

ALASKA LEGISLATURE COMMITTEE FILES 1901-1902 00/2

2093 SSA SJR 44 - SJR 85 2093

1 POWERS OF JOINT COMMITTEE

2 SEC. 4. (a) The joint committee, or any duly authorized
3 subcommittee thereof, may—

4 (1) sit and act at such places and times during the
5 sessions, recesses, and adjourned periods of Congress,

6 (2) require by subpoena or otherwise the attend-
7 ance of such witnesses and the production of such
8 books, records, correspondence, papers, and documents,

9 (3) administer such oaths and affirmations,

10 (4) take such testimony,

11 (5) procure such printing and binding, and

12 (6) make such expenditures,

13 as it deems advisable.

14 (b) The joint committee may make such rules respecting
15 its organization and procedures as it deems necessary, except
16 that no recommendation shall be reported from the joint com-
17 mittee unless a majority of the joint committee assent. Sub-
18 penas may be issued over the signature of the chairman of
19 the joint committee or of any member designated by him or
20 by the joint committee, and may be served by such person or
21 persons as may be designated by such chairman or member.
22 The chairman of the joint committee or any member thereof
23 may administer oaths or affirmations to witnesses.

24 (c) In carrying out its duties in accordance with the pro-
25 visions of this resolution, the joint committee is authorized to

1 receive classified information. The joint committee shall
2 secure the protection of such classified information by such
3 methods and systems as will afford protection which is at
4 least equal to that provided by the executive branch for the
5 protection of similarly classified material. No Member of the
6 Senate or the House of Representatives shall make public
7 any part of such classified material without the prior approval
8 of the Senate or the House of Representatives, respectively.

9 STAFF OF JOINT COMMITTEE

10 SEC. 5. (a)(1) In carrying out its functions under this
11 joint resolution, the joint committee may—

12 (A) appoint, on a permanent basis, without regard
13 to political affiliation and solely on the basis of fitness
14 to perform their duties, such professional, technical,
15 clerical, and other personnel as the joint committee
16 considers appropriate;

17 (B) prescribe their duties and responsibilities;

18 (C) fix their pay at respective per annum gross
19 rates not in excess of the highest rate of basic pay, as
20 in effect from time to time, of the General Schedule of
21 section 5332(a) of title 5, United States Code; and

22 (D) terminate their employment as the joint com-
23 mittee may deem appropriate.

1 (2) Not less than one-third of the personnel appointed in
2 accordance with paragraph (1) shall be assigned to the minor-
3 ity members of the joint committee.

4 (b) In carrying out any of its functions under this joint
5 resolution, the joint committee may utilize the services, infor-
6 mation, facilities, and personnel of the departments and
7 establishments of the Government, and may procure the tem-
8 porary (not to exceed one year) or intermittent services of
9 experts or consultants or organizations thereof by contract at
10 rates of pay not in excess of the per diem equivalent of the
11 highest rate of basic pay set forth in the General Schedule of
12 section 5332(a) of title 5, United States Code, including pay-
13 ment of such rates for necessary traveltime.

14 (c) The joint committee may reimburse any member of
15 its staff at the current per diem allowance, or at the actual
16 cost when such actual cost is provided for by the Standing
17 Rules of the Senate or by the Rules of the House of Repre-
18 sentatives, for travel, subsistence, and other necessary
19 expenses incurred by him in the performance of the functions,
20 powers, and duties of the joint committee while outside the
21 District of Columbia.

22 **ADDITIONAL POWER TO SECURE INFORMATION**

23 **SEC. 6.** The joint committee, upon the approval of the
24 chairman, may secure directly from any department, agency,
25 office, or other organizational unit of the Federal Govern-

1 ment, such information as is necessary to enable it to carry
2 out this joint resolution, and the head of such department,
3 agency, office, or other organizational unit shall furnish such
4 information to the joint committee upon request made pursu-
5 ant to this section.

6 EXPENSES

7 SEC. 7. The expenses of the joint committee shall be
8 paid one-half from the contingent fund of the Senate and one-
9 half from the contingent fund of the House of Representa-
10 tives upon vouchers signed by the chairman or vice chairman
11 of the joint committee.

12 TRANSFER OF JURISDICTION AND PROPERTY

13 SEC. 8. (a)(1) On the date of enactment of this joint
14 resolution, all property and records of the Internal Security
15 Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary of the
16 Senate shall be transferred to the joint committee for its use.

17 (2)(A) Clause 9 of subparagraph (l) of paragraph 1 of
18 rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate is amended by
19 striking out "espionage,".

20 (B) Senate Resolution 366 of the second session of the
21 Eighty-first Congress is repealed.

22 (b)(1) On the date of enactment of this joint resolution,
23 all property and records of the Committee on Internal Secu-
24 rity of the House of Representatives under the control of the
25 Judiciary Committee of such House in accordance with para-

1 graph (m) of clause 1 of rule X of the Rules of the House of
2 Representatives shall be transferred to the joint committee
3 for its use.

4 (2) Paragraph (m) of clause (1) of rule X of the Rules of
5 the House of Representatives is amended by striking out
6 everything after "(18) State and territorial boundary lines."

○

97TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. RES. 48

To amend the Rules of the House of Representatives to establish the Committee on Internal Security, and for other purposes.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JANUARY 28, 1981

Mr. McDONALD submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Rules

RESOLUTION

1 *Resolved*, That (a) clause 1 of rule X of the Rules of the
2 House of Representatives is amended by redesignating para-
3 graph (m) through paragraph (v) as paragraph (n) through
4 paragraph (w), respectively, and by inserting immediately
5 after paragraph (l) the following new paragraph:

6 “(m) Committee on Internal Security.

7 “(1) Communist, terrorist, and other subversive
8 activities affecting the internal security of the United
9 States.

10 “(2) The Committee on Internal Security, acting
11 as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make

1 investigations from time to time of (A) the extent,
2 character, objectives, and activities within the United
3 States of organizations or groups, whether of foreign or
4 domestic origin, their members, agents, and affiliates,
5 which seek to establish, or assist in the establishment
6 of, a totalitarian dictatorship within the United States,
7 or to overthrow or alter, or assist in the overthrow or
8 alteration of, the form of Government of the United
9 States or of any State thereof, by force, violence,
10 treachery, espionage, sabotage, insurrection, or any un-
11 lawful means, (B) the extent character, objectives, and
12 activities within the United States or organizations or
13 groups, their members, agents, and affiliates, which
14 incite or employ acts of force, violence, or any unlaw-
15 ful means, to obstruct or oppose the lawful authority of
16 the Government of the United States in the execution
17 of any law or policy affecting the internal security of
18 the United States or advocate the use of terrorism to
19 achieve their objectives, and (C) all other questions, in-
20 cluding the administration and execution of any law of
21 the United States, or any portion of law, relating to
22 the foregoing that would aid the Congress or any com-
23 mittee of the House in any necessary remedial legisla-
24 tion. The Committee on Internal Security shall report
25 to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the

1 House is not in session) the results of any such investi-
2 gation, together with such recommendations as it
3 deems advisable.”.

4 For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on
5 Internal Security, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized
6 to sit and act at such times and places within the United
7 States, whether the House is in session, has recessed, or has
8 adjourned, to hold such hearings, and to require, by subpoena
9 or otherwise, the attendance and testimony of such witnesses
10 and the production of such books, records, correspondence,
11 memorandums, papers, and documents, as it deems neces-
12 sary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the
13 chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any
14 member designated by any such chairman, and may be
15 served by any person designated by any such chairman or
16 member.

17 (b) Clause 1(n) of rule X of the Rules of the House of
18 Representatives, as so redesignated by subsection (a), is
19 amended by striking out subparagraph (19) and by striking
20 out the two undesignated paragraphs immediately following
21 paragraph (19).

22 SEC. 2. Subparagraphs (4) and (5) of clause 1(k) of rule
23 X of the Rules of the House of Representatives are amended
24 by striking out “clause 1(p)(4)” each place it appears therein
25 and inserting in lieu thereof “clause 1(q)(4)”.

1 SEC. 3. On the date of enactment of this resolution, all
2 property and records of the former Committee on Internal
3 Security of the House of Representatives under the control of
4 the Judiciary Committee of such House, or under the control
5 of any other agency of Government, in accordance with para-
6 graph (m) of clause 1 of rule X of the Rules of the House of
7 Representatives shall be transferred to the Committee on In-
8 ternal Security for its use.

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SJR

55

Alaska State Legislature



February 25, 1982

Senate
SENATOR MIKE COLLETTA

The Honorable Victor Fischer
Chairman
State Affairs Committee
Pouch V
Juneau, Ak 99811

Dear Senator Fischer:

Enclosed is a copy of a poll conducted by Dave Dittman for the Free Committee showing conclusively that Alaskans favor limiting the terms of legislators.

Based on the overwhelming statistics contained in the poll, I urge you to schedule hearings as soon as possible on Senate Joint Resolution 55, which I introduced earlier this session.

The resolution, which must pass this session to gain a spot on the 1982 general election ballot, would limit the number of terms a legislator may serve to four consecutive terms in the House and two consecutive terms in the Senate.

Nothing in the resolution prevents an incumbent from running for office in the opposite house after serving the maximum time in one body, or to sit out a term and seek election to his former seat.

I just feel it is good business practice to rotate people, before old habits set in. And apparently Alaskans hold the same opinion. Of the 455 persons interviewed in 51 communities across the state, 62 percent favored limiting the terms of legislators. The trend was consistent among Alaskans of all ages, background and areas of the state.

Again, I request that you take up SJR 55 as soon as possible, in order to allow the public ample time to testify on this matter.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Mike Colletta".

Mike Colletta

cc: all Legislators

MULTI-QUEST

VOLUME IX

MARCH 1981

PREPARED FOR

ANCHORAGE WOMEN'S CLUB
FREE COMMITTEE

DITTMAN RESEARCH CORPORATION
ALASKA BANK OF COMMERCE BUILDING
3230 "C" STREET
ANCHORAGE, ALASKA

Alaska Analysts / Dittman Research

SURVEY ACCURACY

The Dittman Research Corporation, recognized in 1978 as one of the nation's most accurate political survey research organizations following a nation-wide comparison of published pre-election survey results, further enhanced the reputation following the 1980 General Elections in Alaska. The final pre-election state-wide survey published in The Anchorage Times reported that Frank Murkowski would defeat Clark Gruening by 8% and become Alaska's new U.S. Senator. After all challenged and absentee ballots were counted, the certified results revealed Murkowski had defeated Gruening by 8.002%.

METHODOLOGY

During the period February 27 - March 5, 1981, residents of the sample locations listed on the following pages were personally contacted by telephone by professional interviewing employees of the Dittman Research Corporation. The views and opinions of the Alaska residents were recorded on a number of topics on a strictly confidential basis.

Research design- A random sample design was featured which provided that all residents of those communities included in the survey had essentially the same chance of being interviewed. The sample was apportioned based on the population of the included communities.

Sample selection- The Anchorage sample was selected through a computer-generated random digit dialing program. This is particularly important in Anchorage due to a 40% rate of unpublished and unlisted numbers.

The sample in the other communities state-wide was randomly selected from current telephone subscribers listed in the most recent telephone directory for each community. In these communities the percentage of non-listed numbers does not exceed 10%.

PROCESSING THE DATA-

Dittman Research Employees completed the coding and editing, while all key-punching, verification, and data processing was completed by Boeing Computer Services Company through the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) programs. The SPSS package is one of the most sophisticated research-oriented data processing and analytical systems available, and is designed specifically for the processing and analysis of survey research data.

SAMPLE LOCATIONS

Sample points are assigned geographically throughout Alaska in such a manner that all citizens over 18 have essentially the same opportunity for involvement. Samples are drawn from 51 Alaskan communities.

QUESTION:

Would you favor or oppose limiting the number of terms a legislator may serve to a maximum of four consecutive terms -- 8 years -- in the House; and two consecutive terms -- also 8 years -- in the Senate?

ANSWER:

FAVOR @@@ 62%

OPPOSE @@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@ 30%

FILE MULTI9 (CREATION DATE = 81/03/10.)

***** C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F *
 LOCATION BY LEGTERMS

LEGTERMS

LOCATION	COUNT	IN-R	FAVOR	OPPOSE	ROW TOTAL
	1	4	17	13	34
RURAL	11.8	50.0	38.2	7.5	
	2	8	41	29	78
CENTRAL	10.3	52.6	37.2	17.1	
	3	4	38	15	57
SCENTRL	7.0	66.7	26.3	12.5	
	4	11	137	52	200
ANCH	5.5	68.5	26.0	44.0	
	5	6	51	29	86
SOUTHEST	7.0	59.3	33.7	18.9	
COLUMN TOTAL	33	284	138	455	
	7.3	62.4	30.3	100.0	

row # actual # of res.

total sample size

FILE MULTI9 (CREATION DATE = 81/03/10.)

***** C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F *
 TIMEINAK BY LEGTERMS

LEGTERMS

	COUNT	I	IN-R	FAVOR	OPPCSE	ROW
	RCW	PCT				TOTAL
TIMEINAK			0	1	2	
1-4YRS	1	12	87	28	127	
		9.4	68.5	22.0	27.9	
5-7YRS	2	3	52	31	86	
		3.5	60.5	36.0	18.9	
8-13YRS	3	6	49	23	78	
		7.7	62.8	25.5	17.1	
14-19YRS	4	1	41	15	57	
		1.8	71.9	26.3	12.5	
20+YRS	5	11	55	41	107	
		10.3	51.4	38.3	23.5	
COLUMN TOTAL			33	284	138	455
			7.3	62.4	30.3	100.0

FILE MULTI9 (CREATION DATE = 81/03/10.)

***** C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F * *
 AGE BY LEGTERMS

		LEGTERMS					
	COUNT	I					
AGE	ROW PCT	IN-R	FAVOR	OPPCSE		ROW TOTAL	
		I	I	I	I	I	
		I	0	1	2	I	
		I	I	I	I	I	
		I	0	1	0	I	
		I	100.0	I	0	I	
		I	I	I	I	I	
	1	I	5	46	27	I	
		I	6.4	59.0	34.6	I	
		I	I	I	I	I	
	2	I	13	133	68	I	
		I	6.1	62.1	31.8	I	
		I	I	I	I	I	
	3	I	8	69	35	I	
		I	7.1	61.6	31.3	I	
		I	I	I	I	I	
	4	I	7	35	8	I	
		I	14.0	70.0	16.0	I	
		I	I	I	I	I	
			33	284	132	455	
	TOTAL		7.3	62.4	30.3	100.0	

FILE MULTI9 (CREATION DATE = 81/03/10.)

