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1 Publishing Strategy

one hour

Ron Burr - Journal
Jim Whelan - newspaper

how often to publish
kinds of publication
creating a climate for successful marketing

Market analysis

officially funded group status

Don't start too small

2

Legal Advice

1/2 hr

Bill Lehrfeld
1301 ... Wash. DC
specialist
in student
publication

501 C 3

incorporation

label laws

3

Organizational structure

1 hr Pat Korfes
or Mark Huber

Advisory Board

job description

Lines of authority

4 Budget ^{1 hr} Nat Levenson
Partworth
Kainew
Ed. vs Activism

5 Fundraising } half
Foundation - seed money }
- grantsmanship }
Mumuk - Steve Mancik - Princeton - hour
Advertising -> Budget Herald - hour
Student Loans } half & half

6a Editorial
Context - name of publication
Editorial Policy - Educational vs Activism
Campus news
Sports
Editorials
Letters to Editor
Syndicated column
Satire
Calendar of Events
Photos
~~Educational~~
Op Ed
Cartoons

for check list of possible features

Journal -> Patricia Buckley
Newspaper -> Steve Mancik
-> Stan Ewan
-> Steve Mottle
-> Tyrrell
-> Greg F.
-> Budget Herald
-> Ted Higgins

6b How to ^{learn how to} write a good article - Mark Tapscott

5^o Consequences of style
Hunt
Buckley
Sobran
Tom Bethel &

- Big name(s)
Bob Kaplan
Mark Lilla - Public Interest
Eric Eidman - was at Harvard
Lofton
Rusher
Buckley - writing obsessively
W. D.
John Adlams

Jeffrey Hunt

7 Production

Layout

Composition

Printing categories

Suppliers

Printing sheets

Distribution

Graphics

1 1/2

Tony Sandata - H. Events

Don Sawyer - GPO

4

8 Recruitment

start of

attrition of Leadership

Leadership training

Eric Young - UC - San Diego

Badger Herald

9. Coping w/ opponents - G Fossel

→ Andie Navaroso

→ Pat Korter

10 Success Stories - Greg F.
- Budget
- Yale Alternative - Tony Dolan

10 Worst Case Scenario - Satine
- Peter Keister

11 Exercise

Exam on crisis situations - Admin. tries to shut
~~you~~ you down

- Cut this budget
by \$60,000

where cut & why

- One month plan of action

- Theoretical News story

- ~~Ball~~ ~~Camp~~ Health fair

Academic prose
to edit for
publication

Critique Leftist

- Student Activities

Budget

CRNK

VAF

ISI

LI

SBA

USIC/EF

NR

Am. Spectator

ACUERT

Human Events

Council for Coordinated Action

Nat. Cent. for Public Policy Research

Nat. Cong. Club/coalition for freedom

Battle Line

NCPC

CSFC school groups

Coalition for Peace & Security (trusts)

Reason Youth Staff list

Cous. members of Cong.

Kington list vs.

plugging in existing ^{vs.} Campus Newspaper

World Research Int.

John KWAPISZ
2555 N. Prospect Ave
Milwaukee, WI 53211
414-332-9868
774-6308

WISCONSIN CITIZENS' COMMITTEE FOR PEACE WITH FREEDOM

STATEMENT OPPOSING THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS FREEZE REFERENDUM ON THE
WIS, STATE BALLOT, SEPT. 14

The preservation of peace with freedom and the prevention of nuclear war are important goals which we strongly support. In the context of these goals, we believe that the proposed U.S. - Soviet nuclear weapons freeze would be dangerous to the security and freedom of the United States and to peace in various parts of the world. Such a freeze now would lock the U.S. into its present position of strategic nuclear inferiority in relation to the Soviet Union, and thereby encourage Soviet adventurism, aggression, and nuclear blackmail. Furthermore, this strategic military imbalance (both offensive and defensive) favoring the Soviet Union would eliminate any significant incentive for the Soviets to engage in balanced and fair nuclear arms reduction with the United States, a goal which we also strongly support.

Therefore, Wisconsin Citizens for Peace with Freedom join with others, such as the National Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, in opposing this nuclear weapons freeze proposal and, in the interests of preserving peace with freedom, we urge all Wisconsin citizens to vote against the Freeze referendum on Sept. 14.

WISCONSIN CITIZENS' COMMITTEE FOR PEACE WITH FREEDOM MEMBERS -- 7/29
AND ENDORSERS

General R. A. Matera
Wis. National Guard

Victor Hinze, Executive Dtr
Wis. Vets of Foreign Wars

Prof. Gordon Baldwin
UW Law School

Prof. John Armstrong
Political Science
UW-Madison

Rev. Craig Smith
Milton, WI

Harold Fuller
DePere

John Kwapisz, Atty
Milwaukee

George Watts
George Watts & Sons
Milwaukee

Ron Stevens
Allis Chalmers
Milwaukee

Richard Boltz
UAW Local 95
Whitewater

Helen Bie
Republican National
Committeewoman
Green Bay

Prof. Stanley Payne
Chm History Dept.
UW-Madison

Rev. Keith Bulthuis
Christian Reformed Church
Madison

J. Curtis McKay
Kohler General Corp.
Sheyboygan Falls

Rev. Richard Sisson
Middleton Baptist Church

Greggar Smedal, President
Reserve Officers Association, Wis.
Ft. Atkinson

Monsignor Alphonse Popek, pastor
Our Lady Queen of Peace parish

Jack Steinhilber, Atty.
Oshkosh

Chris Swain, Chairman
Wis. Federation of College Republicans

Bill Hitzeman, Executive Dtr
Wis. Property Owners Association
Mt. Horeb

Doris Moir
Madison

Theodore Vogel, Vogel & Associates
Milwaukee

Robert Zigman
Milwaukee

Thomas Machaj, Chm
Young Americans for Freedom of Wis.
Madison

I. Andrew Rader
Chm of the Bd, Allen-Bradley

Prof. Jay Sykes
Dept. of Mass Communication, UWM
former Chm, Wis. ACLU

WISCONSIN CITIZENS' COMMITTEE FOR PEACE WITH FREEDOM

Box 1677

Milwaukee, WI 53201

7/30/82

FOR IMMEDIATE
RELEASE

CONTACT:

John Kwapisz
414-332-9868
774-6308

George Watts
414-276-6352

WIS. PRO-DEFENSE GROUP OPPOSES NUCLEAR FREEZE REFERENDUM,
CHIDES DREYFUS

The newly formed Wisconsin Citizens' Committee for Peace with Freedom issued a statement Friday opposing the Nuclear Weapons Freeze advisory referendum which is on the Wisconsin ballot this Sept. 14, and saying that the plan "would be dangerous to the security and freedom of the United States and to peace in various parts of the world." It also urged Wisconsin citizens to vote against the freeze referendum.

At a news conference Friday the administrative coordinator of the group, Milwaukee attorney John Kwapisz, also expressed concern over Governor Dreyfus' recently announced support for the referendum, commenting that "his statement reveals, at best, confusion over the facts and issues related to the Freeze idea, particularly the fact of the present and growing Soviet military superiority over the United States. For example, the presumptions of a stable balance of power today and of U.S. nuclear overkill have today become little more than myths. The sooner we recognize them as such, the safer we and our country will be. The Governor appears to have been misled on these matters."

"However," Kwapisz added, "we are hopeful that once he has had an opportunity to obtain and review all the facts about this serious issue, the Governor will change his position on the referendum."

The Committee statement asserts that such a nuclear freeze now "would lock the U.S. into its present position of strategic nuclear inferiority in relation to the Soviet Union, and thereby encourage Soviet adventurism, aggression, and nuclear blackmail." Furthermore, it says, "this strategic imbalance (both offensive and defensive) favoring the Soviet Union would eliminate any significant incentive for the Soviets to engage in balanced and fair nuclear arms reduction with the United States," a goal for which the Committee expresses strong support. President Reagan has made similar comments about a companion freeze proposal now in Congress.

-MORE-

To Mort B.

The Wisconsin referendum calls on the President and Congress to strive to agree with the Soviet Union on a mutual halt to the development and production of new nuclear weapons and systems. It would, as the pro-freeze literature points out, prohibit U.S. development and deployment of the cruise missile, the B-1 and the Stealth bombers, the M-X missile, and the advanced Trident submarine and nuclear missile, among others.

Spokesman Kwapisz noted that a recent ^(4/14/82) New Republic editorial against the nuclear freeze concluded that, "the freeze, pure and simple, would jeopardize deterrence," by preventing the U.S. from deploying some of the aforementioned systems. He also pointed out that the National Executive Council of the AFL-CIO has recently rejected the freeze idea and instead proposed a modified version of the never ratified SALT II treaty, which would permit America to develop and deploy already planned weapons systems, thereby putting pressure on the Soviets to agree to real and fair arms reductions. Kwapisz also stated that meaningful verification of a freeze on nuclear arms was impossible without on-site inspection, which the Soviets continue to reject.

COMMITTEE GOALS

The Citizens' Committee for Peace with Freedom was formed to help educate the public about the current need for a strong national defense and foreign policy. It will be locating and obtaining information, films, speakers, etc. for interested groups, schools, and individuals. The Committee will actively oppose the freeze referendum in the state. Current members and signers of the statement include Wisconsin National Guard General R. A. Matera, state leaders of veterans' groups, business leaders and lawyers, professors and college students, homemakers, clergy and local union members. (see attachment for names).

