and their military forces, the proliferation of weapons very often boomerangs. Their own arms are turned against them or are used in ways inimical to their security.

United Kingdom, one of Argentina's major suppliers, sent that country military equipment up to eight days before Argentina invaded the Falkland Islands in April 1982, and the two countries were at war.

France, ally of the UK, had supplied Argentina with the Exocet sea-skimming missile which demolished the British destroyer Sheffield. The missile included British-made components.

South Korea, a top recipient of US arms, manufactures American-designed equipment and sells to Libya, which the US refuses to supply.

United States, supplier of $7.4 billion in military aid to Israel between 1978 and 1981, found itself unable to halt the use of these weapons, including cluster bombs, in an Israeli blitzkrieg into Lebanon in 1982.

Libya received 20 tons of US-made plastic explosives through an illicit shipment arranged by a former American CIA agent.

Nicaragua's Sandinistas overthrew the regime of dictator Somoza (which the US had supported), with arms largely purchased on the black market in Miami, USA.

Israel, which supplied arms clandestinely to Iran during the Iraq invasion of Iran, subsequently faced Iranian volunteers in its war in Lebanon.

China, a major supplier of arms to North Vietnam until 1978, went to war against it in 1979 and faced some of its own weapons in a short but bloody war.

USSR fought rebels in Afghanistan who were armed with weapons it had previously provided to Egypt, or which Egypt had manufactured from Soviet models.

And more merry-go-round—

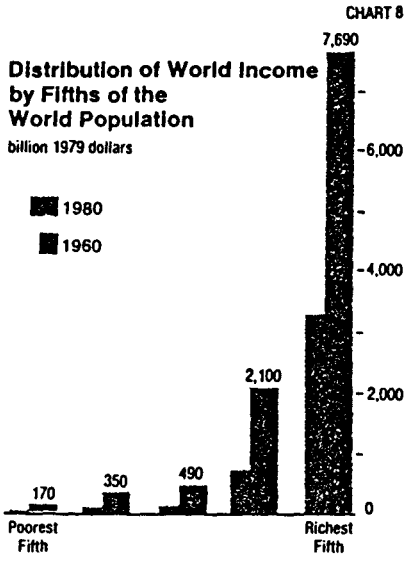
In Vietnam, USSR now makes use of the large naval and air bases constructed by the US during the Vietnam war.

In Somalia, US is settling into the large Berbera base on the Indian Ocean, constructed by the USSR before it parted company with Somalia in 1977.

A sample of 50 countries for which records are available since 1960 suggests that the number of unemployed may be three to four times higher than it was 20 years ago. Precisely how many at any one time are out of work we do not know. Rough estimates indicate that there are at least 600 million people who are unemployed, or under-employed in the sense of not having enough work to rise above the poverty level. These 600 million represent close to 10 percent of the labor force in the western industrialized countries but up to 50 percent in developing countries. The rate of youth unemployment is substantially higher than the average.

Numbers alone cannot convey the scope of the problem, or the human tragedy it represents. For society as a whole it is an immense waste of potentially productive resources. Joblessness shows also in the frustration and alienation of a generation of young people, in rising crime rates, and in social unrest. It is a serious and growing threat to security of all nations.

Employment opportunities are linked to the availability of capital and the expansion of investment, a sustained growth in manufacturing, agriculture, and the service industries, and the training facilities needed especially for new entrants in the work force.



In all of these respects military expenditures are counterproductive. They have a negative impact on investment in civilian sectors; they divert research efforts to objectives that are not growth-producing; they train in skills largely unusable in the civilian economy. Studies in the US have shown that military expenditures create only half as many jobs as the equivalent amount of money spent on such basic needs of society as housing, roads, hospitals, schools. As an increasing number of developing countries have also found, defense spending is the least effective way to produce the job opportunities needed for rapidly growing populations.

Income inequality

The economic growth of recent years has failed to narrow the enormous gap between the richest and poorest countries and between rich and poor within countries. A few developing countries have successfully moved out of poverty into a dynamic pattern of growth based in part on rapid industrialization. Some of the oil-producing states have soared to record levels of per capita income. The average gain in income in developing countries, however, has been too small in absolute terms, the growth of population too great, to begin to shrink the income gap.

Chart 8 shows how the growth of GNP between 1960 and 1980 was distributed among income groups of the population. Calculated in constant prices, the annual per capita income of the poorest fifth of the population advanced about $54; for the richest fifth, the gain averaged $4,224. The gap between the top and low income levels more than doubled in absolute terms over the period.

In the developing world in particular, income extremes within countries also appear to have spread. It is not uncommon for the richest fifth in the country to command 60 percent or more of the national income, while the poorest fifth of the population shares 2 to 5 percent of it.