***** CROSSTABULATION OF SEX BY LEGTERMS *****

		LEGTERMS					
		COUNT	I				
SEX	ROW PCT	IN-R	FAVOR	OPPOSE	ROW	TOTAL	
		I	I	I	I	I	I
		0	1	2			
MALE	1	15	130	57	202		
		7.4	64.4	28.2	44.0		
FEMALE	2	18	154	81	253		
		7.1	60.9	32.0	55.6		
COLUMN TOTAL		33	284	138	455		
		7.3	62.4	30.3	100.0		

FILE MULTIS (CREATION DATE = 81/03/10.)

***** C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N C F *****
 WCRKFOR BY LEGTERMS

		LEGTERMS						
	COUNT	I		FAVOR	OPPOSE		ROW	
	ROW	PCT	IN-R				TOTAL	
			I					
WCRKFOR			I 3	I 1	I 2	I		
			I-----I	I-----I	I-----I	I		
	1		I 2	I 26	I 10	I	38	
FEDERAL			I 5.3	I 68.4	I 26.3	I	8.4	
			I-----I	I-----I	I-----I	I		
	2		I 2	I 32	I 14	I	48	
STATE			I 4.2	I 66.7	I 29.2	I	10.5	
			I-----I	I-----I	I-----I	I		
	3		I 1	I 28	I 14	I	43	
LOCAL			I 2.3	I 65.1	I 32.6	I	9.5	
			I-----I	I-----I	I-----I	I		
	4		I 16	I 118	I 59	I	193	
PRIVATE			I 8.3	I 61.1	I 30.6	I	42.4	
			I-----I	I-----I	I-----I	I		
	5		I 12	I 80	I 41	I	133	
NETWORK			I 9.0	I 60.2	I 30.8	I	29.2	
			I-----I	I-----I	I-----I	I		
	COLUMN		33	284	138		455	
	TOTAL		7.3	62.4	30.3		100.0	

FILE MULTI9 (CREATION DATE = 81/03/10.)

***** C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F *
 INCOME BY LEGTERMS

		LEGTERMS						
	COUNT	I						
	ROW PCT	IN-R	FAVOR	OPPOSE		ROW		
		I				TOTAL		
		I	0	I	1	I	2	I
INCOME		I		I		I		I
	0	I	3	I	20	I	10	I
DECLINED		I	9.1	I	60.6	I	30.3	I
	1	I	10	I	69	I	37	I
0-20000		I	8.6	I	59.5	I	31.9	I
	2	I	13	I	107	I	61	I
20-45000		I	7.2	I	59.1	I	33.7	I
	3	I	2	I	60	I	17	I
45-60000		I	2.5	I	75.9	I	21.5	I
	4	I	5	I	28	I	13	I
60000+		I	10.9	I	60.9	I	28.3	I
COLUMN			33		284		138	455
TOTAL			7.3		62.4		30.3	100.0

SJR

57

STATE OF ALASKA
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
JUNEAU

January 11, 1982

The Honorable Jalmar Kerttula
President of the Senate
Alaska State Legislature
Pouch V
Juneau, Alaska 99811

Dear Mr. President:

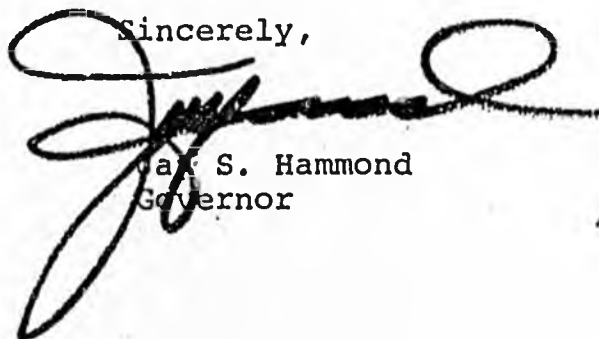
Under the authority of art. III, sec. 18 of the Alaska Constitution, I am transmitting a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Alaska Constitution which would limit the length of legislative sessions.

Regular sessions will be limited to 90 days, but they could be extended in increments of up to 15 consecutive calendar days. This could be done by the governor, or by a majority of each house of the legislature with the approval of the governor. The resolution also provides for limiting the subjects that would be covered in an extension of a regular session and provides a means for extending that list of subjects.

As many of you know, I have long advocated a constitutional limitation on legislative session length. In my 12 years of legislative service, there was only one session which warranted more than 90 days. That was the first session upon achieving statehood, during which we set up the entire state government -- and we did that in only 84 days.

Although there has been a substantial increase in the size of legislative staff and the amount of interim committee activity, the length of legislative sessions has not been reduced. With the current sound condition of the state's finances, there is little incentive for early adjournment. However, the advisory vote taken at the general election in 1978 demonstrated the public's overwhelming support for a session limitation. I strongly urge your early approval of this measure.

Sincerely,



Jack S. Hammond
Governor

SJR

62

INTRODUCTION OF RESOLUTIONS (House)

HJR 71, (cont'd)

authorized by law for housing for veterans and ratified by a majority of the qualified voters of the State who vote on the question... .". (underlined language is being added to existing statute). Provides amendment to be placed before the voters at the next general election.

Introduced January 12 and referred to State Affairs, Judiciary, then to Finance.

Permanent Fund HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 72, by the Rules Committee by Request of Gov. (increasing contribu.) Proposes an amendment to the state constitution providing at least (state const. twenty-five percent of production tax and severance tax proceeds --amending) shall be placed in the Alaska Permanent Fund. Provides amendment be placed before the voters at the next general election. (See SJR 58, page 23, identical).

Introduced January 12 and referred to State Affairs, Judiciary, then to Finance.

MX Missiles HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 73, by Reps. Rogers, Randolph, Moss, (deployment Clocksin, Vaska and Miller. Requests the President of the U.S. in Alaska) to direct the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of the Air Force to eliminate Alaska from consideration as a basing site for MX missiles. Further asks the members of the Alaskan Congressional Delegation to use every means available to prevent or discourage deployment of the missiles and the use of nuclear excavation techniques to deploy the missiles. Copies to be sent to the President, Secretaries of Defense and the Air Force and the Alaskan delegation.

Introduced January 14 and referred to Resources.

Shuttle HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION NO. 48, by Rep. Grussendorf. Urges the (improving) Governor to direct the Dept. of Transportation and Public Facilities to make every effort to improve the seating and rest facilities on the shuttle ferries by such additions as wall-supported bunks and other appropriate improvements to meet the needs of the traveling Alaskan public.

Introduced January 12 and referred to Transportation, then to Finance.

Ninilchik HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION NO. 49, by Reps. Malone and O'Connell. (Speed Limit) Requests the Governor to direct the Commissioner of Transportation and Public Facilities to take the necessary action to reduce the speed limit between Mile 134.6 and Mile 137 of the Sterling Highway from 45 miles per hour to 35 miles per hour.

Introduced January 14 and referred to Transportation.

Introduced: 1/20/82
Referred: State Affairs

1 IN THE SENATE

BY STIMSON

2 SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 62

3 IN THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF ALASKA

4 TWELFTH LEGISLATURE - SECOND SESSION

5 Opposing the deployment of MX missiles
6 in Alaska.

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

8 WHEREAS the United States Department of Defense is considering locating
9 MX Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs) in deep underground bases in
10 Alaska; and

11 WHEREAS the United States Air Force, the Defense Nuclear Agency and the
12 Alaska tunnel mining industry apparently are considering the use of nuclear
13 explosives to excavate one or more mountains in which to deploy the missiles;
14 and

15 WHEREAS the MX missile is a strategic weapon designed to destroy Soviet
16 missile silos and other "hardened" targets; and

17 WHEREAS deployment of MX missiles in Alaska would make the state a
18 target for a Soviet preemptive missile attack; and

19 WHEREAS a final decision on the MX basing mode is due in July 1983;

20 BE IT RESOLVED by the Alaska State Legislature that the President of the
21 United States is respectfully requested to direct the Secretary of Defense
22 and the Secretary of the Air Force to eliminate Alaska from consideration as
23 a basing site for MX missiles; and be it

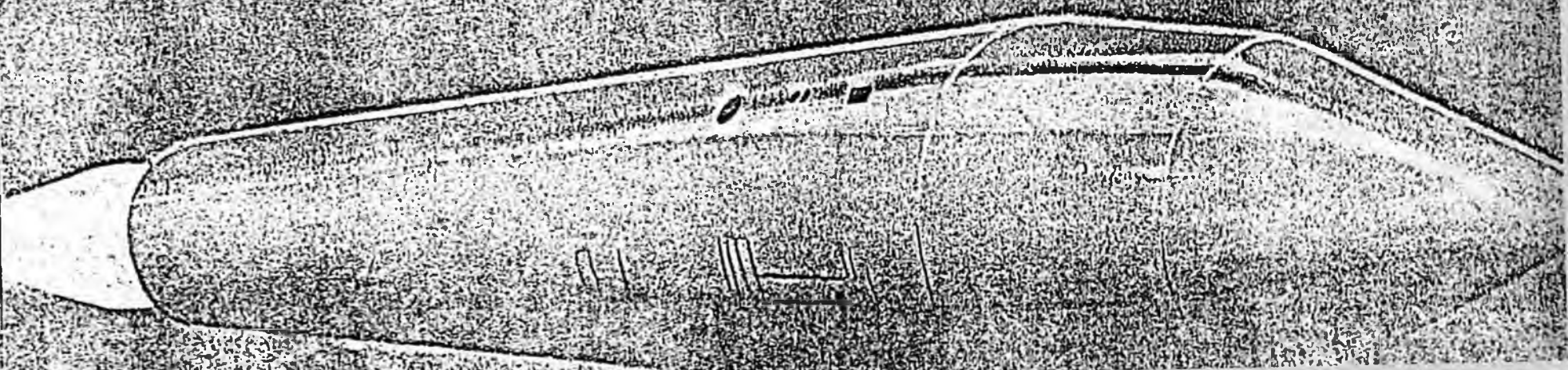
24 FURTHER RESOLVED that members of the Alaska Congressional delegation use
25 every means available to them to prevent or discourage the deployment of MX
26 missiles in Alaska and the use of nuclear excavation techniques to deploy the
27 missiles.

28 COPIES of this resolution shall be sent to the Honorable Ronald Reagan,
29 President of the United States; the Honorable Caspar W. Weinberger, Secretary

1 of Defense; the Honorable Verne Orr, Secretary of the Air Force; and the
2 Honorable Ted Stevens and the Honorable Frank Murkowski, U.S. Senators, and
3 the Honorable Don Young, U.S. Representative, members of the Alaska delega-
4 tion in Congress.

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MX Missile Basing



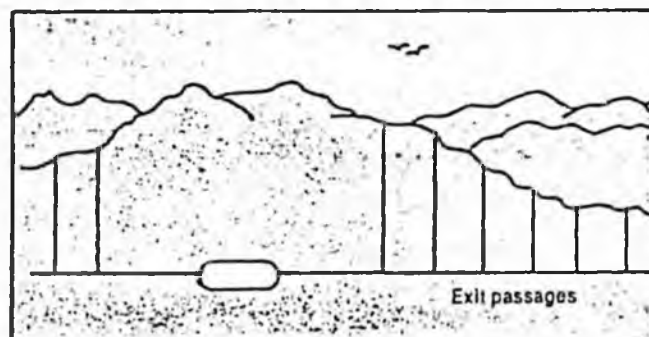
CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
Office of Technology Assessment
Washington, D.C. 20548

DEEP UNDERGROUND BASING

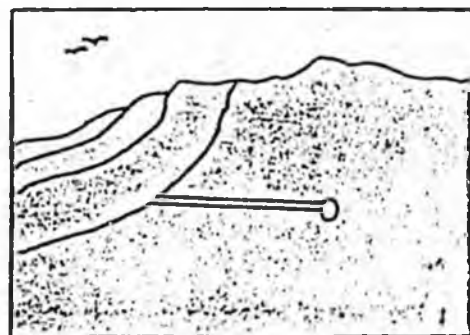
One interesting concept for missile basing is the deployment of the missile force in deep mountain tunnels, buried thousands of feet under the surface, thereby providing protection for the missiles from a nuclear attack. Such a facility would be manned and would have self-contained provisions for electrical power, life-support, and missile maintenance. Upon the command to launch, tunnels would need to be bored to the surface to give the missile outside access preparatory to being launched.

The limitations of such a missile deployment derive not from the technical feasibility of its construction, but from the time constraints of a reliable missile egress for launch. A schematic for two types of missile egress is illustrated in figure 116A and B shows a number of completed vertical exit passages that are preconstructed. Missile egress through these passages could be rapid, but the exit portals could be easily attacked with nuclear weap-

Figure 116A.—Postattack Egress



116B



SOURCE: Office of Technology Assessment.

ons, which would deny them the ability to launch the missile. Even "hardened" exit portals would be vulnerable with today's missile accuracies. Moreover, attempts at constructing hidden exits would rely totally on keeping their locations secret for the entire course of deployment—a considerable risk.

These observations have led to designs for deep underground basing without preconstructed exits (see fig. 116B). After the order to launch, large underground tunnel boring machines would clear a path to the surface from the partially completed tunnels. This method of launch would not be rapid, due to the lengthy excavation process, and could take a period of days to perhaps weeks; in the meantime work continues on devising a faster method for missile egress.

Clearly, this mode would not be suitable as a quick-response force for time-urgent missions after the initial attack—a major stated requirement for the MX missile. On the other hand, it could play a useful part in the overall strategic nuclear force as a secure reserve force. Post-attack endurance might be very good, perhaps a year or longer. Furthermore, it could have a stabilizing effect and serve as a deterrent to war due to its high survivability to nuclear attack. Unlike fixed missile silos or multiple protective shelters, deep underground basing would be relatively insensitive to the increased accuracy of enemy missiles, or the fractionation of their payload. Moreover, deceptive basing of the missiles would be unnecessary.

