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Original sponsor: State Affairs
Committee

1 IN THE SENATE

BY THE RULES COMMITTEE

2

CS FOR SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 85 (Rules)

3

IN THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF ALASKA

4

TWELFTH LEGISLATURE - SECOND SESSION

5

Requesting the President of the

6

United States to propose a freeze on

7

nuclear weapons, the transfer of

8

funds from nuclear weapons to peaceful

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nonnuclear uses, and nuclear disarmament

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by all nations.

11 BE IT RESOLVED BY THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF ALASKA:

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WHEREAS the unleashing of nuclear weapons in warfare would cause untold

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deaths, suffering, and destruction; and

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WHEREAS the continued development, testing, and production of nuclear

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weaponry and related delivery systems increase distrust and apprehension

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among nations, the likelihood of nuclear accidents, and the potential magni-

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tude of any international conflict; and

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WHEREAS the burgeoning defense budget required for production and deploy-

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ment of nuclear weapons increases the United States budget deficit; and

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WHEREAS governmental spending for nuclear weaponry and related delivery

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systems may be spent more wisely in peaceful pursuits;

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BE IT RESOLVED by the Alaska State Legislature that the President of the

23

United States is respectfully requested to propose to the Soviet Union and

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other nations

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(1) a mutual freeze on the testing, production, and deployment of

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nuclear weapons and of missiles, watercraft, and aircraft designed primarily

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to deliver nuclear weapons;

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(2) verification safeguards for the freeze that are satisfactory

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to all parties; and

1 (3) eventual nuclear disarmament by all nations; and be it
2 FURTHER RESOLVED that, if such a freeze is mutually agreed upon and the
3 Soviet Union has ~~conclusively proved~~ *conclusively proved* that it has frozen all nuclear testing,
4 production, and deployment, the President of the United States is respectfully
5 requested to propose that funds that would have been used for nuclear military
6 purposes be used for peaceful nonnuclear uses; and be it

7 FURTHER RESOLVED that the Alaska Delegation in Congress is respectfully
8 requested to urge President Reagan to make the proposals requested in this
9 resolution.

10 COPIES of this resolution shall be sent to the Honorable Ronald Reagan,
11 President of the United States; and the Honorable Ted Stevens and the Honor-
12 able Frank Murkowski, U.S. Senators, and the Honorable Don Young, U.S. Repre-
13 sentative, members of the Alaska delegation in Congress.

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7098 Sunny Drive
Juneau, AK 99801

April 28, 1982

Senator Vic Fischer
Pouch V
Juneau, AK 99811

Dear Senator Fischer:

I wish to thank you for the support you gave SJR 85--the "nuclear freeze" proposal--in committee and hope you will continue to press for its passage on the Senate floor.

I hope you will also consider supporting SJR 62, which opposes deployment of the MX missile in Alaska.

There is no better time for Alaskans to send a message eastward so loud and clear that even Washington will listen: We will not allow our state to become contaminated by this nuclear madness.

Sincerely,

Leon Kolankiewicz

Leon Kolankiewicz

DEAR SENATOR

I WOULD LIKE TO STRONGLY
URGE YOU TO SUPPORT "SENATE JOINT
RESOLUTION #85" CONCERNING A NUCLEAR
FREEZE. THIS NUCLEAR ARMS RACE
BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE
U.S. CANNOT CONTINUE. WHAT GOOD WILL
MORE BOMBS BE? AT CURRENT LEVELS THE
U.S. AND SOVIET CAN DESTROY EARTH MANY
TIMES OVER. HOW MUCH MORE OF A
DETERRENT CAN THERE BE? FOR YOU, ME,
AND ALL LIVING THINGS ON EARTH, THINK
OF THE CONSEQUENCES OF A NUCLEAR WAR.
PLEASE SUPPORT SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION #85
THANK YOU

SINCERELY

Kurt Rendzel

KURT RENDZEL

P.O. BOX 572

DOUGLAS, ALASKA

99824

LAW OFFICES OF
CHRISTIANSON, STAHLA & COLE
403 Lincoln, P.O. Box 4
Sitka, Alaska 99835

WARREN C. CHRISTIANSON
EDWARD A. STAHLA
THERON J. COLE

907-747-6681

3-18-82

Dear Dick,

a surprisingly large group attended
the organizational meeting of an anti Nuclear
Weapons group in Sitka Group T. Pitts.

the is

is similar to the
Washington one enclosed. I wrote to Ben
also. Mary Martha (who says to give you
a warm hug) + I are headed to Hawaii for
2 weeks, but if you need more information
contact Matt Lorenzbaugh.

I hope you feel you can do this -

Thank you,

Chris

SENATE JOINT MEMORIAL NO. 122

State of Washington
47th Legislature
1982 Regular Session

By Senators Lysen, Rasmussen, Moore,
Goltz, Hughes, Murley, Haley, McDermott,
Talmadge and Williams

Read first time February 2, 1982, and referred to Committee on STATE GOVERNMENT.

1 TO THE HONORABLE RONALD REAGAN, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.
2 AND TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE AND THE SPEAKER OF THE
3 HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, AND TO THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF
4 REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES, IN CONGRESS
5 ASSEMBLED:

6 We, your Memorialists, the Senate and House of
7 Representatives of the State of Washington, in legislative
8 session assembled, respectfully represent and petition as
9 follows:

10 WHEREAS, The unleashing of nuclear weapons in warfare
11 would cause untold deaths, suffering, and destruction; and

12 WHEREAS, The continued development, testing, and
13 production of nuclear weaponry and related delivery systems
14 increase distrust and apprehension among nations, as well as the
15 potential magnitude of any international conflict; and

16 WHEREAS, Our nation's environment is threatened by the
17 mere preparation for nuclear war because (1) according to the
18 Department of Energy, 98.8 percent by volume of all high-level
19 radioactive wastes come from military nuclear programs, and (2)
20 the proposed MX nuclear missile system will require 14 million
21 acres of land, 12 percent of the total annual water runoff in
22 that area, 10,000 miles of heavy-duty roads, and twice the
23 amount of cement required to build Hoover Dam; and

24 WHEREAS, Governmental spending for nuclear weaponry and
25 related delivery systems would be spent more wisely in peaceful
26 pursuits;

27 NOW, THEREFORE, Your Memorialists respectfully pray that
28 the Congress of the United States request the President of the
29 United States (1) to propose to the Soviet Union a mutual freeze
30 on all further testing, production, and deployment of nuclear

1 weapons and of missiles and new aircraft designed primarily to
2 deliver nuclear weapons, and (2) if such a freeze is mutually
3 agreed upon, to transfer the funds that would have been used for
4 these purposes to peaceful nonnuclear use,
5 BE IT RESOLVED, That copies of this Memorial be
6 immediately transmitted to the Honorable Ronald Reagan,
7 President of the United States, the President of the United
8 States Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and
9 each member of Congress from the State of Washington.

Doesn't Military Spending Help Our Economy?

American people lose jobs when military spending is high, for the defense industry is capital intensive and requires highly skilled, highly paid workers. A study done for the Machinists Union in 1979, for example, showed that if 1 billion dollars were transferred from military industry to civilian industry, 14,000 MORE JOBS would be created. If 1 billion dollars were used by state and local governments to hire teachers, police and firemen, 30,000 MORE JOBS would be created than if the same billion dollars were used to hire military personnel.

What's more, as the military budget increases, DOMESTIC PROGRAMS CUT. The costs of the nuclear arms race are already killing as we neglect human needs—food, care and shelter—to purchase new nuclear weapons.

"Every gun that is made, every warship that is launched, every rocket fired, signifies in the final sense a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed."

—President Dwight D. Eisenhower

Could the Soviet Union Agree to Freeze?

Links between the Americans working on the Freeze and representatives of the Soviet Union indicate that if the USA proposed a Freeze, the Soviet Union would give it very serious consideration. In fact, in 1977, 1978, and 1979 Soviet officials proposed a halt to the nuclear arms race along the lines of the Freeze. We will never know whether these proposals were serious unless we put them to the test.

Can We Trust the Russians Not to Violate the Freeze?

The Freeze is verifiable by means of detection which both the USA and the USSR already possess. Both countries could, by radar, satellite and other means, check to make sure that the other nation is complying to the agreement—as they have done for numerous agreements in the past.

Citizens' Campaign for a Mutual US/Soviet Halt to the Nuclear Arms Race

"I consider a bilateral moratorium on nuclear weapons deployment and testing to be the single most crucial issue facing humanity today."

—Senator Mark Hatfield
(R-Oregon)

A mutual US/Soviet Freeze to the nuclear arms race will be achieved only when there is enough public support to compel the USA and the USSR to act on it, and a concerted national campaign is underway to build this support. Across the country, people are joining to call a halt to the arms race: mothers and fathers, electricians and executives, teachers, scientists, farmers, carpenters—Republicans and Democrats, "liberals" and "conservatives"—citizens of this country who want to live free from the threat of nuclear war.

Please join us in this powerful new initiative to call a halt to the nuclear arms race.

CONTACT:

OR: The New Manhattan Project, American Friends Service Committee, 15 Rutherford Pl., New York, NY 10003. The AFSC is one of a number of social, religious and civic organizations working on the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign/NY Metro Area.

Other supporters of the proposal for a US/Soviet Freeze include the State Assembly of New York and the State Senates of Massachusetts and Oregon; the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church; Freeman Dyson, physicist; John Kenneth Galbraith, economist; the National Conference of Black Mayors; William Winpisinger, President of the International Association of Machinists; US Representatives Shirley Chisholm (NY), Robert Edgar (PA), Richard Ottinger (NY), Peter Rodino (NJ), and Harold Washington (IL); Rabbi Arnold Wolf of the K.A.M. Israhel Congregation; and George Kistlakowsky, former Presidential Science Advisor.

Please return (coupon) to the New Manhattan Project, American Friends Service Committee, 15 Rutherford Pl., New York, NY 10003, or local contact.

- YES! I endorse the proposal for a US/Soviet freeze on nuclear weapons.
 Please tell me how I can get involved in the campaign.
 Here's a contribution of \$ _____ to support your work on the Nuclear Weapon Freeze Campaign.

NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____
street city state/zip

ORGANIZATION OR TITLE (if any): _____

IN A DEMOCRACY,
WE ARE ALL RESPONSIBLE FOR
PUSHING THE BUTTON.



THE FUTURE IN OUR HANDS

FREEZE THE ARMS RACE US-USSR

Citizens' campaign for a mutual US/Soviet halt to the nuclear arms race.

"A government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

—Abraham Lincoln

WE SUPPORT HJR 73. THUS FAR 1,200 PERSONS IN THE JUNEAU AREA HAVE SIGNED THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE PETITION CALLING FOR AN IMMEDIATE HALT TO THE DEPLOYMENT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS BY THE U.S. AND THE U.S.S.R.

ALASKANS FOR WORLD PEACE
BOARD OF DIRECTORS
CONNER SORENSEN
DORIS LYNCH
MARTHA DENSMORE
FRAN TOLAND

DON GOTTSCHALL
JUDITH MAIER
GREGG STEVENS

22 April 1982

AGAINST THE NUCLEAR ARMS FREEZE RESOLUTION, AS PROPOSED

Dear Senator,

Although I fully agree with the humanitarian ideals and peacemaking intent of the nuclear arms freeze resolution the Alaska State Senate is considering, I am deeply convinced and concerned that the practical effect of this resolution will be the exact opposite. Where Alaska stands with the other states on this issue may be especially noticed, considering our geographical vulnerability to Soviet military power and our longstanding concern about that. (I hate to think what kind of arms freeze resolution Massachusetts will produce.)