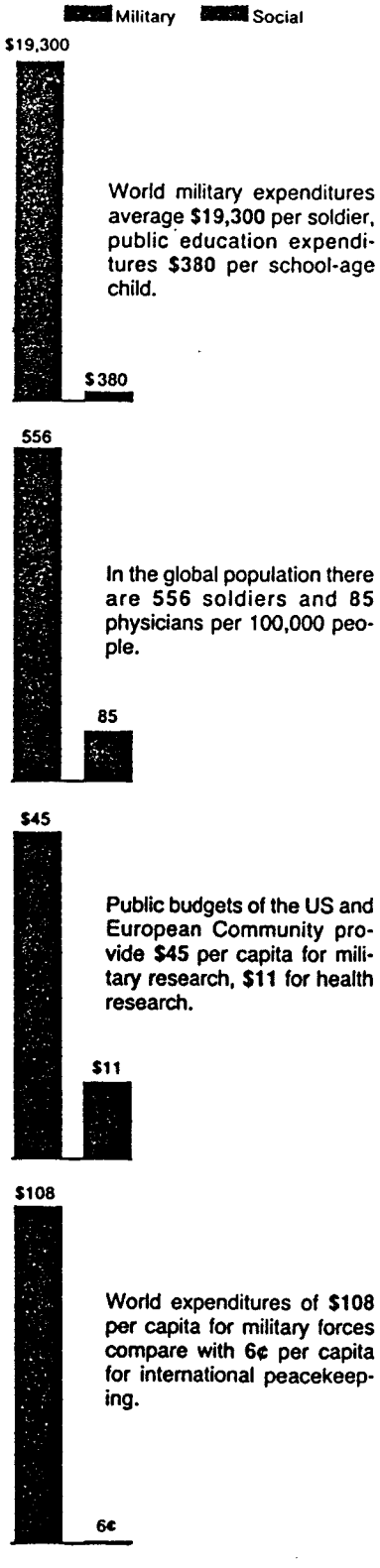
The increased military presence in the Third World countries contributes to continued inequalities within countries. Military-dominated governments resist change and tend to maintain feudal structures. With the land-owning and business classes, they establish first claim on economic gains. As a consequence, the dividends of growth are slow to trickle down to landless peasants and the urban poor.

The arms race also reenforces North-South inequalities. The impact of the rise in military expenditures has been relatively more severe in developing countries than in developed because of their much lower income base. Although the military burden relative to income has diminished somewhat in the last few years (and increased in the developed countries), the contrast between developed and developing in the income equivalents of their expenditures is still sharp. At 1980 levels of per capita income, military outlays represented 143 million man-years of imcome in developing countries and 50 million in developed.

Alternatives

CHART 11

Two Faces of World Security



The pursuit of international security through national military force has been increasingly costly, in blood, money—and security. There are few who would deny that the weapons of mass destruction that have been created and the heavy burden imposed on society have further imperiled the world's safety and well-being.

A search for alternatives is not new; it has been in the minds and hearts of many thoughtful people since the birth of civilization. Now it has been given new impetus by at least two factors.

One is the increasing interdependence of world society. In physical, social, and economic terms, it has become a world without borders, wrapped in interlocking needs. None of its basic problems—the provision of food, clean water, and energy, the control of population growth, the preservation of natural resources needed for survival—stops at national borders. Not one can be solved by national miltary forces, no matter how powerful.

Awareness of this interdependence has spread particularly with the growing consciousness of worldwide environmental dangers. The economic shocks of recent years and the evident inadequacy of narrow national policies to cope with them have given it further impetus.

Another major development is the appearance of direct public participation in military issues. The scope of public debate today is a relatively new phenomenon. Traditionally military policy and decisions have been the province of government officials, joined by a few cognoscenti who kept the debate alive among themselves. Dialogue on security issues in any case has always been one-sided, since officials found it difficult to convey the facts, for "security" reasons, to the people who were footing the bills.

Furthermore, as the weaponry has become more complex so has the language. It has been made more so by inversions of meaning, eg: the recent major lift in the tempo of the arms race is announced as "Peace through strength"; the military command controlling the most powerful assembly of nuclear weapons on earth has as its motto "Peace is our profession".

It is only recently that the public has begun seriously to question whether this very expensive game of security is actually being played for their benefit. There have been critical mechanical failures in the most advanced and expensive technology. Now that the players are in control of limitless destructive power, could it be that there are dangerous human as well as mechanical weaknesses in the game that is being played?

What brought the west Europeans out into the streets, in massive marches of protest in virtually every major city, was an official decision to place more nuclear weapons in their own backyards. They suddenly saw themselves and all that they cherished as potential victims of a mindless system in which they had no role.