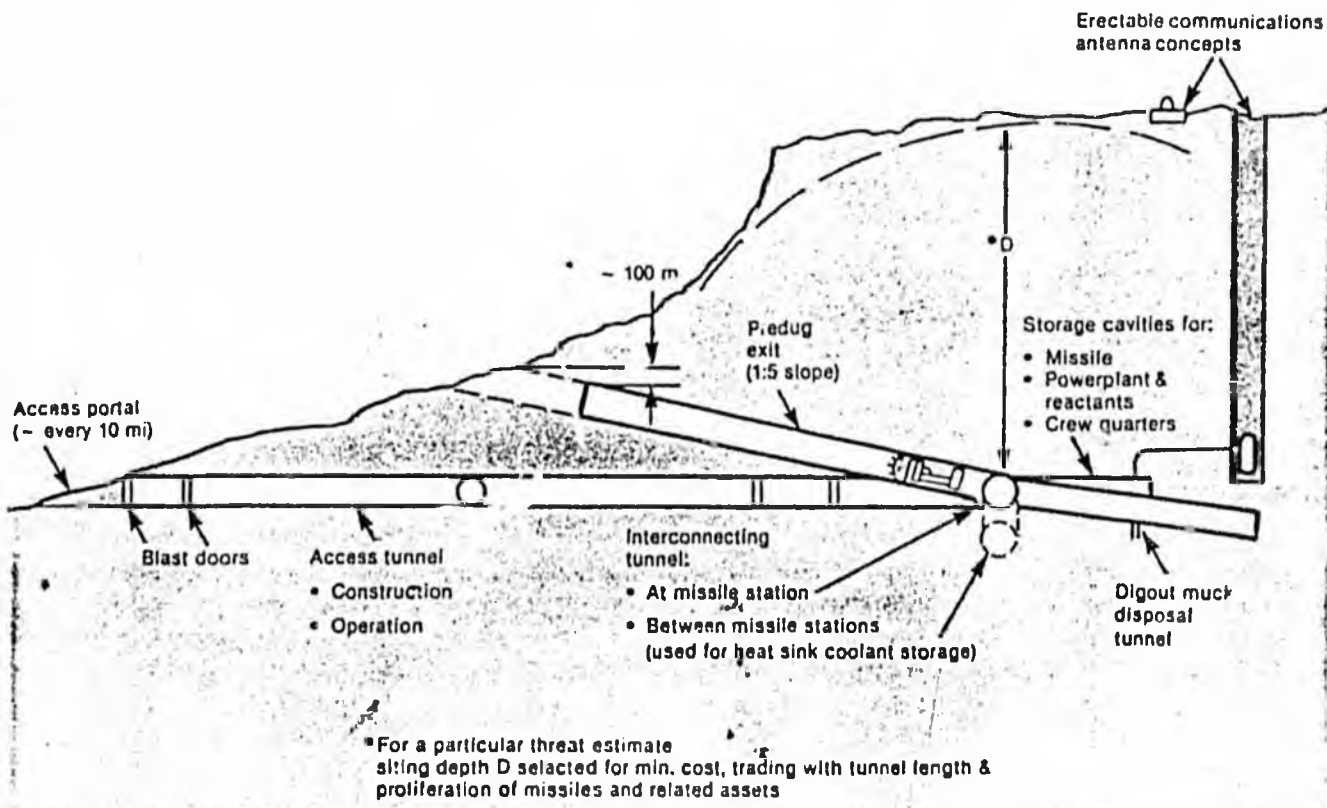
Although studies of deep missile basing date back many decades, it is still in a conceptual stage. Hardware specific to this type of missile basing has not been developed or tested, although many of its components, such as deep underground facilities and tunnel boring machines, have been constructed for other purposes. And, although a large data base on underground nuclear explosions has been collected over several decades, there is still a

degree of uncertainty on the coupling of explosive energy of a nuclear surface burst to the underground. This knowledge would be important in determining the minimum tunnel depth for sure survival of the missile against a large nuclear attack.

One concept for deep basing is illustrated in figure 117. This approach would utilize basing inside of a mesa, which, due to its relatively steep slope, has the advantage of providing a short tunneling length to the mesa face for missile egress. System burial would be typically several thousand feet. The exit route for the missile would be partially predug, with the remainder left to be dug by a tunnel boring machine, after receiving the command to launch. In addition, a number of horizontal access tunnels would lead to the underground complex from the outside. These access tunnels, which would be required during con-

struction, would also provide underground access during peacetime. Blast doors in these tunnels would be needed for protection of the underground complex during an attack. Storage cavities would be provided for crew quarters, a fuel cell powerplant and its reactants, waste disposal, and tunnel boring machines. (A typical tunnel boring machine is shown in fig. 118. It is constructed and sold for tunnelling operations.) A reliable means of assuring a survivable communications link between the outside and the missile force has not yet been fully developed, although a number of possible candidate concepts do exist. One such concept involves the deployment of a large number of erectable communications antennas, as illustrated in the diagram. Assuring continuity of this link through the mesa during periods of attack is still a matter to be fully resolved, since resulting block movements inside the mesa may break underground cable links.

Figure 117.—Mesa/Tunnel Concept Section View (not to scale)



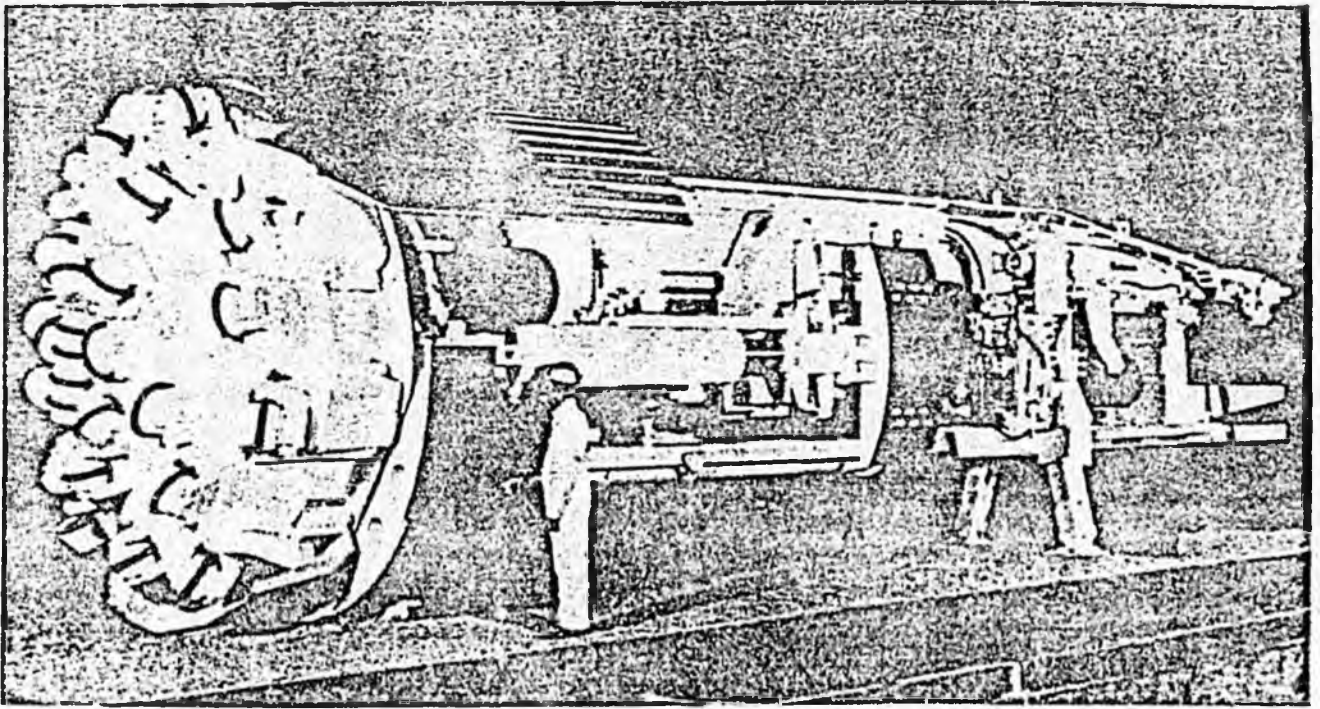
SOURCE: Office of Technology Assessment.

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Figure 118.—Tunnel Boring Machine



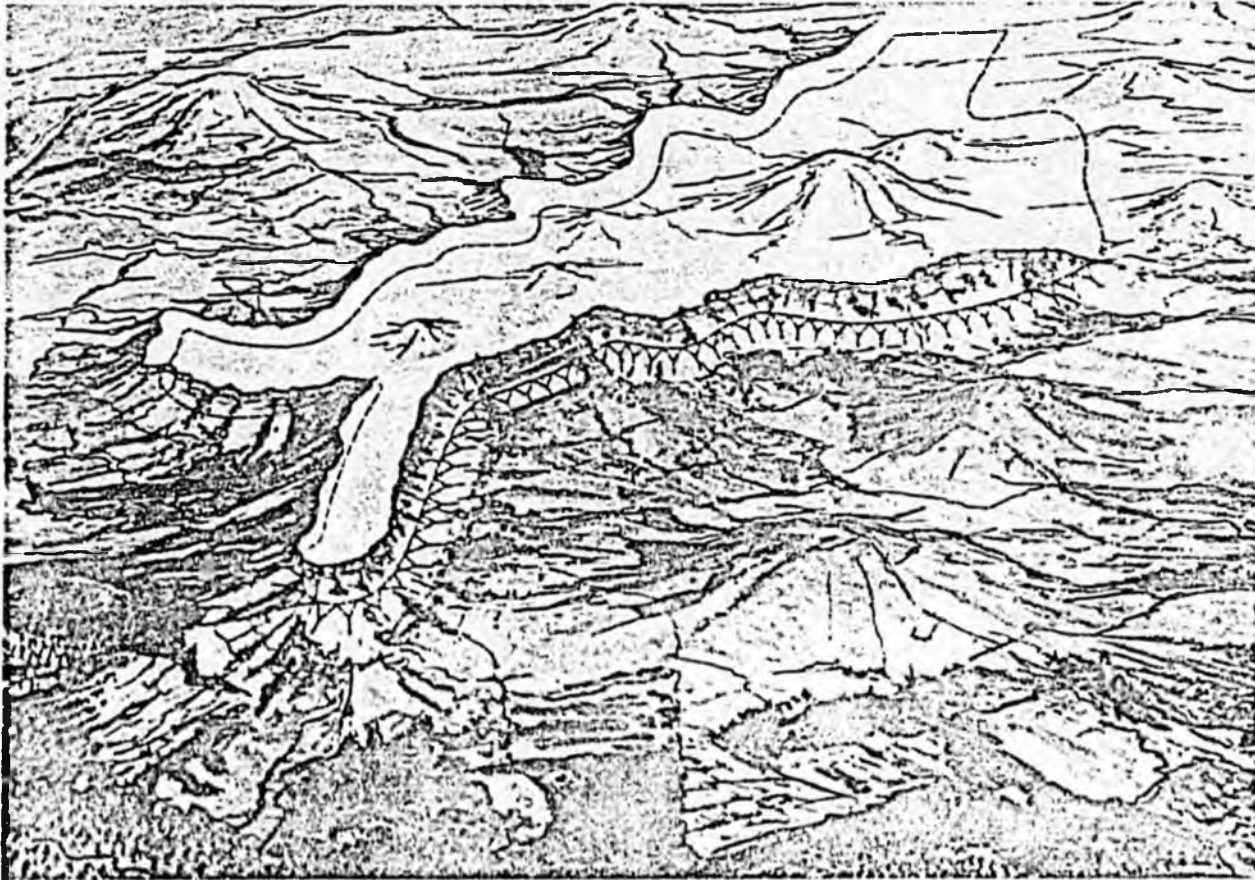
SOURCE: Robbins Co., Seattle, Wash.

An aerial view of the underground mesa-based force is shown in figure 119. The underground tunnels, shown as broken lines, form a closed complex around the mesa. An enlargement of a tunnel section is described in figure 120. The missile would be part of a launcher and transporter vehicle, as shown in figure 121, that resembles the vehicle used for buried trench basing, as discussed in chapter 2. For missile launch, after the tunnel boring machine cleared the way to the surface, the transporter-missile-launcher would move through the newly built tunnel to the surface, under its own power. This is illustrated in figure 122.

OTA has not analyzed either the environmental impacts or scheduling considerations for deep basing. A preliminary review does not indicate the likelihood of insurmountable problems, however. Estimates for system cost

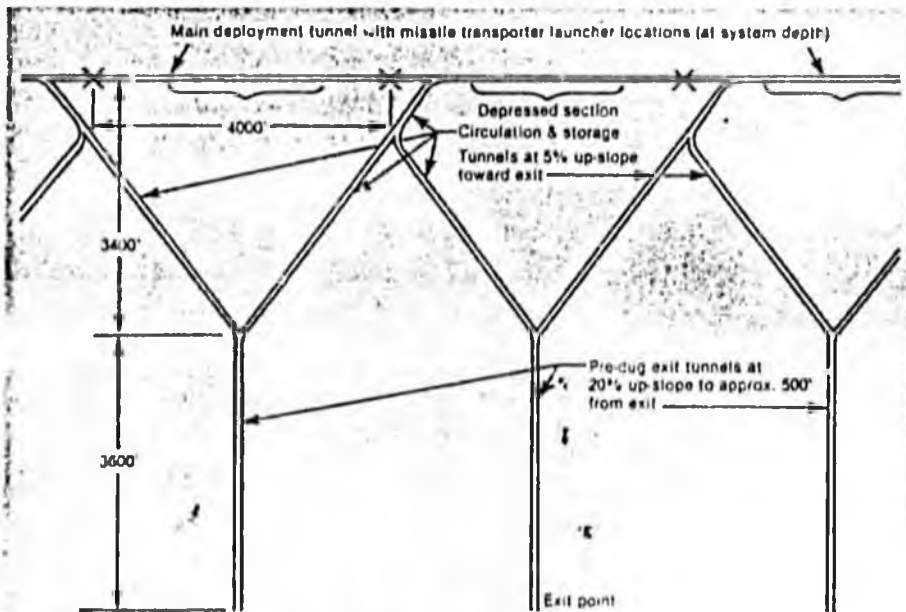
and construction time are highly tentative at this time. Much work on the detailed concept (particularly C³), research and development, and validation of design would be needed. Moreover, delays in construction for this basing mode could be expected, as experience in previous underground excavation projects indicates unexpected geological conditions that hamper progress. On the other hand, much excavation experience is available from many commercial and civil projects. Land area requirements are likely to be relatively small. Shown in figure 123 is a map of the United States with deployment areas of the Minuteman missile fields, the proposed MX/MPS deployment area, and two candidate basing areas for deep underground basing, one in the area of Grand Mesa, Colo., and an alternative site in southern Utah.

Figure 119.—Aerial View of Mesa-Based Force



SOURCE: Office of Technology Assessment.