Taking a legislative stand -- and the moral and political responsibility for it -- on an issue of the gravity of nuclear weaponry should be done only after a full and fair consideration of it. The issue is profound and complex, and it requires much more comment than I can put in a letter. (Family matters have preoccupied me lately, and I learned of the State Affairs hearing from a gloating pro-freeze acquaintance of mine only after it was over.) As an individual Alaska citizen and as a serious student of military history, I ask you to consider the following points and to examine the background information attached. (The information was compiled in response to a similar resolution being advocated in the Presbyterian Church.)

Far more important than informing the Reagan Administration of the national concern about nuclear war (which is already apparent anyway) is the real danger of encouraging the Soviet military/industrial/ideological leadership's belief that our will to militarily resist their military and political expansionism is disintegrating. World War I, World War II and even this nonsense between Argentina and Great Britain was caused by one nation miscalculating another's will to militarily deter and/or resist them. The mentality of the Soviet leadership can only interpret nuclear arms freeze petitions and resolutions as a continuation of the breakdown of our national will to militarily resist them. (The early involvement of many of the anti-VN-war activists in this agitation justifies such an interpretation.)

An immediate nuclear arms freeze of neutron weapons development and deployment similarly encourages the Soviets to believe that their massive civil defense program may make their risks in any future nuclear showdown/crisis acceptable.

Although the parity amendment would certainly help the resolution, anything not supporting the Reagan Administration amounts to a pressure instrument which will be to the advantage of the Soviets at a bargaining table* and which will probably make fair, effective and genuinely verifiable arms agreements impossible. This same kind of pressure led to our desertion and betrayal of the South Vietnamese and Cambodian peoples -- and our own war dead -- and to the "Paris Peace Talks" charade. This time, we will be betraying ourselves and our children's future.

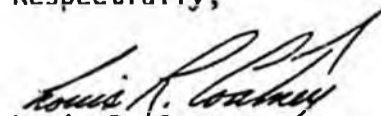
I also have been dissatisfied by the Reagan Administration's attitude about nuclear war. However, if the Alaska State Senate passes a resolution concerning nuclear/gas/germ weaponry, I ask that it be a resolution of complete support for the Administration in its efforts to assure parity and direct verification in any disarmament or arms freeze agreements with the Soviets. National survival is a bipartisan issue.

Incidentally, I do not hate the Soviet people or their leaders. In fact, I am an avid student of Soviet (military) history and affairs. (The efficiency of the Soviet criminal justice system -- at least in deterring nonpolitical crime -- is enviable.) It is on the Soviet people's behalf, as much as our own, that we must continue to deter their already-mobilized militarism and be able to try to mitigate the totalitarian excesses of their society.

I realize the amount of pressure that you must be under about now, and I thank you for your time and fair consideration.

Respectfully,

*Popular opinion pressures are not allowed in the Soviet Union, of course.


Louis R. Coatney
9706 Trappers Lane
Juneau, AK 99801
789-0046

1. Although the mere existence of nuclear/chemical/biological weapons is potentially suicidal, psychologically burdensome, morally destructive, economically exhausting and unChristian, the consequences for Christianity and for Mankind's very survival are infinitely more so if Soviet military and political domination is undeterred and unchecked. Coping with the fear and revulsion of weapons of horror is very hard for all of us, but we must not allow our judgement and resolve to weaken. It should be the duty of the Church to provide emotional and spiritual support for that resolve -- not to undermine it.
2. The Soviet Union is an already mobilized -- and disciplined -- military state which has been covertly and unilaterally at war against the West for decades. The unwillingness of the Soviet leadership to agree to or abide by fair, verifiable and effective disarmament agreements is based upon their growing expectation that growing Western demoralization will result in our unilateral disarmament and military inferiority in deterrent weapons systems and/or will result in quick Western surrender in the event of a war in which the undeterred use of such weapons could be threatened or made by Soviet forces. The methodical use of terrorism by the Soviet leadership -- internally as well as externally and politically as well as militarily -- is an integral and historical part of the Soviet system.

The Nazis' undeterred bombing of the "open city" of Rotterdam in 1940 and the immediate collapse of Dutch military resistance thereafter is a classic case of the consequences of the lack of a deterrent threat in the wartime climate of military expediency. We must clearly discourage the Soviets from making a catastrophic miscalculation on the basis of such expectations.

3. Our desertion and betrayal of the South Vietnamese and Cambodian peoples -- and our own dead and crippled GI's -- in the name of "peace" has only continued and intensified their material and spiritual suffering. America was militarily and morally defeated in Indochina primarily by the self-concerned and demoralizing activities of our "peace protestors" and other political agitation, [by such "concerned" groups as our own Church.]?

The Soviet leadership accordingly interprets the current (unilateral) efforts of peace groups in the West as a continuation of this Western demoralization: a demonstration of the weakening of the Western will to militarily resist in the horrible face of a possible nuclear/chemical/biological holocaust. The prominent endorsement of a "bilateral" peace petition by many prominent members of the anti-Vietnam protest movement encourages this interpretation by the Soviets.

4. The tragedy of Poland again shows us that the Kremlin is unintimidated and unmoved by any people's demonstrations of concern or grievance. Indeed, popular peacemaking efforts are not tolerated within the Soviet Union: Stalin's question, "And how many divisions does the Pope have?!", is entirely indicative of the amorally and ruthlessly utilitarian mentality of the current Soviet leadership. Bibles, prayers and peace pronouncements alone do not stop Soviet tanks.

On the other hand, the Kremlin considers religion to be a serious ideological threat which must be eradicated. (See PERSECUTOR, by Sergey Kourdakov, in the Chapel Library.) Political and spiritual dissidence in the Soviet Union is only possible because of the Kremlin's respect for the Western Press. That free press is preserved only by American military power. Spiritual resistance to a regime which even (mis-)uses psychiatry for political control is impossible.

(A. Lyndon (Campbell))

5. The Soviets' covert use of lethal chemical weapons in Afghanistan and Cambodia, the 1979 disaster in Sverdlovsk indicating the Soviets' secret violation of the Germ Warfare Treaty of 1975 and other examples of the Kremlin's ruthlessness and treachery demonstrate the need for disarmament treaties which can be verified through direct and unrestricted investigation. Current methods of remote verification -- such as reconnaissance satellites -- can be deceived and disrupted.
6. Although peace requires two-sided effort and sincerity, we learned in Poland in 1939 and at Pearl Harbor in 1941 that war only requires the ruthless will and action of one side. The attitudes of contemporary "pacifists" are basically the same and just as self-deluding as those of the pre-World War II isolationists and international pacifists and are just as responsible for the murder of tens of millions of innocent men, women and children as were the Nazi, Fascist and Japanese militarists whom they allowed to flourish, march and murder. Even if such criminally naive attitudes were Christian in intent and dogmatic consistency, they are morally irresponsible and unChristian -- indeed, antiChristian -- in their practical effect.

SUGGESTED FURTHER READING FOR CONCERNED PERSONS:

- a. THE BATTLE FOR STALINGRAD, by V.I. Chuikov. A gripping statement of "The Sprit of Stalingrad" by the commander of the victorious Soviet 62nd Rifle Army and, later, Commander of Strategic Rocket Forces. *U/A-5 LIBRARY*
- b. THE GREAT TERROR, by Robert Conquest. A description of the establishment of institutionalized terror as a political and spiritual instrument in the Soviet Union -- at a cost of 30,000,000 dead. *(STATE LIBRARY)*
(CHAPEL LIBRARY)
- c. PERSECUTOR, by Sergey Kourdakov. A description of the attitudes and methods of the KGB in its destruction of religious activity and persons.
- d. THE RUSSIANS, by Hedrick Smith. Best description available of attitudes and conditions in the Soviet Union by NEW YORK TIMES' former Moscow correspondent. Includes chapter entitled, "XII. PATRIOTISM: World War II Was Only Yesterday." *(STATE LIBRARY)*
- e. "Keeping An Eye On Russia: A Hypocritical Event in Sverdlovsk Has Raised Serious Doubts About Arms-Treaty Surveillance," NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE - Nov. 29, 1981
by Leslie H. Gelb,

8882 Cedar Court
Juneau, Alaska 99801
April 12, 1982

Senator Vic Fischer, Chairman
Senate State Affairs Committee
PO Box V
Juneau, Alaska 99811

Dear Senator Fischer,

I am delighted that Senator Elason has introduced Senate Joint Resolution 85 calling for a bilateral nuclear arms freeze and eventual nuclear disarmament. With the wave of concern about nuclear war or accident sweeping not only this country but the entire world, I am proud that the State of Alaska would consider such a timely and progressive stand on the issue.

I urge your support of Senate Joint Resolution 85.

Sincerely,
Fran Toland

April 13, 1982

Dennis Gellhouse
9324-8 Glacier Hwy.
Juneau, Alaska 99801

Dear Senator Fischer,

Senator Eliason has introduced Senate Joint Resolution No. 85 calling for a bilateral freeze on nuclear armaments and their delivery systems.

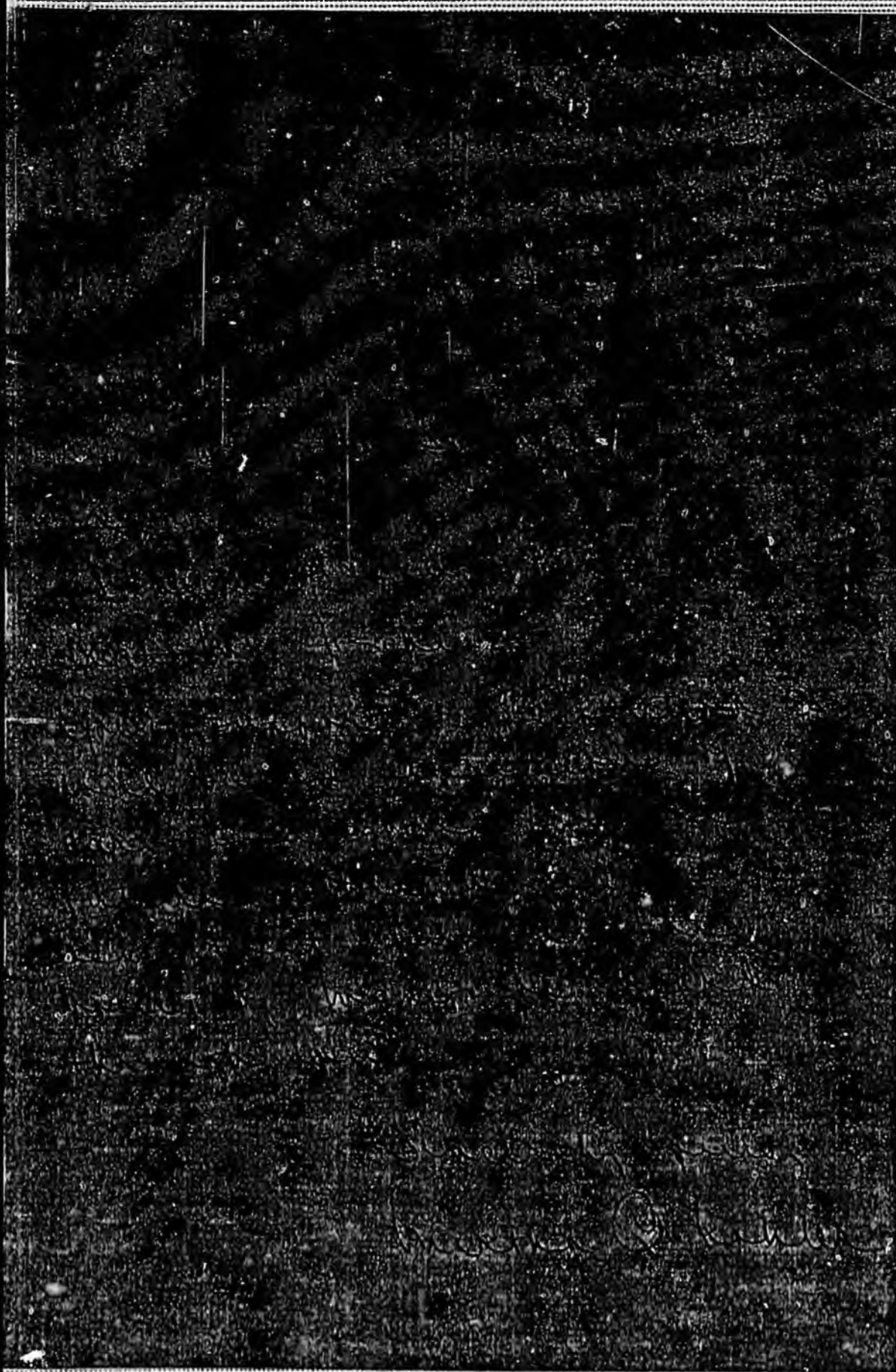
This idea is gaining momentum worldwide, and I wish to express my personal support while encouraging you to do the same. Through an understanding of the use of nuclear weapons to ostensibly increase our security one becomes aware of their profound negative effect on our economy and society.