Components of a security system

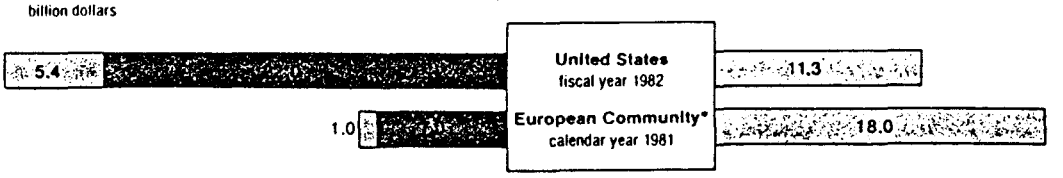
The principal public activism so far has been directed at overt military activities that appear to imperil rather than ensure the public safety e.g. the emplacement of nuclear weapons, arms bazaars, civil defense measures against nuclear attack. Related to this is a widening interest in disarmament policies. Some of these will be discussed below.

An alternative international security system, however, has positive as well as negative (arms reduction) components, and these are equally essential to progress. Economic security is an important element of the system, with ramifications at least as fundamental as the political liberties that military defense is intended to protect. The freeing of resources for growth-producing economic purposes is recognized to be a major benefit of progress in disarmament, and a prime argument for it. Ideally, cooperation in constructive economic endeavors will reenforce a movement away from competition of a destructive nature, and the easing of economic strains will further strengthen the peace.

Mechanisms for deterring aggression, resolving disputes, and dealing with breaches of the peace are also critical components of an international security

CHART 12

Government-financed Research and Development
billion dollars

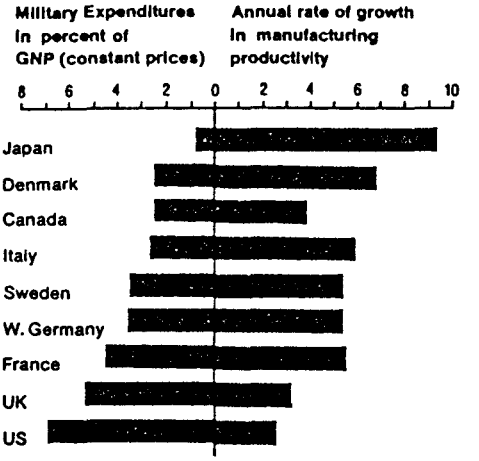


Military
Space
Civilian

* European Community: Belgium, Denmark, France, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, United Kingdom, West Germany.

CHART 13

Military Burden and Productivity
1960-1980



The Priorities are awry

As the arms race continues, contrasts between the military and social worlds have become more pronounced. Record outlays for arms and armies produce grotesque distortions of national priorities. Public expenditures have reached $19,300 per soldier, 50 times the average spent to educate a child of school age *(chart 11)*. In an intense competition for ever more destructive weaponry, the two superpowers (US and USSR) invest at least twice as much for research on military programs as for all civilian needs combined *(chart 12)*.

Increasingly apparent are the harsh consequences for the public welfare. Countries with the highest military burdens compete less effectively in world markets *(chart 13)*. The global economy suffers from wild inflation and record unemployment. Almost one-fourth of its inhabitants live in extreme poverty. Extravagant military defense has become the symbol of world *in*security.

And the Public has begun to speak out

Three years ago a wave of public indignation began to gather momentum and roll over western Europe. And it has not stopped. It swept eastward across the Atlantic and the Americas and westward to the Pacific and Japan. Passing over eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, its tone was subdued but clearer than some might have supposed.

Ordinary people were rising up to say in largely polite, but insistent, voices that they wanted the nuclear genie put back into the bottle. And more than that, it developed, they wanted an end to the political atmosphere of suspicion and fear, and the beginning of a true commitment to peace.

The activism began with nuclear weapons—aroused by a new buildup in Europe and the official rationale that it was necessary to increase these weapons in order to reduce them through arms control. In 1982 the movement is broad both in scope and participation. It has two strong characteristics which give it a promising future:

—a constituency of unusual breadth, of all ages and economic groups, including nuclear physicists, churches, lawyers, labor unions, environmentalists, women's groups, and physicians.

—a determination to be heard not only on nuclear matters but on a range of issues formerly accepted as the esoteric province of government officials.

Some highlights of the peaceful demonstrations during the past year indicate how widely based geographically the movement has become:

In *Tokyo*, one of the largest anti-nuclear rallies ever held in Japan had 300,000 participants. At the UN session in June, the Japanese delegation presented an appeal against nuclear weapons signed by 30 million Japanese.

In *Israel*, during the invasion of Lebanon, 70,000 demonstrated for peace.