DEBATE CHALLENGE ISSUED

The group also challenged the Freeze campaign to a series of debates. Committee spokesman John Kwapisz announced that "we challenge the Freeze organizers to debate the facts and issues involved in the freeze proposal all across the state, on radio and TV and in the newspapers, as well as meetings."

Persons wishing to become members (\$5), or groups seeking information, speakers or films from the Committee should contact P.O.Box 1677, Milwaukee, WI 53201, Phone: John Kwapisz at 414-332-9868 or 774-6308.

How Could We Tell Whether the Soviets Were Honoring a Freeze?

A total ban like the Freeze is much easier to check and enforce than a partial or limited agreement because the **slightest** sign of testing or production would be quickly detected and bring worldwide attention and condemnation.

Inspection and detection equipment already exists, in place and in operation. Nuclear weapons research and production programs in the US and the USSR are impossible without massive shipments of material and personnel. Weapons testing creates enormous shock effects and bursts of radiation. Both countries have satellites sophisticated enough to read car license plates on the ground below and earthquake sensors that are able to pick up ordinary construction explosions. Monitoring a Freeze would be no problem.

Why Should We Freeze Nuclear Weapons Now?

Currently American and Soviet nuclear forces are at approximately equal strength. The further development of nuclear weapons technology will not only add to the total amount of destructive potential, but would also destabilize the current standoff and make verification and detection more difficult. If we neglect this opportunity now we may **never** get another.

We believe that an immediate halt to the production and placement of additional nuclear weapons is a practical and necessary first step to decreasing the possibility of nuclear war. Once both superpowers have stopped producing nuclear weapons and delivery systems tension would ease and negotiations on nuclear arms reductions would have a real chance of success.

ARMS RACE-SEPT 14 FREEZE THE NUCLEAR VOTE YES

WISCONSIN NUCLEAR WEAPONS FREEZE CAMPAIGN, 520 University Ave. #320, Madison, WI 53703
(608)251-0587



On September 14, in the State Primary Election, Wisconsin voters will see this on their ballot:

"Shall the Secretary of State of Wisconsin inform the President and the Congress of the United States that it is the desire of the people of Wisconsin to have the government of the United States work vigorously to negotiate a mutual nuclear weapons moratorium and reduction, with appropriate verification, with the Soviet Union and other nations?"

Because Nobody Wants A Nuclear War

WHY A "YES" VOTE IS SO IMPORTANT

Both the United States and the Soviet Union possess enough nuclear weaponry to annihilate the other's entire population many times over. The threat of nuclear war, either deliberate or accidental, is increasing--and more weaponry will only increase this threat.

A nuclear war would inflict death and untold suffering on millions of innocent people. Our air, land, and water would be poisoned with radiation for centuries. This is awful enough to contemplate--but the nuclear arms race also hurts us now. As Dwight Eisenhower said, "This world in arms is not spending money alone--it is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, the houses of its children." At a time when millions are out of work, including many here in Wisconsin, the sanity of spending billions of dollars on additional nuclear weaponry at the expense of our domestic economy must be questioned.

The Wisconsin nuclear weapons referendum is one way to express a clear opinion on this issue. Wisconsin's referendum will be the first in the United States to be voted on in a statewide election. Over 300 town meetings in New England have already approved similar statements, and at least two other states will have nuclear freeze resolutions on their November election ballots. With so much momentum building behind this effort to halt the nuclear arms race, an election victory in Wisconsin this September is crucial! Your help is needed to assure that Wisconsin voters answer the above referendum with a resounding YES.

The Wisconsin Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign is currently dedicating its efforts to passage of the referendum, and supports other proposals to end the nuclear arms race. We welcome anyone who shares our concerns to contribute and participate in the Campaign.

there is something you can do !

1. Passing the Freeze Referendum in September is crucial to convincing our government that the people want to avoid a Nuclear War--so help in any way you can.
2. Offer your help at the Wisconsin Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign office. You can take responsibility to activate your community or neighborhood organization; we have packets available to help you.
3. Contribute money--as much as you can--as soon as you can. We are setting up a statewide educational network, the State Clearinghouse for the Freeze. . .we are starting from Cash Zero!
4. Sign the Referendum Petition, and circulate it for signatures. Distribute bumperstickers, flyers, pins, etc.
5. Wear a sky blue ribbon and/or tie a large one on your door or on a tree in your front yard. It will show your support of the Freeze, and is also a good conversation starter.
6. Contact your local/state representatives and those who are candidates. Get a clear statement from them on their views and how they will vote on the Referendum. Tell them why you are supporting the Referendum: We must prevent a nuclear disaster before it's too late.
7. Talk to your family and friends, your neighbors and work associates, about why you think a YES VOTE on the Referendum is crucial. In convincing people to VOTE YES, act as if your survival depends on it. IT DOES!
8. VOTE YES ON THE NUCLEAR FREEZE REFERENDUM ON SEPTEMBER 14.

VOTE YES

FILL OUT AND SEND TO: WNWFC, 520 University Ave, #320, Madison, WI 53703; (608)

251-0587.

Name _____ Street _____

City _____ ZIP _____ Phone () _____

I can contribute ___\$100 ___\$50 ___\$25 ___\$_____ THANK YOU!

___ I will sponsor a fundraising coffee in my home.

___ I will do telephone ___ or door-to-door ___ canvassing.

___ I will assist my local Freeze Committee in some capacity.

___ I will arrange for a speaker to appear for the Freeze in my organization.

___ I will wear a blue ribbon; I will display a blue ribbon on my home.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR SUPPORT! WE LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING WITH YOU!

file Nuclear freeze

BISHOPS, BOMBS, AND ABORTION: What's really going on with the United States Catholic Conference, its pastoral letter on nuclear arms, and the pro-life movement.

The pro-life movement has badly backfired on the American bishops. It has played a significant, and sometimes major, role in defeating a large and still expanding roster of liberal politicians: Clark, Culver, Bayh, McGovern, and the rest. It has made abortion a litmus test for presidential aspirants, as George Bush discovered ineptly in 1980, and as Kennedy found, in state after state, during the '80 primaries.

Worst of all, from the bishops' point of view, is the way the pro-life movement has drawn millions of Catholics (as well as evangelicals and others) into conservative ranks. For example, in 1981, while the bishops were writing to all Members of Congress, damning the Reagan budget/tax reductions and supporting the O'Neill "alternative budget," most pro-life organizations were working for the Administration's proposal. For several years, the bishops' bureaucracy has agonized about this situation. And in the meantime, they have continued their hostility toward pro-life conservatives, particularly Senator Helms.

The first indication of their way out of their self-made trap on the abortion issue was an op ed piece in the Washington Post, March 8, 1982, by Senator Patrick Leahy, a pro-abortion "Catholic" who had been targeted by pro-lifers in 1980, but without success. (ATTACHMENTS 1 and 2) Leahy's piece is brilliant, and should be read in its entirety. Note especially his closing paragraph, and the comment by Hesburgh.

It should have been no surprise, a few months later, when Washington's Bishop Hickey -- the militant leader of the El Salvador activists among the bishops -- launched his own peace crusade in the D.C. Archdiocese, that the only member of Congress chosen to participate, to advise, to lecture, to instruct all senior clergy and church officials was . . . Senator Patrick Leahy.

The El Salvador crusade among the Catholic leftist clergy/nuns prefigured the later alignment on the nuclear issue. See ATTACHMENT 3, from the Congressional Quarterly. Note the reference to the abortion issue. Note also the praise from Congressman Michael Barnes. Barnes also happens to be one of NARAL's leaders in the Congress. Also important is the role of Fr. Brian Hehir in the El Salvador controversy.

Now we switch back to the abortion fight in the Senate in August-September, 1982. ATTACHMENT 4 is an amazing memo from the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, simply lying about President Reagan's role (and that of his Administration) in the pro-life lobbying efforts to assist Senator Helms. The outrage in pro-life circles over this memo led to an apologetic phone call from Cardinal Krol to President Reagan early in October.

But the Bishops' crowd were still at it. ATTACHMENT 5 is a speech by one of their long-time stalwarts in the Congress, Senator Tom Eagleton of Missouri. A pro-life vote (who never takes an initiative on the issue) and solid liberal, Eagleton is the USCC's kind of guy on abortion. Note that his speech is really nothing more than a personal attack on . . . Senator Helms. Note too that it was given under the auspices of the Catholic Archdiocese of St. Louis. The real pro-lifers of Missouri -- Missouri Citizens for Life -- would have booed Eagleton off the stage. Most important, this speech is now being mass-mailed across the country by USCC officials. Clearly, it is their outline for the future:

- *attack Helms, severe pro-life ties with the Right
- *accept a state's rights amendment on abortion, thereby
 - (1) giving up the basic pro-life principle
 - (2) getting the issue out of the Congress for 1984
- *broaden "pro-life" to include things other than abortion.

Now, back to the bishops on nuclear arms. As Human Events has revealed (ATTACHMENT 6), parts of the bishops' draft statement on nuclear weapons have been taken from the speeches of . . . Fr. Brian Hehir, lately of the El Salvador crusade, who has worked so closely with the left-liberal congressional offices (which almost always are pro-abortion) on Central America and other "peace" initiatives.