Is utter destruction a plausible solution to resolving conflicts?

Sincerely,

D. Gellhouse
Dennis Gellhouse

THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENT(S) MAY NOT FILM
LEGIBLY BECAUSE OF POOR QUALITY OF THE
ORIGINAL.



The text in this column is extremely faint and illegible due to the low quality of the scan. It appears to be a column of dense, small print, possibly a list or a detailed report, but the individual words and sentences cannot be discerned.

The text at the bottom of the page is also illegible due to the same quality issues. It appears to be a footer or a continuation of the text from the columns above, but the content is completely unreadable.

THE PRECEDING DOCUMENT(S) MAY NOT FILM
LEGIBLY BECAUSE OF POOR QUALITY OF THE
ORIGINAL.

8882 Cedar Court
Juneau, Alaska 99801
April 12, 1982

Senator Vic Fischer, Chairman
Senate State Affairs Committee
POUCH V
Juneau, Alaska 99811

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Is utter destruction a plausible solution to resolving conflicts?

Sincerely,

D. Gellhouse
Dennis Gellhouse

8886 Cedar Ct
Juneau, AK 99801

April 12, 1982

The Honorable Vic Fischer
Alaska State Senate
Pouch V
Juneau, Alaska 99811

Dear Mr. Fischer,

Your support of Resolution 85
will be an expression of
care and hope for the
future of the world. I
ask that you let the
voices of many be heard
through you.

Sincerely yours,
Martha Q. Kohler

Sitka
City Council Assembly
passed resolution
related to this.

DON SOTCHALL

JUDITH MYER

2567

PLEASE NOTE: THE FOLLOWING PAGES WERE TREATED
AS A UNIT IN THE ORIGINAL DOCUMENT



Official Business

Alaska State Legislature

Senate

Pouch V
State Capitol
Juneau, Alaska 99811

MEMORANDUM

TO: Senator Terry Stimson

FROM: Bruce Weyhrauch *Bruce*

DATE: April 26, 1982

SUBJECT: MX Missiles in Alaska

INTRODUCTION

This memo is to inform you of the status of the U. S. Government's potential to base the MX Missile in Alaska and to recommend a committee substitute for SJR 62: a resolution relating to the deployment of MX Missiles in Alaska.

Information in this memo comes from a variety of sources and personal communications. These sources include: the Salt Lake City Tribune, the Juneau Empire, the Anchorage Daily News, the U. S. Office of Technology Assessment, Congressional Quarterly, New York Times Magazine, The Nation Magazine, Science Magazine, and Aviation Week and Space Technology Magazine. Other data, including personal communications, comes from: the U.S. Department of Defense and U.S. Air Force, Senator John Tower, Senator Murkowski, Senator Stevens, Representative Young, the Johns Hopkins School of International Studies in Washington, D.C., and the U.S. Department of State's Strategic Nuclear Policy Office.

This memo contains four major parts: (1) An explanation of what the MX Missile means, what it is, how it came about, and what deployment options for the MX Missile are; (2) an assessment of the environmental, economic and social ramifications of possible MX deployment in Alaska; (3) the reasons the deployment of the MX Missile in Alaska is not consistent with the U. S. Government's nuclear defense policy; (4) the effectiveness of introducing a resolution opposing the deployment of MX Missiles in Alaska, and what the intent of such a resolution should be.

Appendant to this memo are various citations as referenced, SJR 63 and a CS for SJR 63 (Rules).

THE MX MISSILE

The MX Intercontinental Ballistic Missile carries up to 10 Advanced Ballistic Re-entry Vehicles (warheads). The explosive size of each warhead is classified. The destruction potential of each warhead is also classified, but the combination of the MX's throw-weight, accuracy and weapon yield is large enough to "hold at risk any target in the Soviet Union." The missiles are 70 feet long, 7 feet, 8 inches in diameter, and weigh 192,000 pounds. The velocity of the missile is classified, but would require about thirty minutes to fly from the central continental United States over the polar region to the center of the Soviet Union; the range would vary upon the way the re-entry vehicles (warheads) are deployed off the post boost vehicle (the missile), but a nominal range is all of Eurasia.

The idea of building and deploying the MX has been around a long time and was formally presented by President Carter in 1977. The MX was touted by the Carter Administration as necessary to beef up the country's land-based missile system. The land-based missiles are one leg of our strategic nuclear triad. The other two legs are our submarines and B-52 forces -- both of which are capable of responding to an attack with nuclear missiles and/or bombs.

When Ronald Reagan was swept into the White House, part of his campaign platform consisted of reviewing the plan to deploy the MX in the Nevada-Utah desert. The fact that Reagan's campaign manager, Senator Paul Laxalt of Nevada, is under intense pressure from his constituents not to base MX's in their state has politicized the entire MX Missile question. It is safe to state that political pressure from a core group of western state conservative Republican senators helped President Reagan come to the conclusion that basing MX's in multiple protective storage fashion is not very appropriate, and that the entire MX decision should be reviewed.

Various methods are presently under consideration for basing and deploying the MX. The original method was placement of the MX in a multiple protective storage (MPS) system. This method would involve shuttling missiles on a track in the desert from one bunker to another. The theory behind such a strategy is that the enemy would not know what bunker to hit and would therefore either leave some missiles remaining after an attack for retaliation or MPS would require the enemy to drain its supply of ICBM's and hit every bunker guaranteeing no retaliation. This "shell game" approach would involve a massive system of roads, trucks and support facilities to adequately work as theorized. The "baseline" size of the MPS system would require at least 200 MX Missiles and 4,600 shelters and would necessarily involve the disruption of 200 square miles of land area for construction of shelters, roads and support facilities. There are variations of MPS basing, but this is the concept around which others are discussed.

An alternative to the MPS system is placement of the MX in existing ICBM silos which have been "hardened" or "super-hardened." Hardening refers to reinforcing the silos with concrete and steel so that they could withstand a direct hit and still be launched. This is an admittedly interim measure because enemy missiles are increasingly accurate and a nuclear blast would excavate all around the silo leaving it free-standing. In addition, the costs of hardening do not seem justifiable if they are vulnerable to very accurate incoming warheads.

Another alternative to MPS basing is the deployment of MX's in large airplanes in continual flight. The so-called "big bird" concept has also come under Congressional attack. Continuous airborne patrol aircraft would mean having a fleet of aircraft, several of which would be aloft at any time, launching the MX in flight. An air mobile MX would have tracking problems. That is, the enemy would be able to track the planes, know where they were and isolate or destroy them; plus, the missiles, when launched, would have some problems establishing coordinate position and good "position-fix accuracy" due to the nature of a dynamic launch. It is also felt by various persons in government that since the big-bird concept was proposed by Carter, it doesn't stand a political chance of flying even today due to anti-Carter sentiment in Congress.

Finally, the "deep-basing" mode of deployment is being considered as an alternative to the MPS. There are many, many other modes of deployment of MX being discussed at this time. Other modes being tossed out for consideration include: launching from diesel electric submarines [known as SUM], deploying MX Missiles encapsulated from surface ships, and orbital basing of MX. Given the "Battlestar Galactica quality" of MX deployment [as one official put it], any form of deployment is probably under consideration. I have limited the discussion here to most probable and how Alaska could be involved.

Deep basing MX would involve deployment of the missile in mountain tunnels thousands of feet underground to protect against attack. These facilities would need personnel, power, life support facilities, roads, communication facilities and maintenance outlets. Deep basing theoretically would not have exit portals for the missiles, but would have to be dug using boring machines. Therefore launch would not be rapid due to the excavation process and could take days or weeks to conclude. Obviously this method of deployment is not intended as a quick response to an attack, but to provide a reserve force ("You hit us, we'll get you back -- but a little later"). Some preliminary work has been done on this deployment method by looking at the potential of using the south sides of mesas and mountain ranges as exit portals. The south side would be less vulnerable to destructive missiles coming over the North Pole. The missiles would be placed on a carriage and moved into place behind the tunneling boring machine. Reliable communication facilities between the outside and the missile force still have not been developed and so deep base is still under evaluation. This method of deployment has not fully determined environmental impacts nor timing considerations and costs and construction time are also highly tentative.

IMPACT OF MX DEPLOYMENT IN ALASKA

This section will address only the impact of deep basing MX in Alaska. It is felt that MPS deployment in Alaska is unfeasible due to climate, terrain and remoteness and that sea based or big bird based MX deployment would have insignificant impacts on the state in terms of overall impact. Deep basing, however, would impact the state tremendously. First of all, deep basing MX's in Alaska is a real possibility and military planners are considering a proposal from Resource Engineering and Development, Inc. to deep base in the Brooks Range and have not ruled out anything of the alternatives listed in the previous section.

While the surface land area is small with respect to land necessary for launch, the deployment inside mountain ranges would require the excavation of tunnel paths totaling (by my estimation) a conservative 55,000 yards of material for just one MX Missile tunnel entrance and exit (figure is based on schematic diagram provided by the U. S. Office of Technology Assessment and assumes a 15-foot diameter egress). In order to provide a facility inside Alaska's mountain for the MX, the following bare essentials would be required:

- *Improved roads capable of supporting large-tired, very heavy equipment and year-round maintenance.
- *A power grid and power generation facilities.
- *Remote bases capable of providing manpower, and personnel relief, food and supplies, parts and maintenance equipment, a guard facility to protect against sabotage to the missile facility and espionage activities of the enemy.
- *Communication equipment capable of withstanding attack and equipment necessary for day to day operation.
- *All other systems and facilities necessary for military and human support.

The concomitant and resulting impact on the Alaska environment would be, at the minimum, huge and negative. Alaskans could be expected to be excluded from not only lands set aside for MX deployment, but a safety perimeter would be established, increasing land area prohibited to entry. Fish and game resources would be negatively impacted. Topography would be impacted and air and water quality would be affected. The state government and people of the state would have to develop ancillary facilities to support deep basing activities of MX which in turn would further the impact on government services. All of these are difficult to quantify at this time, but the impact scenarios are reasonably accurate and understated, to say the least. Of course, basing MX's in Alaska would enhance the state's opportunity for becoming the target for an enemy nuclear attack, which is not to say that it isn't already a target.