In *Sicily*, 80,000 marched in protest of proposed cruise missile bases.

In *USSR*, several hundred Scandinavian and Russian women marched quietly for peace from Leningrad to Minsk.

In *Romania*, which officially supports cuts in Warsaw Pact military expenditures, there were peace rallies in several cities.

In *Bonn* and *Amsterdam*, anti-nuclear rallies attracted more than 300,000.

In *Barcelona*, 75,000 Spaniards called for nuclear disarmament.

In *Athens*, 200,000 assembled to protest foreign military bases in Greece.

In *New York*, 600,000 turned out for peace, in the largest rally on a political issue ever recorded in the US.

system. Through the office of the UN Secretary-General and the International Court, machinery already exists. How it functions and what it has achieved are not widely known. With public support it could be strengthened to ensure that it is in fact used as it should be in times of crisis.

"Virtually all the significant social and political movements in the last two decades have begun from below. Whether one speaks about liberation movements, or trade union movements, or the women's movement, or the environmental movement, all came up from below. And now we have the peace movement".
Soedjatmoko
Rector, United Nations University, 1982

Disarmament

The 50th anniversary of the first world conference on disarmament has also been the occasion for the Second UN Special Session on Disarmament. With public marches and convocations as well, it has been a year of banner headlines for peace and disarmament. Unfortunately the political results have been nowhere near the level of public concern and expectation.

Years of painstaking negotiations and more than a dozen international agreements have seemed to have no appreciable effect on the pace of the arms race. They may have discouraged some activities (eg. a faster spread of nuclear weapons) and possibly curbed areas of future development (eg. the antarctic, the seabeds). They have not put a cap on military expansion. Although disarmament negotiations are to continue, the prospects for any significant breakthrough in the normal course of diplomatic meetings are at present considered to be dim.

It is under these conditions that public activism has taken on new importance. Not only is there more of it but it is more desperately needed. It is a sign of the times that the one achievement of the officials gathered at the UN Special Session was an agreement on a world campaign for disarmament. It was as though they were reaching out to the public to be rescued from the slough of despond into which they had cast themselves. Educating the public has become the one last hope.

It is already clear that what the public can contribute is some simplification of a process that has become so ponderous and unwieldy that it can barely budge. There has already been a good harvest of straightforward suggestions. In these paragraphs there is room only for a few examples. They may give encouragement to others.

How do we simplify? One disarmament proposal is already on a number of US ballots, giving one voter in four a chance to vote on it this fall. The idea is simply to freeze nuclear weapons as they are. This means no further testing, production, or deployment. All verifiable, all fair. The argument it gets is that the opponent is "ahead". The answer: when nuclear overkill is so vast, the concept of balance between two adversaries is meaningless. The ability to kill fifty times over is no more of a deterrent than the ability to kill just once. Dead has no superlatives.

As for the nuclear reduction process, that can begin, as Professor Kennan suggested last year, with a clean 50 percent cut. Admiral Noel Gaylor has contributed to that a simple and verifiable procedure for achieving the cuts: let each side turn in to a referee an equal number of explosive nuclear fission devices. Each side choses the devices it wants to give up. Under supervision they are converted to power plant fuel. The reduction can be fast and the cuts very deep.

Simplification has many candidates. Nuclear-free zones can be simpler to arrange than comprehensive agreements. The idea of a Nordic area zone is still very much alive. There have been national or area proposals in Canada, New Zealand, India, the two Germanys, and widely in Europe. Wales is the first nuclear-free country. Size is no requirement. Even townships are making declarations. Enough towns can make a county, then a state, a nation, maybe a region, nuclear-free.

