MINUTES OF THE MEETING PUBLIC HEALTH, WELFARE AND SAFETY COMMITTEE MONTANA STATE SENATE

MARCH 8, 1983

The meeting of the Public Health, Welfare and Safety Committee was called to order by Chairman Tom Hager on Tuesday, March 8, 1983, in Room 325 of the State Capitol Building at 1:00 P.M.

ROLL CALL: All members were present. Woody Wright, Staff Attorney, was also present.

Many visitors were also in attendance. See attachments.

CONSIDERATION OF HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 8: Representative Vincent, District #78, Bozeman, presented this bill to the committee as chief sponsor. There has been a great deal of comment in the state relative to the impression that this issue is not important. this legislature has wasted its time in even considering it. it does not merit our time and consideration. I think that is entirely false and think that statements to that effect are, in my estimation, uncalled for. All you have to have seen is the debate in the House of Representatives to know that to the public of Montana, as well as to every member of this legislature, this ranks as the most important issue, barring none, that this legislature will face. is the greatest question that this country faces and the greatest question on the minds of everybody in this state and country because it calls into question our very existence, our very survival. is simply no greater question than the best way to provide for the end of the nuclear arms race. It must be ended or it will end us. There is no question about that. Montana has spoken through Initiative 91 on the nuclear freeze issue. This resolution calls for a bilateral freeze on the development, testing, production and deployment of nuclear weaponry. Initiative 91 put the people of Montana on record in 87 of 100 House Districts, voting affirmative on the question posed to any further testing, developmnet or deployment of nuclear weapons by any nation. The language is clear in the initiative. Montanans' are opposed to further testing of nuclear weapons by any That is an affirmation of HJR 8. The question we need to consider, and one which people here are more qualified to address, is if the country needs nuclear weapons to assure security. advocate of the freeze I feel we do not. Enough is enough. need no more assurance of security. That we should freeze the current levels, negotiate that freeze and provide from that point to assure substantial reductions in nuclear arms by the Soviet Union and the United States. That will provide the security we want and grant the freedom that we value living in this country.

Sherman H. Janke, resident of Bozeman, gave testimony in support of this bill. A copy of his testimony is attached as Exhibit 1.

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Alice Campbell, Missoula Women for Peace, stated we need to impress on the Administration in Washington D.C. that the bilateral nuclear freeze must be enacted soon. You can do so by reemphasizing the vote of the people of Montana in I-91. HJR 8 should be passed without amendments.

Don Clark, retired Colonel, USAF, furnished the committee members with his biography and a copy of a newspaper article by Mr. Clark. A copy of these are attached as Exhibit 2. He was stationed in the Pentagon and worked on strategic matters. Part of his assignment caused him to be involved in the determination as to how many nuclear weapons would be enough to insure American security in the future. up with the United States needing for security about 2,000 to 2,400 nuclear weapons. Something went wrong. As a result, today the United States has more than 7,500 of these nuclear weapons and the current administration plans to add several thousand more unless the Soviet's agree to reduce more significantly than we do. That is an unreasonable assumption. We, in fact, have more available than the Soviet Union. People all over the world are in favor of the freeze. People in Montana voted overwhelmingly for a freeze. I would not suggest a freeze if I were not thoroughly convinced that the United States is not sacraficing one ounce of security in doing so. Soviet Union will accept mutual nuclear freeze. That will result in the suspension of nuclear weapons on both sides. He would urge support of HJR 8 as showing that the Montana Legislature supports the feeling of the people of Montana.

Christine Torgrimson, State Coordinator of Montana Citizens to End the Arms Race, gave testimony in support of this bill. She also read and furnished the committee with a copy of an article from the Billings Gazette entitled "Reserve officers want freeze". A copy of her testimony and the newspaper article are attached as Exhibit 3.

Pat Hennessy, M.D., gave testimony in support of this bill. A copy of her written testimony is attached as Exhibit 4.

Representative Kadas supports this bill. He submitted to the committee a copy of an outline of arms control agreements to which the Soviet Union and the United States of America have been participants. A copy is attached as Exhibit 5. He stated all HJR 8 askes is that the United States ask the Soviet Union to stop and if they agree then they will both stop.

Represenative Keenan, District #89, Deer Lodge, rose in support of HJR 8.

The following submitted testimony in support of HJR 8 and a copy of their testimony is attached as the exhibit indicated: Chester Kinsey, Exhibit 6; Stacy A. Flaherty, Women's Lobbyist Fund, Exhibit 7; Larry Heimgartner, Exhibit 8; Gene B. Hunter, Exhibit 9; Kelly Freeman, Exhibit 10; Montana Nurses' Association, Exhibit 11; Carl J. Donovan, Exhibit 12; Dave Marsoles, Exhibit 13; Cathy Campbell, representing the Montana Association of Churches; Exhibit 14; Oleta Smith,

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Exhibit 15; petition from Carl J. Donovan, Exhibit 16; list of supporters of a nuclear freeze, Exhibit 17; paper entitled "The European Intermediate Range Ballistic Missile Debate", Exhibit 18; and pamphlet entitled "Arms Control and the Reagan Administration, Exhibit 19.

Chairman Hager asked for opponents.

Representative Nordvedt, District #77, rose in opposition to this bill. He advised this bill could be amended and when he is through giving his comments he will talk of a compromise. The fundamental issues we agree on, preservation of peace and minimizing the chances of an outbreak of war. Enactment of a nuclear freeze, if adopted by the President of the United States, would enhance the break out of war and the freeze solution would undercount all possibility of a reasonable negotiation to be carried out to solve the real problems. He submitted to the committee a rough outline summarizing the strategic weapons of the Soviet Union and the United States. is an overabundance of these weapons in the world. Counter force type weapons is the area where the Soviet Union has dangerous superiority. To freeze is to lock ourselves into a very dangerous unstable situtation which would enhance the probability of war. have to negotiate both sides down. We must have protection of our weapons or at least negotiate so that with a meshing we will threaten the other sides weapons. Representative Nordvedt passed out to the committee an outline entitled "European Theater Nuclear Weapons". During the last five years the Soviets have deployed a new type of weapon. Nato has no counter weapon. We are trying to eliminate the Soviet threat with the possibility of the cruise or Pershing-2 missiles. The people who do not believe the negotiations are serious only have to read the papers. There are counter offerings going on in private. Nuclear freeze undercuts serious negotiations to solve the problems. There were two amendments in the House. The prevailing amendment simply added "at levels which are equal between the major powers and are substantially reduced from present levels and which meet the security needs of the nations involved." other amendment did not prevail in the House. He believed that was a reasonable amendment and still does not understand why it was not accepted in the house. A copy of these amendments and outlines furnished by Representative Nordvedt are attached as Exhibit 20.

Vola Barrett, Helena, is opposed to HJR 8. A copy of her written testimony is attached as Exhibit 21.

Julio Morales, Helena, gave testimony in opposition to HJR 9. A copy of his written testimony is attached as Exhibit 22.

Representative Phillips, District #43, is opposed to this resolution. He would like a mutual freeze but questions how far we can trust the Soviets. He submitted testimony to the committee in relation to the United States versus the Soviet defense and strategic buildup. A copy of his testimony is attached as Exhibit 23. He stated the Russian capability has built in the last decade to where we might not be on an equal basis.

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Representative Vincent closed by stating Representative Nordvedt is presumptuous in stating that everything would be all right if the Soviets fired and destroyed land based missiles. He was talking about military targets but how many people would be left. How accurate are the Soviet missiles. The history of the nuclear arms race is we speed up, they speed up and they speed up and we speed up. Look at the start process of the present negotiation. We will have an agreement if you reduce your land based missile force by 50% and allow us to add 350 more. Would you negotiate on those terms? Are those serious negotiations? Representative Nordvedt proposed an amendment to HJR 8 to comply with the start negotiation process. By doing this he is proposing to amend I-91, the voice of the people. I-91 passed unamended and it is presumptuous to ask this committee to amend I-91, by amending HJR 8.

CONSIDERATION OF HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 13: Representative Nordvedt, District No. 77, Bozeman, presented this resolution as sponsor. HJR 13 calls for the legislature supporting 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. essence of HJR 13, on page 2, line 25, "urges both negotiating powers to work toward the achievement of equitable and verifiable agreements that freeze strategic nuclear forces at equal and substantially reduced levels, thereby further reducing the possibility of nuclear The majority party in the House amended this resolution. accepted those amendments because I wanted a document that met as many of the concerns as possible. If Montana adds support to the negotiation process going on by our government, we will in a small way make an impact on this important issue.

Representative Miller, District #42, Great Falls, supports this resolution. He is a retired Air Force Colonel and was a fighter pilot in the Air Force for 20 years. He referred back to previous wars and stated instances where the United States has proven their reluctance for fighting and obtaining superiority in the world. He feels we have proven our trust. He gave instances where the communists are still at their game of obtaining world dominance.

Michael Kecskes, Helena, is opposed to HJR 8 and strongly supports HJR 13. He stated the freeze proposal is ill timed, ill advised and is not in the best interest of the people of Montana or the people of this nation at this time.

Tony Cumming, American Legion of Montana, gave testimony in support of HJR 13. A copy of his written statement is attached as Exhibit 24.

Robert J. Russ, Veterans of Foreign Wars, gave testimony in support of HJR 13. He read Resolution No. 469, adopted by the 83rd National Convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, and a paper entitled "Why a Nuclear Weapons Freeze Would Increase the Risk of Nuclear War". Copies are attached as Exhibit 25.

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Representative Underdal, District #12, supports HJR 13. The United States has been on the books as keeping their word. The other side has expanded. The Soviet Union cannot be trusted. You cannot negotiate with someone unless you have something to negotiate with. Without our defense, our power to resist, we have nothing to negotiate with. We don't want nuclear war and the Soviets do not want war either. If we are not careful we will be fighting for our freedom. This resolution is responsible. It tells the President of the United States as long as our safety is not impaired we will negotiate.