U.S. DEFENSE POLICY AND MX IN ALASKA

Placement of MX's in Alaska would clearly represent a threat to the Soviet Union and targets in Alaska would be vulnerable to shorter range missiles unlike the large ICBM presently targeted on the continental U.S.. Two major logistical problems work against placement of the MX here. First, the missiles and their control centers are far away from main command centers in the lower 48. Secondly, weather conditions in Alaska mountain ranges are not well suited to large military operations.

Also, the United States' defense policy is one of deterrence and it is not our policy to strike first but be able to respond to an enemy's strike. That is, "If you hit us first, we'll have enough to hit you back." Because response to an attack is important, it is crucial to have enough warning time before enemy missiles hit the U.S. The President alone is the one who has to make the decision to launch our missiles while we are under attack or to absorb the hit and then launch, or whatever. ICBM's are presently in locations such that from detection to impact is about thirty minutes. This apparently is enough time to launch from under attack if we choose. However, if MX's were in Alaska and were targets, there would be only five minutes to decide -- not enough time. Plus, MX in Alaska would be open for attack from enemy submarines. Placement of MX in Alaska would break our policy of not putting missiles in coastal states because of the possibility of sea-based attacks.

INTENT OF RESOLUTION 62

First of all, the resolution (CSSJR 62) has been carefully drafted so that it is not an "anti-military" resolution, "nuclear freeze" resolution, or an "anti-U.S. defense" resolution. There are other resolutions which cover these topics. It simply states that the Legislature opposes any plans to deep base the MX's here. If Congress chooses another method of deployment (such as big bird or any other as outlined), other deployment options probably will not occur here. This is important and key to the resolution's narrow language. The resolution is narrowly written such that our Senators and Representative should work to oppose deep basing MX's here and to keep the state informed of any plans or decisions on the MX's in Alaska. Senator Stevens is the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee Chairman and Senate Majority Whip -- a powerful Republican Senator -- he alone may have the power to prevent MX's in Alaska. And the need for MX as an important part of our national defense is not a valid argument anymore; the Laxalt-Reagan political decision demonstrated this.

The resolution makes seven statements of fact as follows:

- *MX is generally described physically.
- *The Department of Defense is considering methods of MX deployment.

- *Four deployment methods are defined including deep basing.
- *It states Alaska has mountain ranges which could be used for deployment.
- *Describes activities generally associated with MX deployment.
- *States the negative impact upon Alaska.

The resolution finishes by saying placement of MX here would make the state a target for nuclear attack.

Finally, the resolution resolves that the Legislature opposes any plans to deep base the MX here. It requests our Congressional Delegation to attempt to prevent or discourage deep based MX deployment here and requests them to keep the state informed about what is going on with the missiles.

There is a great body of literature on the MX subject. If you desire any specific information or have any questions, please advise.

**PLEASE NOTE: THE PRECEDING PAGES WERE TREATED
AS A UNIT IN THE ORIGINAL DOCUMENT.**

Week of 'ban the bomb' activities begins in U.S.

Associated Press

Marches, speeches, bicycle tours and foot races are serving as forums for blasting the bomb as Americans observe Ground Zero Week — the new peace movement's biggest assault so far on the buildup of nuclear arms.

In one of numerous exercises to demonstrate the effects of a nuclear bomb on an American city, a siren wailed in Fountain Square in downtown Cincinnati and bicyclists, joggers and at least one man in a wheelchair scattered to see how far away they could get from a red "x" marking the symbolic center of the attack.

But most of the 200 people present just stood there.

"This probably will be the way they react to the real thing," said Anne Bernard Becker, who chaired Cincinnati's Ground Zero Organizing Committee.

Along the route of today's Boston Marathon, signs will detail the destruction that would occur at each point if a nuclear bomb were to explode over the finish line.

Later this week, runners in Salt Lake City and Winston-Salem, N.C., will race to see how far they could get from "ground zero" in the half-hour of advance warning residents would get before a nuclear attack.

Children's anti-nuclear letters to President Reagan were to be read at a rally today in San Francisco's Civic Center Plaza.

On Saturday, bicyclists in Missouri will trace a 370-mile ring around Whiteman Air Force Base. A nuclear strike would kill half the population inside the circle, organizers said.

Most atomic warheads are designed to explode in the air, and ground zero is the term used to describe the point on the ground di-

rectly beneath the explosion. It was the name taken by the Washington-based anti-nuclear lobby that began organizing Ground Zero Week two years ago.

Two brothers, Roger and Earl Molander, started the Ground Zero movement. The idea "took off on its own," said Earl Molander. "There's

a lot of interest on the local level, which is where nuclear war would be felt."

"If this were ground zero, a one-megaton nuclear explosion would instantly destroy virtually everything within two miles of this spot," declared a banner unfurled Sunday at a downtown Atlanta rally.

"The living will envy the dead," read a sign at a Phoenix rally that drew 600.

Elsewhere on Sunday, protesters held rallies from Texas to North Dakota.

In Los Angeles, about 200 people carrying a whale-shaped balloon reading "Save the Humans,"



marched through Exposition Park before gathering for a rally at the University of Southern California.

But in New York, activities got off to a slow start when only one of eight runners scheduled to "Run for Peace" participated. The others were at a track meet out of town.

The lone runner made it from 42nd Street to Columbia University, at 116th Street, in less than half an hour. Concerts, lectures, and slide shows were held throughout the day at Columbia.

Sunday's events and the week of anti-nuclear activities they heralded are aimed at awakening Americans from "a state of dangerous apathy" toward nuclear war, said Dr. John Mack, a Harvard medical School psychiatry professor who spoke at a forum in Boston.

There is a "tidal wave of interest" in America in the danger of nuclear war, Rep. Jonathan Bingham,

D-N.Y., told in an anti-nuclear gathering at Columbia University in New York City.

In North Dakota, where part of the U.S. nuclear arsenal lies buried in missile silos, a Nobel Peace Prize winner told 600 marchers in Grand Forks, "I'm sick and tired of listening to academic, intellectual minds telling me the buildup of arms is for our defense."

"That's nonsense," said Betty Williams, who was awarded the 1977 Nobel prize for work in Northern Ireland. "The buildup of arms is for our death and destruction."

The United States should take the first step toward nuclear disarmament by destroying one of North Dakota's Minuteman missiles, said the Rev. Robert Branconnier, a Catholic priest active in the anti-war movement in the 1960s. He said that would put world pressure on the Soviet Union to do the same.

Arms race demonstrators marched in Los Angeles Sunday displaying signs calling for global disarmament



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**How Can
The Arms Race
Be Halted?**

**The Growing
Outcry Over
The Bomb**

**The
Nuclear
Nightmare**

NEWSWEEK

PERISCOPE

Haig's Stake in the Falklands

Alexander Haig's inner circle is worried that failure to defuse the Falkland Islands crisis may end his career as Secretary of State. For the first time in months, aides insist, the White House is actively gunning for him. They believe that Henry Kissinger has positioned former Treasury Secretary George Shultz to replace Haig by maneuvering to have Shultz named director of planning for the upcoming Versailles economic conference. Also in the wings is another Haig rival: former Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, now openly angling for the appointment.

Haig has other problems as well. His sputtering feud with U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick has escalated so savagely that some members of her staff believe the Secretary of State is pressuring Kirkpatrick to resign. The technique: a Byzantine whispering campaign. Last week rumors spread through Washington that Kirkpatrick bucked the Secretary's instructions to vote for the U.N. resolution condemning the Falklands invasion on the ground that she disagreed with the document—when in fact she helped shape it. Meanwhile, connoisseurs of Washington infighting relished the battle. This most recent example of Haig's continued preoccupation with protecting his foreign-relations fiefdom, when combined with the President's vacation in Barbados, even inspired one wag to create a new nickname for Reagan and his combative Secretary of State: Surf 'n Turf.

Apartheid on the Barricades?

Last February's split in South Africa's ruling National Party—the most serious since it came to power in 1948—may have opened a path to peaceful revolution. Both centrist Afrikaners and English-speaking South Africans are talking of dismantling the apartheid laws that they have long viewed as outdated but never had the power to repeal. "It's stupid of us to take the blame for legislation that we didn't create," one moderate official told Ray Cline, senior associate of Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies and a former deputy director of the CIA. Cline, who has just returned from a lecture tour in South Africa, reports that such a dramatic change might take place by the end of this year.

Higher Prices at the Pump

Gasoline prices have probably bottomed out, according to some Washington analysts, and may even climb through the summer. The evidence they cite: spot-market prices for gas have been firming recently and gas inventories are low for this time of year. But even more significantly, the futures market is rising. In early March regular gasoline for July delivery to service stations logged 74 cents a gallon, before taxes. Now gasoline for July delivery runs at 91 cents a gallon. With 12 cents for taxes and 7 cents for the dealer factored in, that puts the pump price at \$1.10—above what some stations are quoting today.

Republican Infighting, cont'd

Relations have soured further between the White House and Sen. Robert Packwood, chief GOP fund raiser for the 1982 Senate elections. At least \$3 million in contributions could have been raised, insist Packwood allies, by a fund-raising letter that Packwood drafted over President Reagan's signature three weeks ago. But the White House refused to approve the letter for mailing.

Senate Republicans suspect that the White House is trying to force Packwood to resign from his GOP post by crippling the fund-raising effort. The White House, in turn, is spreading the word that only Packwood's personal ambition can explain a letter whose text Reagan aides denounced as self-aggrandizing—as well as an Astoria, Ore., speech in which Packwood charged that by abandoning the goal of a balanced budget the President "has removed the glue that held everyone together in the Republican Party."

Moscow's High-Tech Thievery

The U.S.S.R. has grown so adept at stealing American high-technology secrets that it sends industrial spies to the United States with detailed shopping lists, a former Soviet engineer has disclosed to Senate investigators. Using the assumed name of "Joseph Arkov," the defector detailed how Soviet scientists, students and trade missions arrive with explicit instructions including makes and model numbers of sensitive equipment—such as computers and communications systems—that Moscow covets. This equipment is banned for export by the Commerce Department. But according to Arkov, who will testify publicly next month before the Senate permanent investigations subcommittee, the ban is toothless.

Cairo's Quid Pro Quo With Baghdad

Arab sources report that Iraq has paid Egypt \$1 billion for military equipment recently airlifted to Baghdad. But the real price tag is diplomatic. Iraq was among the first Arab states to break ties with Egypt over the late President Anwar Sadat's historic trip to Jerusalem in 1977. In exchange for supplying armaments to Iraq since its invasion of Iran in September 1980, Baghdad is expected to be among the first Arab states likely to restore diplomatic relations when the last slice of the Sinai is returned on April 25.

Nixon on His Knees

Newsman Seymour Hersh's upcoming book about Henry Kissinger's days in the Nixon White House will add some unflattering details to a famous incident recounted in Kissinger's own memoirs. In a sympathetic passage, Kissinger had written of his prayer session with Nixon on the eve of the President's resignation. But what Kissinger left out, according to Hersh, was that afterward he went directly to a White House office where his aide Lawrence Eagleburger, among others, was waiting. Both men laughed at Nixon for kneeling and praying. As Hersh tells it, one witness to this spectacle had an urge to slap the faces of both men for mocking the President.