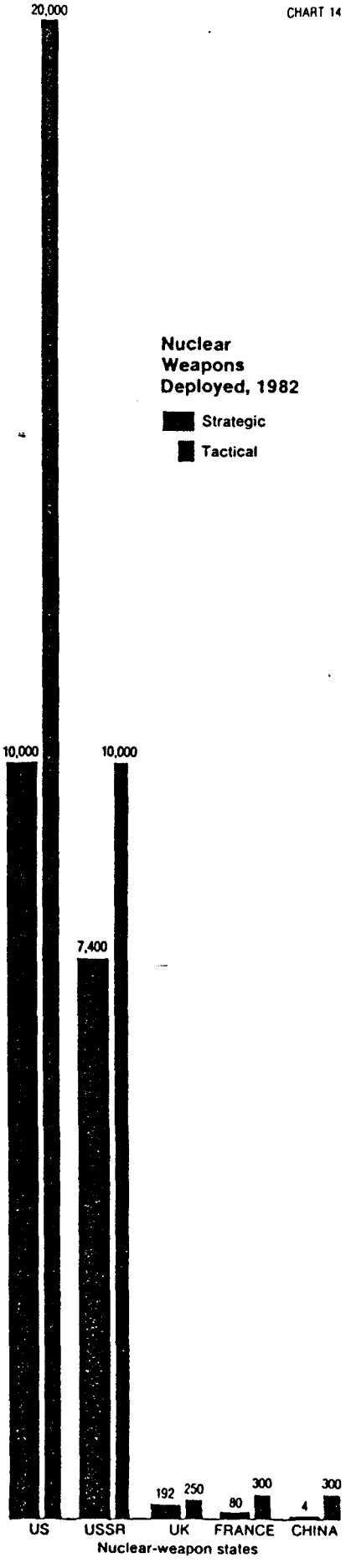
There are also the unlimited possibilities of informal reciprocal actions. Taking its cues from the escalation process, arms reduction can proceed the same way: each step carefully guided by the response the adversary makes. Mutual example is an accepted feature of disarmament policy even in these confrontational days. The two superpowers are observing three nuclear treaties that they have not ratified but are willing to abide by as long as the other nation does too.

In short, out of a bleak period for global security may come the impetus for major constructive change. If an awakened public continues to make its views known, we can expect a new approach to security. After all,

*"The right to survive is the overriding priority".** □

* *Pugwash Council, Canada, September 1981*

CHART 14



Nuclear Weapons
The Risk and Consequences

The chances that nuclear weapons will be used are increasing. If used, the probability that general nuclear war will occur is very high indeed. If it does occur, a planetary disaster is assured. This is the coiled spring that threatens doomsday for us all. What could release it?

Risk of Use

The peril of miscalculation, computer malfunction, a deliberate or irrational act that could trigger the use of nuclear weapons, grows with every step forward in nuclear proliferation and weapons modernization.

The sheer size of the stockpiles increases the chance of theft or error. There are thousands of these weapons to be guarded *(chart 14)*. Many are moving, on the high seas, over urban areas and desolate wastes. In transit and in storage they must be protected against terrorist attack, and human or mechanical failure. Major and minor accidents involving nuclear weapons have been frequent enough to be hair-raising. SIPRI has estimated a world average of perhaps one every few months.

The wide dispersion of the weapons and the lengthened lines of communication mean more opportunities for a deliberate or inadvertent break in the chain of control. In time of conventional war, this problem is greatly amplified. Maintaining clear communication lines with submarines and other ships carrying nuclear weapons, and with hundreds of scattered command posts in battle zones would be virtually impossible. In the end, the agonized decision on use may be made by a local commander facing overwhelming odds, and no longer in touch with central authorities.

Technical developments reducing the size and improving the accuracy of nuclear weapons also affect the risk of use. Mini nukes, cruise missiles, mobile deployment, the technical refinements discussed on page 11, are invitations to proliferation and to terrorist attack.

Perhaps most important of all, technical improvements in nuclear weapons have been accompanied by radical change in official concepts of their practical use in war. Visions of first strikes, "surgical strikes," and the graduated use of nuclear weapons in battle are now enshrined in official military policy.

Risk of Escalation

By their very nature these are not war-fighting weapons. They carry immediate death and devastation on a scale unknown in the long history of war. A country or force attacked with them has no defense. Human revulsion against the barbarism of their use could make retaliation inevitable even if other factors did not.

There are, however, other factors in the equation which lead inevitably to escalation. The newest nuclear weapons are now considered to be powerful and accurate enough to hit and destroy the enemy's missiles. This affects the response to an attack, as well as the opponent's original decision to strike. A force under attack, or believing itself to be facing an attack, has a double incentive to respond with its own nuclear weapons. In effect, it must use them or lose them. And using them, the theory goes, may destroy enemy weapons not yet launched, thereby reducing the damage the enemy can inflict.