Representative Phillips, District #43, very strongly supports HJR 13. He feels this is a serious message we are sending out from the people of Montana.

Rose Mary Rodgers urges strong support of this resolution.

Beverly Glueckert, Helena, gave testimony in support of this resolution. A copy of her testimony is attached as Exhibit 26.

Chairman Hager asked for opponents.

Representative Vincent, District #78, is opposed to this resolution because it is primarily and principally an endorsement of the administration's negotiation procedure. The start position is to negotiate while we budget to develop, test and deploy more nuclear weapons. In our negotiation we have offered to the Soviet Union if they will reduce land based missiles and allow us to increase ours by 350, then we have got a deal. That is not a start position. Negotiate for less while we budget, test and deploy more. It was suggested that HJR 13 will bring us down together. That certainly isn't bringing us down together. There is some speculation that the proper way to proceed on this delicate issue would be to table HJR 8 and HJR 13 and proceed with SJR 10. I cannot support that effort. I am dedicated as I have never been dedicated to anything else in my life to the concept of the freeze. I am convinced it is in the best interest of Montana, the United States and all human kind. I will proceed with the freeze no matter what. I hope it passes the Senate but if it doesn't it is an initiative that will not die.

Don Clark is opposed to HJR 13. He served in the Soviet Union representing the United States military. He stated there have been a lot of mistaken statements and assumptions made about the Soviet Union. The United States and the Soviet Union have signed many treaties and the Soviet Union has not violated one. They believe it is in their interest to sign a nuclear freeze. The arms race harms the Soviet Union more than the United States. We can spend and waste more money on weapons than the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union knows they are inferior to the United States. If the Soviet Union is superior to the United States, why haven't they issued that ultimatum. The fact of the matter is they are nuclear inferior to the United States and even if they weren't they would know there is no such thing as superiority in the nuclear world today. I am firmly

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convinced that a freeze is in the best interest of the United States. A freeze will stop both sides exactly where they are now. We have more than enough nuclear weapons of all types now.

Sherman Janke gave testimony in opposition to HJR 13.

Representative Nordvedt closed by stating negotiations are negotations and countries start with the most optimistic terms and then come to terms. He does not think anybody can doubt that real negotiations are going on. A negotiation settlement is the only hope, in my opinion, for maximizing peace in the world.

Chairman Hager asked for questions from the committee.

Senator Hager asked Representative Nordvedt what his reaction would be to tabling HJR 8 and HJR 13 and letting SJR 10 go through.

Representative Nordvedt said SJR 10 is a balanced statement that covers all the concerns. In the ideal case he would prefer HJR 13. He believes negotiations will succeed if the negotiators know that the people stand behind them. SJR 10 would serve the purpose also.

Senator Marbut asked Representative Nordvedt under what authority does the State of Montana have the right to ask a member of the administration to send a document to a political party of another country. Would it not be more appropriate for this body to ask our representative in Congress to ask the administration to go to the Communist Party President or the Congress of the Soviet Union.

Representative Nordvedt said this is the language used by the United States House of Representatives.

ADJOURMENT: The meeting adjourned at 3:00 P.M.

CHAIRMAN, TOM HAGER

ROLL CALL

PUBLIC HEALTH, WELFARE, SAFETY COMMITTEE

48 th LEGISLATIVE SESSION -- 1983

Date3-8-83

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COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC HEALTH, WELFARE AND SAFETY COMMITTEE

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Tom Prove Hout STR13 fenior Cityens Time. We are in favor of continual) negotiations wedo not their negotiate without setting the example of no more nuclear weapony. Peace must begin somewhere Let paace begin mitte

NAME: Ellyn Morthy DATE: 38-83 ADDRESS: 720 Broadway Helena Alt REPRESENTING WHOM? Last Chance Peacemakers APPEARING ON WHICH PROPOSAL: NTR 8 DO YOU: SUPPORT? ____ AMEND? COMMENTS: On behalf of Last Chance Peacemakers and human evolution I ask you to support John Vincent's MJR & calling for an immediate, motor revitiable nuclear weapons treeze. The world's arsenals are bloated with weapons that no longer serve the political aim of democracy and liberty. Radioactive fallout from nuclear explosions does not respect national boundaries or political ideologies. The defense of the U.S. lies in a healthy economy which affords technological development, in The environment spress, education, autos, Now That life on earth is threatened by existing arsenals, the course to tollow is PLEASE LEAVE ANY PREPARED STATEMENTS WITH THE COMMITTEE SECRETARY. Strength through Peace. A society prepared for conversion is a more credible proponent of disarmament measures. I suggest one amendment to HIR8-I would like to have a copy sent to the Soviet Union as well as The President of US.

| NAME: Weel Campbell DATE: 3-8-83 |
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| How on Do Do byre-emphasing the vote. Atte people of Montana in Support of I-91. |
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| NAME: Mary Cenn Jursa DATE: March 8, 19 |
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| ADDRESS: 3490 Juniper Drive Helena 9W 59601 |
| PHONE: 442-1819 |
| REPRESENTING WHOM? self & farents & brothers |
| APPEARING ON WHICH PROPOSAL: HIR 13 |
| DO YOU: SUPPORT? AMEND? OPPOSE? |
| COMMENTS: Our Country must regain and keep its |
| quarantes Peace Had this country not been strong nilitarily we today would be speaking Herman |
| nilitarily we today would be speaking Herman |
| Thoules to Hillers efforts - or Japanese as a |
| Russia has never lived up to any treaty |
| unless it benighted them, Peace on their |
| torms means for us to surrender |
| unconditionally to them and become their |
| slaves. Please keep this forefront in your mends as you vote. |
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| NAME: DON CLAAK | DATE: 8 HARCH SE |
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| ADDRESS: 1916 C. TRACK DOZEM | AN MT |
| PHONE: 406 687-7135 | |
| REPRESENTING WHOM? SELF | |
| appearing on which proposal: $MOR-8$ | |
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| m polls & Now last veto & and met succeed in stopping Cressent buildups bowels (3) soes more to when than an other geasible oftender | erce US Davepy |
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| NAME: Stacy Flakerty | DATE: |
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| ADDRESS: Boy 1099 | |
| PHONE: 449-7917 | |
| REPRESENTING WHOM? Women's Jo | Shrjist Fund |
| APPEARING ON WHICH PROPOSAL: HJR | |
| DO YOU: SUPPORT? AMEND? | OPPOSE? |
| COMMENTS: | |
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| NAME: Fred Swanson DATE: 3/8/83 |
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| ADDRESS: 817 9th Avenue Helena |
| PHONE: 443-7322 |
| representing whom? sef |
| APPEARING ON WHICH PROPOSAL: HJR 8 |
| DO YOU: SUPPORT? AMEND? OPPOSE? |
| COMMENTS: I encourage you to consider Rep. Wordvedt's reguments carefully. I think you will |
| find that they do not hold water, though they sound plausible. A freeze would be to our advantage. |
| I am deeply concerned that the Reagan administrate |
| rejected the Vitze-Kivitsky agreement at beneva- |
| which would have been to the U.S.'s advantage! I fear that the administration wants to run the |
| Soviets into the ground by the huilding nuclear weapons. faster than they do. I feel we cannot a Hord |
| to - economically, politically-morally. |
| Please support HJR8 and reject HJR13. |
| PLEASE LEAVE ANY PREPARED STATEMENTS WITH THE COMMITTEE SECRETARY. |

| NAME: ianizh. Encloson DATE: Musikis, 195 | |
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| ADDRESS: 3250 Pattee Carryon Revad himale lit 59803 | |
| PHONE: (400) 549 -4671 | |
| REPRESENTING WHOM? | |
| APPEARING ON WHICH PROPOSAL: HJR 8 | |
| DO YOU: SUPPORT? | |
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| we are, indeed, all on the farthlies, where numbers of weapons. | - |
| varleads are no longer meaningful transone. a mutually virifiable treezo mot be exacted vor - it is milled, the | |
| will of the people; we hope that our adminstrators | _ |
| (mløty sides) will follow. | _ |
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| NAME: HERMAN H. JANKE DATE: 8 MAR 83 |
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| ADDRESS: 15 N 17, ROZEMAN 59715 |
| PHONE: 587-9782, Home; WORK 586-3172 |
| REPRESENTING WHOM? SEEF |
| APPEARING ON WHICH PROPOSAL: HTRE 13 |
| DO YOU: SUPPORT? HJE & AMEND? OPPOSE? HJE 3 |
| COMMENTS: SEE WRITTEN TESTIMONY |
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March 8, 1983

Before the Public Health Committee of the Montana State Senate

Testimony of

Sherman H. Janke

415 North 17th Avenue, Bozeman 59715

bearing on House Joint Resolutions 8 and 13

The format of this statement consists of six assertions, all found on this page. Documentation and elaboration of the themes may be found, for the first three assertions, on pages 2 through 5 of the testimony. The last three assertions stand on their own.