IT IS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT TO NOTE THAT THE CRUCIAL LANGUAGE IN THE BISHOPS' DRAFT STATEMENT WAS TAKEN VERBATIM FROM THE KENNEDY-HATFIELD NUCLEAR FREEZE RESOLUTION, WHICH WAS REJECTED BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES EARLIER THIS YEAR. Interpret that coincidence in light of this one: ONE OF THE CHIEF THEOLOGICAL ADVISORS TO ARCHBISHOP HICKEY AND THE OTHER NO-NUKES BISHOPS IS FR. RICHARD MCCORMICK, ethicist extraordinary at the KENNEDY CENTER AT GEORGETOWN. McCormick is a clerical adjunct of the Kennedy clan, part of the Senator's extended entourage. He has been, on occasion, the voice for Catholic "moderation" on the abortion issue, opposing attempts by pro-lifers to impose their morals on everyone else, etc.

So we have one of Ted Kennedy's intimate church liberals fashioning for the bishops a statement which uses Kennedy's own words, from his anti-nuke resolution in the Congress, along with Fr. Hehir's recycled speeches.

How does this effect the pro-life movement? In the Washington Post, on November 2, Marjorie Hyer -- whose close personal relationship with the USCC leaders is well known -- let the cat out of the bag. SEE ATTACHMENT 7. This should be read carefully, for it is a remarkably candid expression of what the nuclear issue is all about: redefine pro-life to include disarmament, thereby making Teddy as "pro-life" as Jesse Helms, and stopping the drift of Catholic voters toward conservative candidates.

As if to confirm that interpretation, the bishops themselves, in their debate on this issue at their conference this week, repeatedly linked disarmament with abortion, insisting that they had to oppose nuclear weapons as part of their "pro-life" commitment.

Now we wait for the other shoe to fall: the bishops' decision, made for them by their USCC apparat, that they can live with a state's rights amendment on abortion, rather than a real Human Life Amendment. Ted Kennedy, Moynihan, Leahy, and the rest of their "Catholics might vote for that. Helms and other principled pro-lifers would not. But, then, Helms would be rated "0" by the bishops, and Teddy would be 100%, on both abortion and nuclear arms.

Fearless predictions:

1. Eagleton will introduce the USCC's states' rights constitutional amendment early next year, probably backed by Hatfield (of Kennedy-Hatfield resolution fame)
2. The USCC will flood parish pro-life organizations with anti-nuclear literature, using as "pro-life" spokesmen Catholic pro-abortion politicians, as a way of rehabilitating them. (By way of illustration, in Chicago, the "Call to Action" group, with close ties to Archbishop Bernardine, has just given its annual award, for exemplary Catholic political leadership, to State Senator Susan Catania, a hard-core pro-abortion leader in the State legislature.)
3. The USCC will especially go after Senator Helms, to destroy his credibility as the moral leader of the pro-life movement.
4. The pro-life movement will not give a damn. It knows the difference between a third trimester saline abortion and deployment of the MX-missile.

ROBERT K. DORNAN

27TH DISTRICT, CALIFORNIA

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SELECT COMMITTEE ON
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December 7, 1982

*file
Nuclear
freeze*

Dear Friend:

The nuclear freeze issue and movie star Paul Newman's naive claims on Soviet treaty compliance prompted me to direct my staff to study Soviet arms control behavior. This research led to the enclosed OPEN LETTER TO PAUL NEWMAN which includes a documented partial list of Soviet violations, deceptions and other measures calculated to circumvent arms control agreements.

U.S. Government policy has been to either deny or accept these constant Soviet efforts to evade arms control limitations. I am urging President Reagan to release any information of Soviet arms control "violations" that will not compromise our intelligence gathering procedures. It is my belief that if the American people are given the facts, they can informatively evaluate the Soviet past as a guide to help determine the future course of U.S. foreign policy.

America should have realistic expectations about the value of arms control. Arms control is a U.S. attempt to reduce national security threats; successful arms control would lower U.S. defense needs. Arms control is not a desired end in itself; arms control is only one attempted means to reduce U.S. defense requirements.

The Reagan Administration's attempts to achieve worthwhile arms control agreements show good faith and our willingness to reduce (not merely freeze) the defense needs of both sides. Unfortunately, if you look at past Soviet arms control behavior, the possibilities for such mutually beneficial agreements appear remote.

A good, verifiable, enforceable agreement is desirable. An agreement that lacks any one of these three key elements is not worth the paper it is written on. The naive belief that a nuclear freeze with the USSR would make the world safer is not based on these realities but on wishful thinking. A nuclear freeze lacks all three elements essential for a desirable agreement.

History is our only guide to the future and "those who ignore history are condemned to relive it." The record shows arms control has failed to check the awesome Soviet military buildup. The well intentioned freeze advocates remind me of Neville Chamberlain's naive offer of Sudetenland to Hitler in 1938. "Peace for our time" was proclaimed, followed shortly by World War II. "Peace Through Strength" can be the only way to insure the survival of the Free World as we move through the uncharted times ahead.

I am sharing this information with you because of the growing mood in the country again that the Soviets can be trusted. While this is my last communication to you as a U.S. Congressman, I will keep in touch in the future.

With my best regards,

ROBERT K. DORNAN
Member of Congress

OPEN LETTER TO PAUL NEWMAN

Dear Paul,

While most people realize that the Soviet Union cannot be trusted to keep arms control agreements, it is understandable why you feel the Soviets abide by treaties. If one were to look only at official U.S. statements on Soviet violations, it may appear that the U.S.S.R. has a good track record in complying with arms control agreements. There are three main reasons why this false impression has persisted and why people of good will such as yourself have been taken for a ride.

First, in order to obtain Soviet agreement on a Standing Consultative Commission (SCC) for airing alleged SALT violations, the U.S. had to agree that the proceedings would be "confidential." Hence, open official U.S. disclosure of Soviet SALT violations is rare.

Second, U.S. intelligence agencies often feel that it is best not to "go public" with successfully determined information of Soviet military activities. Announcing our knowledge of those activities may lead to changes in Soviet camouflage, concealment, and deception (CCD) procedures which could reduce our ability to ferret out such activities in the future.

Third, if an administration supports an arms control agreement, an announcement of Soviet violations would be an admission of a failure in its arms control policy, and hence call into question the success of its overall foreign policy. This leads administrations, Republican or Democratic, toward a policy of ignoring or, much worse, explaining away Soviet violations. For example, according to the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA), the Soviets proposed and the U.S. accepted a "Mistakes Understanding" concerning any violations of the Threshold Test Ban Treaty. The understanding was that "one or two slight, unintended breaches per year" are not to be considered violations.

For these three reasons, there are few official and public U.S. Government documentations of Soviet arms control violations. One does not need to look very hard though, to find numerous reports of Soviet violations, deceptions, and calculated measures to circumvent arms control limitations. Soviet activities have been uncovered by many officials, both in and out of our government. So that debate on the value of arms control can be based on reality and not on naive misperceptions, I am enclosing a partial list of Soviet "violations" that have been reported publicly. In addition, there are many violations that are known only by intelligence officials. And obviously, there are additional violations that are unknown even to Allied intelligence officials, i.e. cases where the Soviets have cheated so cleverly that they have not been caught. After all, our intelligence forces are not perfect.

The following list is divided into two columns of information. Column one gives a short description of Soviet Violations, Deceptions, and calculated measures to Circumvent arms control limitations (VDC's). Column two lists sources that report or discuss the specific Soviet action and/or capability that is mentioned in column one. For more information on a particular Soviet VDC, see the relevant arms control agreement and the sources from column two.

The list is organized as follows: Soviet VDC's are presented; then VDC's of other arms control agreements are outlined.

Note that each VDC is numbered for reference purposes only. The numbers represent different types of VDC's not the total quantity of all VDC's. For example, violation number one mentions the illegal deployment of 18 SS-9 ICBMs. Each SS-9 was a separate violation, for a total of 18 violations.

SALT

Violations

Sources

- 1) SS-9: illegal deployment of 18 SS-9 heavy ICBMs at Tyuratam test range during SALT I. This violated the SALT I limitation on ICBM launchers.

David S. Sullivan, Soviet SALT Deception, Coalition of Peace Through Strength, 1979, p. 7; Senator Jake Garn, "The Suppression of Information Concerning Soviet SALT Violations by the U.S. Government," Policy Review, No. 9, Summer 1979, p. 23; Senator Gordon J. Humphrey, "Analysis and Compliance Enforcement in SALT Verification," International Security Review, v. 5, Spring 1980, p. 4; "Soviet Violations of Arms Control Agreements," National Security Record, No. 45, May 1982, The Heritage Foundation, p. 2; Senator Steven Symms, Congressional Record, May 27, 1982, p. S 6357.

- 2) SS-11: deployment of this missile at a SS-4 Medium Range Ballistic Missile (MRBM) site is an instance of attempted deception and is a violation of the SALT I Treaty.

Humphrey, p. 6; "Soviet Violations of Arms Agreements," p. 2; Sullivan, p. 7.

- 3) SS-16: deployment of 40-220 of these mobile ICBMs violates SALT II provisions banning mobile ICBMs and violates SALT II limits on Strategic Nuclear Delivery Vehicles (SNDV's).