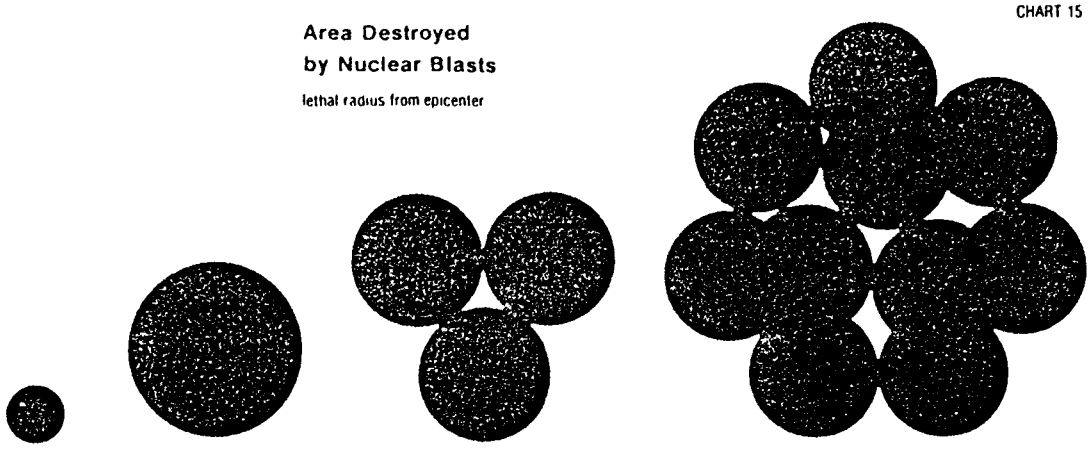
The speed of delivery puts a premium on computerized systems and automatic response. In the 1950s a bomber would have taken 12 hours to make a 6,000-mile flight. Today an intercontinental missile can deliver its nuclear cargo in under 30 minutes; an offshore submarine in less than 15; a Pershing missile across Europe in 6 minutes. The short flight time means that once an attack is underway, there is simply no time for debate and rational thought. Both warning signals and response are dependent on fragile mechanical systems. These systems have a history of technical failures. There is the fearful possibility that, by accident, they could have triggered the strike in the first place and/or the escalation that follows.

Even with longer warning time military doctrine operates against restraint. The recently-publicized US policy of "decapitation" (which other nuclear states will certainly follow as well) in a sense makes mandatory an automated response to any nuclear attack. The aim of decapitation is to destroy the enemy's political and military command. Knowing this, the authorities have little incentive to withhold response in kind. If successful, the destruction of central authority also eliminates the opportunity to negotiate a halt to the carnage before it is complete. Once the battle is engaged, it becomes an automated fight to the end.

Area Destroyed
by Nuclear Blasts

lethal radius from epicenter

Nuclear weapons destroy by blast, fire and radiation. With its blast effects alone, a single MX missile, the latest in the US arsenal, can flatten an area at least 60 times as large as the area destroyed at Hiroshima.



Hiroshima
Radius: 1.2 miles

One Megaton
3.9 miles

Minuteman III -1 Megaton
2.8 miles
each of 3 warheads

MX 3.5 Megatons
2.8 miles
each of 10 warheads

Consequences

We all carry in our mind's eye visual memories of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The charred remains of human bodies; numbed survivors without eyes, skin in shreds; a desolate moonscape as far as the camera could see.

Multiply two cities by thousands. Death and destruction carried to every area where nuclear weapons might be hiding, every port where ships might call, every airfield, every munitions dump, every nuclear reactor and power plant, transportation and communication center, every community. In 1945 there were only 2 nuclear bombs; now there are 50,000, and the average, including the smaller tactical weapons, is 20 times more powerful than the bombs of 1945. Now there are more bombs than all military targets and population centers. Who is to say where the spares will fall when the spiral breaks.

All-out nuclear war at present levels of super-abundance of weapons is generally described in terms of hundreds of millions of deaths. They result from the blasts of the explosions, the searing heat, and radioactive fallout. There are reasons to believe that the "scenarios" of nuclear war and the standard calculations associated with them tend to understate the probable death and destruction. It is impossible to estimate the synergistic effects of disaster arriving at once in so many forms. There is nothing in recorded time to provide a reference point for devastation on this scale. It is generally agreed that what cannot be foretold is most likely to be at least as horrifying as what can be. No one can predict with assurance that human life will continue for very long after an all-out nuclear exchange.

The immediate survivors in countries under attack are in a nightmare world of the dead, dying, and insane; most medical facilities and doctors gone; food and crops burned or contaminated by radioactivity; water and sanitation systems destroyed; no morphine for the injured crazed by pain. After the first hours of holocaust, death will come more slowly to those who have survived. They will die from radiation sickness, lack of medical care, psychosis, starvation, freezing, civil disorder. As bodily immune mechanisms are depleted by radiation, virulent epidemics will rage.

The world outside the territory under nuclear bombardment—presumably the southern latitudes—may be spared immediate death from blast and fire, but it too is swept into the inferno. Radiation, made stronger and more persistent by the destruction of atomic facilities, is carried along by prevailing winds. It does not discriminate between friends of the aggressor and foes, nor between those living and those not yet born. Genetic damage will weaken and deform successive generations, if there are any.

The degree of irreparable ecological damage is one of the consequences about which relatively little is known. Various phenomena resulting from nuclear explosions can destroy the environment on which all life depends. For example, the dust thrown up into the atmosphere may so contaminate it as to make a shade against sun and light, causing serious climatic changes and crop failures. The nitrous oxide released by the explosions may deplete the ozone layer and increase ultraviolet radiation, leading to deadly skin cancers, mutations in plants and animals, and possibly the blinding of all animal life.