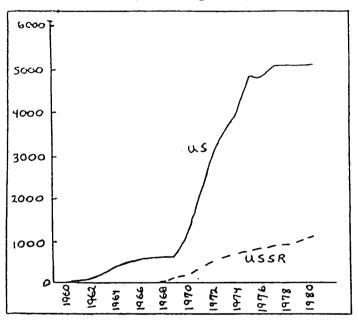
SUMMARY

- I. The Soviet Union is not superior to the United States in their respective present levels of deployment of strategic nuclear armaments.
 In the measures that really matter, the United States is ahead; these are in number of warheads, and in accuracy of delivery. The USSR leads in two other
 - number of warheads, and in accuracy of delivery. The USSR leads in two other areas, number of launch vehicles and total megatonnage, which are not as significant.
- II. The Soviet Union does not have first-strike capability against the United States' triad of land-based, submarine-based, and aircraft-launched nuclear devices. Even if the USSR could destroy all US land-based long range missiles in a first-strike attempt, the United States would retain on patrol, at sea, many times more than the 600 to 800 warheads necessary to obliterate all Soviet civilian targets of importance, leading to:
- III. The ultimate deterrent is the capacity to retain, even after an attempted first strike by the other side, the ability to destroy the other society, not its weaponry; this ability we would retain as outlined above. There is presently no way, nor is there much future possibility, that the Soviet Union can realistically threaten this ability, and therefore no credible ultimatum that they can issue even after an attempt at first strike.
- IV. If we take the conservative view of rough parity between the superpowers, this parity is more stable than a situation in which one side has an obvious advantage in all areas.
- V. Therefore a bilateral freeze at current levels of deployment, and on further testing, should be acceptable to both powers and would have obvious benefits in terms of reducing further research, development, and financial outlays.
- VI. Nothing in a freeze agreement would preclude further negotiations for subsequent mutual reductions of strategic or tactical nuclear armaments.

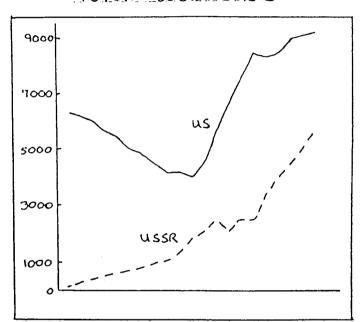
Strategic Warhead

Comparisons

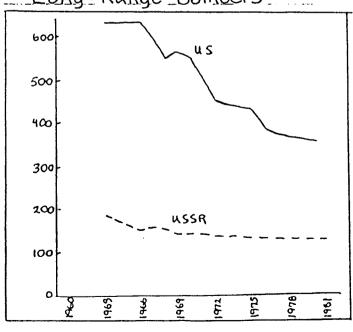
Warheads on Submarines



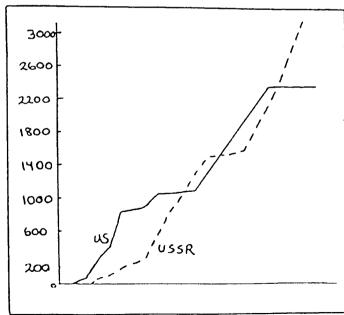
Total Warheads



Long-Range Bombers



Land Based Warheads



Before the Public Health Committee of the Montana State Senate, testimony of Sherman H. Janke, continued, regarding HJR 8 and HJR 13

With reference to assertion I, page 1 of this testimony:

The usual comparisons of strategic nuclear armaments (those deliverable over intercontinental range) are: number of land based missiles, number of submarine-launched missiles, the number of long-range bombers, the numbers of explosive devices (bombs or warheads) carried by those vehicles, the explosive yield of these devices, and the accuracy with which they can at least in principle, be delivered.

| A. Land-based missiles (ICBM's) | USA 1052 | ussr 1398 |
|--|--------------|--------------|
| B. Submarine launched missiles (SLBM's) | 520 (312*) | 918 (160*) |
| C. Long-range bombers (* on patrol at sea) | 3 15 | 150 |
| D. Explosive devices: | 1887 (1679) | 2466 (1708) |
| Aboard land-based missiles | 2152 | 4904 |
| Aboard submarine-launched missiles | 4768 (2860*) | 1494 (261*) |
| Aboard long-range bombers | 2340 | 259 |
| (* actually on patrol at any given time) | | - |
| TOTALS | 9260 (7352) | 6657 (5424) |

The numbers in parentheses are important since they represent combat-ready launch vehicles and explosive devices. Note also the near-equality of explosive devices carried aboard the US triad of ICBM's, SLBM's at sea, and long-range bombers, and the preponderance or heavy reliance of the of the Soviet Union upon land based ICBM's.

E. Explosive yield, megatons (one megaton equals the energy released upon the detonation of one million tons of TNT)

| Total of all strategic nuclear devices | 3560 | 10200 |
|--|------|-------|
| Effective total yield | 3900 | 8250 |

This last entry is important because the damage that an explosion produces is not proportional to the yield. That is, a 5 MT warhead doesn't produce 5 times the damage that a 1 MT device does. Using blast pressure as a criterion, it works out that an 8 MT warhead does twice as much damage as does a 1 MT explosion. Then when we take the ground area affected into account, it works out that the effective yield is the actual yield, in megatons, taken to the 2/3 power. (Using 8 MT as an example, take the cube root, 2, and square it, resulting in the effective yield being 4 MT. In like fashion, the effective yield of a 27 MT device is "only" 9 MT.)

We arrive at the effective yield total for each side by adding the individual effective yields of each warhead and bomb deployed by the nation.

F. Accuracy

The accuracy with which a warhead can be delivered is more important than its yield, because the blast pressure from a ground level burst varies as the inverse cube of the distance from the point of explosion. Simply stated, if we can deliver a warhead to within 1000 ft. instead of 2000 ft. from the objective, the overpressure will be 8 times higher at the objective (say, a silo).

Before the Public Health Committee of the Montana State Senate, testimony of Sherman H. Janke, continued, regarding HJR 8 and HJR 13

Over the years, the accuracy of US missiles has always been much better than that of Soviet launchers, but as ours approach the theoretical limits, progress has been (apparently) less dramatic, and the Russians are closing the gap. (But they also will achieve smaller increases in accuracy as the limits are approached.

The fact that the gap is closing constitutes a strong argument for a freeze which includes both testing and deployment. A freeze would further prevent the incorporation of radar scan-based terminal guidance systems (now being developed for the medium range Pershing II) into intercontinental range missiles.

CONCLUSION regarding assertion I: while the Soviet Union holds a greater number of launchers, the United States deploys more explosive devices, which is what actually matters. This is especially so if they can be delivered accurately, another area in which we are ahead (especially in the time frame required to achieve even greater accuracy). The Soviet advantage in explosive yield is not as important as our lead in accuracy. Finally, we deploy a well-balanced triad of delivery systems, contrasted with their heavy emphasis on land-based missiles.

Sources of information for this section: The International Institute for Strategic Studies, London; the Center for Defense Information, Washington; "Scientific American," various issues; The Effects of Nuclear Weapons, Glasstone and Dolan, eds., U.S. Gov't Printing Office, 1977.

Assertion II, page 1 of this testimony:

First strike capability means not only that one side will launch first, but will do so with the confidence that it can destroy the vast majority of the other side's retalitory capacity. The implication is the targetting in an attempted first strike is limited to the other side's strategic weaponry.

Since submarine-launched vehicles, especially those of the USSR, are not sufficiently accurate to attack ICBM silos, the only hope of the Soviet Union in launching a first strike attempt would be to use at least 3,000 of its land-based warheads against our roughly 1,000 silos. This 3 to 1 ratio would be necessary to allow for misses, malfunctions, and near misses. Because submarines at sea are essentially invulnerable (their location cannot be ascertained by the other side) and because some bombers are always either airborne or on full alert, most of these weapons cannot be taken out by this first strike attempt even if the remaining 1900 Soviet warheads were allocated for that purpose. (And using their sub-launched missiles wouldn't help here either.)

However, it is unrealistic to believe that an attempt to eliminate all US silos in such a strike would succeed. Timing of the first wave of warheads must be perfect: essentially all 1052 silos must be struck simultaneously; the second wave, which allows for near misses and failures, cannot come too soon or fratricide may result. Add to this the uncertainty in accuracy resulting from the fact that while both sides test their missiles by firing into the Pacific, wartime strikes would be delivered over the north pole (for land-based missiles). This uncertainty resulting from anomalies in the earth's gravitational field is called the bias error, whose magnitude is simply unknown. Surely a goodly portion of US Minutemen would be able to launch either upon confirmation of attack, or during the blitz itself (although against what are likely to be empty Soviet silos).

Now, there are roughly 200 civilian targets in the Soviet Union "worth" the expenditure of a US warhead. Even leaving out the bombers, we can safely assume that, even if a Russian first-strike were to succeed to wiping out all Minutemen, there would be

Before the Public Health Committee of the Montana State Senate, testimony of Sherman H. Janke, continued, regarding HJR 8 and HJR 13

survival of roughly 2800 submarine-based warheads at sea, for a redundancy ratio of 14 with respect to those Soviet civilian targets. Actually, 600 to 800 surviving warheads would suffice.

ULTIMATE DETERRENCE RESTS WITH OUR ABILITY TO MAKE GOOD ON A THREAT TO DESTROY THE SOVIET SOCIETY, NOT ITS WEAPONS, AND THIS WE COULD DO AFTER ANY CONCEIVABLE SOVIET FIRST STRIKE ATTEMPT. And of course they could do the same to us if we were to attempt a first strike, although it would be harder for them because of their inability to keep more than a small portion of their sub fleet at sea.

Assertion III, page 1:

What sort of political ultimatums could the USSR deliver even after a reasonably "successful" first strike against our land-based ICBM's? Would a threat to attack our civilian targets (about 600 in number) serve any purpose?

In my view, it is wishful thinking to assert that we would hold back with our sub-based missiles following an attempted first strike by the other side. First, the desire for revenge would be almost irresistable. Secondly, it must be pointed out that in a silo-targetted strike, ground level bursts would be employed (in contrast to airbursts used in attacking cities). Such explosions result in vast quantities of debris being introduced to the atmosphere; on this dust and gravel, the vaporized products of the fission reaction (needed to cause the fusion, or "hydrogen" reaction to occur) condense; this now-radioactive material returning to earth constitutes the fallout.