Black Power in the White House

Spurred by criticism that President Reagan is indifferent to the impact of his policies on minorities and the poor, the White House is moving two prominent blacks into high-level positions. Melvin Bradley, currently a White House policy consultant and the staff's ranking black, will be named a special assistant to the President; Wendell Gunn, a financial expert with Pepsico, Inc., is to join the White House economic staff. The appointments, explains an aide, "are designed to make sure the President receives sensitive analysis" of his policies. They are also designed to help black voters forget such blunders as Reagan's endorsement of tax-exempt status for private schools that practice racial discrimination.

ELIZABETH PEER with bureau reports

A Matter

Harry Barnhill of Auburn, Calif., has been crippled since childhood by a deformed hip that forces him to walk with a painful limp. But his disability has not stopped Barnhill from gathering more signatures—at least 3,000—than any other volunteer in the northern California wing of a mammoth drive to place a nuclear-freeze proposition on the state ballot in November. "Once, I had my table kicked over, and another guy took a swing at me," drawls Barnhill, 72. "I've been called a communist, a subversive and Lord knows what else . . . But I know what our government is doing is wrong. To me it makes a mockery out of that motto on the coin. I don't see how we can trust in God if we trust in nuclear weapons."

Jeanne Meacham, 34, had not thought much about nuclear war since the civi-defense drills of her grade-school days near Columbus, Ohio. "I think because we grew up with the threat, we became accustomed to it," she muses. "But now it's come from out of the closet into the front room." As a school-teacher and a member of the city council in tiny Mt. Olivet, Ky. (population: 600), Meacham was intrigued by the idea of a freeze on the growth of U.S. and Soviet nuclear arsenals. She called around for information on the freeze proposal and started a campaign in Mt. Olivet. "We're talking about destruction of civilization for a long, long time," she says. "And that scares me."

The Rev. Louis Vitale supervises the labors of 350 Franciscan friars around the West Coast, and often in the last twenty years he has been a lonely voice crying against war. But Vitale, 49, was in good company on Good Friday. He led a band of 150 demonstrators carrying black banners and a large wooden cross to the windy desert site where nuclear weapons are still tested underground barely 60 miles from the gambling capital of Las Vegas. There had been daily prayer vigils at the site since the start of Lent and now the friar's odd assortment of housewives and activists came to trespass on government property and woo arrest (they were released later with no charges filed). "For some of you used to other places, this may not seem like much," Vitale told a swarm of reporters. "But for Nevada, it's a heck of a lot."

They are homemakers and businessmen, clerks and doctors, clergymen, teachers, scientists and even military men—a cross section of Americans suddenly enlisted in a loosely linked, burgeoning campaign to end the nuclear arms race. Their numbers are mushrooming now like the deadly clouds they are determined to

of Life and Death

forestall, growing faster than even their own leaders ever expected. If their arguments sometimes sound simplistic or emotional, they have managed to move the crucial issue of nuclear weapons out of the rarefied domain of think-tank strategists and Pentagon planners. They differ on specific policies and tactics, but the hundreds of separate groups that make up the movement are united by a deep and urgent sense of concern that has reverberated from town meetings and county councils to the halls of Congress and the White House itself. This week they will join forces to signal a milestone of the movement: a nationwide outpouring of protest and propaganda called Ground Zero Week.

At the heart of Ground Zero Week is a dramatic reminder of just how devastating the prospect of nuclear war has become since the primitive 15-kiloton bomb that killed or wounded nearly 100,000 Japanese at Hiroshima 37 years ago. In 150 major cities and 500 smaller communities across the country, banners in prominent locations will proclaim: "In a nuclear war, if this were ground zero, every thing and every person within 2 miles of this spot would be destroyed." The schedule also includes a "March for Survival" in Austin, Texas; an ecumenical "peace witness" outside the General Electric nuclear weapons components plant near St. Petersburg, Fla., and a candlelight procession to the White House—along with seminars, films and protests at 335 colleges and a list of speakers spanning the ideological spectrum from longtime leftist activist Seymour Melman to the evangelical friend of presidents, the Rev. Billy Graham.

Many activists are already planning even larger demonstrations to coincide with a United Nations special session on disarmament this June. Others look ahead to the possibility of direct impact on this year's Congressional elections and the 1984 Presidential contest. "The nuclear-disarmament issue is the issue of the '80s and it will do to Ronald Reagan what Vietnam did to Lyndon Johnson," predicts Los Angeles Democrat Midge Costanza, a veteran of the Carter White House. That remains to be seen, but a NEWSWEEK Poll* shows that 68 percent of Americans are concerned about the chances of nuclear

war—and that among those who had heard about the proposal, 68 percent favor a freeze. Even Reagan political aide Edward Rollins agrees that there is reason for Presidential concern over the anti-nuclear movement. "The potential is out there for it to become a real force," Rollins



John F. ...—Photoreporters

A demonstrator in Washington: 'Psychic numbing'

The message of Ground Zero Week is that nuclear arms control is too important to be left to politicians.

says, "if not this fall, clearly by 1984."

The White House rejects hasty action on strategic-arms control, and particularly the ground swell of support for a freeze—a mutual, verifiable freeze of U.S. and Soviet arsenals at current levels. Ronald Reagan plans to build up the U.S. nuclear arsenal with \$240 billion worth of B-1 bombers, MX mis-

siles, Trident subs and other strategic weapons, so as to remove the "margin of superiority" he attributes to Moscow (NEWSWEEK, April 12). Only in that way, he contends, can he negotiate deeper arms reductions in the future. Indeed, Air Force planners came up last week with yet another MX scheme, this time proposing a questionable "dense pack" basing mode that would avoid local political opposition by clustering the new missiles together. The notion behind the plan is that any flock of attacking missiles would blow each other up rather than wiping out the MX cluster. In a weekend radio address, Reagan underscored his objection to an all-out freeze. "If steps are not taken to modernize our defenses," he said, "the United States will progressively lose the ability to deter the Soviet Union from employing force and threats of force against us and against our allies."

To a growing number of Americans, all the talk about preparing for, fighting and winning a nuclear "exchange" with the Soviet Union—in the absence of real progress on arms control—seems a sure recipe for escalating the arms race on both sides. That, in turn, inevitably increases the risk of war through fear, miscalculation or accident. "Even if I don't believe there could ever be a nuclear war, my government does," complains Donna Mickelson, 40, of Oakland, who co-founded a group called Parenting in a Nuclear Age. The staggering cost of Reagan's plans adds impetus to the swelling protest. "People are saying that it's not only morally wrong, but we're killing domestic programs and not buying any additional security," says former Senate Armed Services Committee staffer John Roberts, now dean of the law school at Detroit's Wayne State University.

Many if not most of the volunteers in today's anti-nuclear campaign have never before held a banner or a vigil. Still, the seeds of their grassroots movement were carefully sown and cultivated by veteran antiwar activists. In January 1980 the Fellowship of Reconciliation held a meeting for about 30 peace groups to consider the nuclear-freeze proposal of a disarmament researcher named Randall Forsberg—a statement carefully worded to avoid any hint of unilateral disarmament. The proposal was rejected by the Democratic National Convention in August 1980, but by then it had come to the attention of James Geier, 38, a Burlington, Vt., cabinetmaker and former Army officer. After hearing a speech by anti-nuclear leader Helen Caldicott, Geier and his brother, Frank, began proposing the freeze in those last bastions of cracker-barrel democracy—Vermont's town meetings.

Some natives thought it "presumptuous" to tell the President what to do. But with

*For this NEWSWEEK Poll, The Gallup Organization surveyed 757 adults by telephone on March 17 and 18. The margin of error is plus or minus 4 percentage points.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

skillful organizing help from the American Friends Service Committee, Forsberg's proposal swept the state like wildfire: it was approved in eighteen towns in March 1981 and 161 this year—many of them towns that had voted for Ronald Reagan. After endorsing the freeze in West Windsor, citizens rose and sang "God Bless America." Says Vermont AFSC coordinator David McCauley: "Someone once criticized the

freeze as a mom-and-apple-pie issue. That's exactly what it is."

Success in Vermont—and earlier in eight Massachusetts election districts—caught the media's attention and stimulated freeze proponents elsewhere in the country. So far, nuclear-freeze resolutions have been passed by 309 New England town meetings, 33 city councils from coast to coast, ten county councils and one or both houses in eleven state legislatures. Organizing efforts are under way in 43 states. In California this week,

millionaire Harold Willens has arranged for armored trucks to pull up at county registration offices with petitions bearing 700,000 signatures—more than twice the number needed to put an initiative to the voters in November. At the recent farm and home show in Chamberlain, S.D., more than 300 ranchmen and farmers took time out to sign nuclear-freeze petitions. "This is not just attracting the Volvo-and-quiche crowd," beamed Tim Langley, director of the Peace and Justice Center in Water-



James D. Wilson—Newsweek

Sign of the times: 'A gulf between the people and the leaders'

Who's Who in the Movement

American Friends Service Committee: Founded in 1917 by Quakers, this old-line peace group (winner of the 1947 Nobel Peace Prize) helped organize the campaign that resulted in the pro-freeze votes by 161 Vermont town meetings this year.

Business Executives Move: A Chicago-based group originally formed during the Vietnam War era, BEM has remobilized against the impact of the arms race on the economy. "Businessmen unite!" says Erwin Silk, a mortgage banker. "You have nothing to lose but high interest rates."

Clergy and Laity Concerned: Begun in 1965 to mobilize the religious community against the Vietnam War, this 25,000-member group, with headquarters in New York City, is now a powerful force in the disarmament movement.

Council for a Livable World: One of the authoritative voices in the anti-nuke movement, the council is led by top scientists including Jerome B. Wiesner, former president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Co-founder and current chairman George Kistiakowsky, a former Harvard chemist, was one of the fathers of the atomic bomb.

Federation of American Scientists: The first anti-nuclear-weapons group, it was founded immediately after atomic

bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki during World War II. The founders were scientists who worked on the first atomic bomb at Los Alamos, N.M. For years their voices went largely unheeded, but, says Nobel Prize-winning physicist Hans Bethe of Cornell University, they are being listened to today because "the Reagan government certainly talks as if it's contemplating nuclear war."

Fellowship of Reconciliation: A primary force in the campaign, the FOR sponsored a January 1980 meeting of representatives of 30 peace groups at which the freeze movement was born.

Randall Forsberg is the woman credited with the nuclear-freeze proposal. She wrote it in 1979 and presented it at the FOR meeting. Forsberg hopes that the movement will avoid the mistake of going too far. "One of the strengths of this movement," she says, "is that it does not call for nuclear disarmament right now." Forsberg is founder and director of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies in Brookline, Mass.

Freeze Campaign Clearinghouse: This information center was set up in St. Louis to emphasize that the freeze campaign springs from the heart of the nation—"a groundswell coming out of middle-class America," says its co-director.

Thomas Gumbleton is auxiliary bishop of Detroit and president of the American section of Pax Christi, which numbers 54 American bishops among its members. He is convinced a nuclear war couldn't possibly fall within the Roman Catholic concept of a "just war." He is one of many Catholic religious leaders speaking out against nuclear arms. Others include: Bishop Leroy Matthesen of Amarillo, who challenged those working with nuclear weapons to quit and "seek employment in peaceful pursuits"; Archbishop Raymond Hunt-hausen of Seattle, who urged Washingtonians to withhold 50 percent of their taxes in "nonviolent resistance to nuclear murder and suicide" and Archbishop John Quinn of San Francisco, a key voice in the California freeze initiative, who calls the nuclear arms race "a moral form of theft."

Howard Hiatt: The dean of Harvard's School of Public Health has made the nuclear issue a personal crusade over the past two years. He was a member of a group that met with President Reagan last December at the request of the Pope. Hiatt reminded the President of the blood he received for shock after he was shot and told him the hospital wouldn't have been able to handle five additional patients with the same needs. Hiatt says, "I told him there would be 800,000 people in shock from burns and radiation if a 1-megaton bomb exploded over Washington."