Figure 120.—Mesa/Tunnel Concept Plan View Schematic

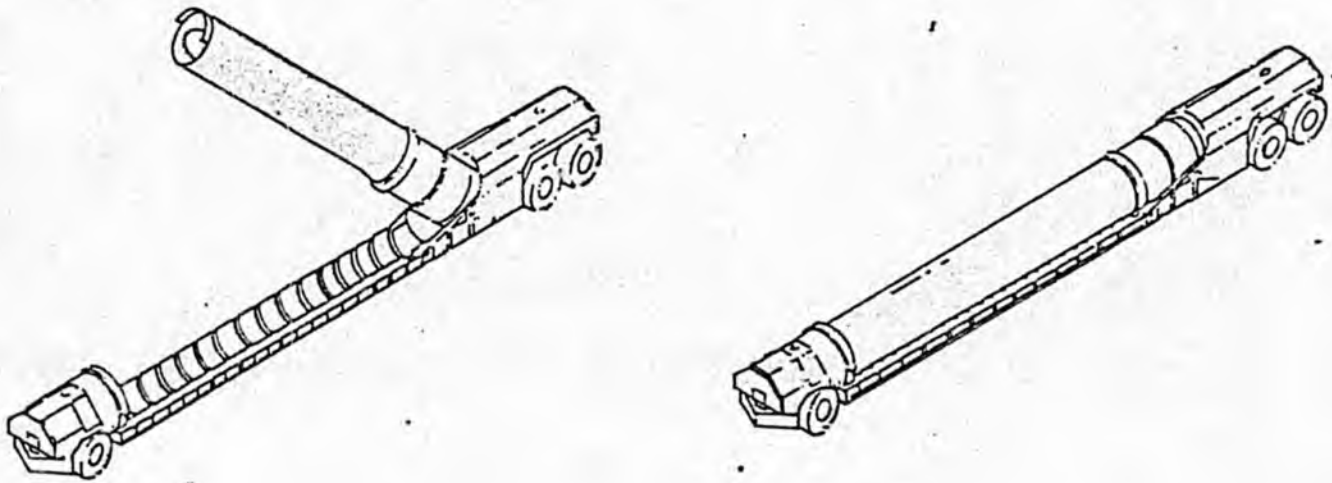


SOURCE: Office of Technology Assessment



SOURCE

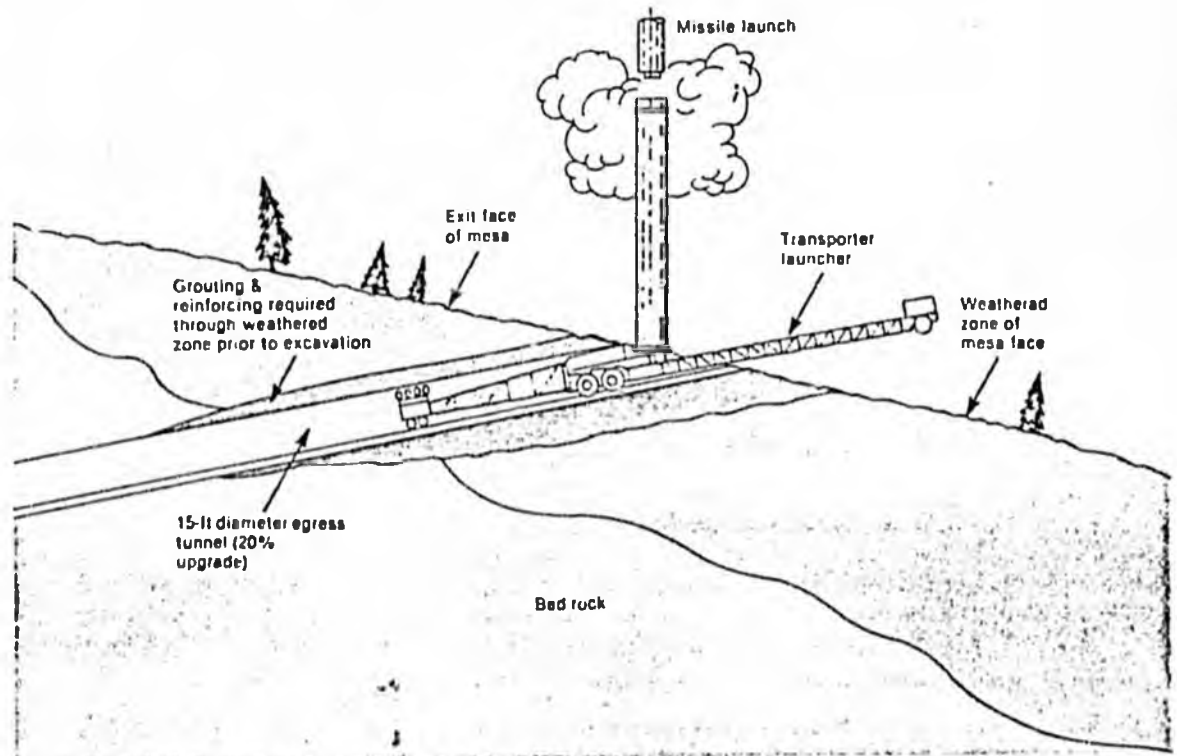
Figure 121.—Transporter Launcher



Length	35 m	(115 ft)
Width	3.5 m	(11.5 ft)
Height	3.5 m	(11.5 ft)
Weight	135,000 kg	(300,000 lb)
Drive motors (3)	350 hp each	

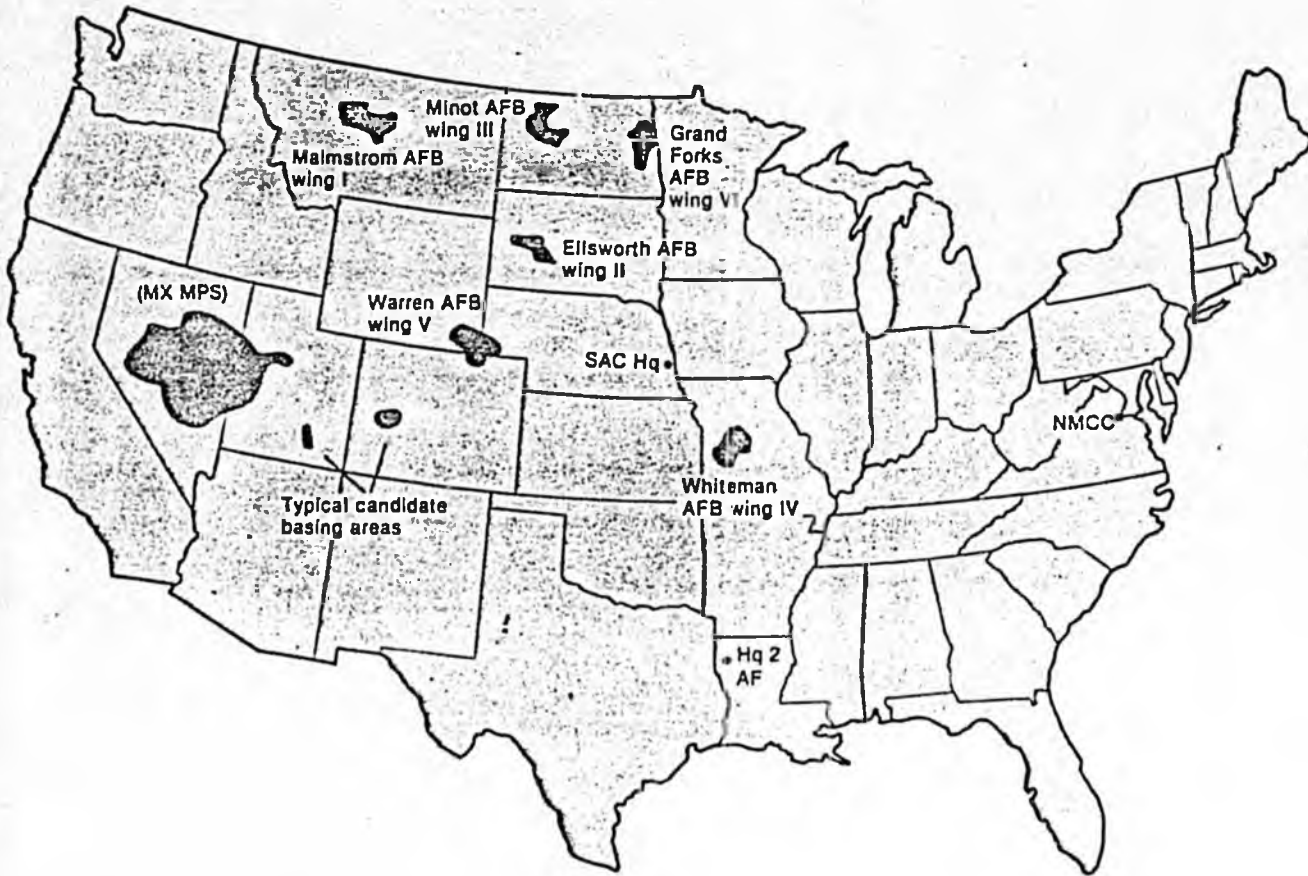
SOURCE: Office of Technology Assessment.

Figure 122.—Missile Launch



SOURCE: Office of Technology Assessment.

Figure 123.—Land Area Requirements



SOURCE Office of Technology Assessment.

Alaska State Legislature



SENATOR
TERRY STIMSON
POUCH V
JUNEAU, ALASKA 99811

WHILE IN ANCHORAGE
1610 E STREET
ANCHORAGE, ALASKA 99501

Senate

January 28, 1982

The Honorable Donald E. Young
House of Representatives
2331 Rayburn Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Representative Young:

Thank you for the hospitality luncheon you provided while I was in Washington, D.C. with the Alaska Senate delegation last month.

Congress has completed a \$199.7 billion defense appropriations bill. Part of this bill relates to President Reagan's ICBM Modernization Plan. One of the alternatives of this plan is deep basing the proposed M-X Strategic Missile System.

As a State Senator from Alaska I am interested in obtaining some general background information on the M-X system and some specific information on the following points:

- * What does "deep basing" mean and what are the various methods used to "deep base"?
- * What are "super hardened silos" and how would this be accomplished?
- * How many missile silos currently exist in the State of Alaska?
- * How far along is the Department of Defense in any plans to locate M-X missiles in Alaska? If these plans are only in the "discussion" phase, please respond as to when a "paper" planning process will begin and how much input the State of Alaska will have in the process.
- * It has been said that Alaska is not a desirable location for the M-X missiles because the state's proximity to the Soviet Union would afford less

January 28, 1982

warning time in the event of a Soviet nuclear attack than other locations in the mid-west United States. However, Assistant Adjutant General Bill Sharro has been quoted as saying that Alaska is in a very strategic defense location and that the proposal to base M-X missiles in Alaska merits serious attention from a tactical and strategic standpoint. Please clarify the debate. Is Alaska strategic enough to warrant M-X basing in the state?

* If M-X missiles were deployed in Alaska, would this make the state a target for a Soviet preemptive missile attack?

* When is the final decision on M-X basing options due?

Your prompt attention in dealing with these questions is appreciated.

Sincerely,

Senator Terry Stimson
Alaska State Legislature
District 7-E

TS:am

DON YOUNG
CONGRESSMAN FOR ALL ALASKA

COMMITTEES:
INTERIOR AND INSULAR
AFFAIRS
MERCHANT MARINE AND
FISHERIES

FEB 16 1982

WASHINGTON OFFICE

2331 RAYBURN BUILDING
TELEPHONE 202/225-5765

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

DISTRICT OFFICES

FEDERAL BUILDING AND
U.S. COURT HOUSE
701 C STREET, BOX 3
ANCHORAGE, ALASKA 99513
TELEPHONE 907/271-5978

BOX 10, 101 12TH AVENUE
FAIRBANKS, ALASKA 99701
TELEPHONE 907/456-6949

February 9, 1982

Honorable Terry Stimson
Alaska State Legislature
District 7-E
Pouch V
Juneau, Alaska 99811

Dear Senator Stimson:

This is in reference to your letter of January 28th requesting answers to your questions on the MX missile. I asked my staff to do a little research on the matter. I hope that this letter serves to clear things up a bit, but I am in any event pleased to be able to be of assistance to you.

Deep-basing is one of the three proposals for basing the new MX missile. (The other two are continuous patrol aircraft, and sea-basing, either on ships or small subs.) There are several different modes of deep-basing, all in the formative stage at present. One version foresees digging deep tunnels to house the missiles, filling the tunnels with sand. The sand would serve to protect the missiles from a direct attack, and could be inundated with water to facilitate launching. Another form of deep-basing involves burrowing deep into the south sides of mesas to base the missiles, thus leaving the bulk of the mesa between the missile and the Soviet Union.

Super-hardened silos are Minutemen silos reinforced to withstand the incredibly high pressure associated with a direct hit by a large nuclear warhead. No one is sure how well such a silo could protect a missile. Tests with actual weapons are precluded by the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, under which the US cannot test weapons above ground.

There are no intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) in Alaska. There may be other types of missiles, but their whereabouts and numbers are classified.

Under the provisions of the Nunn-Cohen Amendment to the Defense Appropriations Bill, the Administration will announce its final decision on MX basing in July, 1983.

*The Admin
was already
scrapped
this idea.*

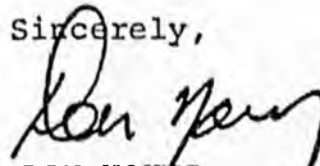
The FY 82 Budget included \$20 million for R & D on MX basing. The 83 figure is yet to be determined. Alaska could only conceivably be slated to receive MX missiles if the deep basing (DB) mode were chosen. If DB is eventually chosen, the choice of region for deployment will depend, among other things, upon which type of DB is chosen. Each type requires different geo-technical characteristics. If DB is chosen, a lengthy process would begin, starting with the Defense Systems Acquisition Review (DSARC). DSARC would not begin until after July, 1984 at the earliest. Then a lengthy environmental process would begin to assess the potential environmental impact of DB. The Environmental Impact Statement procedure would probably begin in 1986, with actual deployment starting in 1989 or later.

In any event, barring some change in US strategic doctrine, the strategic considerations leading the Air Force not to base ICBMs in Alaska would lead them not to deploy the MX in the state. Our policy is one of deterrence, and it is therefore not important to be able to strike first, but to be able to respond to a Soviet strike. Because response is important, it is crucial to have plenty of warning time before enemy missiles would actually impact in event of war. ICBMs are presently placed such that the Air Force would have 30 minutes warning time before enemy missiles would arrive. That gives the US time to launch from under an attack, if it so chose. In Alaska, however, there would be only 5 minutes tactical warning, not enough to launch. Furthermore, the command, control, and communications system in Alaska would be vulnerable, and any ICBMs there would be vulnerable to sea attack, which is why no coastal state contains ICBMs at present. This is not even mentioning the potential logistic and transportation problems Alaska would present as an MX basing site.