Also immeasurable in its effects is the sudden rupture of essential links in the world's economic, political, and legal systems. Cut off from northern supplies on which it is heavily dependent, the southern hemisphere may quickly face serious food shortages. As panic spreads, famine and social disorganization may well account for more deaths than the blast, heat, and radiation directly associated with the exchange of nuclear weapons. Nuclear war begins with national suicide; in a highly interdependent world it is likely to end in omnicide.

"Radioactive poisoning of the atmosphere and hence annihilation of any life on earth has been brought within the range of technical possibilities."

Albert Einstein United States, 1950

Mosc ington

One priority of a nuclear strike, according to official military policy, will be the destruction of political as well as military command centers. Moscow and Washington will be in the eye of the nuclear storm when it comes. Overkill being the concept behind today's huge nuclear arsenals, under actual hostilities many weapons will be used against these prime targets.

The map **overleaf**, however, portrays a more conservative attack. It shows what a single moderate-size nuclear bomb could do to each city. The weapon in this case is one megaton *(see chart 15)*, equivalent in explosive yield to one million tons of TNT. The pattern of destruction engulfs two-thirds of the urban population. It destroys the cities' medical facilities, transportation and communication links. It wipes out not only the political/military leadership but also precious artifacts of the social-cultural heritage of two great countries. And only two weapons, out of 50,000, are used.

Theater of the Absurd

The script of nuclear mishaps, breakdowns, bumbling, and absurdities could have been written for a Laurel and Hardy film. But in fact it is all real, and part of daily life, in a business responsible for the most deadly weapons known to man.

Herewith a few episodes from the US production of a macabre comedy of errors.

Radioactive tritium, seized from a plant which reportedly was leaking radiation, was trucked by convoy across the state of Arizona for burial. On unloading, the technicians discovered a leak in the lead-lined container used to hold the gas in transit.

A commercial plant in Tennessee, which processes uranium for the navy's reactors, was unable to account for over 20 pounds of highly-enriched uranium, a quantity large enough to make at least one bomb. The same facility had been closed for re-inventory at least six times in the previous ten years because of other major losses.

The US Government reactor in South Carolina which makes the raw materials for nuclear warheads has had a growing number of incidents with hazard potential. During 1980 the average was two a week. The plant's manager commented that the number of incidents is "not considered alarming".

In 1979 and 1980 computer malfunctions in the US early warning system gave a series of false alarms of incoming enemy missiles. Subsequently the malfunctions were said to have been corrected. But two years later a Congressional study found the data processing equipment at the heart of the system still "severely deficient".

Plutonium, that "fiendishly toxic" material, which even in the tiniest of particles can cause cancer in humans, was found in the mud of the Erie Canal outside a government facility in Ohio. No one knew how it had leaked out, and a spokesman for the plant said, "This comes as a complete surprise".

A US bomber crashed into a nuclear storage facility in Lakenheath, England, in 1956 and burst into flames, according to official information released in 1981. If the three nuclear bombs stored there had ignited, a retired US general pointed out, part of eastern England would have become a desert.

At a California nuclear plant, a junior employee discovered that engineers had used the wrong blueprint. An official of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission called it "a first rate screw-up".

The Defense Nuclear Agency reported this year that radiation from a nuclear bomb test in Nevada in 1953 swept across the US, coming down on Albany, New York, during a rainstorm. (In a population of 500,000 the radiation dose could produce about 100 additional fatal cases of cancer.) Imperfect weather forecasting was said to be at fault.

At an operating power reactor, a 3,000-gallon radioactive waste tank was found connected to the facility's drinking water system. The investigating commission termed the coupling "poor practice".

"Faster, faster," said the Red Queen.

WITNESS STATEMENT

Name Stacy A. Flaherty Committee On Human Services

Address Box 1099, Helena Date 2/7/8

Representing Women's Lobbyist Fund Support ✓

Bill No. HJR 8 Oppose

Amend

AFTER TESTIFYING, PLEASE LEAVE PREPARED STATEMENT WITH SECRETARY.

Comments:

1. Just as Jeanette Rankin was concerned
with the threat of war and its impact on
2. society, Montana women are concerned with the
national and international proliferation
3. of nuclear weapons.

The Women's Lobbyist Fund supports
4. proposing a bilateral nuclear freeze.

Itemize the main argument or points of your testimony. This will assist the committee secretary with her minutes.