Humphrey, pp. 5, 7, 12; Sullivan, Soviet SALT Deception, p. 4; David Sullivan "A SALT Debate: Continued Soviet Deception," Strategic Review, v. 7, Fall 1979, p. 32, David Sullivan, "Lessons Learned From SALT I and II: New Objectives for SALT III," International Security Review, Vol. VI, No. III, Fall 1981, pp. 362, 368; "Soviet Violations of Arms Agreements," p. 2; Garn, p. 31; Michael Getler, "Government Experts Challenge Reports of Soviet SALT Violations," Washington Post, April 9, 1982; Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, "SALT ONE: Compliance," The Department of State Selected Documents, No. 7, February 1978, p. 10; "Soviets Violate SALT II," Human Events, April 17, 1982, p. 3.

- 4) SS-17: this ICBM was one of the heavy missile replacements for the light SS-11 ICBM. The SS-17 carries four times the warheads of a SS-11 and three to four times the throw weight. These replacements violate SALT I provisions prohibiting replacement of light ICBM launchers with heavies.

"Lessons Learned From SALT I and II: New Objectives for SALT III," p. 365; Lawrence K. Orr, "Soviet Violations of SALT I," Issues in Brief, November 16, 1979, pp. 2, 3, 4; Michael B. Donley, ed., The SALT Handbook, The Heritage Foundation, 1979 p. 62; M. Stanton Evans, "How We Ignore Moscow's Treaty Violations," Human Events, June 19, 1982, p. 7; Garn, pp. 14-20; Soviet SALT Deception, p. 3; Humphrey, p. 7

SALT

Violations

Sources

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- 5) SS-18: encoding of telemetry for this missile violates the agreements in both SALT I and SALT II to refrain from interfering with national technical means of verification. Soviet SALT Deception, p. 7; "Soviet Violations of Arms Agreements," p. 2.
-
- 6) SS-18: Rapid reload and refire exercises for the SS-18 have been reported; these exercises violate SALT II provisions prohibiting rapid reloads for ICBMs. Symms, p. S 6357; Clarence A. Robinson, Jr., "Soviet SALT Violations Feared," Aviation Week, September 22, 1980.
-
- 7) SS-19: this ICBM was one of the heavy replacements for the light SS-11 ICBM. The SS-19 carries six times the warheads and three to five times the throw weight of a SS-11. Deployment of the SS-19 violates SALT I provisions prohibiting replacement of light ICBM launchers with heavies. Donley, p. 62; Orr, pp. 2-4; "Lessons Learned From SALT I and II: New Objectives for SALT III," p. 361; Evans; "Soviet Violations of Arms Agreements," p. 2; Vance, p. 5; Robert J. Einhorn, "Treaty Compliance," Foreign Policy, Winter 1981-82, p. 30; Geoffrey Levitt, "Problems in the Verification and Enforcement of SALT Agreements in Light of the Record of Soviet Compliance With SALT I," Harvard International Law Journal, Vol. 22, No. 2, Spring 1981, pp. 385-386; Garn, pp. 14-20; Soviet SALT Deception, pp. 1-3, 5; Humphrey, pp. 3, 4, 7, 8, 14.
-
- 8) reintroduction of ICBM equipment to deactivated complexes: these measures violate dismantling or destruction requirements of the SALT Treaties. Humphrey, p. 13; Air Force magazine, January 1979, p. 18; "Soviet Violations of Arms Agreements," p. 2.
-
- 9) SS-NX-19: this sea launched cruise missile (SLCM) has had its telemetry encoded during tests which violates the agreements in both SALT I and SALT II forbidding interference with the national technical means of verification of the other party. Symms, p. S 6357; David S. Sullivan, The Bitter Fruit of SALT: A Record of Soviet Duplicity, Texas Policy Institute, (reprinted in the Congressional Record; May 13, 1982, p. S 5178.)
-
- 10) SS-NX-20: encoding of telemetry for this sea launched ballistic missile (SLBM) violates both the SALT I and SALT II accords on non-interference with national technical means of verification. "Soviet Violations Feared;" Daniel Southerland, "Are Soviets Violating SALT II Guidelines?" Christian Science Monitor, May 12, 1982, p. 1; Symms, p. S 6357.

SALT

Violations	Sources
11) excess old ICBM launchers were not dismantled as required with additional deployments of new SLBM launchers. In 1976 the Soviets admitted they were over the SALT I freeze limit and acted to rectify the situation after much delay. This violation consisted of going over the SALT I freeze limit by 41 launchers.	Orr, pp. 2, 6; "Soviet Violations of Arms Agreements," p. 2; Humphrey, pp. 4-13; <u>Soviet SALT Deception</u> , p. 7; Garn, p. 21; Levitt, p. 390; Vance, p. 7.
12) III X launch control silos: the Soviets built 150-200 of these silos in violation of the SALT I freeze on ICBM launchers.	Vance, pp. 4-5; Levitt, p. 386; Clarence A. Robinson, "Soviet Violations Detected," <u>Aviation Week</u> , October 21, 1974; Colin Gray, "SALT I Aftermath: Have the Soviets Been Cheating?" <u>Air Force</u> magazine, November 1975; Garn, p. 22; Humphrey, p. 8; "Soviet Violations of Arms Agreements," p. 2; Orr, pp. 2-3.
13) over SALT I limits on nuclear ballistic missile submarines (SSBNs): the Soviet violated the SALT I limit of 62 SSBNs. Some sources say the Soviets have more than 68 strategic submarines.	Orr, pp. 2, 6; "Soviet Violations of Arms Agreements," p. 2; Humphrey, p. 7; <u>Soviet SALT Deception</u> , p. 4.
14) SS-N-12: deployment of this sea launched cruise missile (SLCM) violates the protocol to the SALT II Treaty which prohibits deployment of SLCMs with ranges over 600 kilometers.	<u>The Military Balance 1982-1983</u> , The International Institute for Strategic Studies, London, 1982, lists two range figures for this SLCM: 550 kilometers and 1,000 kilometers; perhaps there are two versions of this SLCM.
15) SS-N-3: deployment of this SLCM violates the protocol to the SALT II Treaty which prohibits deployment of SLCMs with ranges in excess of 600 kilometers.	the range of this SLCM is 840 kilometers according to Donley, p. 132.
16) development of a tactical ABM has violated the ABM Treaty.	Humphrey, p.2.

SALT

Violations

Sources

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- 17) ABM radars on Kamchatka: this 1975 deployment violated the ABM Treaty of 1972. The Soviet Union merely informed the U.S. that Kamchatka had always been an ABM test site, and deployment of ABM radars at ABM tests sites was allowed. The problem here was that the Soviet Union did not tell the U.S. that Kamchatka was an ABM site when the ABM Treaty was signed.
- Garn, p. 25; Vance, p. 6; Orr, p. 10; Levitt, p. 383; Humphrey, p. 3; "Soviet Violations of Arms Agreements," p. 2; Soviet SALT Deception, p. 5; William R. Van Cleave, "SALT on the Eagle's Tail," Strategic Review, Spring 1976, p. 50.
-
- 18) blinding U.S. satellites with ground based lasers: this violates the SALT provisions that prohibit interference with national technical means of verification.
- Levitt, p. 388; Vance, pp. 9-10; Orr, pp. 5, 12; Philip J. Klass, "Anti-Satellite Laser Use Suspected," Aviation Week, December 8, 1975, p. 12.
-
- 19) SA-2: tests of this surface to air missile (SAM) in an ABM mode has violated the ABM Treaty.
- Garn, p. 26; Melvin Laird, "Arms Control: The Russians are Cheating," Reader's Digest, December 1977. (Laird was Nixon's first Secretary of Defense.)
-
- 20) failure to dismantle excess ABM test range launchers as required by the SCC violated the ABM Treaty.
- Soviet SALT Deception, p. 7; Humphrey, p. 2; Levitt, pp. 389-390; Vance, p. 6.
-
- 21) testing a movable ABM: these tests violate the ABM Treaty.
- Garn, p. 25; Vance, p. 10; Orr, p. 9; Laird, p. 4; "Soviet Violations of Arms Agreements," p. 2; Humphrey, p. 2; Van Cleave, p. 50.
-
- 22) deployment of ABM battle management radars: introduction of these radars violates the ABM Treaty.
- Orr, p. 9; "Soviet Violations of Arms Agreements," p. 2; Humphrey, p. 2.
-
- 23) SA-5: tests of this SAM in an ABM mode has violated the ABM Treaty.
- Humphrey, p. 2; "Soviet SALT Violations Feared;" Soviet Violations of Arms Agreements," p. 2; Levitt, p. 381; Orr, pp. 8-9; John D. Lofton, "Top Military Man at SALT Calls it Quits," Battle Line, July 1979; Robert Hotz, "The Case Against Kissinger," Aviation Week, December 8, 1975; Vance, p. 10; Einhorn, p. 30; Garn, p. 26; Laird.

SALT

Violations

Sources

24) SA-10: tests of this SAM in an ABM mode has violated the ABM Treaty.

Humphrey, p. 2.

25) Backfire: this bomber (which is not counted as a heavy bomber in the SALT II Treaty) has carried the AS-6 strategic (range over 600 kilometers) air launched cruise missile (ALCM); this violates the SALT II provision that prohibits non-heavy bombers from carrying strategic ALCMs.

"Soviet Violations of Arms Agreements," p. 3; "Soviet SALT Violations Feared," Getler; Donley, p. 123.

SALT

Deceptions

Sources

26) SS-11: deployment of this missile at a SS-4 MRBM site is an instance of attempted deception.

Humphrey, p. 6; "Soviet Violations of Arms Agreements," p. 2; Soviet SALT Deception, p. 7.