Robert Jay Lifton: A Yale psychiatrist and one of the pioneers in investigating the psychological effects of the nuclear arms

Buttons: Many words—one message

Andy Linn—Black Star



town, S.D. In Washington a freeze proposal sponsored by Senators Edward Kennedy and Mark Hatfield, among others, has won the support of 24 senators and 166 House members—and prompted even greater numbers of legislators to endorse a variety of other arms-control plans.

In the view of its leaders, the movement has been fueled largely by the rhetoric and policies of the Reagan Administration on nuclear armament and U.S.-Soviet relations. It has been influenced by the example

of dramatic anti-nuclear demonstrations in Western Europe. One of its major strengths is the widespread participation of church leaders (NEWSWEEK, Jan. 11). About 70 Roman Catholic bishops have joined the protests, basing their opposition to nuclear weapons on Catholic literature and a Vatican II condemnation of weapons that were "indiscriminate" in their destruction. Bishop Leroy T. Matthiesen of Amarillo, Texas, for example, has urged workers at the near-by Pantex plant—where all U.S. nuclear

warheads are assembled—to consider whether their jobs square with morality. The Mormon Church stunned the Administration by opposing basing of the MX in Utah and deployment of nuclear arms in general. "God calls us to be the stewards of His creation, to take care of the earth and the people on it," says Erick Johnson, pastor of the Prince of Peace Lutheran Church in Dearborn, Mich. "Our technology now has developed to the point of massive destruction of the world as we know it, and

race, Lifton coined the term "psychic numbing" to describe the reaction of victims in Hiroshima. Today, he maintains, policymakers suffer from much the same syndrome—"an inability or unwillingness to feel what happens at the other end of the weapons . . . they see before them no corpses, no people grotesquely injured and maimed, no human beings exposed to lethal radiation."

Roger Molander is the former National Security Council analyst who organized Ground Zero. His moment of truth came in 1979 when he watched Congress dismember the Salt II agreement and waited for Americans to come to its rescue. "The silence was deafening," he recalls. "It was quite clear that you couldn't conduct policy on this issue with a gulf between the people . . . and the leaders." Ground Zero, which he founded with his twin brother, Earl, is aimed at bridging that gulf. A key element of their effort is the primer "Nuclear War: What's in It for You?"

Nuclear Network is a Washington-based group with a sizable goal—keeping track of the proliferating number of anti-nuke groups.

Parenting in a Nuclear Age: This organization was founded by California parents who want to find a way to explain the nuclear issue to their children in "an unalarming way." Arlyce Currie, who runs an Oakland day-care center, came up with the idea after her 9-year-old daughter began having nightmares that the world was coming to an end. "This is definitely a family issue," she says. "The Moral Majority can't strip us of this one."

Physicians for Social Responsibility: The group claims 10,000 doctors as members. Its president is Helen Caldicott, an Australian-born pediatrician who resigned from Harvard Medical School last year to devote all her time to what she calls "the ultimate form of preventive medicine." She says, "I couldn't see the point in keeping these children alive another five to ten years with meticulous medical care when during that time they could be vaporized."



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Jonathan Schell is The New Yorker writer whose much-ballyhooed series in the magazine is now the movement's bible, a book entitled "The Fate of the Earth."

Ian Thiermann is the 63-year-old creator of "The Last Epidemic," a film about what would happen to San Francisco in a nuclear attack. He sold his home and his Los Angeles tree-preservation and pesticide business to devote himself to the movement. "The Last Epidemic" has become one of its principal education and recruitment tools. Says Thiermann of his effort: "It really personalizes death."

Union of Concerned Scientists: This group of prominent scientists is headed by MIT physicist Henry Kendall. A sponsor of last November's nuclear-issues convocation on 150 campuses, the union has endorsed a no-first-use policy, the nuclear freeze and cutting the U.S. strategic-weapons arsenal in half. "The real megatonnage is immense," insists Kendall. "Overkill is an understatement."

United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War: An organization trying to mobilize the college population, which has been

conspicuously absent from the anti-nuke movement. UCAM wants to inject the campuses into November's Congressional election campaign, resurrecting a force that has been still since the anti-Vietnam protests of a decade ago.

Harold Willens, a Los Angeles millionaire, is the driving force behind California's nuclear-freeze initiative. The freezers have already obtained 700,000 signatures in an effort to put the question on California's November ballot, an effort funded primarily out of Willens's pocket. Willens visited Hiroshima and Nagasaki as a Marine intelligence officer shortly after the bombings. He is convinced that a successful referendum on President Reagan's home turf will "knock the hell out of the myth that Reagan was elected on a mandate to expand the nuclear arsenal."

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom: This group was instrumental in pressing for the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty of 1963. It alerted the public to evidence of strontium-90 in women's breast milk. It hopes to register 1 million American women behind its "Stop the Arms Race" campaign.

A NEWSWEEK POLL: NUCLEAR FOREBODINGS

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

ar forces. Expanding atomic arsenals only increases the risk of escalation and mutual "annihilation" should war break out, the experts said. "Massive cuts can be made which would still leave each side with adequate retaliatory strength."

Up to now, young people—especially college students, like those who protested Vietnam—have been conspicuously absent from the anti-nuclear movement. "This is not going to be a mass movement on campus," says the Rev. Paul Dinter, leader of the Columbia University chapter of Pax Christi-USA, a Roman Catholic peace group. "Young people, for the most part, prefer not to think about it," explains southern AFSC organizer Bob Brister. But there are some signs of growing student interest. University of Michigan sophomore Liz Galst, 19, recently led 400 fellow students in a symbolic "die-in" that briefly blocked traffic on an Ann Arbor street, and similar demonstrations are scheduled on other campuses this week. Moreover, a new group called United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War has pledged to organize schools in every Congressional district so that candidates for House seats can be questioned on the nuclear issue.

'Dupes': Economic and geographic factors make some areas of the country more difficult than others for the anti-nuclear forces to organize. In the South and West, for example, military bases and missile sites provide many jobs and considerable local income. "We have a nuclear establishment deeply rooted in the economy," notes author Garry Wiils, a professor of American culture at Northwestern University. "I don't underestimate the resistance." In Arizona, the state legislature recently passed a resolution urging Congress and the President to adopt a policy of "peace through strength," and rumors about communist support have greeted Ground Zero Week. "The people participating in this are dupes of Soviet policy, well intentioned as they may be," charges retired Army Col. Sam Sharp of Tucson. In Alabama, Rep. William Dickinson, ranking Republican on the House Armed Services Committee, has "no doubt" that the KGB's "disinformation division"

Wiesner: Livable world

Willens: 'No mandate'

(Lewis Hall/Gettysburg)



Which one of these categories best describes you?

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

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

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

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

A great deal	18%	Somewhat	34%	Not very much	26%	Not at all	20%	Don't know	2%
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*Based on the 43% who had heard of the nuclear-freeze movement. The NEWSWEEK Poll © 1982 by NEWSWEEK, INC.

Cynthia Z. Rachlin, Jerry Eitelberg—Newsweek

that is certainly a matter of faith... If anything, I'm not political enough."

If clergymen view nuclear policy as a moral issue, the nation's doctors have made it a pragmatic one. Groups such as Physicians for Social Responsibility emphasize the gruesome facts and figures of even a "limited" nuclear exchange in medical terms—especially the inadequacy of surviving health-care facilities and specialists to deal with the injured and dying. In a meeting with Reagan, Harvard Public Health School dean Howard Hiatt tried to personalize the issue by comparing the President's treatment after his shooting last March with the emergency aid that would be needed after a nuclear blast in Washington. "Those people who talk about winning or surviving a nuclear war," says Hiatt, "don't understand what they are talking about."

Emotional Dangers: Psychotherapists also have begun to examine the emotional dangers posed by simply living with the threat of nuclear war. Yale psychiatrist Robert Jay Lifton talks of "psychic numbing," and San Francisco area therapist Chellis Glendenning sees "enormous feelings of grief and despair" among people who sign up for her group-therapy sessions (\$35 for two days) on life in a nuclear age. The great majority of people may not express their nuclear concerns in everyday conversation, says Dr. John E. Mack, professor of psychiatry at Harvard. But that, Mack suggests, may be because it is not easy "to talk about the fact that you don't think your kids are going to grow up because of nuclear war."

Lending credibility to the campaign for

effective arms control is the support of several nuclear experts who helped give birth to the nation's first atomic bomb. Manhattan Project veteran Marvin Goldberger, now president of the California Institute of Technology, says that today's vast stockpiles of nuclear warheads (nearly 50,000 on both sides) are "an obscenity [that] changed completely the character of warfare—and that hasn't been grasped in either the Soviet Union or the United States." Nobel physicist Hans A. Bethe, who also worked on the first bombs at the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory, says he joined the arms-control crusade "the day the second bomb was dropped on Nagasaki." Bethe favors a plan that calls for the United States unilaterally to reduce its nuclear arsenal by 5 percent and challenge the U.S.S.R. to do likewise. If the Soviets comply, each side would make annual reductions of 5 percent until the nuclear stockpiles were cut in half.

A fortnight ago Bethe also joined four other fathers of the bomb, plus MIT president Jerome N. Wiesner, retired Admirals Noel Gayler and John M. Lee in endorsing a new proposal by the Union of Concerned Scientists. It called for the United States to forswear first use of any nuclear arms, agree to a verifiable, bilateral freeze on strategic weapons and immediately seek negotiations with Moscow to cut strategic and medium-range nucle-

is behind the nuclear freeze.

It is clear from the NEWSWEEK Poll that most Americans believe that any freeze must be verifiable, and that it must not leave the United States in an inferior position. Even many dedicated supporters of disarmament wonder whether a freeze would really set the stage for arms reductions or instead remove any incentive for budging either side from the status quo. "The problem is that the freeze presents an arms-control position, not a disarmament position," says David McReynolds, co-secretary of the War Resisters League. But traditional negotiations to limit or reduce strategic weapons have generally taken long and complex bargaining, and meanwhile, arsenals on both sides have grown apace. Proponents of the freeze say the best way to stem that growth is simply to put an end to it—and work out the details later.

Spots and Stars: Proponents of the freeze and other anti-nuclear activists plan a broad range of educational and organizing activities leading up to and beyond the U.N. disarmament meeting in June. There will be rallies in New York and Los Angeles. The AFSC is gearing up a Jobs With Peace campaign to support local referendums asking Congress to shift funds from the Pentagon to social programs. Other groups will press local governments to spurn the stepped-up Federal civil-defense program (page 31)—as some have already done. And the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom will be promoting its Stop the Arms Race (STAR) campaign with television and radio spots featuring such stars as Joanne Woodward and Marlo Thomas.

Whether the movement will become more pointedly political is a question that its leaders themselves have not agreed on. The Council for a Livable World has set up a political-action committee to help finance the right Congressional candidates. The nuclear issue is already a key element in the



© Burk Uzzle—Magnum

Stop sign: Does the movement have political muscle?

decision by A. Stephen Dirks, five-term Democratic mayor of Ogden, Utah, to challenge GOP freshman Rep. James Hansen, a strong supporter of a nuclear buildup.