There is a connection between DB and Alaska. The connection, however, has nothing to do with deployment. It has to do with technology. The Defense Nuclear Agency has been studying Alaska tunnel mining techniques for application to DB. They are very interested in certain burrowing machines. Department of Defense sources stress that this has nothing to do with Alaska's characteristics as a potential basing site.

I apologize for the lengthy reply, but I hope it served to answer some of your questions. The chances of Alaska being chosen as a site for MX really seem remote. If you have any further questions or comments, please do not hesitate to write again. With best wishes,

Sincerely,



DON YOUNG
Congressman for All Alaska

December 3, 1981

The Honorable Caspar W. Weinberger
Secretary of Defense
The Pentagon
Washington, D.C. 20301

Dear Mr. Secretary:

Recently, reports have circulated in Alaska that there were plans by the U.S. Department of Defense to place MX missiles in tunnels in Alaska. Preliminary checks with Washington indicate that this is not being considered as a policy at the present time. We would appreciate, however, confirmation from you as to whether or not the consideration is being given at this time to placing MX missiles in Alaska.

If now, or in the future, there are plans of this nature, we would certainly anticipate that the state of Alaska would be officially notified, and be allowed some input on those determinations.

For your information, I am enclosing a recent newspaper article regarding the situation so that you will understand my desire to have some statement from you.

Sincerely,

Jay S. Hammond
Governor

Enclosure

JSH:JD:SKF:mal/1

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THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301

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GOVERNOR'S OFFICE

Honorable Jay S. Hammond
Governor of Alaska
Juneau, Alaska 99824

Dear Governor:

Thank you for your letter regarding the proposed M-X strategic missile system. I certainly understand your concern on the reported deployment of M-X.

As a long-term option under President Reagan's ICBM Modernization Plan, deep basing is being evaluated as a survivable M-X option. Various defense agencies are beginning to assess the underground tunneling technology of the civilian industry. Presently, we are evaluating the mechanical factors which would allow us to develop an underground missile basing concept. At this time no specific sites are being evaluated.

If deep basing shows sufficient promise as an operational system which we could effectively deploy, we will begin to consider potential siting locations. Although it is quite unlikely that a missile with intercontinental range would be deployed in Alaska, the Department of Defense is obligated to review all options available for M-X deployment. Therefore, I cannot categorically tell you that Alaska will not be considered as a possible deep basing location.

The Department of Defense will definitely and properly inform you if our evaluation shows that the State of Alaska is a viable deep basing site for M-X deployment. Additionally, we would solicit and welcome your participation in the necessary planning for such a deployment.

I hope that this information is useful. Please contact us if we can be of any further assistance.

Sincerely,

oil rig

degrees

out to lift any crewmen who might board the rig, one of the world's best semi-submersible drilling platforms.

The helicopter crew at the scene said the rig was still in place but the helicopter could not land because of visibility, snow, rain, heavy seas and 80 mph winds. Each helicopter can carry 25 passengers.

Other helicopters and aircraft were landing by in St. John's, Newfoundland.

The oil rig, one of several drilling in the Hibernia field off Newfoundland, is propelled.



Alaska MX missile site is proposed

By ANNABEL LUND
Empire Staff Reporter

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A geotechnical engineering firm, whose proposals for deep basing MX missiles are now being considered by Air Force and Pentagon officials, has recommended that missile sites be located in Alaska on the south sides of either the Brooks or Alaska mountain ranges.

The recommendation is part of a 23-page proposal by the company expected to undergo validation tests by the Air Force this spring.

A major advantage of locating the MX underground in the Brooks Range, according to Dr. Paul Erickson, engineer from Resource Engineering and Development, Inc. in Midvale, Utah, is the mountain range provides natural protection from Soviet attack. The Brooks Range runs east to west, allowing for a missile egress portal facing south which, Erickson said, is considered a very difficult target for Soviet missiles traveling over the North Pole.

In addition, Erickson said, the proposed Alaska sites would be in rugged mountains on very remote land far from urban centers, "which is a good selling point to the plan."

"It could take a lot less time for missiles launched in Alaska to hit targets in the U.S.S.R. than if they were sited in the Midwest," Erickson also pointed out.

The engineering firm's proposal calls for approximately 100 missiles to be based in four to five locations throughout the United States — with at least one site in Alaska — at a cost of approximately \$4 billion in 1981 dollars.

Resource Engineering and Development, a subsidiary of Hoskins, Western Soudereger, Inc., a civil engineering firm in Lincoln, Neb., has developed a system for providing rapid deployment of buried missiles and will be one of the firms selected by the Air Force for validation testing this spring, Erickson said.

The Air Force is expected to award contracts by June, 1982 for design of the deep basing mode of missile deployment.

Congress has required the President to

make a decision considering several different basing modes by July 1983.

The Pentagon is considering three basing plans for the MX missile:

- The "Big Bird" plan, which includes keeping missile-bearing transport planes in the air constantly.

- The silo system, similar to the basing mode of the Minute Man missile system.

- Deep-basing sites in which missiles would be buried 2,000 to 7,000 feet under the sides of rugged mountain ranges.

The Defense Subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee, chaired by Alaska Sen. Ted Stevens, is investigating several proposals for MX basing modes, said an informed congressional source, who asked not to be identified.

None, however, has been granted authority yet by the Department of Defense, the source said.

In the past, he said, Utah and Colorado — not Alaska — were considered prime sites for deployment of the MX.

"When Alaska was considered originally for MX there were a number of criteria that had to be met, and Alaska was ruled out on several counts," the aide said.

One of the disadvantages of putting the MX in Alaska, he said, was the state's extended coastline would allow Soviet submarines to deploy depressed projectory missiles targeting Alaska sites, not a problem in land-locked Utah or Colorado. Alaska's close proximity to Canada and the limited warning time in case of Soviet attack were also cited by the aide.

According to Pentagon officials, however, deep-underground basing of the MX is designed specifically to protect the warheads by burying them thousands of feet underground, so the missile complex and personnel could withstand a direct nuclear hit and survive for up to a year without exposure to radiation.

Two high-ranking Alaska military officers, Adjutant Gen. Bill Sharro and Lt. Col. Floyd McKee of the Alaska Air Command, have pointed out that Alaska was in a very strategic defense location, and Sharro told the Empire the proposal to locate the MX in the state "does merit

Continued on Page 2

new of year'

given at the banquet. Carol and Trevor Davis were honored with the lifetime memberships to the chamber.

"They have done a lot for the community of Juneau, and the chamber recognizes them for that," said Schmitt.

Dean and Edna Williams were also given honorary membership awards. The Williams' travel the West Coast each year presenting programs on Juneau and Alaska to senior citizen's centers.

"Edna's put in many hours over the years for community activity," said Schmitt, describing her contributions. "She's a believer in the community and puts herself into it."

A past president's award was presented, to Janis Rountree, who has served on the chamber's board for the past four years. She was vice president in 1980 and president in 1931, when the chamber merged with the convention and visitors bureau. She was instrumental in that reorganization. She and her husband, Graham, own George's Gift Ship.

Schmitt said he believes it was one of the best banquets the group had ever put on.

"It was the first time I've seen so many three-piece suits and long dresses at the banquet," he said. "It was very well-received."

MX sites...

Continued from Page 1

some very serious attention from a tactical and strategic standpoint."

State officials first became aware of proposals to locate the controversial MX in Alaska last November when a highly respected scientific journal, Aviation Week and Space Technology, reported the federal government was considering siting the missiles somewhere in the state.

Those reports were confirmed by a spokesman from the Nuclear Defense Agency and several Pentagon officials, but caught state military and governmental authorities by surprise.

Although both members of Alaska's senators' delegation at first denied knowledge of the matter, Stevens later admitted to an Anchorage reporter that Alaska might be considered as a possible

location for the warhead system in the future.

In a letter to Gov. Hammond Dec. 22, U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger said that, although no specific sites had been selected, Alaska had not been ruled out as a location for deep basing.

Concerned about the reports, state Rep. Brian Rogers, D-Fairbanks, introduced legislation in the state House opposing any plans the federal government might have for location of the MX in Alaska.

Rogers said he opposed basing the MX intercontinental ballistic missile system in Alaska because the state would then become a target for a Soviet pre-emptive attack and because nuclear explosives would be used to excavate the tunnels used for the system.

Parking...

Continued from Page 1

The proposed assessment would tax property owners on the basis of the size of their lot and the assessed value of the property.

For example, a property owner in Zone 2 with about 2,000 square feet of property would be assessed about \$1,100, according to the city-borough.

Downtown property owners are expected to pay for roughly half of the garage costs, with the other half coming from state funds for Juneau capital projects. The state money was given to Juneau last year as part of its per capita capital improvements entitlement, according to

Assemblyman Fred Baxter.

The state funds are a way of spreading garage costs among all residents since they represent area-wide money, he said.

Baxter said he has received a few phone calls from residential property owner objecting to their inclusion in the L.I.D. The assembly may investigate how many single-family residences are within the L.I.D. to see if it wants to treat them separately, he added.

The municipality is pushing to "get something started," since in the past two decades "five or six" parking garages have been proposed, but none have been built, according to Baxter.

on union

to all eligible faculty.

The mail ballots are to be returned to the labor agency of offices in Anchorage within two weeks after professors at the Juneau, Anchorage and Fairbanks campuses get a chance to vote on the matter.

isicians play ovations

they played to an enthusiastic and appreciative crowd that packed the Juneau-Douglas High School auditorium Friday. The crowd, numbering 780, was the largest of of the year

Obituary

Elias J. Reyes, Jr.

Elias J. (Ell) Reyes, Jr., died of a heart attack Saturday in Juneau.

Mr. Reyes, who was 47, was active in numerous Native political and community organizations, and was an active member of the Chapel by the Lake Presbyterian Church, where he served as trustee and sang in the choir.

Mr. Reyes was director of policy and planning with the Tlingit-Haida Central Council when he died. He had served the council in many capacities over the past seven years, including intervals as its administrative manager and deputy Native agency director.

He worked for five years with the federal Bureau of Indian Affairs and 10 years with the state Department of Labor.

school in Petersburg, until he left to attend Western Washington University in Bellingham.

Mr. Reyes later served in the U.S. Army until his honorable discharge in 1962.

Mr. Reyes served on a variety of committees and statewide boards associated with such organizations as the Alaska Federation of Natives, RuralCap and the state advisory board on vocational education.

At the time of his death he was chairman of the Juneau Indian Studies Parent Committee.

Mr. Reyes was a charter member and president of the Glacier Valley ANB Camp No. 70.

He was involved in youth sports programs such as Little League baseball, youth soccer, skiing and swimming.

Marilyn, 10.

Other survivors include his mother, Mary Reyes of Petersburg; sisters, Marie James and Mary Kowatna, both of Petersburg; sister, Lenora Lopar of Anchorage; and brother, Donald Reyes of Juneau.

Included among the survivors are numerous cousins, aunts and uncles.

Funeral services have been set for 2 p.m. Wednesday at Chapel by the Lake. Pastors Jim Patton and Lew Rooker will officiate.

An Alaska Native Brotherhood League memorial service, has been scheduled for 7:30 p.m. Tuesday at the Salvation Army. Hall Robert Martin, Sr., will preside.

In lieu of flowers the family requests donations be made either to the Marine Corps of the Juneau

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STATE OF ALASKA



MEMBER

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TWELFTH ALASKA LEGISLATURE

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JUNEAU, ALASKA 99811
(907) 463-3822

283 MULDOON ROAD
STATION BOX 76
ANCHORAGE, ALASKA 99504
(907) 337-6071

SENATOR TIM KELLY

March 2, 1982

MR. CHAIRMAN, MEMBERS OF THE SENATE STATE AFFAIRS COMMITTEE:

Thank you for this opportunity to speak with you for a minute about a problem all federal employees in Alaska, both civilian and military, are experiencing. As you know, Mr. Chairman, the Federal Government, in an effort to cut costs, has, during the last few years, changed the formula used to determine the cost-of-living allowance given federal employees in Alaska. The COLA is the government's way of insuring that an employee in Alaska, working the same job as an employee in Louisiana, for example, receives equivalent compensation by compensating for the increased cost-of-living up here. The result in the government's change to the COLA formula has been to reduce compensation for federal employees in Anchorage from 25% to 17.5% and reduce the living wage and lifestyle of our federal employees, both civilian and military.

Mr. Chairman, we all know that living in Alaska is more expensive than living almost anywhere else in the country. Just the basics of housing and food are constant reminders to all of us of the financial price we pay for living in Alaska. Our state is one of the most important to the future welfare of this country. Not only strategically, as is exemplified by the presence of large and vital military installations throughout the state, but also our proven natural resources may provide the key to the future economic independence of the United States. The decisions made by the federal government as to how our natural resources are developed and the mental and physical preparedness of our armed forces throughout the state, is in large part determined by the quality of the people making decisions. If those people can make more money elsewhere, then some will choose to go elsewhere. If the U.S. Government and the State of Alaska are to continue to depend on the high caliber of workers we now enjoy, we must maintain competitiveness with other areas of the nation. Federal COLA is just one example but it is an important example. It simply makes no sense to lower the compensation of these people making decisions vital to our future. I think the federal government should take another closer look at the federal COLA formula for Alaska and re-adjust it to more accurately reflect reality.

I would ask this committee to favorably act on this Resolution.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

INTRODUCTION OF RESOLUTIONS (Senate)

N. Pacific
Chinook
Salmon

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 70, by Senator Ziegler. Resolution states that since 1977, "the fishery management plan and amendments implemented by the Secretary of Commerce under the Fishery Conservation and Management Act of 1976 have resulted in substantial reductions in the harvest of chinook salmon in the fishery conservation zone on the coast of Southeast Alaska . . . and . . . in 1981, Alaska commercial fishermen suffered more than a 10 percent reduction from the 1980 allowable harvest of chinook salmon." States that at the January meeting of the NPFMC it was tentatively decided to direct the Nat. Marine Fisheries Office, Alaska Region, to manage the Yakutat-S.E. Alaska chinook salmon fishery at the lower end of the 1981 optimum yield range and that Canadian commercial fishermen have not experienced a comparable reduction.