27) SS-16: this mobile ICBM was tested at night (in 1976) for deception purposes. Tests of the SS-16 have occurred above the arctic circle (not a common practice) to conceal information from U.S. monitors.

Soviet SALT Deception, p. 4; Garn, p. 31; Getler; "A SALT Debate: Continued Soviet Deception," p. 32; Southerland, pp. 1, 14; "Soviets Violate SALT II," p. 3; "How Russian Hides Its Missiles," Foreign Report, published by the Economist newspaper limited, London, March 5, 1981, p. 3; "Lessons Learned From SALT I and II: New Objectives for SALT III," pp. 362, 368; Orr, p. 12.

28) encoded telemetry: many Soviet missile tests have used this illegal (according to SALT) deception to make it difficult to determine the size number, and type of warheads.

for reports of encoding (or encryption) of telemetry for the SS-18, SS-NX-19 and SS-NX-20 see Soviet SALT Deception, p. 7; "Soviet Violations of Arms Agreements," p. 2; Symms, p. S 6357; The Bitter Fruit of SALT: A Record of Soviet Duplicity, (in the Congressional Record, May 13, 1982, p. S 5178); Southerland, p. 1; "Soviet Violations Feared."

29) the Soviet Union falsified the number of SSBNs and SLBMs deployed and under construction at the time of the SALT I freeze.

Humphrey, p. 4; Soviet SALT Deception, p. 3; "A SALT Debate: Continued Soviet Deception," pp. 31-32; "Lessons Learned From SALT I and II: New Objectives for SALT III," p. 362.

SALT

Deceptions

Sources

- 30) AS-3 and AS-6: Under SALT II, bombers that carry strategic ALCMs must be counted under Multiple Independently targeted Reentry Vehicles (MIRV) limits. The Soviets deceptively made the claim that none of their ALCMs had strategic range, so none of their bombers are counted as MIRVed. This claim is false since the AS-3 and AS-6 ALCMs are both strategic.
-
- 31) Bear: 105 of these heavy bombers are configured to carry the AS-3 strategic ALCM. The Soviets deceptively claimed no MIRVed heavy bombers in the SALT II data exchange.
-
- 32) concealment of missiles as they leave production plants: this deception circumvents SALT I and SALT II provisions that prohibit certain deliberate concealment measures.
-
- other measures to interfere with national technical means of verification include:
- 33) dummy roads, facilities, equipment, and launch sites.
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- 34) restriction of electronic emissions for air defense radars to prevent interception of data.
-
- 35) covered submarines with tarps to conceal the SLBM launcher count.
-
- 36) tunnels to conceal over 20 submarines.

Donley, p. 126; Soviet Military Power, the Department of Defense, p. 61; "Soviet Violations of Arms Agreements," p. 3.

Sullivan, in the Congressional Record, May 13, 1982, p. S 5179; Symms, p. S.6357.

"Soviet Violations of Arms Control Agreements," p. 2; Humphrey, p. 5; "How Russia Hides its Missiles," p. 3.

Orr, p. 10; Jack Anderson, "Soviet Subterfuge a SALT Concern," Washington Post, May 23, 1979; "How Russia Hides Its Missiles," p. 2.

Anderson; Orr, p. 10.

Orr, p. 10; Evans; "How Russia Hides Its Missiles," pp. 2-3; Levitt, p. 389; Humphrey, p. 5; Soviet SALT Deception, p. 4; "Soviet Violations of Arms Agreements," p. 2.

"Soviet Violations of Arms Agreements," p. 2; Soviet SALT Deception, p. 4; Humphrey, p. 5; "How Russia Hides Its Missiles," p. 2.

SALT

Deceptions	Sources
37) camouflaged factories producing missile and submarine components.	Orr, p. 10; Garn, p. 30; "How Russia Hides Its Missiles," p. 3; Levitt, p. 388; Clarence A. Robinson, Jr., "Soviets Hiding Submarine Work," <u>Aviation Week</u> , November 11, 1974; Humphrey, p. 5; <u>Soviet SALT Deception</u> , p. 4; "Soviet Violations of Arms Agreements," p. 2.
38) camouflaged missile launching sites.	Levitt, p. 388; Vance, pp. 7-8; "How Russia Hides Its Missiles," p. 2; Garn, p. 30; Orr, p. 10.
39) construction of dummy submarines.	Garn, p. 30; Evans; "How Russia Hides Its Missiles," p. 2; Humphrey, p. 5; <u>Soviet SALT Deception</u> , p. 4; "Soviet Violations of Arms Agreements," p. 2.
40) in addition to sending encoded telemetry back from their missiles, (see number 28) the Soviets may have sent deceptive <u>uncoded</u> telemetry.	Edward J. Epstein, "Soviet Missiles Can Fool Monitors," <u>Wall Street Journal</u> , October 18, 1982.
41) refusal to give data in SALT I: this deceptive uncooperative behavior allowed the Soviets to later argue that some alleged violations were based on "faulty" U.S. data. (e.g. see number 17).	according to national security advisor Henry Kissinger's White House press briefing on SALT I, June 15, 1972, "the Soviet Union has been extremely reluctant to specify precise numbers..." see <u>SALT I Reconsidered</u> , Institute of American Relations, 1979, p. 77 for these remarks.
42) SSBN geographical assymetry farce: the Soviet Union demanded and was granted the right to build more SSBNs than the U.S. during the SALT I freeze on total ICBM and SLBM launchers. This demand was accepted on the basis of a deceptive claim. The U.S. based some SSBNs overseas. The Soviets claim they should be given more submarines since U.S. submarines could hit Soviet targets while near their bases and Soviet submarines could not hit U.S. territory while near their bases. Soon after the SALT Treaty, the Soviets began testing a new long range SLBM which allows them to hit the U.S. while near home bases. Since the U.S. subsequently withdrew its	<u>Soviet SALT Deception</u> , pp. 3-4; "Lessons From SALT I and SALT II: New Objectives for SALT III," p. 362; "A SALT Debate: Continued Soviet Deception," p. 32; Donley, p. 83; the U.S. no longer has overseas home basing of SSBNs according to Senior Chief Riccio, Office of Naval Research.

SALT

Deceptions

Sources

- 42) (continued)
submarines from overseas bases, the geographical assymetry is actually the other way.
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- 43) Backfire: the Soviet Union has been deceptive in describing this bomber as medium range, in its claims that the Backfire does not have and will not be given the capability to strike targets in the U.S., and in the production rate. There is no doubt that the Backfire bomber (which can be refueled inflight) can attack targets in the U.S.
- Soviet SALT Deception, p. 7; Humphrey, p. 6; SALT II Reference Guide, The White House, Spring 1979; "Lessons Learned From SALT I and II: New Objectives for SALT III," pp. 364, 368; "A SALT Debate: Continued Soviet Deception," p. 37.
-
- 44) camouflage, concealment, and deception of ABM deactivation: these measures violate the SALT provisions that prohibit interference with national technical means of verification.
- Soviet SALT Deception, p. 7; Humphrey, p. 2; "Soviet Violations of Arms Agreements," p. 2.
-

SALT

Circumventions

Sources

- 45) SS-7: large numbers of old SS-7 heavy missiles at an unidentified installation circumvents the SALT I provisions requiring destruction or dismantling of old systems as they are replaced.
- Soviet SALT Deception, p. 7; Air Force magazine, September 1979, p. 24; Humphrey, p. 6.
-
- 46) SS-16: tests of this mobile ICBM circumvented Brezhnev's pledge to Nixon that the Soviet Union would not deploy a mobile ICBM.
- Soviet SALT Deception, p. 4; Garn, p. 31; "How Russia Hides Its Missiles," p. 2; "A SALT Debate: Continued Soviet Deception," p. 32; "Lessons Learned From SALT I and II: New Objectives for SALT III," p. 362; Getler; Orr, p. 12; Garn, p. 31; Humphrey, p. 5.
-
- 47) SS-18: simulated tests of this missile with more than ten warheads circumvents the SALT II limit of ten warheads on an ICBM.
- William E. Jackson, Jr., quoted by Southerland, p. 14.
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SALT

Circumventions

Sources

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- 48) SS-20: the Soviets have circumvented the SALT agreements with this missile which is called an intermediate range ballistic missile (IRBM) but which has ICBM range. The range of this missile (over 5,500 kilometers) should qualify it as an ICBM under SALT definitions. Encryption of the telemetry data in tests of this missile also circumvents the SALT agreements.
- "Soviet Violations of Arms Agreements," p. 2; Humphrey, p. 5; Symms, p. S 6357; Levitt, p. 387; Vance, p. 10; Orr, p. 5; Laird.
-
- 49) extra missiles have been stored: when the Soviet Union has replaced old missiles, it has kept them as a strategic reserve. This circumvents the stipulations of the SALT agreements which call for dismantling or destruction of ICBM launchers when replaced by new SLBM launchers.
- "Lessons Learned From SALT I and II: New Objectives for SALT III," p. 368; "Whither Arms Control?-II," Wall Street Journal, May 20, 1982, p. 26; Soviet SALT Deception, p. 7; Humphrey, p. 5; "Soviet Violations of Arms Agreements," p. 2; see also the Harold Brown Department of Defense Reports which mention these extra missiles.
-
- 50) Hotel SSBN: these submarines circumvented the SALT I Treaty; although equipped with SLBMs, these submarines were not counted under SALT limits.
- for a description of these submarines see Donley, pp. 93-101; The Military Balance 1982-83; or Jane's Fighting Ships.
-
- 51) Golf Ballistic Missile Submarine (SSB): these submarines also circumvented the SALT I limits; although these submarines carried SLBMs, they were not counted toward the Soviet limit of 62 ballistic missile submarines.
- for a description of these submarines see Donley, pp. 93-101; the Military Balance 1982-83, or Jane's Fighting Ships.
-
- 52) Cruise Missile Submarines (SSGN and SSG): the Soviets have 50 nuclear powered and 20 diesel powered cruise missile submarines that have circumvented the SALT limits. Most of these cruise missiles are nuclear capable.
- Soviet Military Power, p. 40; Donley, p. 132; "Soviet Violations of Arms Agreements," p. 3; "Lessons Learned From SALT I and SALT II: New Objectives for SALT III," p. 368.
-