November, 1976; note that the redundancy is only 2 to 1 and that the fallout results whether incoming missiles hit or miss our silos; they simply need to surface burst. Basically, with greater redundancy and with variable winds, a Soviet first strike attempt places the eastern half of the US at risk from fallout. What would be the incentive not to launch from US submarines against Russian cities? Then they would do the same and we would revert to MAD or mutually assured destruction.

Regarding the current Administration START (Strategic Arms Reduction Talk) proposal:

The President's initial proposal in these negotiations is that both sides limit the number of warheads on land-based ICBM's to 2,500. There is no accompanying limit set forth for warheads on submarine-launched missiles, nor for a limit to weapons carried by long range aircraft. As the reader will note from the table on page 2 of this testimony, the current deployment level is 4904 Soviet warheads atop land-based missiles vs. 2152 for the United States.

Therefore if the Soviets were to accept this proposal, they would essentially cut in half their number of land based warheads, while the US would be free to increase its number by 348. This would translate into, for example, 35 MX missiles with 10 warheads each, while we dismantle two Titans (They will be phased out anyway.)

It is difficult to imagine, if we put ourselves into Soviet shoes, how this proposal could be regarded as a serious starting point for negotiations, given our already preponderant numerical advantage in submarine and bomber-launched devices.

jured and dying citizens. It should be noted that Defense Department calculations of the consequences of limited nuclear war are almost certainly serious underestimates. For example, the calculations omit any estimate of what may be one of the gravest consequences of all: the disruption of the intensely interdependent components that enable a modern society to function. The difficulties imposed on a society trying to recover with totally unprecedented levels of mortality and morbidity, with insufficient medical care and with profound dislocations in the supply of food and water are simply ignored. Moreover, the calculations omit any consideration of long-term consequences such as the millions of genetic defects and cases of cancer that would occur worldwide in the decades after the postulated nuclear attack.

A higher level of public awareness and concern and a willingness to participate in repeated civil defense exercises would be required if the U.S. intended to develop a viable system for a massive evacuation and shelter. In the absence of sustained preparation chaos and panic would surely ensue at the time of an attack. It is difficult to see how commit-

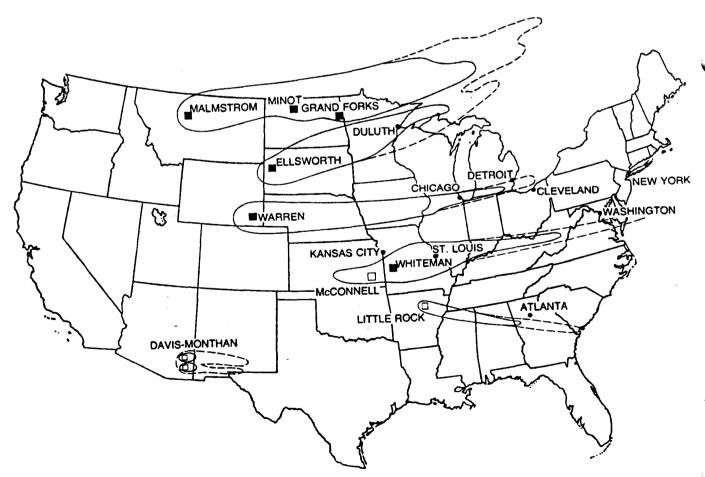
without a deliberate and sustained intensification of public apprehension concerning a nuclear war. One of the lessons of the relatively ineffective civil defense program of 1961 and 1962 was that the large expenditures for civil defense and the inconveniences of a major shelter program could only be made plausible to the American public by exaggerating the probability of nuclear war.

Today we are again hearing allegations that the U.S.S.R. is developing and rehearsing civil defense plans involving the evacuation and relocation of large populations, along with the dispersal and hardening of industry. These programs are cited to indicate that the U.S. may be losing its deterrent and to spur a renewed U.S. civil defense effort. What evidence is there in support of these allegations?

The Russians have written much on the subject and have given their people more intensive exposure to civil defense than Americans have received. Apparently they have also spent much more money on plans and organizations and have involved in exercises small numbers of individuals with key skills. In view of the unprecedentedly large scale

ered, however, an effective civil defense program would surely have to include among its essential components fullscale rehearsals and survival-living exercises involving the population. If there had been any such rehearsals, we would have heard about them. They would be very difficult to conceal, and many people who would have participated in them or would have had knowledge of them have now left the U.S.S.R. and would have called attention to them. Yet no evidence of such exercises has been presented. The editor of the U.S. Government translation of the official Russian civil defense manual for 1974 comments that "the Soviet Union has not conducted mass shelter living experiments or even simulated ones as has been done in the U.S." Plans and manuals are very different from an effective operating system.

The Defense Department's response of July, 1975, presented new casualty figures and also estimates of the military effectiveness of the postulated attacks. According to the new calculations, a strike with two 550-kiloton warheads, one a surface burst and the other an airburst, against each of the 1,054



COUNTERFORCE ATTACK on all Titan (white squares) and Minuteman (color squares) ICBM bases, with two one-megaton surface bursts (50 percent fission yield) per silo, could produce these

patterns. Each inner contour delimits a 450-rem dose indoors (50 percent fatalities) and each outer contour a 200-rem dose indoors (50 percent hospitalized). Typical March wind speeds are assumed.

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.

THE RESERVE OF THE PARTY OF THE

U.S.-Soviet reality makes nuclear freeze practica

By DON CLARK Chronicle Columnist

Who is right? Reagan, Jackson, Warner and the Senate jority or Kennedy, Hatfield and the growing millions poorting the idea of a Soviet-U.S. freeze on nuclear apon deployments?

Page 28 has a which could be a soviet or soviet

Reagan has publicly stated that the Soviets now have superiority and thus, he argues, a freeze would place us at a permanent disadvantage. Jackson and Warner, more ingenuously, have suggested a freeze, but only one at equal ingenuously, have suggested a freeze, but only one at equal and lower numbers than each side now possesses. Strangely, that is exactly what SALT II offered, yet Jackson opposed that treaty. The Jackson-Warner resolution is a possible long-range conclusion, but would require years of negotiation. As simple as the proposed equity sounds, the differences in our nuclear hardware make across-the-board equity a very complicated outcome. During the required negotiations both sides could and, as seet stiffing in the state of th past evidence indicates, probably would continue to spend billions raising the levels of their nuclear holdings. Thus, the losers under that approach would be all of us who share this globe. The nuclear count would climb past 50,000 warheads, and the dollars we could all save by an instant freeze would be spent only so that our leaders could argue

Parity obviously exists now, since neither side is attacking nor exploiting the other to any unprecedented degree. So why not act now? Save those dollars, cease the

degree. So why not act now? Save those dollars, cease the escalation of warheads and hope that the pause will create even better chances for reductions.

Reagan says this would not be safe because the Soviets have an exploitable advantage. He says they can now ride out an attack by our side and still retaliate against us to an unacceptable degree.

unacceptable degree.

But that is not new. Reagan's statement reveals a disturbing lack of sophistication on nuclear issues. What he has attributed to the U.S.S.R. is defined as a "second strike" capability. The security planners of the last 20 years have advocated that deterrence is best achieved when both the United States and the U.S.S.R. have secondstrike capabilities, i.e. the ability to ride out an initial attack by the foe and still have enough nuclear power left to do enormous demage to the attacker. Almost all have agreed that both we and the Russians have had such capabilities

for more than a decade.

But Reagan adds that the Soviets either have or soon will have the ability to deny the United States a second-

strike potential. He claims they will be able to do so much damage to our 1,000 land-based missiles that our second-

damage to our 1,000 land-based missies that our second-strike ability will be seriously degraded.

But he is wrong. Non-governmental nuclear war researchers have long concluded that 200 to 300 nuclear warheads are sufficient to reduce even hrge modern states like the United States and the U.S.S.R. to rubble. Even

assuming that the Soviets could destroy those 1,000 U.S. land-based missiles, and that is a very debatable conclusion, the United States would still retain some 7,000 deliverable warheads via our submarines and aircraft, plus another 3,000 nuclear weapons in Europe and the nuclear arsenals of the United Kingdom and France. It seems to me that any reasonable evaluator would conclude that the possession of

30 times the necessary number of retaliatory we would insure an effective second strike. So why do the president and groups like the Com for the Present Danger insist that the United State build up now, and only after regaining some indef "superiority" consider negatiations and reduction answer is difficult to fathom unless Reagan's mis about current Soviet superiority has revealed some

about current soviet supernormy has revealed some Reagan's claims that the Soviet's second-strike is unacceptable could mean that he is seeking a first capability for the United States, i.e. the ability to first and do so much damage the Soviets could the source of the source effectively retaliate.

Such a conclusion would fit with the Reagan insi on deploying the MX even if it has to go into holes t claims are vulnerable to a Soviet strike. The MX is a and more accurate weapon than its predecessor requirements for a theoretical first strike. The

requirements for a theoretical first strike. The missile deployment would also fit the first-strike m seriously complicates the other side's defense presents verification problems that can make opponents nervous about the numbers deployed. Reagan's advisers argue that the superiority deployments offer would force the Russians to get a about arms negotiations. But that argument is refur history. The United States had a real superiority, "iffy" one, for the first 15-or-so years of the nuke et along that time the Sowiets refused every negotians. during that time the Soviets refused every nego suggestion we offered. They were willing to negotiat after their build-up give them a rough parity and a se

strike assurance.