Yet some political experts believe that the movement will be most effective if it is nonpartisan. A group of movement leaders and sympathetic congressmen has arranged to discuss that subject privately this week at the Georgetown Center for Strategic Studies. They will consider the value of nationwide hearings and local forums like those of the League of Women Voters. Rather than demanding support for a single anti-nuclear position, these forums would "get every candidate to think about the issue and have a position that goes beyond generalities," says direct-mail specialist Tom Mathews, who sees vast potential for fund raising among anti-nuclear activists.*

The potential of this grassroots pressure has already been felt on Capitol Hill, where a variety of arms-control bills have recently been introduced. The latest plan: Arizona Rep. Morris Udall's proposal for a continuing exchange of U.S. and Soviet students—including the sons and daughters of

*On the guest list along with Mathews: Senators Hart and Charles Mathias of Maryland, Congressman Lee Hamilton of Indiana and Joel Pritchard of Washington, Ground Zero founder Roger Molander, former Ambassador Malcolm Toon and several international union presidents.

government leaders—to ensure against sneak attacks. Democratic Rep. Les Aspin of Wisconsin suggested last week simply ratifying the spurned SALT II agreement—which both sides still abide by even though it has never been approved.

Still, the main competition is between the Kennedy-Hatfield freeze bill and the proposal by Senators Henry Jackson and John Warner (already endorsed by a majority of senators) to build up U.S. nuclear forces as a prelude to negotiating balanced reductions. Some congressmen believe that even dedicated supporters of the nuclear freeze might settle for something less, especially if President Reagan begins to seem more interested in arms control. In his radio address, indeed, the President agreed that "a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought," and on that score he assured protesters: "I'm with you."

Energize: How Reagan handles the nuclear issue will largely determine its impact on the 1984 election. Most of the Democrats mentioned as Presidential contenders—Kennedy, Hart, former Vice President Walter Mondale and Ohio Sen. John Glenn—generally disagree with the Administration on key elements of the debate. They do not see any clear-cut Soviet superiority, any way to limit a nuclear exchange nor any value in increased civil defense, and those views put them closer to the movement whatever their positions on a simple freeze. At the least, says Democratic National Committee Chairman Charles Manatt, growing interest in nuclear policy seems likely to energize traditional party supporters.

"Republicans have an opportunity to co-opt this issue by making 'verifiable' the key word [in any arms proposal] and being very tough about that," insists GOP strategist Roger Stone. He concedes there is great danger in the issue "if we mishandle it." Democrat Hart agrees that the President could undercut some anti-nuclear momentum with a diplomatic flourish—perhaps a meeting with Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev. (Reagan has already proposed a June meeting in New York, but at the weekend Moscow suggested October in a neutral country instead.) "He can take some steam out of it that way," says Hart. "But it doesn't stop the movement." Says Kennedy: "The issue will not go away." Citizens thronging Ground Zero activities this week would undoubtedly agree. The difficult task of bringing nuclear arms under control can only benefit from a growing debate spurred by the nightmare that Americans can no longer afford to consider "unthinkable."

DAVID M. ALPHEIN with JAMES DOYLE in Washington, RON LABRECQUE in Los Angeles, PAMELA ABRAMSON in San Francisco, MARILYN ACHIRON in New York and bureau reports

Caldicott: 'Vaporized'

Wendy Maerla



Matthi sen: Job challenge

© Henry Ortega





A Complex of Tricky Issues

Behind the current ground swell of anti-nuclear sentiment in the United States is a wide-ranging technical debate over the relative strengths of the U.S. and Soviet nuclear arsenals, the survivability of nuclear war and the possibility of a "limited" nuclear exchange. NEWSWEEK explored such key questions with five experts—Paul Warnke, former chief U.S. SALT II negotiator and now a leading proponent of the nuclear freeze; Edward Luttwak, a longtime consultant to the Pentagon; Roger Molander, former nuclear strategist for the National Security Council and now executive director of Ground Zero; Sen. Gary Hart, Democrat of Colorado and an outspoken member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, and Richard Perle, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy. A sampling of their opinions:

Do you agree with President Reagan's statement that the Soviet Union enjoys a "definite margin of superiority" in nuclear weapons?

Warnke: He's been badly misinformed . . . Obviously there are asymmetries. The Soviets, for example, have something like 80 percent of their strategic nuclear resources in their land-based ICBM's. We have less than 30 percent . . . But if you look at 100 percent of both forces, the respects in which we have the edge more than balance the respects in which the Soviets have the edge. [And] we have the edge in the most important respect, which is survivability, because . . . over 50 percent of our strategic warheads [are] on the least vulnerable part of the nuclear-deterrent triad . . . ballistic-missile submarines.

Molander: I have never met . . . a U.S. military officer who would trade the strategic nuclear forces of the United States for those of the Soviet Union now, or for the foreseeable future.

Perle: The only way you can argue that we retain an advantage is if you count all the bombs that go on our bombers and regard them as comparable to the warheads on missiles. We don't think that is an appropriate measure because there are massive air defenses that would [limit] the number of bombs that would actually be delivered.

Luttwak: Roughly ten years ago . . . we were ahead in every single index except one—gross megatonnage. Today . . . we are only ahead in one—number of warheads.

How important that difference is depends on whether you believe in limited nuclear war or not. If you think everybody is going to throw everything at each other, including the kitchen sink, then the difference in the over-all total hardly counts. However, if nuclear weapons are going to be used . . . in controlled doses, it makes a very big difference.

If America builds up its nuclear arsenal, what is to prevent the Soviets from keeping pace?



Herman J. Rokojan—Black Star

U.S. soldiers with nuclear missile: The debate goes on

Luttwak: We're twice as rich as [the Soviet Union] is. We're technologically more advanced. We definitely ought to be able to beat [the Soviets] in a competition for these weapons.

Hart: We see no indication of any political constraints on the Soviet leadership [which might limit] the amount of resources available to them, military or financial, to seek whatever level of nuclear arms they wish . . . There is no prospect for success for the United States in an unlimited nuclear arms race with the Soviets. And in fact, there's probably some prospects of losing the race in quantitative terms.

Warnke: There is no way in which either side can gain strategic superiority ever again unless the other side gives up. Now, we know we're not going

to give up, and we have no reason to believe they will, so that all you will do is preserve the present nuclear stalemate at higher levels of risk.

Are there any circumstances under which the United States should use nuclear weapons first—for example, to prevent a victory by Soviet conventional forces in Western Europe?

Perle: There is nothing to be gained by gratuitously assuring the Soviets that we would not do so under any circumstances.

That's the first point. And the second point, which is not well understood but is terribly important, [is] that in the presence of nuclear weapons on the Western side, the Soviets must disperse their conventional forces, and this greatly diminishes the effectiveness of their conventional forces in any possible invasion of Western Europe.

Hart: I think there are circumstances where we ought to have that option . . . I can see a tactical nuclear deterrent—short-range missiles or weapons with relatively low yields and high degrees of accuracy and in limited numbers.

Molander: It may be the only policy—if we and the Europeans are unwilling or unable to build those conventional forces that would ensure that we could blunt a Soviet attack on Western Europe.

Luttwak: We must also remember what the context of such a nuclear attack [might] be. Soviet armies are invading Western Germany . . . Terrific destruction is being inflicted by artillery barrages. Thousands of tanks are smashing their way through this urban landscape. NATO armies have tried and failed to stop the invasion. Then we say stop or else . . . And one of the ironies is that if you're talking about . . . neutron bombs [enhanced-radiation weapons that destroy people, not buildings], the damage of this famous first strike in Europe probably would scarcely be visible.

Warnke: Whether or not we're going to use an American nuclear weapon in Europe is something that Western Europeans would have to decide along with us . . . If I were they, I think I'd take my chances on a conventional defense because I would figure I can live and fight again.

Can there be a limited nuclear war?

Luttwak: There's a reasonable hope, if a crisis gets out of hand . . . that one can shock everybody back into a ceasefire by using one or two nuclear weapons against one or two

Paul Warnke
Eric Houtel



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very minor targets . . . You can't get an advantage out of using them . . . but you can at least stop the conflict . . . If you go beyond that simple reasoning and try to develop plans that call for very graduated, cleverly calculated usages of 30 or 40 or 50 warheads, that is all, of course, absurd.

Hart: I find the notion of limited nuclear war to be, for all practical purposes, folly. The survivability and operability of command and control of communications systems is practically nil. The dependability of intelligence or information . . . would be destroyed. There would be no means . . . of determining in the chaos of the exchange the long-range intentions of the other side.

Warnke: When people talk about a limited strategic exchange, they talk about a counterforce exchange in which [the Soviets] try and destroy our missiles as we try and destroy their missiles. We have 1,052 ICBM silos . . . [That means] 2,104 Soviet warheads. Now, is that a limited strike?

How effective is a stepped-up civil-defense program likely to be in the event of nuclear war?

Molander: U.S. civil-defense programs which plan for crisis evacuation of cities could, if successful, save American lives in the short run—if one had the five to seven days of warning that would be necessary to implement such a plan and if people went where they were told to go. It's quite clear that many of [those] people . . . would [eventually] suffer and die in that struggle for food, shelter and medical services—even uncontaminated water . . . It comes down to . . . whether saving some lives in the short run is worth \$4.8 billion.

Hart: The idea of relocation . . . presupposes a great deal of time . . . an enormous amount of planning . . . and that everything works right—chokepoints flow freely, enormously expensive stocks of supplies are updated . . . In the time it would take to relocate urban centers, missiles that are targeted on those centers could be retargeted . . . It makes very little sense.

Warnke: There's no possible defense against a nuclear attack . . . In a period of rising tensions, are you going to give the order to evacuate the cities? . . . [The Soviets] might figure that this indicates that the Americans are getting ready to strike, therefore strike first.

Perle: The Administration's approach to civil defense has been overstated. We are not moving toward the ability to cope with an all-out nuclear war . . . I can imagine a situation where a nuclear weapon was in the hands of a terrorist,

in which case you might want to evacuate a city, for example. [Reagan's program] will add something to the quality of our deterrence . . . It sends a signal that we are not going to be abjectly and deliberately unprepared to take any measures at all.

What's motivating the current nuclear-freeze movement in the United States?

Hart: It's latent. It's been there all the time . . . What brought it to the surface, obviously, were the policies of this Administration, of not going forward with [arms control] negotiations in a meaningful way, of building up the nuclear arsenal on an almost mindless basis across the board, of believing that there was such a thing as nuclear superiority, of having policies of limited nuclear war or at least discussing those [policies].

Molander: What [people] realize is that . . . the post-Cuban missile-crisis effort to try and find a technical solution to the problem of preventing nuclear war . . . has failed and has not been replaced by anything that they find credible or assuring.

Luttwak: Until the military buildup began with the Reagan Administration, we were like a patient very comfortably drifting into a coma. If we had continued with the pre-Reagan defense strength, we would not have woken up . . . But with the Reagan defense program, the patient . . . is asked to get out and to recover. And now, all the wounds hurt.

Warnke: A whole variety of factors have come together . . . We aren't talking with the Soviets about controlling intercontinental-range nuclear missiles . . . [And] the anti-nuclear movement in Western Europe was bound to have a reflection over here after a period of time.

Perle: [The movement in Europe] was exaggerated . . . and polls tend to bear that out . . . You know the Russians are involved covertly in financing demonstrations abroad, as the Danes discovered.

Do you favor a freeze of U.S. and Soviet nuclear arsenals? What would you propose instead?