SALT

Circumventions

Sources

- 53) development of two new ICBMs: SALT II only allows the deployment of one new ICBM. These developments then circumvent the SALT Treaty. Deployment of course would violate the Treaty.
-
- 54) concealment of missiles as they leave production plants: this deception circumvents SALT I and SALT II provisions that prohibit certain deliberate concealment measures.
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- 55) Anti-Satellite weapons (ASATs): these ASATs circumvent the SALT provisions that prohibit interference with national technical means of verification.
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- 56) Bear: Navy versions of this strategic heavy bomber circumvent SALT II limitations. While these aircraft are not counted, hundreds of junked B-52s are counted.
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- 57) testing illegal ABM radars (high powered) and developing illegal exotic technologies (e.g. beams and lasers) circumvents the ABM Treaty which prohibits the deployment of these measures.

William E. Jackson, Jr., p. 14.

"Soviet Violations of Arms Agreements," p. 2; Humphrey, p. 5; "How Russia Hides Its Missiles," p. 3.

Vance, p. 10; Levitt, p. 388; Clarence A. Robinson, Jr., "Soviets Push for Beam Weapon," Aviation Week, May 2, 1977.

Donley, p. 109; Soviet Military Power, p. 47; Soviet SALT Deception, p. 10.

Orr, p. 8; Evans; Garn, p. 24; Henry S. Bradsher, "Soviet ABM Setup Has Pentagon Concerned," Washington Star, February 16, 1977; Levitt, p. 384; Clarence A. Robinson, Jr., "Further Violations of SALT Seen," Aviation Week, February 3, 1975; Clarence A. Robinson, Jr., "Soviets Push for Beam Weapons," Humphrey, p. 2; Van Cleave, p. 50.

OUTER SPACE TREATY

Circumvention

Sources

- 58) Fractional Orbital Bombardment System (FOBs): the 18 SS-9 heavy ICBMs at the Tyuratam test range were designed to become a FOBs upon launch. This capability circumvented the Outer Space Treaty provisions prohibiting weapons of mass destruction in space.

Soviet SALT Deception, p. 7; Humphrey, p. 6.

ATMOSPHERIC TEST BAN MORATORIUM OF 1958

Violation	Sources
59) over 30 Soviet tests were conducted in the atmosphere in less than two months (beginning September 1, 1961.)	Kathleen Teltsch, "U.N., 87-11, Appeals to Soviet on Test," <u>New York Times</u> , October 28, 1961.

1962 CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS AGREEMENT

Violation	Sources
60) a few of the violations of the agreement which prohibits the stationing of offensive arms in Cuba are: ballistic missile submarines visiting Cienfuegos harbor; nuclear capable MIGs being given to Cuba; and a Soviet combat brigade stationed in Cuba.	There are numerous reports of these Soviet and Cuban activities; a few of these sources are: "Soviet Violations of Arms Agreements," p. 2; Humphrey, p. 7; <u>Soviet SALT Deception</u> , p. 8; <u>Air Force</u> magazine, September 1979, p. 22.

THRESHOLD TEST BAN TREATY

Violation	Sources
61) the Soviets have made many tests in violation of the 150 kiloton limit.	Einhorn, p. 31; "Soviet Violations of Arms Agreements," p. 1; "Soviet SALT Violations Feared;" Humphrey, p. 7; Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, "Violations of the Test Ban?" <u>Washington Post</u> , September 1979; <u>Soviet SALT Deception</u> , p. 8.

1973 AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE U.S.A. AND THE U.S.S.R. ON THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR

Violation	Sources
62) the Soviet Union failed to consult with the U.S. concerning the Arab-Israeli 1973 War and threatened to use force against a U.S. ally (i.e. Israel); these actions were violations of this Agreement.	"Soviet Violations of Arms Agreements," p. 2.

MUTUALLY BALANCED FORCE REDUCTION TALKS (MBFR)

Deception

Sources

- 63) Soviet deception and fabrication of Warsaw Pact force levels at these negotiations is the norm.

Soviet SALT Deception, p. 7.

BREZHNEV'S SS-20 PLEDGE

Violation

Sources

- 64) Brezhnev's March 1982 pledge to freeze Soviet deployments of SS-20s was nothing more than a propaganda ploy since the Soviet Union has deployed 40-50 SS-20s since that time and continues to introduce new SS-20 launchers at a rate of one every five days.

Secretary of Defense Weinberger announced this in an October 1982 issue of Il Tempo, an Italian newspaper; see also the Washington Post, October 16, 1982 for this report.

GENEVA PROTOCOL

Violation

Sources

- 65) Soviet use of lethal nerve gas on populations in Afghanistan violates this Treaty.

"Soviet Violations of Arms Agreements," p. 3; Chemical Warfare in Southeast Asia and Afghanistan, U.S. Department of State; Gloria Duffy, "Chemical Warfare: The Cloud of Doubt," Christian Science Monitor, January 26, 1982, p. 23.

BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION (BWC)

Violation

Sources

- 66) a 1979 anthrax epidemic (fatal to thousands) in Sverdlovsk, USSR, gives evidence that this Convention has been violated. An accidental explosion at a military installation that had been a suspected biological weapons production plant caused the epidemic. The Soviets deny this, but refuse to have discussions with the U.S. concerning this violation.

Einhorn, p. 32.

BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION (BWC)

Violation

Sources

67) the U.S. has put before the U.N. evidence collected in Southeast Asia that lethal chemical and biological warfare toxins have been used by Soviet supplied Vietnamese troops on people in Laos and Cambodia. Use of these toxins called "yellow rain" and "white rain" violate the BWC.

"Soviet Violations of Arms Agreements," p. 3; Chemical Warfare in Southeast Asia and Afghanistan, Einhorn, p. 32.

National Peace Through Strength Campaign

P. O. Box 1943
Montgomery, Alabama 36102
205/ 271-0788

February 25, 1983

Richard D. Sellers

Dear Friend:

National Coordinator

As the president of the National Forum Foundation, I cordially invite you to attend a Congressional reception for the Peace Through Strength Campaign on Monday, March 7 from 6-8 p.m. at the Capitol Hill Club, 300 First St., S.E.

Co-Chairman, Coalition
for Peace Through Strength

President, National
Forum Foundation

President, National
Forum Political
Action Committee

In addition to your participation I hope you will urge all Members of Congress to attend. I have personally invited over 200 Members.

The reception will be a major part of the Peace Through Strength Campaign's educational and lobbying activities March 7-8.

Thousands of individual from all 50 States will be in Washington during our campaign representing millions of Americans who believe in 'peace through strength', not unilateral disarmament.

The National Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign has their reception on the same night. Those Members of Congress for a freeze will certainly be at that reception.

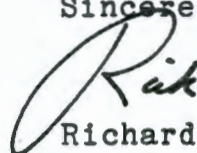
Since I announced on December 7, 1982 (attack on Pearl Harbor anniversary) a new initiative against the nuclear freeze, over 100 other national organizations have very actively joined in this effort.

This is a campaign we cannot afford to lose. I recently attended the Third Annual Conference of the Freeze Campaign and I want to inform the American people that the freeze movement only seeks U.S. unilateral disarmament. There was no discussion on how to reduce the Soviet military buildup, only three days of political planning on how to stop U.S. weapons. I hope you will join us on March 7-8 to participate in a constructive and strategic campaign for peace through strength.

Please RSVP to Becky Borders for the reception at 546-0017.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,



Richard D. Sellers

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Rees To Barron To Reagan

When Ronald Reagan told a gathering of veterans' groups in Columbus, Ohio, in early October that the nuclear freeze movement was being manipulated by those "who want the weakening of America," a cheer must have gone up in Pleasantville, New York. Pleasantville is the company town where one of the President's favorite magazines, *Reader's Digest*, is published. Just a few days earlier, a lengthy article by Senior Editor John Barron had appeared in the magazine saying much the same thing. Indeed, the message was so similar one wonders whether Reagan hadn't simply cribbed a line or two from the piece on the way in from the airport.

Reagan was not the first government official to promote the *Reader's Digest* story, which appeared under the headline, "The KGB's Magical War for 'Peace.'" On September 29, Alabama Senator Jeremiah Denton, chairman of the Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism, had the article read into the *Congressional Record* to buttress his charge made on the Senate floor that an organization called Peace Links, headed by Betty Bumpers, wife of Arkansas Senator Dale Bumpers, was being manipulated by communists. Although Peace Links was not specifically mentioned in the *Digest* article, the overall theme of his piece lent credence to Denton's claim that "KGB involvement in the so-called peace movement is well-documented."