The balance of the late '60s continues today wire United States holding a significant lead in newsponry. Warheads are the true measure of kill-potent and both sides now possess so many thousands of warheads that the term "superiority" is only an ill. This reality makes the idea of a mutual freeze practical, especially when the current economic does of both sides are also considered. Recent polls rever the majority of Americans have already bought in the state of the sides are also considered.

the majority of Americans have already bought the idea. But once again, a la Vietnam, our leaders seem sync with the will of the people. They need to be along again. All right now, altogether - let's pul

Don Clark's column on international a appears in The Chronicle on Sunday's.

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 four 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 wishes. 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 7 senate districts represented on this committee, Montana voters passed I-91 in all but 1. Statewide, I-91 passed in 44 of Montana's 50 senate districts--24 which elected Republicans to the Montana Senate and 20 which elected Democrats. Concern about the nuclear arms race and support for a freeze is certainly not a partisan issue.

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

Initiative 91 support in this committee's districts:

| Sen. | <u>For</u> | Against |
|--------------------|------------|---------|
| Hager, R, 30 | 4595 (56%) | 3580 |
| Marbut, R. 49 | 3002 (64%) | 1680 |
| Himsl, R, 9 | 4485 (61%) | 2927 |
| Stephens, R, 4 | 2504 (59%) | 1720 |
| Christiaens, D, 19 | 1545 (47%) | 1751 |
| Jacobson, D, 42 | 3483 (55%) | 2894 |
| Norman, D, 47 | 3909 (69%) | 1739 |

Reserve officers want freeze bc.

HELENA (AP) — Provisions for nuclear parity and on-site inspections are integral elements of a resolution in which the Montana Association of Reserve Officers calls on President Reagan to halt

HELENA (AP) — Provisions for nuclear parity future production of nuclear arms, a former president on-site inspections are integral elements of a of the association said Sunday.

The resolution calls for Reagan to open negotiations with the Soviets "to determine an agreed-upon level of nuclear parity and then, when achieved, jointly cease the future fabrication and distribution of nuclear weapons under an agreement that allows acceptable on-site inspections by both nations," said Owen Grinde of Whitefiel

Grindi said another important aspect of the resolution is its call for the United States to use the savings from a nuclear freeze to strengthen its conventional forces.

The resolution was adopted Saturday by the 43 delegates to the association's meeting here. They represented 460 reserve officers in the state.

The resolution will be sent to the national association for consideration at its convention in June. The national organization has 126,000 members.

The statement is probably the first of its kind by a military organization, said Col. Robert Kelleher of Billings.

"A lot of people think that everyone in a uniform wants to nuke the Russians." Kelleher said "It's not true."

The statement says both the United States and Soviet Union have enough nuclear weapons and that more would endanger civilization. Both countries economies are in recession and savings from a freezy could be used elsewhere, it adds.

TO: MONTANA STATE SENATE, PUBLIC HEALTH COMMITTEE

DATE: 3 March, 1983

My name is Pat Hennessy, MD. My address is St. Ignatius. I'm a family medical practicioner and a member of the Physicians for Social Responsibility. Today I'm speaking on behalf of my daughter Sarah and her generation, for they are in grave danger.

Physicians for Social Responsibility is not a political organization. It is a group of physicians bound by our Hippocratic oath and thereby committed to inform and instruct the public about matters of public health. Hence, our concern with the public health perils of the nuclear arms race stems from our belief that we as a civilization are on the precipice of the "last epidemic". In that regards, may I briefly summarize the medical consequences of a nuclear war.

Targetting Strategy: Dr. Henry Kendall, a research physicist at MIT has estimated that approximately 10,000 megatons of nuclear energy would be expended by the USSR on the USA in an all out exchange.

(A megaton is a unit of explosive nuclear energy equal to one million tons of TNT. A one megaton weapon is approximately 80 times more powerful than the weapon used on Hiroshima.) Targets are described as hard, i.e. military sites and missile silos; and soft targets, i.e. cities and towns. The first priority will be hard targets. Since these can be damaged only be huge blasts and overpressures, it is estimated that each missile silo will be targeted with 2 one-megaton weapons. Given an estimated 1000 missile silos and other hard targets in the United States, this leaves approximately 8000 megatons of explosive force

Testimony before Montana Senate Public Health Committee 8 March, 1983 by Pat Hennessy, MD

remaining which will be divided among soft targets. If these were divided among cities and towns of the United States in order of population, every community down to a population of 1500 could be hit with a onemegaton weapon.

One Megaton Explosion Effects: A single megaton weapon exploded 1000 feet above ground level will create the following effects on human beings and other living things:

- 1. At Ground Zero: A cavity one-quarter mile wide and 200 feet deep is formed. Everything in this region, buildings and human beings, is vaporized and carried into the stratosphere with the mushroom-shaped cloud.
- 2. At 4.4 miles radius from ground zero: Buildings are flattened by the intense overpressures, but human beings are still vaporized by the heat since our bodies are mostly water.
- 3. At 3 miles from ground zero: Human beings are instantly killed if unprotected from the overpressures, which can instantly rupture lungs and eardrums. Bodies can be hurled at speeds of over 100 mph and killed or mutilated by collision with other objects.
- 4. At 10-12 miles from ground zero: People walking out of doors will be ignited by the intense blast of heat.
- 5. At 20-40 miles from ground zero: People reflexly glancing at the nuclear fireball receive severe retinal burns and may be painlessly blinded.
- 6. For 1500-3000 square miles surrounding ground zero: All inflammables (natural gas, gasoline, forests) ignite and coalesce to form an enormous firestorm.

Lethal Radiation: This effect is variable as it depends on weather and the speed and direction of the wind. A simple example would be wind coming from a single direction at 15 mph. For 24 hours after a single, one-megaton explosion, lethal fallout would come down in a path 150 miles long and 15 miles wide downwind from ground zero. Sublethal but morbid fallout would extend the path another 150 miles.

Delayed Effects: Among the most devastating but inevitable of events following an all out nuclear exchange would be:

- 1. The unimaginable number of corpses, both human and other mammals, will remain unburied. Bacterial, viruses, and fungi will grow in them as they decay. Insects, which are highly resistent to radiation, will carry disease from the dead to the living and there will be epidemics of black plague, hepatitis, typhoid, polio, etc.
- 2. Loss of Ozone. In 1975, the National Academy of Scientists stated that if only 10% of the worlds nuclear weapons were detonated then greater than 40% of the ozone in the atmosphere would be lost. Only a 20% loss of ozone in the atmosphere would allow ultraviolet light from the sun to penetrate the earth's atmosphere and blind all unprotected eyes, i.e. humans, other mammals, reptiles, and insects would all be blind in a matter of months.
- 3. Loss of algae. Phyto plankton in the world's oceans create over 80% of the world's atmospheric oxygen. These phyto plankton are exquisitely sensitive to radiation and would be eliminated after a 10,000 megaton exchange. The resulting lack of oxygen in the earth's atmosphere has obvious consequences.

Availability of Rescue. In regional calamities such as floods and hurricanes, unaffected survivors reach out and care for the afflicted by bringing in food, clothing and medical aid. In the scenario described

Testimony before Montana Senate Public Health Committee by Pat Hennessy, MD

8 March, 1983

above over 60 % of the population of the USA will already be severely injured. There will be no unaffected survivors and no outside rescue.

Though what I have mentioned is but the briefest of summaries, you can I think conclude that all human beings will eventually die directly following an all out nuclear exchange. They will die immediately by being burned, battered, crushed or vaporized, or they will die later from epidemic disease, radiation sickness, sunburn, blindness, or starvation.

This image is ghastly--it will not be a war as we know the term from past experience, but a holocaust that will destroy not only the 85 of the world's population that reside in the USA and USSA but most likely the remaining 92% as well.

We must eliminate these weapons which are a threat to the public health of Montana and the world. We must move quickly toward a bilateral nuclear disarmament. A nuclear freeze is the first step toward that goal.

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from Kep. Kadas

Exhibit 5
March 8, 1983

The following is an outline of arms control agreements to which the Soviet Union and the United States of America have been participants. Special attention has been paid to Soviet compliance with these agreements. This report was prepared by Legislative Aide Lawrence Turk for Representative Mike Kadas.

1925 - Geneva Protocol

Provisions: This treaty forbids the first use of chemical or

biological weapons.

Comments: The United States was charged with using chem-

ical weapons in Korea and Vietnam and biological weapons in Cuba. These charges were not substantiated. The U.S. has charged the USSR with using chemical weapons in Southeast Asia and Afghanistan. The United Nations, having studied the charges, was unable to confirm that chemical weapons had been used. It was also pointed out that the alleged chemicals could have been

produced by countries other than the

Soviet Union.

1959 - Antarctic Treaty

Provisions: This treaty establishes the Antarctic as a de-

militarized zone and bans the introduction of

nuclear weapons into the Antarctic.

Comments: The USSR has not violated this treaty.

1963 - Limited Test Ban Treaty

Provisions: The USSR and the USA, along with other countries,

agreed to halt the above-ground testing of nu-

clear weapons.

Comments: No signatory has violated this treaty.

1967 - Military Use of Space Treaty

Provisions: This treaty bans the deployment, in orbit, of

nuclear weapons or other weapons of mass destruction. It also bans military activity on the

moon or other celestial bodies.

Comments: This treaty does not cover intelligence gathering

satellites, anti-satellite weapons, military uses of the Space Shuttle or the use of space by non-orbital, intercontinental ballistic missiles. The USSR has not violated this treaty.

1968 - Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

Provisions: This treaty committed non-nuclear-weapon states

to refrain from acquiring such weapons and the nuclear-weapon states to halting and reversing the qualitative and quantitative growth of their

nuclear arsenals.

Comments: Neither the U.S. nor the USSR has deliberately

aided a country in its attempts to become a nuclear power. However, the western democracies have participated much more than the Soviet Union in the spread of nuclear technology in general. Both the U.S. and the USSR have made large quantitative and qualitative improvements in their arsenals since the signing of this treaty.