Requests the North Pacific Fishery Management Council to direct the National Marine Fisheries Service, Alaska Region, to manage the Yakutat-Southeast Alaska chinook salmon fishery at the upper end of the 1981 optimum yield range. Requests the President to direct the Sec. of Commerce to disapprove amendments to the fishery management plan submitted by the NPFMC if the amendments reduce the harvest of chinook salmon in the Yakutat-S.E. Alaska Regional below the 1981 level. Also requests the President to direct American participants in salmon interception treaty negotiations with Canada to erect a speedy resolution of North Pacific salmon fishery issues.

Provides that copies be sent to the President, the Secretary of Commerce, the Chairman of the N. Pacific Fishery Mgmt. Council, and to the members of the Alaska Delegation in Congress.

Introduced February 15 and referred to Resources.

Federal
C-O-L-A

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 71, by Senators Kelly, Fischer, Ferguson, Bradley, Rodey, Stimson, Sturgulewski and Ziegler.

Urgently and respectfully requests the President to direct the Office of Personnel Management to obtain cost-of-living information from affected federal employees in Alaska and, based on that information, to recalculate the reductions in the cost-of-living allowance recommended over the past two years, so that the former level of allowance might be restored, thus allowing federal employees in Alaska to receive a more equitable and adequate cost-of-living allowance than they now receive. Provides that copies be sent to the President and to members of the Alaska delegation in Congress.

Introduced February 16 and referred to State Affairs.

WW II Arti-
facts
(removal from
state)

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 72, by Senator Bradley. Requests the federal government not to remove World War II artifacts from Alaska and to make them available for preservation in museums in the state. Also requests Congress to make it illegal to remove World War II artifacts from Alaska. Provides that copies be sent to George Bush, Vice President; Thomas O'Neill, Jr., Speaker of the House; the Secretaries of the Air Force, Navy, and Army; and to the members of the Alaska delegation in Congress. (See SB 740, page 181--same subject.)

Introd. 2-16 + referred State Affrs

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12/14/82

Neither Polish Nor a Solution

Yes, this is "it" — the long-feared suppression of the Polish people's rebellion against the Communist Party's monopoly on power.

For their acquiescence in defeat and cooperation in preventing bloodshed, Lech Walesa and Pope John Paul II might yet be able to soften the effects of the proclaimed martial law. For their willingness, even now, to keep on helping Poland, West Germany and the United States might obtain humane treatment for the fallen Solidarity leaders. There should be no doubt, however, that the Polish Government is now determined to decapitate the union opposition, to move against strikers with force and to summon the Polish army and, if it fails them, the Soviet army to put down insurrection.

The American leaders who found some initial comfort yesterday in the inactivity of Soviet tanks draw a pitiful distinction. This is no "Polish" solution. For months, the Soviet Union has demanded a crackdown, made to look exclusively Polish. But it could occur only with Soviet help. It requires the threat of Soviet intervention if Polish soldiers side with Solidarity. Only the rudeness of resisting Soviet forces may prevent massive civil disobedience.

Why, then, did General Jaruzelski wait until this moment?

Probably because he lacked a broad party consensus until some union leaders gave him the appearance of cause with new threats of political action. Mr. Walesa's overheard predictions of more "confronta-

tion" have been shrewdly exploited to portray the union as reckless against a patient and compromising Government. That may be enough to confuse a frightened Polish public and to give some credence to the General's overdrawn charge that "not days but hours separate us from a nationwide catastrophe."

But the evidence does not support his claim of crisis. It is true that in about half of Poland's provinces, union leaders were maneuvering to eject Communist officials from factory leadership positions. This winter's economic chaos, however, is more clearly attributable to shortages and inefficiencies than to strikes.

It is also true that a day of national protest had been called for next Thursday. But that was mainly a response to the Government's provocative threat to revoke the right to strike — the principal reform won by Solidarity at the start of its remarkable challenge 16 months ago.

The pretexts have an obvious propaganda value to the Government. Its actions, however, suggest weeks of careful planning. Nothing less could account for such details as military dress for television announcers, new censorship routines at the post office, the closing of gas stations and the proclamation of scores of regulations.

No doubt General Jaruzelski acted "with a broken heart." He is right to say that "none of Poland's problems can be solved by force." But force is what he has now invoked, challenging Poland to choose between bloody resistance and a demoralizing peace.

A Cold Stare at the Garden Ice

Nothing about New York's Madison Square Garden, with its slick, tacky sheen, suggests permanence — but no one thought its owners would close the place after a mere 13 years. That's what the Gulf and Western Corporation now threatens, because of mounting losses.

If the Garden closes, New York City will have no arena for hockey or basketball, or the circus and the ice show. City Hall would like to save these symbols of urbanity, but the Mayor and his Corporation Council, Allen Schwartz, are right to be taking a very hard look at the price of ice.

The arguments for subsidizing the Garden with public funds are not frivolous. In winning seasons, the Knicks and Rangers, owned by the Garden, stimulate spending, generate sales taxes and enter-

tracks and other O.T.B. outlets, and leave them clamoring for a rescue. Boxing, with its small playing surface, is a television natural and its promoters no longer need to pay high Garden rentals.

Without other reliable sources of revenue, the city and state could not turn a losing private business into an affordable government enterprise. New York borrowed funds to keep two baseball and two football teams at Yankee and Shea Stadiums. One football team nonetheless moved away and the returns now do not even cover the debt service. The symbolic importance of keeping New York a two-team baseball city may justify a deal already made. The Garden's symbolic importance is much smaller.

Its losses reflect economic tides not easily reversed. The Meadowlands in New Jersey and the Nassau Coliseum reflect a national experience: an

To the Editor:
Please spare us yet another simplistic "Japan Inc." and their application to the U.S. The Dec. 3 letter titled "Tech Needs a Command" waves again the blood of Japan's competitive challenge greater U.S. Government interest in the management of technology.

Those who lack public-sector experience in the policy process in Tokyo are generally fail to understand critical flaws in the "Japan rationale for U.S. Government intervention in American industrial

First, the Japanese Government is not the primary force in Japanese commercial and technological development. However comforting this may be for American managers, it competed unsuccessfully in Japan, it is simply not correct, over, it is extremely dangerous for U.S. to underestimate the strength of Japan's industrial structure and Japanese private sector.

Second, given the enormous investments faced by American in managing technological change, it is absurd to suggest that the process could be better managed in Washington. Even more da- the suggestion that this role

The Case of a C

To the Editor:

Tom Wicker's two-part "Threatened Harvest" (Nov 27) makes a compelling case for tillage farming. I've been using a method for years on my patch at home and have almost no soil erosion. It also saves of manual tilling. Perhaps by this, my wife remains unconvinced. Reading Mr. Wicker's however, I developed a burning curiosity to learn where all this eroded soil disappeared to. Soil loosened by conventional planting can either gully away and go into orbit or get washed away by rivulets and streams to the ocean. We will be fusion and fusion are not for work here.

Assuming soil is a prisoner of windstorms, must large tribute eroded soil, so that far soil blows over to farmer B, versus. Some fraction — small, gullies — will escape if deposited in a river or stream, but can still

Limits to the Green

To the Editor:

In the chorus of protest from local and national officials, as well as the public, of hardships resulting from the administration's program of paring Federal aid programs and emphasizing upon the "new federalism," there is a strong implication that some Government has resour-

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Waiting for Walesa

With Poland sealed off, one can only imagine the fateful conversations between General Jaruzelski and Lech Walesa, the Solidarity leader he holds in "respected" custody.

J: I plead with you to plead with the people to go to work, to end the defiance of authority, to save us from bloodshed, to avoid testing the army's loyalty, to spare us from Soviet tanks. Help make Poland whole again.

W: I cannot plead with or speak for people with whom I am not allowed to communicate. You cannot invoke authority over workers with whom you refuse to negotiate. You can silence the people and arrest their leaders. You can force them, on pain of hunger, or death, to move their shovels and turn the machines. But that won't lift their spirits and make them productive.

J: We have exhausted what you call negotiation. No day has been free of strikes and new demands. You were not content to correct mistakes or improve the methods of petition. Election reforms were not good enough. Your hotheads demand political power, even supremacy over the Party. That is impossible. Poland is bankrupt. No reforms will have meaning until the people produce enough to sustain themselves.

W: Not Poland but the system is bankrupt. How can people produce when it yields them so little? How can the majority work well when the fruits go to a minority living in bourgeois elegance?

J: It is too late to debate the causes of this crisis. I blame both the chicken and the egg. I have detained not only your reckless associates but also the corrupt sponsors of evil in the previous regime. I implore you

now to bid the people to work, to accept authority and my promise of continued reform when conditions permit.

W: The Government does not lack for hotheads. It is too easy to blame extremists, on either side. The people will work well only if they have confidence in the leadership and in the plans for progress. And for that they need to have their chosen representatives read the ledgers and help make the rules. They will not believe in words, even mine.

J: The measures I have taken may appear extreme, but you must know that they are designed to head off worse. Solidarity is suspended, but not outlawed. Its leaders are detained, not arrested. The emergency can be temporary if patriots will pull together. Poland's destiny is Socialist and Soviet. But there is still time to avoid open conflict and foreign intervention. Go to work and, with your blessing, the West will sustain us through the winter and let us demonstrate that we can pay our way and build a new order—together.

W: Whatever I could say in these circumstances will appear to be a betrayal to save my skin. You ask for my trust, but you do not trust me and Solidarity. Ours is not a movement of agitators whose removal will clear the air. It is the working people who rebelled and recognized their power to influence their destiny. Do not misjudge their mood by their confusion of one day, or week.

J: I understand their frustration and their anger. That is why I beg you to speak out for order, before blood is spilled. Have you not heard the Pope's prayer? Do you not value mine? The people await your guidance.

Limp Progress on Foreign Aid

The Reagan Administration deserves some credit for winning House passage of an \$11.5 billion foreign aid appropriation, and particularly \$725 million for the World Bank's soft-loan window. These compromise sums are far from adequate, however, to support America's wide-ranging objectives around the world.

At least the Administration has reversed its own initial hostility to foreign aid. The success in the House, against Republican opposition, should finally assure a regular appropriation for the first time in three years; stalemates in 1980 and 1981 led to "continuing resolutions" that limited aid spending to about the 1979 levels, despite inflation.

And the \$725 million for the International Development Association is crucial to stimulating \$12 billion in exports by 34 nations for interest-free 50-year

pledged. Thereafter they are likely to fall short of the \$5 billion to \$6 billion the World Bank seeks to offset inflation and encourage further development.

Recession and budget stringencies are used to justify U.S. cutbacks. But recession only increases the importance of foreign aid. Developing countries buy one-third of America's exports. Each dollar the U.S. gives to the I.D.A. evokes almost three from other donors and stimulates the world economy far more than domestic spending.

Yet the United States now ranks 13th among the 17 industrial democracies that give development assistance. As a percentage of gross national product, American aid has declined to one-fourth of 1 percent—half as much as was provided in the Eisenhower and Kennedy years and now exceeding only the contributions of Austria, Finland, Switzerland

alde Max Friedersdorf as general in Bermuda (new story) is not a demanding post and no harm there. His staff will work, and he can entertain politicians taking a well-deserved rest from the rigors of cutting well-merited, school lunches and the like.

Mr. Friedersdorf is not being a political "listening" post like war, a financial reporting post in Zurich or a commercial post in Amsterdam. A comfortable coast is a fine way for unwanted senior to start a "new career." Davy Crockett for Florence, and Richard for Bordeaux!

The career Foreign Service is important, among other things, to provide continuity and coherence in foreign policy, to avoid dramatic changes between one Administration and the next. Conservatives have forced the President to adhere to this concept (about 40 percent of his ambassadorial appointments have been from outside the career) but he has moved adroitly.

An heir to the Johnson's Wealth at the Court of St. James's, a magnate in Belgium or an actor in Mexico are hardly likely to alter the course of United States

Let Long Island Run Their Railroad

To the Editor:

Your Dec. 5 editorial "Half-Fair Deeds on Transit" minutely illustrates what is wrong with Metropolitan Transportation Authority and its attitude toward the Long Island Rail Road.

You talk about Mayor Koch's on-again effort to take over day operations of the Transit Authority and criticize elected officials for giving credit for good service and blame for poor service. To the two State Assembly sponsors of the bill to split the L.I.R.R. from the M.T.A., your ignoring the Long Island legislators; both states, mirrors the M.T.A.'s attitude toward its poor stepchild; the L.I.R.R.

Other newspapers have numerous times that many officials and candidates for political office as well as commuter groups in Suffolk to run the L.I.R.R. from the M.T.A., which is presently interested in New York City subway. Those efforts have received attention from the M.T.A. and New York media.

We are most concerned about the appointment of an ombudsman. Koch to monitor the M.T.A. actions will mean increased attention at the Transit Authority and less for the railroad.

Recently, we held a public hearing on the subject, at which extremely money was presented about the neglect of its commuter service in Long Island. Mayor Koch and New York City officials vacillate on taking respon-

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a position taken by the Cardinal, who wrote the letter in his capacity as military vicar. The controversy also exemplifies the deepening concern over the arms buildup by Pope John Paul II and other prominent Catholics in Europe and the United States.

Among the supporters of the protest is the Intercommunity Center for Justice and Peace, a coalition of the 33 major

Continued on Page B5, Column 1

J.N. Council Votes on Annexation Illegal

17 — Council Resolution 338, which was adopted after the 1973 Middle East War.

Resolution 338 referred to an earlier one, Resolution 242, which called for Israel's withdrawal from territories occupied in the 1967 war and supported the right of "every state" in the Middle East to live within secure boundaries.

Syria objected to this implicit recognition of Israel's right to exist. But, eager to gain American support, the Syrian delegation came up with a counterproposal that referred instead to "relevant Security Council resolutions." After a flurry of phone calls to Washington and Damascus, the proposal was accepted by the United States.

The resolution also called for the Council to meet again no later than Jan. 5 to consider "appropriate measures" if Israel failed to comply. Council members said these could include a cutoff in trade. But diplomats here do not believe

Continued on Page A3, Column 4

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A Letter From Warsaw

'Fear Can Come Back as Quickly as a Door Slamming'

Following is a letter received yesterday from John Darton, Warsaw bureau chief of The New York Times, addressed to Robert B. Semple Jr., the paper's foreign editor. Normal communications from Warsaw have been shut by the authorities since Sunday.

Dec. 16, 1981

Dear Bob

At least twice in the past 24 hours the official Polish press agency has used the word "normalization" to apply to events here. For Poles and other East Europeans this is a dreaded code word.

"Normalization" is what happened to Czechoslovakia after a Warsaw Pact invasion crushed the "Prague Spring" of 1968. In the peculiar jargon of Communist officials, in which words can mean their opposite, it is the restoration of orthodox authority. To people it is the almost unbearably painful process of watching the dismantlement, piece by piece, of freedom and liberties painstakingly won.