That a statement may be "well-documented" is, of course, no test of its veracity. In the self-referential world of right-wing ideologues, the wildest accusations can often be backed up by endless citations of each others' work. As further so-called evidence of his allegations against Peace Links, Denton introduced some forty-five pages of material into the *Congressional Record* (at a total cost to taxpayers of \$21,420), including articles from two right-wing publications, *Information Digest* and *Western Goals Report*, both edited by John Rees, a former undercover operative. *Information Digest*, which Rees has been putting out since the late 1960's, traffics in unsubstantiated information about liberal and left-wing groups. It relies on a network of

informants around the country and is circulated to intelligence agencies on the local, state, and national levels. Its sister publication, *Western Goals Report*, is published by Western Goals Foundation, whose chairman is the arch-conservative Georgia Congressman, Larry McDonald.

Although neither of these publications has much credibility with the mainstream press, occasionally the information they contain finds its way into more legitimate outlets. This seems to have been the case with John Barron's article in *Reader's Digest*. Much of what Barron reports about the peace movement in the United States—accounts of meetings, quotes from speeches, backgrounds of individuals—seems to be taken directly from an article titled "The Soviet Peace Offensive" that appeared in the March 1, 1982, issue of *Western Goals Report*.

In one section, describing a meeting of the U.S. Peace Council in the fall of 1981, Barron writes: "Michael Myerson, a longtime communist functionary, asserted that the U.S. Peace Council had a unique responsibility to fuse the cause of disarmament with that of the Palestine Liberation Organization and guerrillas in El Salvador, Guatemala, Chile, and South Africa." Compare that with this excerpt from *Western Goals Report*: "Mike Myerson, who has been a CPUSA functionary since his student days some twenty years ago, emphasized the USPC and WPC's 'unique responsibility' of merging the fight for Western disarmament with provision of support to . . . revolutionary groups in El Salvador, Guatemala, Chile, South Africa, and the PLO."

Similarly, Barron's accounts of Mobilization for Survival meetings in October and December 1981, seem to rely almost exclusively—often quote for quote—on information compiled by John Rees. While some of this information, like that above, is fairly straightforward, much of it is based on hearsay and innuendo, the product of a conspiratorial mind that sees the presence of two people at a meeting as evidence that one does the other's bidding. Thus, Women Strike for Peace, because it opposed U.S. intervention in Vietnam, as did the Soviet Union, is branded a KGB front. And Terry Provan, the former disarmament director

of the American Friends Service Committee, is described in both *Information Digest* and *Reader's Digest* as a "World Peace Council activist" who participated in the founding of the U.S. Peace Council, when, it turns out, he is not a member of either organization.

The carelessness which can lead to the ever-widening circulation of unsubstantiated information can be seen in a related incident involving *The Washington Post*. In an October 6 editorial condemning both President Reagan and Senator Denton for red-baiting the freeze movement, the newspaper fell into a trap set by the very people it claimed to be criticizing. Among the documents introduced by Denton into the *Congressional Record* was a State Department report which called the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom a "well-known international front." By repeating this statement as fact—Stephen Rosenfeld, who wrote the editorial, acknowledged that the State Department publication was indeed his source of information on this point—and by advising Peace Links not to "abide the taint that even the slightest connection to a Soviet stooge group imparts," the *Post* accomplished in a single paragraph what Senator Denton had sought to do in forty-five pages.

Officials of the Women's International League met with the paper's editorial board and demanded a retraction. When the *Post* pushed the State Department for more evidence, it learned that the Soviet-front characterization was not intended to apply to the group's American chapter. Three days later, in an unusual follow-up editorial, the paper apologized, saying it did "not mean to suggest that any of the groups advising Peace Links is a Soviet stooge." (This was, of course, exactly what it had meant to suggest.)

While the *Post* deserves some credit for pulling back, reporters and editors would do well to remember what tripped up the paper in the first place. Thirty years after another senator, Joseph McCarthy, suckered the press with "evidence" that communists had infiltrated the government, many in the media seem to have forgotten just how easily they can be manipulated—not by the KGB, but by their own elected leaders. □

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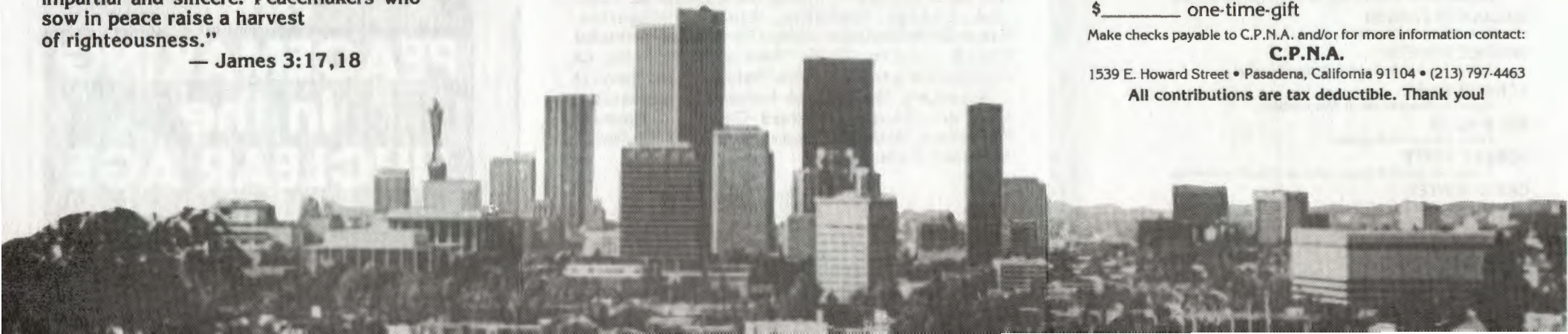
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At 8:15 A.M., August 6, 1945, a single U.S. plane flew over Hiroshima, Japan, and dropped a single bomb—the first of the nuclear age.

Evangelicals Jump with Both Feet into Debate on Nuclear Arms

A controversial book published this month and a conference slated for next spring highlight the new momentum.

Mushroom clouds have billowed on the covers of news magazines and, increasingly, in the imaginations of millions of ordinary citizens worldwide. The "wars and rumors of wars" Christ prophesied have always been fearful, but the fear and rumor of nuclear war eclipses any foreboding about "conventional" warfare.

The Fate of the Earth, an examination of nuclear war's horror by a *New Yorker* editor, is one of the year's most debated books. Antinuclear peace demonstrations have occurred internationally. In America, churches have taken an active role in the nuclear disarmament movement. Roman Catholic bishops have denounced the arms race. Several major Protestant denominations have endorsed a nuclear arms freeze.

Until now, however, evangelical participation has been spotty and indistinct. That may be changing in upcoming months. Sure to provoke discussion is a book to be published late

this month by a respected evangelical publisher, InterVarsity Press. Ronald Sider's and Richard Taylor's *Nuclear Holocaust and Christian Hope* is biblically grounded, something evangelicals like. But the authors' conclusions—calling, among other things, for nuclear disarmament and the building of a nonmilitary defense system—will not be so agreeable.

Less provocative, but equally indicative of growing evangelical concern, is a conference planned for May, "The Church and Peacemaking in the Nuclear Age—a Biblical Conference." The conference, which was sparked by two Fuller Theological Seminary graduates, enjoys a broadly based convening board. It includes the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE), Evangelicals for Social Action, *Eternity* magazine, and Calvin College.

Ted Engstrom of World Vision chairs the meeting's board of directors, which also includes Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship's Pete Hammond,

NAE's Robert Dugan, and *Sojourners* magazine editor Jim Wallis. Conference speakers will include Wallis and British evangelical John R. W. Stott.

Fuller graduates Susan Baldauf and Charles Shelton were the spark plugs for the May meeting. Baldauf said she expects up to 2,000 to attend the conference. They will receive a balanced offering of views on nuclear peace, Baldauf thinks, with lectures and testimonies coming from several Christian traditions.

The evangelical NAE's cautious interest in the nuclear issue will likely be reflected at its March 1983 annual conference. Washington office researcher Richard Cizik said "a lot of [President Reagan's] administration people are relying on conservative evangelicals to be a counterweight to liberal church involvement in the nuclear freeze." Whether that is a legitimate expectation may be debated at the NAE meeting. Cizik's perception is that evangelicals are being courted

from both sides and the outcome is difficult to predict.

Illustrating evangelical divergence on the issue is NAE's reaction to a September protest organized by Wallis's Sojourners fellowship. For the fourth consecutive year, Sojourners led a demonstration against an arms exhibit at a Washington, D.C., hotel. Evangelical support came from Myron Augsburger (pastor of Washing-



Remains of wristwatch stopped by explosion.

ton Community Fellowship), Douglas Badger of the antiabortion Christian Action Council, and charismatic leader Tom Hess of Christian Restoration Ministries.

But NAE kept its distance from the Washington protests, since its 3.5-million-member constituency includes historic peace denominations and those who support "peace through strength." Promotional material for the demonstration this year equated military defense with sin, stating, "It is a sin to build and threaten to use nuclear weapons—a sin against God, against God's children, and all of God's creation."

Cizik disagreed: "Evangelicals need to address the nuclear arms question, but we must make it clear that our concern for peacemaking is a result of our evangelical faith and our commitment to a Christ who is divine and Scriptures that are authoritative." Working for peace is "not the essence of the gospel," he said, "but rather an essential by-product of the gospel."