1967 - Treaty of Tlatelolco

Provisions: This treaty establishes Latin America as nuclear

weapons free.

Comments: No signatory has violated this treaty.

1971 - Seabed Treaty

Provisions: This treaty prohibits the emplacement of nuclear

weapons or other weapons of mass destruction on the ocean floor and in the subsoil thereof.

Comments: The USSR has not violated this treaty.

1972 - Biological Weapons Convention

Provisions: This treaty outlaws the possession of biological

weapons.

Comments: The U.S. has accused the USSR of violating this

treaty. The Soviet Union has denied this, and no additional confirmation of the charges has

occurred.

1972 - Environmental Convention

Provisions: This treaty forbids changing the environment for

military purposes.

Comments: The USSR has not violated this treaty.

1972 - ABM Treaty

Provisions: This treaty limits the U.S. and the USSR to one

anti-ballistic missile system each.

Comments: This treaty has not been violated although the

U.S. has contemplated re-negotiating it.

1972 - SALT I

Provisions: This treaty limited in many ways the nuclear

arsenals of the U.S. and the USSR.

Comments: This treaty has not been violated. Although

it expired in 1977, both countries continue to

abide by its terms.

1974 - Threshold Test Ban Treaty

Provisions: The U.S. and the USSR agreed not to test nuclear

weapons with yields of greater than 150 kilotons.

Comments: The U.S. did not ratify this treaty. The Reagan

administration has accused the USSR of conducting larger tests. Both the United Nations and the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute

have denied this accusation.

1975 - Final Act of Helsinki

Provisions: This treaty pledges the signatories to "regard

as inviolable all . . . frontiers of all states

in Europe."

Comments: The treaty portion of this act has not been

violated. The well-known accords which accom-

panied this treaty were not, of themselves,

a treaty. These accords, which referred to civil and political rights, were not legally binding on the signatories.

1979 - SALT II

Provisions: This treaty placed further limits on the deploy-

ment of many categories of strategic nuclear

weapons.

Comments:

The United States has not ratified this treaty. However, both the U.S. and the USSR are currently abiding by its terms. For example, under this treaty the USSR was to dismantle a number of its Delta-class submarines by May 1980. They did. The Soviet Union has charged that the proposed basing for the MX missile would be a violation of SALT II. The U.S. denies this.

In the past, one of the major stumbling blocks in arms control negotiations has been Soviet refusal to allow on-site monitoring and inspection. During the recent negotiations for a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, though, the USSR did agree in priciple to such monitoring and inspection. However, the Reagan administration recently suspended these negotiations.

The Department of Defense, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the State Department and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in 1980 released a joint position paper which stated, "Soviet compliance under fourteen arms control agreements has been good."

"If we could place absolute trust in another country, there would be no need for treaties with that country."

--- Author unknown

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DXHTDTL

WOMEN'S LOBBYIST FUND Box 1099 Helena MT 59624

A TON

TESTIMONY OF STACY A. FLAHERTY, WOMEN'S LOBBYIST FUND, BEFORE THE SENATE PUBLIC HEALTH COMMITTEE REGARDING HJR8 ON MARCH 8, 1983

Just as Jeannette Rankin was concerned with the threat of war and its impact on society, Montana women are concerned with the national and international proliferation of nuclear weaponry.

449-7917

The Women's Lobbyist Fund supports proposing a bilateral nuclear freeze and allocating funds for peaceful nonnuclear uses.

March 8, 1983
Exhibit 6

Laur histo Juney Speaking for Claypoil 7.0. HUR 8 with out any amendments. Will the freeze and negotiotions lie lies our for our children of grand queldien Civilyation will not surice a undear war, We must exect all of our efforts toward peace and solving our problems in this country.

TUESDAY 8, 1883

PUBLIC HEALTH, WEHFARE, & SAFETY COMMITTEE

DEAR SENATORS,

I UPCE YOU TO PASS RESOLUTION HIRE. THE CITIZENS OF MONTANIA HAVE VOICED THEIR SUPPORT OF THE NUCLEAR ARMS FREEZE.

THROUGH PASSAGE OF I-91. THE HOUSE HAS PASSED IT. NOW

IT'S YOUR TURN! FOR ME, THE REASONS TO DASS THIS ARE TOO

MANY TO STATE IN THIS LETTER, HOWEVER, I SUPPORT THIS RESOLUTION DECAUSE IT STATES THAT THE FREEZE..." IS TO BE A MUTUTHLY ASRESD AND VER, FIED FREEZE."

IT SEEMS TO ME TO BE AN INSAME DILEMA ME FIND OUR COUNTRY IN TODAY BECAUSE OF THE BILLON'S & BILLON'S OF DOLLARS WE SPEND ON NUCLEAR ARMS. NOW, S THE TIME TO TAKE THE FIRST & PROBLEM.

I'LL END WITH THIS LAST THOUGHT, WILL YOU SAY ENDUGH IS ENOUGH & STAND RP & SAY TO MONTANA, THE COUNTRY, & THIS WORLD THAT A NEW APPROACH IS NECESSARY FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE WORLD?

LARRY HEIMSARTHER 2300 8th for 5.

GREAT FALLS, NT.

Exhibit 9
March 8, 1983

Senator Tom Hagar Helina, montana Deur Benatar Hagar:

I want you to know that I support montana States resolution against the use of muclear weapons, HJR8.

I believe that the buildup
of nuclear weapons makes the
use of them more likely + that
we do not need more to express
our readiness to defend ourselves,

Sincerely, Hene B. Hunter 3611-5th aus. M. Freat Falls, MT 59401

Mr. Telle Theaman 3/2/83 623 Dais Drive Exhibit 10 March 8, 1983 speat Tall mo. 39905 estimony in Support of Due to the ever-increasing theolo of nuclear war, I fully suggest the mulear freaze to proposed in House frink Resolution 8. The arms control negotiation in Deneva are in reality, a completo failure. In the many years these negotiations have been going on, not one agreement das lan signed that required the U.S. and the Soviet Union the obligation of dismantly and for redicing their nuclear arenals. In fact, their nuclear asseral have been steadily spirally upward. What is sneant by aims control. I have always thought that

arms control meant curling the prolefaction of muclear weapons. But lave we! The the Geneva regotiations lived up to the definition of "anna control". It has not and therefore a new approach must be taken. A muleas freeze would enfance our national security by reducing the competition of the Two superpowers, thus reducing the tension between them and improving their relation. I change is in order, and in due time, all things must change. Failure to reduce and eventually eliminate these gloulist weapons will only save the purposes of ignorance, great, and deceit by fulfilling the planned destruction of amman Eve have been put upon the planet to learn from our ex-periences, yet so many of us

follow a wrong path only to be caught in the sitfalls of a materialistic society. There is much to be learned from the mulear debate of this dallenging age. One of the lassons to be learned is the cold hard fact that we must not place our security on a weapon capable of dashoung so many other human being One mist ask himself if the is the way towards tool. The reliance of nuclear weapons as a means of security is the greatest hour ever perpetrates on the American populace. your security is their insecurity and vice versa, your insuming is their socurity when we place our security in these deviles secure knowing another is

feeling secure because weapons of mass destruction are threatening you? It works both ways therefore giving no one the seemity they think they have.

If these weapons are not reduced and eliminated soon, only you, the one capable of moting a change, are at fault. Your security his without.

Signed, Vellag Freeman



Montana Nurses' Association

2001 ELEVENTH AVENUE

(406) 442-6710

P.O. BOX 5718 • HELENA, MONTANA 59604

The Montana Nurses' Association is concerned about the increased potential of a nuclear war and does not believe that there is any way for the medical community to prepare for a nuclear disaster. Therefore, we respectfully request that the Public Health Committee give favorable consideration to any legislation which might have the effect of stopping the proliferation of nuclear warheads. 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 im-

provement 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.

March 8, 83

Menlus of the Search Public Health & Welfow.

I'm opposed to HJR 13. It is Conglitty Contrary to what we the people of Mordona Voted for I-91.

I think we have a strong grass roots mountant and in Closing want to say "We are mad as hell" It please defeat HJR13 & support HJR8

Peacefully yours

Carl J Donorum

Box 1201

St. Fachs, net
59403

Exhibit 13 March 8, 1983 to Meknersof Committee Re. HJR 8 a 13 [I FAUGH HJR 8] I think that the current controvers, regarding the replacement of Eugene V Roston with Konneth L. Adelman, by the current administration suggest a reasonable doubt as to the seriousness of arms negotiation at this time. Both Rastan and Odelman are members of the Board of Directors of the Committee In the Present Danger. This organization formedities rold war hard lines is on record as varines superiority over the Russians.

I think it is important for us in Montaux to send a strong message to Evashington demanding that arms negativation be seriously persued.

I think we can send this message by passing HJR & unamended!! to a You have a mandate from the People of Montana 50 Dave Marsaler P.O. Box 1270 Helene Het. 442-1639

I am opposed to HJR-13



MONTANA RELIGIOUS LEGISLATIVE COALITION • P.O. Box 1708 • Helena, MT 59601

March 8, 1983

WORKING TOGETHER:

American Baptist Churches of the Northwest

American Lutheran Church Rocky Mountain District

> Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) in Montana

> Episcopal Church Diocese of Montana

Lutheran Church in America Pacific Northwest Synod

Roman Catholic Diocese of Great Falls

Roman Catholic Diocese of Helena

United Church of Christ Montana Conference

United Presbyterian Church Glacier Presbytery

United Methodist Church Yellowstone Conference

Inited Presbyterian Church gellowstone Presbytery

MR. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE SENATE PUBLIC HEALTH, WELFARE AND SAFETY COMMITTEE:

I am Cathy Campbell of Helena, representing the Montana Association of Churches, an organization of nine denominations which includes both Roman Catholic Dioceses and most of the main line Protestant denominations.