A major part in that process is fear, and fear, it is clear, has become of the new military Poland. [As written.] It is strange; perhaps the one defining trait of the Polish "renewal" of the past 18 months was the absence of fear.

A Calculated Campaign of Intimidation

With a massive show of manpower and equipment and a calculated campaign of intimidation, the military authorities here are trying to break the spirit of resistance of the workers' movement.

Yesterday evening, a caravan of 273 police cars, trucks, water cannons and other hardware moved slowly through the city at rush hour. Thousands of onlookers were forced back on the sidewalks, dark figures waiting on dirty snow banks and trees in the cold. It seemed a parade of brute force.

This morning at an early hour three secret policemen barged into the small apartment of a Polish journalist. They insisted that he sign a document asserting that he would no longer "act in a manner to oppose socialism in Poland." He resisted and was bundled

away. His wife pleaded with the policemen as they dragged him down the stairs. One of them responded, "Don't worry, we'll be back tomorrow for you to sign it."

The fear campaign is working in some respects. Already people open their doors just a crack, to inspect who is there. They play the radio loudly while talking, or set the water running — old devices from the Stalinist 1950's to foil the eavesdropper.

For someone who has lived here for almost three years, it is as if a door that was gradually opened has been suddenly shut.

'You're Being Observed'

"I can't see you now," whispers a Polish friend, as he answers his door and steps into the hallway, closing it behind him. "Didn't you hear? I was detained. I just got out. I'm sure you're being observed."

"We can't talk here," says another Polish friend standing in a stairwell, with a glance at a man nearby, who said he was a taxi driver waiting for a customer. He may, or may not, have been listening.

It takes a long time for fear to go away, weeks, or months even, in which people slowly learn that they can speak out or, emboldened by others, write more forcefully and honestly in the newspapers. But fear can come back as quickly as a door slamming.

Overwhelming Show of Force

The full extent of the strike protest to the imposition of martial law cannot be determined with all communications down all over the country. But in areas where foreign journalists have been able to reach, factories in the Warsaw region, what broke the backbone of the protest was fear. The authorities mounted an overwhelming show of force — surrounding factories with tanks and armored cars and simply waiting for darkness and curfew to unsettle the demonstrators inside.

Workers who gave up said afterwards that they felt

Continued on Page A16, Column 1

jured when troops dis-
trators.

Tanks Reported

Kjell E. Stokkeland, electronic specialist with Lenin shipyard, in Gdansk when he left the city that 30 tanks were assembled in a refinery where workers were being driven out.

He and a Greek technician in the shipyard said they who had gathered in for installation were driven out Wednesday. "He was dropping it, and police gas masks were thrown

Continued on Page A

INSID

Mining Planned

The Interior Department to open five national reserves to mining for minerals and oil and gas. Page A33.

St. Patrick's Par

The St. Patrick's Day after all, be held on Feb. 17, the saint's day the Sunday before. Page

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News Summary and Index

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tion among the Soviet-bloc leaders will come over the next two days, when they gather here for the 75th birthday of Leonid I. Brezhnev on Saturday. Three of the guests — Gustav Husak of Czechoslovakia, Janos Kadar of Hungary and Yumzhagin Tsedenbal of Mongolia — arrived today.

The degree of Soviet concern not to be

tion as a Polish initiative.

Kulikov's Visit to Warsaw Recalled

The Soviet press agency has also avoided commenting on reports out of Warsaw that Marshal Viktor G. Kulikov of the Soviet Union, who is the commander in chief of Warsaw Pact forces, was in the Polish capital last Friday.

shooting it through guns, the Greek said.

The two witnesses said that the troops and riot policemen had not used other force against the workers and that the workers fled after the tear gas barrage. This morning, Mr. Stokkeland said, the shipyard seemed empty of workers, the

A Letter From Warsaw 2/13

Continued From Page A1

isolated, with no idea of what was going on in other parts of the country. They were worn down, sometimes hungry, and began thinking of their children. Women among them began weeping. When the troops and policemen burst in, they were offered a chance to leave unharmed, if they would separate themselves from their leaders.

"We really had no other choice," said one worker at the Huta Warszawa steel mill. "They had live ammunition and their guns were raised. They seemed as scared as we were."

In other regions, resistance is still going on and some workers are apparently determined to repel an armed attack. But what the outcome will be cannot even be guessed.

'Will Have to Eat Their Words'

"Poles always called the Czechs cowards for not resisting in '68," said one foreign visitor here who travels frequently throughout Eastern Europe. "Now they will have to eat their words. The Czechs were invaded by five armies, the Poles did it all by themselves."

A major factor in the ease with which military rule has been established so far is the Polish love and respect for the army. The army, like the flag and church, is a symbol of nationalism.

"All this time we were all looking at the army and saying that because it is mostly made up of conscripts it might not be loyal to the government," said one European diplomat. "What we didn't see was the other side of the coin. Because the army contains so many sons and brothers, people were reluctant to move against it."

The most telling scene in the capital over the past three days, perhaps, occurred yesterday morning when busloads of soldiers moved into the Polish Academy of Sciences to break up a strike by some of the country's most eminent thinkers. The crowd was sul-

len and angry as the troops led away men in rumpled suits and spectacles and loaded them into a bus. But no one even threw a snowball. Minutes afterward, a truckload of soldiers goes past and, surprisingly, some of them waved to the crowd, for all the world like liberating soldiers, not agents of repression.

The military decree that was promulgated the morning after the army moved in was Draconian, and it was prominently displayed on posters and the two newspapers allowed to publish. Penalties range from two years to death, for seemingly minor infractions. It simply overwhelmed people.

Soldiers posted at intersections throughout the city turned cars away and let others through, rerouting traffic without any logical rhyme or reason. It was effective psychological harassment.

'The Time for True Courage'

One Polish journalist, sitting at a cafe and talking to a foreign colleague with a nervous glance over his shoulder from time to time, displayed the demoralization and depression that most Poles seem to be feeling. It was, he said, the intellectuals who would feel the backlash. All his journalist friends, he said, were now out of work. One by one, he predicted, new newspapers would open up and one by one his friends would be offered jobs, if they were judged reliable. "Now comes the time for true courage," he said, "I wonder how many will measure up. It's either that or going to the work center for a job as a street cleaner."

"We are back to 1951 and '52," he continued, referring to the Stalinist years. "It would take us 20 years to rebuild what we had here."

Solidarity, he suggested, has talked a great line, but at no time over the past 16 months did the union really prepare a plan to counter a massive display of force. It was not envisaged that things could turn around so quickly, he said. Nor was it even thought that fear could come back so quickly.

Yours sincerely,
John Darniton

Describing the clash at a mine near Katowice, the witness said "a group of irresponsible some of whom are not employed mine, organized a strike" and despite warnings from the Polish and from Government prosecutors. Security forces sent to the mine attacked with stones, crow axes, according to the Polish government broadcast. The radio said were employed "by troops, but no details. "Seven people were and 39 civilians were injured" attacked the representatives who were performing their duty.

Warnings of Swift Punishment. Other radio broadcasts today indicated that the authorities broken up strikes at a hosiery plant in Lodz, in central Poland; at a steel plant at Cracow, in southern Poland, and at a coal mine in eastern Poland, near the Soviet border. The Polish authorities stern warnings of swift punishment anyone who participated in demonstrations commemorating the 10th anniversary of riots in Gdansk and other cities. Those riots led to the downfall of Edward Gomułka as the Polish Communist Party leader in 1970.

The Roman Catholic Church, speaking out strongly today against the curtailment of rights under martial law. The radio said Polish bishops had the release of Lech Walesa, the Solidarity union, who has been held in isolation at a guesthouse on the southern edge of Warsaw. The bishops were having said Mr. Walesa was indispensable for national unity.

In a statement issued by Archbishop Jozef Glemp, who is the primate of Poland, and other bishops called for "the freeing of the people held by the Government."

Radio broadcasts from Warsaw indicated a suspension of normal civil procedures, a severe curtailment of civil rights, new restrictions and the rationing of electricity and other fuel.

A television broadcast de-

Excerpts From Some Domestic Radio and Television Broadcasts

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 17. — Following are excerpts from domestic Polish radio and television broadcasts as transcribed and translated from the Polish by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service, a United States Government agency.

Seven Killed at Mine

6 P.M. Thursday
(Noon Thursday, E.S.T.)

the unusually complex situation calls for the highest sense of responsibility. The requirements of martial law, the legal order that derives from it, should be, in the name of calm and the security of the state and citizens, strictly observed. Violation of this order leads to events which are tragic in their consequences. These casualties were unnecessary. Human life has too great a value for the instigators of unrest and disturbances to threaten it through actions which are irresponsible and contrary to martial law. An investigation into these affairs is being conducted by

were not looking for confrontation, for martial law was proclaimed for the very purpose of avoiding confrontation. Even when members of the forces of order began to fall with serious wounds under the blows of chains, kicks and stones, attempts were still made to appeal to reason. It was no longer any good. Firearms were only used when there was a clear need for self-defense.

The authorities will not retreat since there is nowhere to retreat. Provocation has no future in Poland. Socialism will not be overthrown but

Economic Refo

6 P.M. Thursday
(Noon Thursday, E.S.T.)

The military council of the Salvation sets the Government's task of quickly adapting to the management system to that of martial law. It confirms its will to carry out a profound and comprehensive economic reformation in accordance with the directions of the S.E.J.M. of the Polish public. It stresses that the turn — not can there be

The Cry From Poland

The unofficial news now trickling out of Poland speaks volumes. The Catholic bishops describe an "entire nation terrorized by military force." The Times's John Darnton writes of a social order shattered by palpable fear. The Polish people are suffering a new kind of "atomic" attack — the isolation of every individual from every other so that in lonely desperation, millions might yield up the liberties won only over decades.

The news not heard from Poland is equally revealing. Three or four days of parading his power was all that General Jaruzelski should have needed to prove himself Polish first and Communist second — to show the will and freedom to persuade moderate church and union leaders to help him restore a productive order. Lech Walesa and Archbishop Glemp would then have appeared at his side to counsel discipline and nonviolence. The roads of Poland would have been thrown open so that all could observe the regime's control, or at least the people's acquiescence.

Instead, the ominous blackout continues. Even in arrest and isolation, not a single leader of Solidarity has been given terms or hope enough to be entrusted with a microphone, or even telephone. Their silence is an unmistakable cry to resist, at least in spirit and conscience. So is the church's remarkable manifesto calling the freedom of Mr. Walesa and other union leaders an "indispensable" condition of peace.

General Jaruzelski has lost the gamble that "Polish hands will not spill Polish blood." To demoralize his people further, he is reduced to boasting

about the loyalty of the security forces that finally opened fire. But for that, he must also advertise the fact of resistance. Now the contest is for the conscience of the soldiers. Yet even if they pass his test, what can the general expect of the workers when they sullenly carry their wrenches back to work? And if they do not sabotage his machines, how well can they perform under such duress?

President Reagan has eloquently expressed America's revulsion at these events. He is right to blame the Soviet Union first of all and to eliminate the distinction that his spokesmen had been making between Warsaw's massive repression and Moscow's direct intervention.

The President was also right to declare a moratorium on economic aid to Poland until civil and union rights are restored. The Warsaw radio had begun to crow about the applause of Western bankers, whose only concern this week seemed to be the \$30 billion that Poland owes.

The Polish economy is shattered and so is the pretense that new loans and rolling over old ones can prevent default. Aid to Poland from now on will be what it always should have been: a political instrument by which to keep encouraging evolutionary change in the Communist system.

The catastrophic failures of that system threaten not only the well-being of the Polish people. They inspire brutalities that jeopardize Poland's relations with all civilized peoples and, inevitably, the peace of Europe.

A Haitian Freeze

A Christmas plum to Attorney General William French Smith. His Justice Department has not abandoned the idea of sending illegal immigrants who have fled Haiti to detention at Icy Fort Drum, N.Y. But now it says it won't do so, at least not during the dead of winter.

To hold poor, desperate people from the tropics in a camp near the Canadian border, where the temperature yesterday morning was 12 degrees, would be callous. "Siberia," some people say. So we're all for Mr. Smith's conclusion, even though we don't exactly follow his logic.

The Attorney General observes that 1,021 illegal Haitian migrants were caught entering the country in November 1980, while in November of this year the number was only 47. That, he says, shows that the Administration's policy of intercepting and detaining Haitians is "working remarkably well." And it means existing detention camps in Florida and elsewhere can handle all the Haitian illegals; the Fort Drum plan can be deferred.

But the numbers can also be read another way — not as a sign that the fear of freezing deters migration but that illegal Haitian entrants are struggling much harder to avoid capture. If they were caught in November 1980, nothing awful happened. They were

allowed to stay, even work, pending a hearing on whether they were legitimately entitled to refugee status. Now everyone who is caught is put in a detention camp.

There is another set of relevant new numbers. They show that in fiscal 1981 503 Haitians applied for asylum, as refugees. Compare that with 36,296 Cubans, 7,138 Iranians, 4,111 Nicaraguans, 1,670 Poles, 992 Ethiopians. All told, 63,202 foreigners asked for asylum.

Why make such a fuss over only a few hundred black Haitians, especially when doing so is sure to engender accusations of racism?

There are two answers. One is technical: most of the Haitians got here illegally and, when caught, are detained for fear of encouraging more illegals. Most of the asylum applicants from other countries came in legally, as students or visitors, but overstayed. That is a lesser transgression than sneaking in; they need not be detained.

Pending remedial action by Congress, there is another, less technical answer: make less of a fuss over the Haitians. The interim decision on Fort Drum is a welcome step in that direction.

states, such as Mali, Libya.

In any event, King Ha did not drive hundreds of Saharans from their vil in the initial stages of (1975-76), Moroccan tr patched to the country and return to their ho who had fled from the wa

If the Moroccan are fronted only by Polisar the Western Sahara would into insignificance

What Byrne Did To South Jersey

To the Editor:

As you correctly state Byrne's Record" (editorial popularity is at rock bottom been a long time since higher in South Jersey. Florio's defeat has been part to his failure to put r between himself and Byrne fore failed to get the gre South Jersey votes he exp

However, if, as you say tax has stabilized proper must have done so in place our town. In 1978, our tax \$1,250; they are now \$1,900 you call stabilization? We the same house all along, try to keep it maintained ability to do so has not be Mr. Byrne's accomplishment

Yes, he took over the bus cost \$42 million rather than lion we were told it would ments to service in South from very little to none at a pay a higher fare now. Philadelphia is \$2. Two year \$1.35, and Transport of 1 then owned by Public Serv & Gas, paid taxes on its fact

If Mr. Byrne brought skill and integrity to Trenton, many, if not most of us, who Trenton that he was su using those noble attributes the benefit of North Jersey certainly kept most, if no "benefits" of his regime including Brendan Byrne Ari

JOHN F. Willingboro, N.J.