FORM CS-34
1-83

STANDING COMMITTEE REPORT

February 9, 19 83

MR. SPEAKER

We, your committee on HUMAN SERVICES

having had under consideration HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION Bill No. 8

first reading copy (white color)

A JOINT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STATE OF MONTANA URGING THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO PROPOSE TO THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER NATIONS: A FREEZE ON THE DEVELOPMENT, TESTING, PRODUCTION, AND DEPLOYMENT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONRY; VERIFICATION SAFEGUARDS UNDER THE FREEZE; AND EVENTUAL NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT BY ALL NATIONS; AND REQUESTING THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, UPON A MUTUALLY AGREED AND VERIFIED FREEZE, TO PROPOSE THE USE OF FUNDS PREVIOUSLY ALLOCATED FOR NUCLEAR WEAPONRY FOR PEACEFUL NONNUCLEAR USES.

~~Respectfully report as follows: That~~ HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION Bill No. 8

BE AMENDED AS FOLLOWS:

1. Page 1, line 18.
Strike: "of 100,000 at least 40 times"

2. Page 1, line 19.
Strike: "22 times"

AND AS AMENDED
DO PASS

MARJORIE HART
Chairman.

STATE PUB. CO.
Helena, Mont.

STANDING COMMITTEE REPORT

February 16, 19 83

MR. SPEAKER

We, your committee on HUMAN SERVICES

having had under consideration HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION Bill No. 10

first reading copy (white color)

A JOINT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STATE OF MONTANA OPPOSING FURTHER DEPLOYMENT OF NUCLEAR WARHEADS IN MONTANA; OFFERING THE STATE OF MONTANA AS THE INITIAL SITE FOR NEGOTIATED MUTUAL ARMS REDUCTIONS; AND REQUIRING THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO SEND COPIES OF THIS RESOLUTION TO THE PRESIDENT AND MONTANA'S UNITED STATES SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES.

Respectfully report as follows: That HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION Bill No. 10

BE AMENDED AS FOLLOWS:

1. Title, line 6.
Following: "MONTANA;"
Strike: "OFFERING THE STATE OF MONTANA AS THE INITIAL SITE FOR NEGOTIATED MUTUAL ARMS REDUCTIONS;"

2. Page 2, line 9. through line 11.
Strike: lines 9 through 11 in their entirety

AND AS AMENDED
DO PASS

STATE PUB. CO.
Helena, Mont.

MARJORIE HART Chairman.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY

STANDING COMMITTEE REPORT

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 13

February 16, 19 83

MR. SPEAKER

We, your committee on HUMAN SERVICES

having had under consideration HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION Bill No. 13

first reading copy (white color)

A JOINT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STATE OF MONTANA EXPRESSING THE FULL SUPPORT OF THE MONTANA LEGISLATURE FOR THE ONGOING ARMS REDUCTION NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION AND RECOGNIZING THAT THESE NEGOTIATIONS ARE DIRECTED TOWARD ACHIEVING SUBSTANTIAL, VERIFIABLE, EQUITABLE, AND MILITARILY SIGNIFICANT REDUCTIONS IN THE NUCLEAR ARSENALS OF THE WORLD'S TWO SUPERPOWERS, THEREBY REDUCING THE DANGERS OF NUCLEAR WAR.

Respectfully report as follows: That HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION Bill No. 13

BE AMENDED AS FOLLOWS:

1. Page 1, lines 19 and 20.
Strike: "on the initiative of the United States, two important ~~two of~~"

2. Page 1, line 21.
Strike: "well"

3. Page 1, line 24.
Following: "Organization"
Insert: "and the Warsaw Pact"

~~XXXXXX~~
DO PASS

MARJORIE HART
Chairman.

STATE PUB. CO.
Helena, Mont.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY

February 16, 1983

4. Page 1, line 25.
Following: "negotiations"
Insert: "both"
Following: "States"
Strike: "has"
Insert: "and the Soviet Union have"

5. Page 2, line 1.
Strike: "serious and"

6. Page 2, lines 2 and 3.
Strike: ", focusing on the most destabilizing weapons of both powers"

7. Page 2, lines 5 and 6.
Strike: "the negotiations are moving in the direction of substantial reductions and that"

8. Page 2, line 24.
Following: "feasible,"
Insert: "limitations on first-strike capable weaponry and"

9. Page 3, line 4.
Following: "their"
Insert: "accuracy, short flight time, ease of concealment or"

10. Page 3, line 5.
Following: "destructiveness"
Strike: "and speed"

11. Page 3, lines 10 and 11.
Strike: "and refrain from actions that could denigrate them or impair their success"

AMD AS AMENDED
DO PASS

MARJORIE MART
Chairman.

STATE PUB. CO.
Helena, Mont.