The Montana Association of Churches opposes the escalating development and deployment of nuclear weapons by the United States and other nations.

The spectre of a communist threat does not, in our view justify the nuclear arms race. While we recognize the massive nuclear buildup by the Societ Union, partly in response to our headlong arms buildup, we do not see this as sufficient justification to continue to build new nuclear weapons systems.

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 surprise first strike without leaving enough U.S. nuclear weapons unharmed to devastate Russsia. They undoubtedly know this.

We need to risk some de-escalation initiatives, some steps toward limiting our research and buildup of weapons, and to publicize those limiting steps as a way of announcing our intentions, and as a challenge to the Soviet Union to take similar steps. Such unilateral initiatives are not, in our opinion, nearly so risky as maintaining the present initiative to increase our weaponry.

Let me make it clear that we are not talking about unilateral disarmament. We are talking about genuine, well thought-out planning to limit the <u>buildup</u> of nuclear weapons. This would be a first step towards halting the arms race and the potential insanity of nuclear war.



WORKING TOGETHER:

American Baptist Churches of the Northwest

American Lutheran Church Rocky Mountain District

> Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) in Montana

Episcopal Church Diocese of Montana

Lutheran Church in America Pacific Northwest Synod

Roman Catholic Diocese of Great Falls

Roman Catholic Diocese of Helena

United Church of Christ Montana Conference

United Presbyterian Church Glacier Presbytery

United Methodist Church Yellowstone Conference

United Presbyterian Church Yellowstone Presbytery We believe that the nuclear arms race can be stopped and that people all over the world would rejoice. We affirm a commitment in faith to a different possibility for the human community; namely, a world society of order and justice, cooperation, and dreative human endeavor.

We therefore ask your support of House Joint Resolution 8.

Morn bers of The Some to highe I hat the Committee Exhibit 15 HIR & should acceive the respect and consideration, of cong talkengabout when They voted for 1-91 hast november. all of my reasoning ability to it me Mat Merce of nuclear wayour or very wrong and In Coxilinad That, 1600 as in The prest. If we present for work we will ended have war. Force and interedation work nobetter on The international level Than The ende interpressional affairs. assentelligent and speritual leings similar are ignored to use a letter copproadeto accounty differences? Dearnot anderstand Those who say That The log stature francis portant matters to consider then resolutions dealing with dooth and destructed. The peace resolution has to do with ideology and sticlosophy glife. Serrely These are forces which direct The way we spend money and make laws. These, procesely what I-97 was allabord. We were and are askeing for prace - peace by means the tare themane. We are seingly apposed to morally wrong and ulternately brutaleging armed conflict in pursuit & Research Wa do not want to support The armes race and The protiferation of machon wropones logistatively, financially owin anyway. I Therefore ask you sena toes of Montana to say yes to HIR 8. Sincerely

Oleta Smith St. Ignateies, montana 59865 To Senate Public Health & Welfare,
We the undersigned are in support of the
passage of H. J. R. S. We hope this Committee wice
give it a do pass recommedation.

Reacefuly your,
Carl J Donovan
Box 1201
St. Facts, mt 59403

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THE EUROPEAN INTERMEDIATE RANGE BALLISTIC MISSILE DEBATE

Current Deployment:

Warsaw Pact

NATO and France

222 SS-20 missiles

300 SS-4, SS-5 missiles

162 British and French land and

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

SUPPORTERS OF A NUCLEAR FREEZE -members of the American Committee on East-West Accord

William Atwood

former ambassador

George Ball //

former Under-Secretary of State

Hodding Carter *

former Assistant Secretary of State

Arthur Macy Cox

columnist

John Culver

former Senator

John Kenneth Galbraith

former ambassador, economist

Admiral Noel Gayler (USN-retired)

former commander in chief-U.S. forces

in the Pacific.
former director-National Security Agency

Armand Hammer

chairman, chief executive
Occidental Petroleum

Father Hesburgh

president-Notre Dame

George Kennan

former ambassador to the USSR

Robert MacNamara

former Secretary of Defense former president-World Bank

Simon Chilewich

president-Chilewich Inc. of New York

George William McSweeney

president-Occidental International

Jerome Ottmar

president-ANTEL-AMCA Corporation

Ara Oztemel

president-SATRA Corporation

Harold B. Scott

former president-U.S.-USSR Trade and

Economic Council

Vice Admiral John Marshall Lee

(USN retired)

Phillip Klutznich

former Secretary of Commerce

Douglas Frazier

president-UAW

John V. James

chairman, president-Dresser Industries

Robert Roosa

Brown Brothers, Harriman Company

Glenn Watts

president-Communications Workers of

America

START - This Reagan proposal would force removal of one-half of the U.S.S.R.'s ICBM force while leaving ours relatively undisturbed. It would also allow the U.S. to deploy 4,000 cruise missiles, while the Russians have none. It would allow replacement of deterrent weapons systems with more advanced destabilizing systems such as the MX and Trident II missiles.

"In START we are currently calling for substantial Soviet reductions in site-busting missiles while insisting that we should be free to build a force of MX silo-busting missiles. This when America already has the upper hand in terms of the quality of its missile submarines, its intercontinental bomber force and cruise missiles, as well as the strategic forces of its allies (France and Britain) and a non-adversary (China). That's a fairly tall negotiating order! No wonder little progress has been made."

- Gerard C. Smith, head of the SALT I delegation (Newsweek 1/31/83)
- Freeze "I don't think the freeze is a substitute for deep arms reductions, but I can't see how it does anything but help with the negotiating process toward them. I particularly reject the idea that we should or can build up our nuclear forces in order to gain an advantage over the Soviets before we can negotiate. I think that's nonsense. They can build up just as fast, and in my judgement they will."
 - Admiral Noel Gayler (USN retired), former Commander in Chief - U.S. forces in Pacific, former Director - National Security Agency (You Can Prevent Nuclear War. Common Cause, 1982.)

Could We Do this in the U.S.S.R.?

In June, 1981, the "Group to Establish Trust Between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S." was formed in Moscow. This is an independent, non-governmental peace group. Although there has been some harassment, similar organizations have sprung up in Leningrad, Odessa and Novosibrik. Now they are nine months old.

Mikkall Ostrovsky was one of the founding members. He said, "Probably this is the first time in Soviet history tht such an independent group has existed for so long." (Nuclear Times, January 1983).

ARMS CONTROL AND THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION

THE TREATIES

- Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty This treaty limits the deployment of ABM's by the U. S. and the U.S.S.R. The Reagan Administration has repeatedly suggested deploying ABM's along with the MX. Doing so would require abrogation of this treaty.
- Threshold Test Ban Treaty, Peaceful Nuclear Explosion Treaty—
 These treaties limit nuclear explosions to 150 kilotons.
 They were not ratified by the U.S. and Reagan has offered no support for them. Reagan has proposed renegotiating these treaties to allow for verification procedures (Independent Record 2/15/83). However, if they were ratified, on-site inspection would have gone into effect. It's a myth that the Russians have refused on-site monitoring.

The Center for Defense Information (CDI) believes this talk is a smokescreen for restarting larger tests.

- Comprehensive Test Ban This would ban all nuclear testing.

 Major provisions were agreed to when talks were adjourned in November 1980. In July, 1982, Reagan called off the scheduled resumption of talks, citing the need for greater verification procedures for the partial test bans. However, for a complete ban you don't need difficult checks. It's easy to tell if a nuclear test has occurred. Reagan is being deceptive.
- Intermediate Range Nuclear Talks These ongoing talks would limit European missiles. Reagan has demanded that the U.S.S.R. remove all its missiles in exchange for the U.S. not deploying new missiles. This would leave Britain and France with 162 missiles. The U.S.S.R. has proposed a limit of 162 for each side. Reagan has refused to consider compromise.

General Bernard W. Roberts, NATO's supreme commander for Europe has said that real progress on reducing Europe's nuclear arsenal will begin only at the end of this year (Missoulian 2/16/83). So they're hopeless now!

Eugene Rostow, Head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) until he was replaced for being too "flexible" - "Maybe a brilliant light will strike our officials, but I don't know anyone who knows what it is yet that we want to negotiate (in arms control) about." (At confirmation hearings in 1981).

He also said he'd encountered "battalions" of government officials who believe that "given the need for new weapons and modernization, we are going to need testing, and perhaps even testing above the 150 kiloton limit" (testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee - May 1982).

It's strange to hear negotiators talk about violating treaties. Rostow was also the author of a media strategy to combat and belittle the Spring 1981 Ground Zero Week activities. In other words, he was actively engaged in attempts to reduce public fears, rather than reducing the cause of those fears, which was his job.

Kenneth Adelman, proposed Head of ACDA - Answering a question about the desire of U.S. allies for arms control, Adelman said, "My philosophy would be to do it for political reasons, but I think it's a sham."

"I can't think of any negotiations on security or weaponry that have done any good."

"One reason not to rush into any negotiations is that in a democracy, the negotiations tend to discourage money for defense programs. The public says, 'Why increase the military when we are negotiating with the Russians?'" (New York Daily News, May 1981).

Adelman is only 36 years old and has no arms control experience. The Soviets can only think that we are not serious about arms control.

President Reagan - "As President, I will immediately open negotiations on a SALT III Treaty." (CBS Radio broadcast two weeks before election).

Actually he delayed the start of talks for one and one-half years.

"The argument, if there is any, will be over which weapons, not whether we should forsake weaponry for treaties and agreements." (speech at West Point, May 1981).