Molander: The freeze is . . . a very useful and badly needed vehicle for people to confront the nuclear-war issue . . . But you cannot justifiably say that [it] is the formula for an arms-



Gary Hart



Bruce Hoertel

Richard Perle



Bruce Hoertel

Edward Luttwak

control treaty . . . The fundamental lesson of the last twenty years is that we are not going to be able to find an exclusively technical . . . solution to this problem. The next step is confronting the challenge of dealing with the Russians . . . When you find that your agent for working that relationship—the U.S. President—has only met once in the last six and a half years with the principal agent on the other side . . . it gives you

some idea as to why we have such an extreme problem in the U.S.-Soviet relationship. Not only do we start from a point where we don't understand each other very well, but we're not even working [on] the problem.

Luttwak: This colossally insane proposal . . . is born out of impatience and fear . . . This is the politics of unilateral surrender masquerading as politics of controlling irresponsible leadership . . . We ought indeed to feel very uneasy about the fact that our system of government, which was built to cope with ordinary problems, which is run by ordinary men in a rather ordinary way, is now supposed to control nuclear weapons, which [are] none of these things. I think there is a case for seriously considering an addition to our system of government that can cope with [nuclear-weapons control]. If we have a Supreme Court to look after the Constitution, we ought in my view to have a Supreme Nuclear Council to look after nuclear weapons.

Hart: I introduced my own proposal, the acronym of which is STOP—Strategic Talks on Prevention . . . I would go back to the bargaining table on over-all limitations on numbers but expand those talks . . . to include agreements on how to reduce the possibility of the use of the weapons.

Perle: I favor the Jackson-Warner approach to bring about sharp reductions in nuclear weapons to a level of equality and then freeze them at that level. A freeze at current levels would legitimize . . . the current Soviet advantages and permit further Soviet buildups to weaken our capability . . .

The freeze would prevent us from modernizing our bombers, but it wouldn't stop them from building air defenses to shoot down our existing bombers.

Warnke: I think that most of the critics of the freeze mischaracterize it. [The Kennedy-Hutfield proposal] says that the two countries ought to get together and try to negotiate a mutual, verifiable freeze, that they ought to decide when and how to bring the freeze into existence, and that they ought to concentrate on the most destabilizing weapons and they ought to proceed with reductions. Now, what the hell's wrong with that?



Roger Molander

Wally McNamee—Newsweek

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Does Civil Defense Make Sense?

Susan Rothbaum remembers the original flap over civil defense, the plans to take shelter from atomic attack, the drills that had schoolchildren diving under their desks against the day when a fireball seared the sky. And she remembers how suddenly civil defense died away. "When I was in the third grade, in the early '60s," says Rothbaum, now a San Francisco social worker, "a family in our neighborhood built a fallout shelter in their front yard. Passing it every day on my way to school, I saw the lawn being torn up, the dark pit growing larger . . . Frightened by the air-raid drills in school, I asked my parents if we could build a shelter. They refused. I pondered ways to make friends with the neighbors so they would let me in when the warning sirens sounded. Before I was able to put a plan into action, heavy rains came. When I walked by the neighbors' house the next morning, I saw the shelter had caved in, leaving a gaping ruin of concrete and earth. It was not long after this that the school stopped having air-raid drills. Along with my country, I had entered the long silence about nuclear war."

That long silence has ended, and with it the indifference to civil defense. After a period of two decades in which Americans assumed—and American nuclear doctrine demanded—that there would be few survivors in a nuclear war, the Reagan Administration now wants to devote \$4.2 billion over the next seven years to a plan for mass evacuation of cities and other "high risk" areas if attack ever seems imminent.

Debate: This new policy has rekindled an old debate. One side, alarmed by what it regards as an ominous improvement in the Soviet Union's ability to protect its civilian population, argues that civil defense is not only a lifesaver of last resort, but also an essential element of nuclear deterrence. The other side says, in the words of Sen. Alan Cranston of California, that civil defense is "a cruel and dangerous hoax that encourages the false notion that nuclear war is . . . tolerable and perhaps even winnable." So far, a NEWSWEEK Poll (page 24) suggests, Americans are ambivalent. But as the larger nuclear-weapons controversy heats up, a new consensus for civil defense may emerge—or the whole idea may slip back into the obscurity that enveloped it for the past twenty years.

Most of the argument will rage around the Reagan Administra-

tion's head-for-the-hills approach, known in Federalese as "crisis relocation." The plan designates nearly 450 cities and strategically important areas like missile sites and airfields as likely targets for Soviet warheads. In all, about 145 million Americans live in such places, and they would be removed to "host communities" in rural areas throughout the countryside. The Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), which is in charge of the program, estimates that an orderly evacuation even of a metropolis like New York could be managed within a few days—just about the amount of time that would be available, assuming that a previous evacuation of Russian cities had signaled the Soviet Union's intention to attack. The result, according to advocates of the plan: the death toll would be cut from perhaps 140 million to fewer than 50 million Americans.

Critics say that for relocation to work, every one of a series of optimistic assumptions must pan out. There must be not only adequate warning time but also decent weather, docile evacuees and hospitable hosts. The plan for Texas calls for residents

of high-risk areas to drive to host counties, then calmly surrender their cars to authorities for impoundment. The goals are obvious—traffic control and fuel conservation—but cooperation is uncertain, at best. Similarly, the ban on taking firearms and alcoholic beverages along in an evacuation would doubtless be ignored. Even with the best will imaginable among evacuees, the process seems likely to degenerate into congestion and often panic. Many important American cities—San Francisco, for example—have overwater escape routes that are clogged enough during normal rush hours. Perhaps mindful of the problem, Marin County at the other end of the Golden Gate Bridge recently voted not to plan for civil defense. "The bottom line," says Marin supervisor Barbara Boxer, "is that there's no way we can evacuate skeletons."

Imponderable: What life would be like when evacuation was complete is another imponderable. In some places the refugees would be less than welcome, even though they would be housed exclusively in public buildings rather than private homes. Both they and their hosts might well have to spend

time together in fallout shelters, adding social and possibly racial tensions to the already formidable difficulties of life in a cramped underground space. The Federal plan envisions the eventual training of 20,000 shelter-management instructors who would teach 2 million others how to keep peace under pressure—but that is years away. "I won't . . . say that there's not going to be [confusion] at all," says Thad Zale, planning manager for the Nuclear Protection Division of the Michigan state police. "Obviously, there's going to be some. But in every disaster we've seen, the crisis period is probably the only time that we pull together as a people in this country."

Even so, law and order may turn out to be the critical problem for a post-attack United States. FEMA has plans for ensuring the continuity of government, but like all plans for the apocalypse, they can't be readily tested. If the President were dead—vaporized in the White House or buried under the rubble at an underground facility—who would be in charge? A central locator system devised by FEMA and run by the White House could keep track of everyone in the constitutional line of succession, but would the survivors accept the top remaining official? Or would there be confusion

'Picnic': Evacuees shouldn't leave home without credit cards

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on a scale to invite takeover by the military?

Government planning calls for evacuation not only of the President, Cabinet officers and Congressional leaders, but also of the top officials of vital Federal agencies. About three dozen agencies have been designated Category A, meaning that their operations must not be interrupted even by nuclear attack. Among these are the Central Intelligence Agency, the Federal Reserve Board, all Cabinet-level departments and FEMA itself. Moreover, each Category A agency has established three emergency teams—one to stay in Washington even during a period when officials would be aware of a coming attack, one to hie itself to the underground government complex known as Mt. Weather, near Paris, Va., and one to disperse to a secret location somewhere within a day's drive of the capital city. Less essential agencies, such as the National Labor Relations Board, have been relegated to the expendable categories B and C. Whether any of these bodies would retain their authority in a postwar world is an open question.

Victory? The government hopes to provide civil defense for the economy, too, on the theory that—as a Federal Reserve System booklet puts it—“Victory in a nuclear war will belong to the country that recovers first.” Nine of the twelve Federal Reserve banks maintain emergency quarters underground, and records are updated every day. The system will try to clear all checks—including those drawn on destroyed banks,” according to the National Plan for Emergency Preparedness—but just in case, the Fed's main relocation center in a hillside bunker in Culpeper, Va., also has a large stockpile of currency. Credit cards will also be honored in a post-attack economy, the government advises; evacuees should not leave home without them. Skeptics, however, envision a reversion to a primitive barter economy. The most valuable items for trading purposes, says survivalist Duncan Long, will be penicillin, candy and .22-caliber bullets.

The extent to which industry survives would depend, of course, on the magnitude of the attack. Oil refineries would be a prime target in almost any conceivable Soviet strategy, even one for “limited” nuclear war. They cannot be protected. Heavy industries would also be at risk. But sheltering some equipment is at least within the realm of possibility; Boeing, the aircraft manufacturer, has gotten encouraging results by packing sand, polyurethane foam and earth around machinery, then mounting high explosives nearby. One critical industry, communications, would probably survive in some form. The American Telephone and Telegraph Co. has already “hardened” a nationwide network of cables against the effects of nuclear weapons. Many companies, including AT&T and Exxon, have plans of their own for relocat-



Demonstration bomb shelter in Los Angeles, 1951: 'A cruel and dangerous hoax'?

ing top executives to underground refuges.

According to defense analysts like T. K. Jones, the Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Strategic Theater Nuclear Forces, the Soviet Union now has a commanding lead in the ability to protect both civilian population and industrial resources. These analysts claim that the Soviets devote about \$2 billion a year to such projects as evacuation plans and hardened factories—compared with the \$133 million the U.S. Government is spending in the current fiscal year and the \$144 million the Senate Armed Services Committee recently recommended for 1983. To Jones and others, this is evidence that the Russians are prepared, if necessary, to wage and “win” a nuclear war; they believe they can absorb a nuclear strike better than the United States and recover from it sooner. Thus, it is argued, the balance of terror has shifted, and the best way to restore it is to close the civil-defense gap. The only alternative would be to develop new weapons capable of overpowering Soviet civil defense, Jones wrote last month, and even a \$10 billion evacuation-and-shelter program would be cheaper and less dangerous than that.

Civil-defense critics are unconvinced by such tales of fortress Russia. They say—citing a 1978 CIA study—that the \$2 billion the Soviets are said to spend actually represents a calculation of what it would cost them if they paid their soldiers and workers on an American wage scale, which they don't. Moreover, there are doubts that any Soviet evacuation could be as efficient as the civil-defense camp thinks. Much of it would be on foot over long distances, with food supplies tight all the way. Given that relatively more of their population and industri-

al capacity is concentrated in high-risk urban areas, the Soviets might well conclude that even with civil defense their country is too vulnerable to risk a nuclear war. Indeed, defense analyst Fred M. Kaplan suspects that the real aim of Soviet civil defense is not defense at all, but conditioning: by evoking the threat of war and preparing people for the idea of evacuation, the Kremlin reinforces the garrison-state mentality it needs to remain in power.

Unreality: If there is an aura of unreality to claims for Soviet civil defense, the same might be said of American plans. As the pro-freeze Physicians for Social Responsibility tirelessly point out, no civil-defense scheme has ever come to grips with the staggering medical impact of even a limited nuclear strike, to say nothing of a war in which “only” 50 million Americans died. The most successful evacuation program would still have to cope with millions of burn and radiation victims, deprived of the hospitals left behind in the deserted, devastated cities. Disease would feed on a post-attack environment of decaying flesh and polluted water—and the drug companies and supply houses would also lie in ruins. It is for such reasons that Beverlee Meyers, the director of California's Department of Health Services, last month denounced as an “illusion” and a “hoax” the idea that care could be provided for relocated populations. In the aftermath of the holocaust, Americans might find that their government's best civil-defense plan was its 130,000-pound stockpile of opium, a source of morphine, to help them face the dark at the end of the tunnel.

PETER McGRATH with MARY LORD in Washington, DAN SHAPIRO in Houston, JACOB YOUNG in Detroit and bureau reports

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