Honored by Mo

To the Editor:

A Dec. 9 editorial Topic John Reed is the only American in the Kremlin wall. This is least, two other Americans there: Charles E. Ruth died in Chicago in 1977, and Haywood, who died in Moscow Ruthenberg was a founder Communist Party. Big Bi was a founder of the Industri of the World (I.W.W.). In Haywood, half his ashes were in Waldheim cemetery, Chi

ARTHUR

Melt the Garbage Mountains

What to Do On Poland?

By Flora Lewis

PARIS, Dec. 17—The trickle of information from militarized Poland has been enough to make two things clear.

First, the coup was well prepared, even to timing. Reports from Gdansk show it began before Solidarity voted its last resolutions. Some people named by the Warsaw radio as arrested are actually in the U.S.; the list was an old one. Soviet "non-interference" is a myth. Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski himself said he was acting to protect Polish sovereignty, a barely veiled admission of a Soviet ultimatum.

Second, the military dictatorship's promise of return to "renewal" of Polish society is empty. Of course the country cannot go back to pre-1980. It collapsed under 35 years of misrule. The regime's unwillingness and inability to deal with its people without force has been proved. Solidarity's early demands were modest, escalating when rulers showed they would respond to nothing but the most insistent pressure.

But neither have the generals, mostly Soviet-trained, brought room for reconciliation. Massive arrests, the banning of organizations that had nothing to do with the union, such as Catholic groups and the association of university rectors, reveal a will to destroy all popular representation.

When and if the military "terminates" its rule as pledged, to whom will it hand power? The fact that organs of repression remained fully in place, untouched by Solidarity's achievements, is now starkly highlighted. The union and its supporters built a parallel structure that was dazzling and aroused profound echoes among the people, but the oppressive power was never dismantled.

There remains the Communist Party—deeply shaken, self-purged by defection of the relatively moderate fraction, purged of a few discarded and discredited incompetents. Never before has a ruling Communist apparatus been taken over by its uniformed comrades. But where can that?

It appears that Jaruzelski's idea of "renewal" is simply renewal of the apparatus, replacement of one nomenklatura (the secret list of people eligible for responsible jobs) by another more vigorous but with the same goal of monopoly power.

Janos Kadar did manage a fairly effective renewal of his Communist Party after Hungary's 1956 revolution. But there are two key reasons why

ter century of Polish experience has killed illusions about the system's capacity for reform.

The other is alienation of intellectuals. Mr. Kadar's turning point came when he reversed the old Stalinist slogan of "He who is not with us is against us" to an acceptance of all who did not actively resist. Gradually, competent people agreed to seek improvements within the limits imposed, and indulgence of their efforts persuaded others to participate.

General Jaruzelski and his junta may enforce a dead "order," but there is no question of law. They cannot revive Poland's productive capacity without help from such people. Almost all have been swept into prison. However ardent his patriotism, the military ruler has turned against the well-springs of the nation's vitality.

What is the West to do? I would make a distinction between Government and public reactions, just as Poles have always had to distinguish between "reasons of state" and feelings. There should be no damper on widespread voicing of outrage. The more protests the better.

Woe to us all if fatigue and distraction are allowed to erode our instinctive revulsion. It is especially the duty of American and European unions to sustain sensitive attention to the Polish workers' call for "solidarity with Solidarity." In the fall of 1980 it was unwise for American labor, though well-intentioned, to speak more loudly than the Poles. Today Poles are muzzled. It is time to shout.

Western governments, and private bankers, should immediately suspend credits and aid to Poland, except for whatever foodstuffs and medicine can be distributed directly, not through the regime. The word is suspend, not cancel, for there is leverage only as long as a chance for easement exists.

The proper condition for restoring a flow of funds is cold self-interest: therefore in no way interference. The West cannot pour money into Poland until its leaders create conditions for its people to work productively—impossible with guns and bulging jails.

As for relations with the Russians, the fiction of Moscow's non-interference deserves a hard squint. There cannot be business and courtesies as usual, but again leverage should be preserved by judicious though initially limited measures.

Whatever happens, though, the nascent arms reduction talks with Moscow must be preserved. Reducing the danger of nuclear war, especially in time of crisis, is in everybody's interest. Excessive reliance on the nuclear deterrent is a major reason for Western impotence now. To extend it risks shattering the Western alliance. Poland should spur both Western Europe and the U.S. to concentrate more on conventional defense.

the homage to mankind's lousy ideas, in Poland all these positive, exemplary, copybook values were, quite unexpectedly, devalued. Out of the blue, they were prostituted and dragged the venerable corpse of the republic straight to the bottom like a millstone.

We're well aware of what happened and why. Our historiographers have taken precise soundings of the vertebral column of Polish history. They have brought to light all manner of defects, faults, and degeneration. We know that our "golden freedom" was our undoing. That fierce, mad adherence to the freedoms of the individual citizen, the autonomy and independence of the person. All our troubles stem from that unbri-dled freedom.

Like a bad pupil, like a dunce in the corner, like street hooligans, we are used as an example by the wise and bearded historiographers of our exemplary neighbors, who, instead of submerging themselves in freedom, making a god and a religion of it, build strong, despotic states based on tyranny, the staunch superiority of the state over the confused individual, a cult of crushing individuals in the name of the genocidal goals of mighty Molochs. Our history envies our beheaded neighbors with their lawless states, the ultimate captivity of the thinking beings called by biologists, our fellow historians, *Homo sapiens*.

But to bell with that unfulfilled career of despots and tyrants. To bell with that unrealized role of the gendarme in Europe. To bell with that abortive summoning of defenseless individuals and entire helpless nations to the hangman.

What is it that we should be ashamed of? A fondness for freedom? Even though it was a foolish, mad, total, anarchistic, provincial freedom, the freedom which leads to ruin.

I know, I know. I know full well those ominous examples of our golden freedom which gave rise to our nation's entire chain of misfortunes and tragedies, I see the immensity of the evil born out of old-time, Sarmatian, noble, selfish, nihilistic, unthinking, lone-wolf, egotistical Polish freedom. But had we been a disciplined; ordered; antlike society of the Anglo-Saxon variety, would we have been spared by acquisitive despots, would our aggressive, totalitarian neighbors not have quartered our corpse? For nobility will always succumb to villainy, virtue fall at the feet of crime, freedom perish at the hands of the unfree. Though one may equally say that righteousness will conquer sin, good be victorious over evil, freedom triumph over slavery. But let us remember that the good is free like a cloud in the sky and that evil is swift as lightning.

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Tadeusz Konwicki, a novelist, lives in Poland. These are excerpts from the forthcoming novel "The Polish Complex," translated by Richard Lounie.

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Rendering of The Morgan Library c. 1902



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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

10

by all nations.

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

12

WHEREAS the unleashing of nuclear weapons in warfare would cause untold

13

deaths, suffering, and destruction; and

14

WHEREAS the continued development, testing, and production of nuclear

15

weaponry and related delivery systems increase distrust and apprehension

16

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

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tude of any international conflict; and

18

WHEREAS the burgeoning defense budget required for production and deploy-

19

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

20

WHEREAS governmental spending for nuclear weaponry and related delivery

21

systems may be spent more wisely in peaceful pursuits;

22

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

24

other nations

25

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

26

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

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to deliver nuclear weapons;

28

(2) verification safeguards for the freeze that are satisfactory

29

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 and 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.

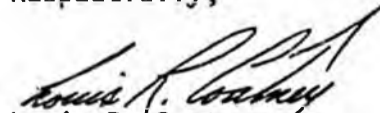
I also have been dissatisfied by the Reagan Administration's attitude about nuclear war. However, if the Alaska State Senate passes a resolution concerning nuclear/gas/germ weaponry, I ask that it be a resolution of complete support for the Administration in its efforts to assure parity and direct verification 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 Szecheny, Chairman
Senate State Affairs Committee
Juneau, Alaska 99811

Dear Senator Szecheny,

I am delighted that Senator Eason
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 the country
but the entire world, I am proud
that the State of Alaska would consider
such a timely and progressive stand
in the world.
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.

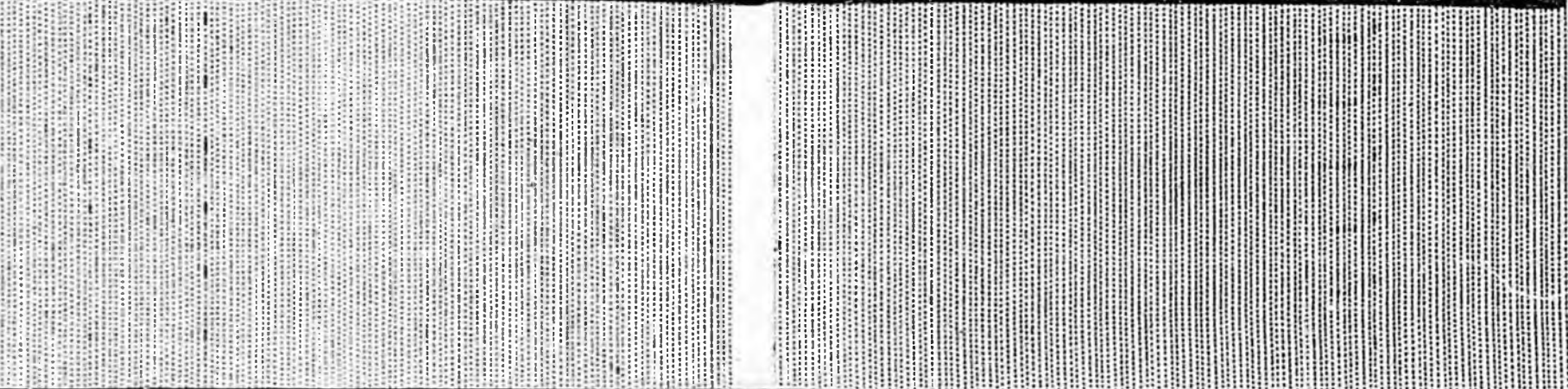
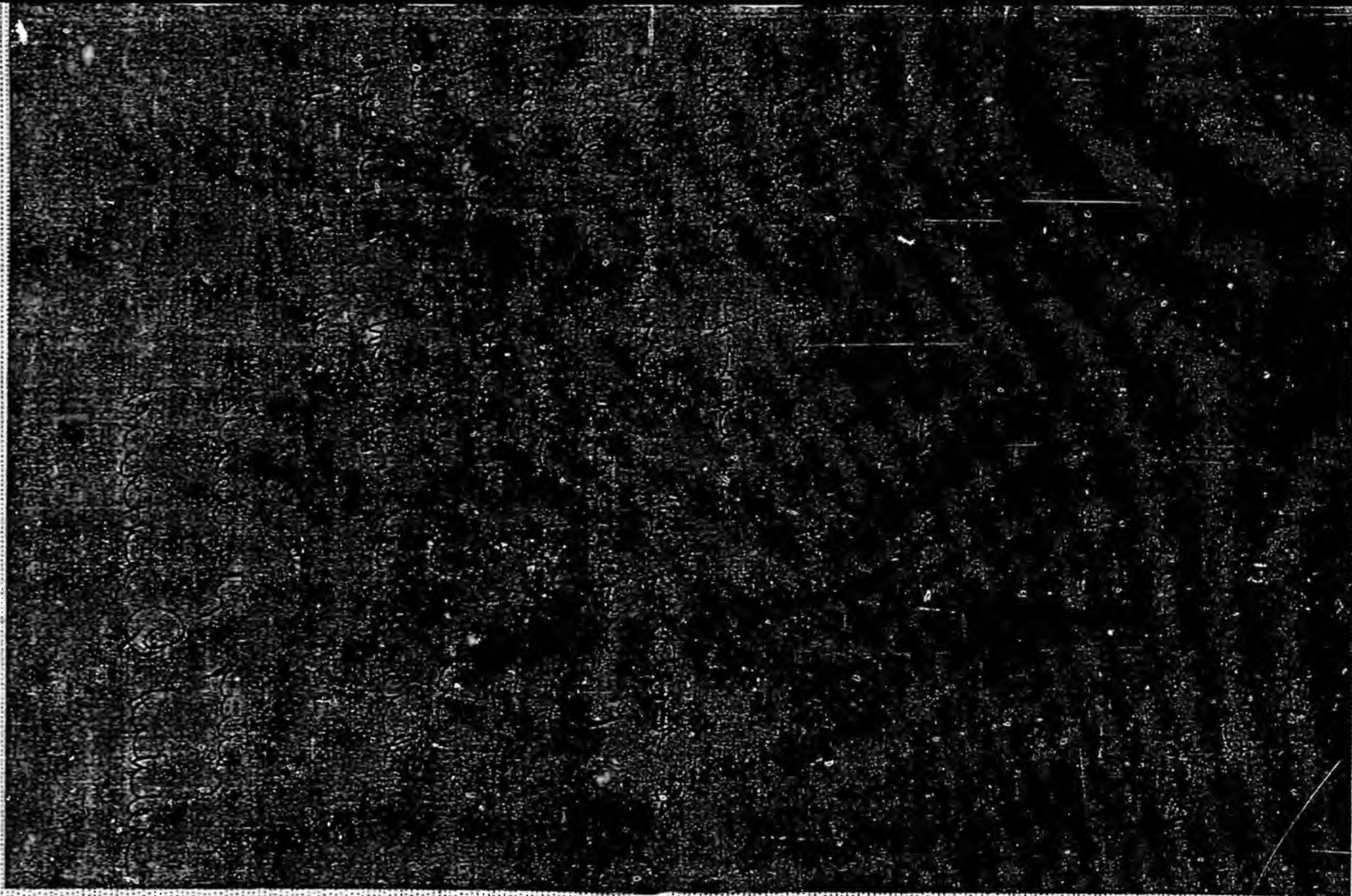
This idea is gaining momentum worldwide, and I wish to express my personal support while encouraging you to do the same. Through an understanding of the use of nuclear weapons to ostensibly increase our security one becomes aware of their profound negative effect on our economy and society.

Is utter destruction a plausible solution to resolving conflicts?

Sincerely,

D. Gellhouse
Dennis Gellhouse

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ORIGINAL.

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Senate State Affairs Committee
POUCH V
Juneau, Alaska 99811

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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

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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.