The Arms Control People

Colin Gray, a top arms control advisor to the Reagan government - "The U.S. should plan to <u>defeat</u> the Soviet Union and to do so at a cost that would not prohibit U.S. recovery - Washington should identify war aims that in the last resort would contemplate the destruction of Soviet political authority and the emergence of a post-war world order compatible with Western values ("Victory is Possible." Foreign Policy, summer 1980).

Richard D. DeLauer, Under Secretary of Defense for Research and Engineering - The improved accuracy of planned weapons "will provide a counter-force capability enabling destruction of hardened Soviet targets and could even provide the capability for a pre-emptive strike" (Aviation Week and Space Technology, 10/26/81).

Richard Burt, Assistant Secretary of State, Haig's key official on arms control - "There are strong reasons for believing that arms control is unlikely to possess much utility in the coming decade."

"Regardless of whether the SALT II Treaty is ratified, the United States in any follow-on negoiations should not seek severe quantitative reductions or higher qualitative restraints." ("The Relevance of Arms Control in the 1980's." Dgedalus, Winter 1981).

Richard Perle, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy - He said that the antinuclear movement in Europe is a ploy by European church leaders to exploit the fear of nuclear war in order to boost flagging church membership (With Enough Shovels: Reagan, Bush and Nuclear War, Robert Sheer, 1982).

Paul Nitze, negotiator for Theatre Nuclear Force Talks in May 1981 - "There could be serious arms control negotiations, but only after we have built up our forces." When asked how long it would take to accomplish this he said, "Ten years." (With Enough Shovels).

Caspar Weinberger, Secretary of Defense, testifying before the House Budget Committee in 1981 - The Reagan administration would expand U.S. capability "for deterring or prosecuting a global war with the Soviet Union."

Arms Control and the Reagan Administration Page Five

Other Sources:

Missoulian, 1/28/83 Independent Record, 2/9/83 Washington Star, 6/26/81

MK/mac

Exhibit 20
March 8, 1983
Submitted by
Representative Nordvedt 320 warheads | delivered 900 missiles (Submorine 340 bixa, bear bomber backfire 2600 warheads | based L SS R Weapons werpons aimed at First strike "-+ype Strategic Nuclear weapons aimed deterrence Courter force अवविष् Wenpons Wenpons weepons 520 missiles (submarined 2000 warheads / based 1000 missiles / land 300 BS2, FIII / bomber 2500 warkerds Sdelivered 4600 warheads / based H S B

European Theater

Nuclear Weapons

U.S.S.R.

350 SSZO missiles (1050 warheads)

35 55 5

315 55 4

3520 is <u>mobile</u>, cold launched therefore reusuble launchers

N.A.T.O

Presently <u>nothing!</u>; late 1983
plan to deploy 464 cruse, 108
Pershing-2 missiles

Britian + France have strategic nuclear missiles, but are not committed to NATO defence.

MHOURE JOINT RESOLUTION Bill No.xx 8

second reading copy (Yellow)

1. Amend title, page 1, line 13.

After: "WEAPONRY"

Insert: "AT LEVELS WHICH ARE EQUAL BETWEEN THE MAJOR POWERS

AND ARE SUBSTANTIALLY REDUCED FROM PRESENT LEVELS AND WHICH MEET THE SECURITY NEEDS OF THE NATIONS

INVOLVED"

2. Amend page 1, line 19.

Insert: "WHEREAS, the President of the United States, under Section 2 of Article II of the U. S. Constitution is Commander-in-Chief of the United States Armed Forces and is responsible for maintaining the security of the people of the United States, as well as

promoting the peace; and"

3. Amend page 2, line 23.

After: "weapons"

Insert: "at levels which are equal between the major powers
and are substantially reduced from present levels

and which meet the security needs of the nations

involved"

4. Amend page 3, line 3.

After: "nuclear"

Insert: "and conventional force"

5. Amend page 3, line 3.

After: "nations"

Insert: "to levels and by procedures consistent with the

security needs of all nations involved.

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Amend title, page 1, line 13

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MR. CHAIRMAN: | MOVE TO AMEND HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION Bill No. 8

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HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION

Bill No XX 8

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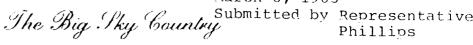
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MONTANA STATE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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.

oviets 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 Military Balance 1981-82, International (Source: Institute of Strategic Studies, London)

36 SSBNs carry 576 SLBMs with 4912 warheads US 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)

Resolution No. 469

NUCLEAR "FREEZE" OR PEACE THROUGH STRENGTH?

MEREAS, an uncritical nuclear "freeze" mania has swept before it many sincere (and some not-so-sincere) people in some 100 non-communist nations, but not a single communist state; and

WHEREAS, while fear of nuclear war is certainly understandable, nuclear freeze proponents have no rational, realistic alternative to the policy of deterrence that has kept the nuclear peace for 37 years under eight U. S. Presidents -- four from each of our great political parties -- from President Truman through President Reagan; and

whereas, some 170 U.S. Congressmen have agreed to a "freeze-now-count-later" resolution put forward by Senators Kennedy (Mass.) and Hatfield (Oregon); and

WHEREAS, the nuclear "freeze" movement can serve only to disarm the west as no comparable pressure is permitted to grow on the other side of the Iron Curtain; and

whereas, the practical result of a nuclear "freeze-now-think-later" decision would be to codify the Soviet Union's unquestioned and growing non-nuclear military power giving them carte blanche on the Eurasian land mass and its contiguous waters; now, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, by the 83rd Naitonal Convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, that:

- (a) the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States sustain our ungrudging support for President Reagan's bold call for sharp reductions of nuclear weapons to equal, balanced and verifiable levels (the START proposal);
- (b) we support the 277 members of the Congress who are members of the "Coalition for Peace Through Strength;" and, finally
- (c) should hard evidence be uncovered of reported communist manipulation of the nuclear freeze movement, we would call upon the Department of Justice to aggressively seek out and prosecute such cynical manipulators in our midst.

Adopted by the 83rd National Convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United at Los Angeles, California, August 13-20, 1982.

Resolution No. 469

In view of this Resolution, we support HJRl3.

VFW Department of Montana

While the Legion has long supported such a freeze, we will only do so when undertaken in strict compliance with the following sequential steps.

First the U.S. must modernize its nuclear forces to restore the efficacy of its nuclear deterrent triad. The maintenance of a credible nuclear deterrent across the entire spectrum of capabilities is indispensable.

Second, the Soviet SS-20 missile threat to NATO Europe must be offset, preferably through arms negotiations, but through deployment of new missiles if necessary. The Administration's "zero option" would be preferable since it would eliminate a new class of theater missiles on both sides.

Third, following the restoration of a credible nuclear deterrent force and an offset of Soviet SS-20 missiles, a significant mutual, equitable, verifiable resolution in nuclear force could be negotiated with the Soviet Union. It is important to keep in mind that any discussion of verifiability include the fullest consideration of on-site inspections to ensure compliance by both sides.

The final and fourth step in this process would be the nuclear freeze which would then serve to prevent subsequent expansion of nuclear forces by either side. Following these four steps closely would provide a nuclear freeze which would be carried out from a position of equality between superpowers and would serve to minimize the likelihood of cheating by either side.

Some people seem to believe that the possession of arms and armament creates a circumstance which can lead to war. They seem to think that if our government could eliminate military forces and armaments, it would have eliminated war itself. This logic is totally at variance with the history of man. Under the terms of this logic, the nation could eliminate its police force and thereby, eliminate crime. This viewpoint also contradicts military history from well before the time of Caesar.

This statement from The American Legion of Montana is in favor of HJR #13 and in opposition with HJR #8

The SALT I and SALT II Treaties were supposed to have "capped" or "frozen" the arms race, but the Soviets have raced while the U.S. has stood still.

- 8. It is based on the sole idea that nuclear weapons are the problem. It ignores the Soviet threat to freedom. The real problem and the real threat of nuclear war comes from Soviet expansionism based on military force.
- 9. Freeze leaders oppose building any U.S. defense against a Soviet nuclear attack. Because we have no such defenses, the Soviets could kill 60% of all Americans in an all-out nuclear exchange while losing less than 10% of their own population.

This gives the Soviets enormous nuclear blackmail advantage.

#

See "Analysis of Claims for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze" for more detail

Why a Nuclear Weapons Freeze Would Increase the Risk of Nuclear War

1. It would lock the United States into military inferiority to the Soviet Union.

The Soviets now have a nearly 2 to 1 advantage in strategic missiles and bombers; and a nearly 4 to 1 advantage in megatonnage.

Throughout history, weakness in the face of enemy expansionism has led to war or surrender. Remember: deterrence is cheaper than war.

- 2. It would lock the United States into strategic obsolescence. Secretary of Defense, Caspar Weinberger, reports that 75 percent of U.S. strategic weapons are 15 years old, while 75 percent of Soviet strategic weapons are less than 5 years old.
- 3. Freeze leaders are also campaigning for a unilateral nuclear weapons freeze.

All their national leaders and organizations are opposing all new nuclear weapons regardless of what the Soviets do.

- 4. It is not verifiable except by on-site inspection (which has always been refused by the Soviets.) The Soviets have accepted only those forms of verification which they cannot stop.
- U.S. intelligence satellites cannot see through roofs to see if weapons are being produced or stored. Mobile missiles (SS-16 ICBMs) can be easily hidden inside buildings.
- 5. The Soviets cannot be trusted. They have violated every major arms control treaty they have signed.
- 6. It would not be enforceable.

If the Soviets cheated and gained greater military superiority over the United States, we would be powerless to get them to comply with the freeze. There is no international court with either the power or the authority to enforce a freeze.

7. The nuclear weapons freeze concept has already been tried and failed badly.

The United States unilaterally froze the number of strategic missiles and bombers in 1967 and have even reduced the numbers of strategic nuclear weapons since then. The Soviets reacted by speeding up their arms buildup.

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