It is on such already hotly contested

The book is likely to act as a lightning rod conducting wider evangelical discussion.

points that Sider's and Taylor's book will stoke the fire. *Nuclear Holocaust and Christian Hope* is not an irrationally passionate book. It is spare on the garish nuclear devastation scenarios that dominate so much of this burgeoning new genre, the nuclear holocaust literature.

The writers are nonetheless clear about their conclusions, and their conclusions are controversial. Taylor (a Quaker) and Sider (Mennonite Brethren) are both pacifists, but they take the time to painstakingly ask if nuclear war—and even armament buildup for a possible nuclear war—is justifiable from that wider Christian tradition of the just war. Their answer is an unequivocal "no."

Of the seven classic criteria of a just war, Sider and Taylor find nuclear war (even limited) defective on five points. Nuclear war might meet the just war qualifications of last resort and just cause, they believe, but it would violate the other qualifications:

- Right attitude. Just wars are to be fought with the intention of restoring justice. The theory of deterrence is based on the hypothesis America would retaliate against any nuclear attack with its own nuclear attack. Revenge and retaliation, say Sider and Taylor, have no place in the just war tradition.

- Prior declaration of war. Just wars are supposed to be explicitly declared by a legitimate authority. Nuclear war, by its very nature, is more likely to occur unexpectedly, without declaration.

- Reasonable hope of success. "There must be a reasonable chance of success" in the just war effort, the authors write, and "reasonable probability that the things for which one is fighting will not be destroyed in the process." They contend there are no

such reasonable probabilities in the event of nuclear conflicts.

- Noncombatant immunity. Just war entails protection of noncombatants. Nuclear war would be indiscriminate in its destruction.

- Proportionality. "The principle of proportionality specifies that there must be a reasonable expectation that the good results of the war will exceed the horrible evils involved," Sider and Taylor note. "Obviously, if one or both societies are destroyed in the process of trying to restore right relationships between them, the means have lost all proportion to the ends."

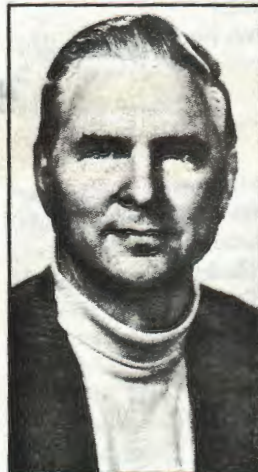
The book goes on to argue that the consistent Christian must be a nuclear pacifist and, if he wishes to be thoroughly consistent, a complete pacifist. But Taylor and Sider are not left-wing extremists who believe the Soviet Union can do no wrong. They repeatedly declare "Russian totalitarianism" a "ghastly evil" and state a preference for bilateral disarmament.

The writers have a long-range vision for disarmament of a new sort, "transarmament." Transarmament would transfer "armament" to a "civilian-based defense," or a citizenry trained to resist invasion by nonviolent means. That would include civil disobedience and noncooperation in the work force.

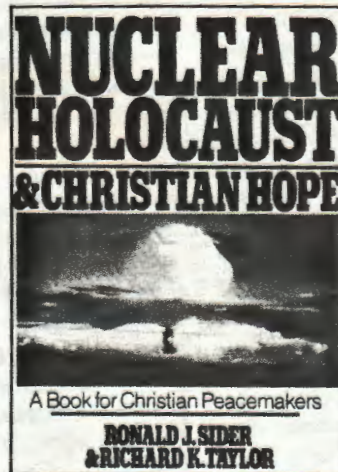
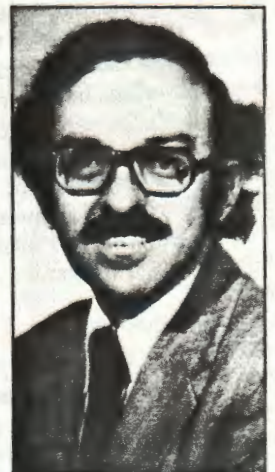
Sider and Taylor cite several historical examples of such resistance and argue that it is feasible for modern America. At any rate, they believe, nuclear war would probably destroy the very free and democratic structures it was supposed to protect.

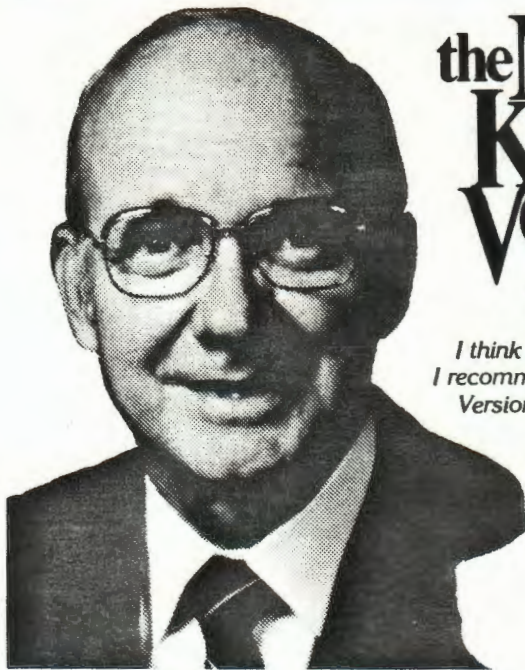
Nuclear Holocaust and Christian Hope follows an InterVarsity tradition of publishing significant, albeit controversial, books. IVP editor James Sire notes that when the press published Francis Schaeffer's *The God Who Is*

Richard Taylor



Ronald Sider



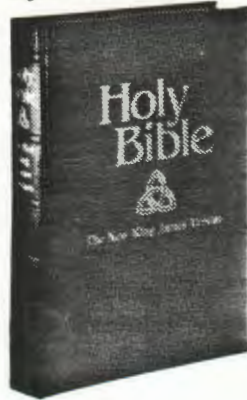


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There in 1968, it was seen as a work too friendly to high culture and unduly critical of the church. Yet now Schaeffer's writing is widely esteemed and finding a new readership in staunchly fundamentalist churches. *Nuclear Holocaust* will bring "an awful lot of criticism now," Sire admits, but in a few years will be considered tame.

Sider's previous book for IVP, *Rich Christians in an Age of Hunger* (1977) also sparked widespread debate. Just the same, it has sold about 133,000 copies and convinced most readers that Sider's biblical commitment is indisputable.

Sire sees the publication of *Nuclear Holocaust* as a move "not terribly courageous. If we can't publish books of this sort then we're not doing our duty as a Christian publisher. It is not so much an act of courage as an act of responsibility."

Nuclear Holocaust is unusual for IVP on some counts, however. At 372 pages, it is twice as lengthy as the average IVP title, and its pages are embellished with diagrams and photographs, which increased the publisher's typesetting costs. Those costs were eased, Sire adds, by an agreement with the Roman Catholic Paulist Press to copublish 5,000 of the title's 20,000 copy print-run.

Nuclear Holocaust is not the only Christian book to deal with the nuclear arms race issue. Since being published in July of 1981, Dale Aukerman's *Darkening Valley* (Seabury) has sold 6,000 copies. Seabury considers sales of 1,500 to 2,000 volumes good. Two other Seabury titles on the subject have a combined sale of 8,000 copies.

Donald Kraybill's *Facing Nuclear War*, just released by the Mennonite Herald Press, has gotten positive reviews, especially within the historic peace church tradition from which it comes. *Nuclear Holocaust*, on the other hand, seeks to appeal to an audience including but going beyond the historic peace churches. Back-cover blurbs from nonpacifist evangelicals such as John Stott, Mark Hatfield, and Vernon Grounds are part of that strategy.

Because of that, Taylor's and Sider's book is most likely to act as a lightning rod conducting wider evangelical discussion on a grave topic that already has much of the public talking. Sider thinks many evangelicals will listen because "they want to obey Scripture and Jesus—even when it is costly."

BETH SPRING and RODNEY CLAPP

1612 K Street, N.W.
Suite 502
Washington, D.C. 20006
November 22, 1982

file

Mr. Morton Blackwell
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20550

Dear Mr. Blackwell:

I have never publicly disagreed with my colleagues in the Conservative Movement. I do think though that ~~it is time a conservative stood up publicly to support the Clinch River Breeder Reactor~~ before we make a serious and fatal mistake in judgment.

In recent months an unusual coalition has come into being which seeks to halt the development of the United States' breeder reactor program. Publicly, this coalition states that its only target is the Clinch River Breeder Reactor, a Federal research and development project now beginning construction; however, many of the liberal members of this coalition desire to halt Clinch River as part of a broader effort to curb not only U.S. breeder technology but nuclear power, energy growth, and national defense programs in general.

Perhaps unwittingly, respected conservative leaders and their organizations have allied themselves with such groups as Ralph Nader's Congress Watch, William Winpisinger's radical International Association of Machinists (IAM) and no-growth advocates like the Friends of the Earth and the Natural Resources Defense Council. Conservatives in Congress from Barry Goldwater to Gordon Humphrey have found themselves helping the likes of Ted Kennedy and Howard Metzenbaum attack a project which is essential to a secure supply of energy for America's future.

Why have we suddenly attracted such strange bedfellows and joined with the liberal critics of Clinch River? Is it because we have turned against nuclear power? Is it for reasons of fiscal responsibility? Or, is it simply a childish and misguided way of getting back at Senate Republican leader Howard Baker no matter what the consequences?

Mr. Morton Blackwell
November 22, 1982
Page Two

Logic and the preponderance of the evidence dictate that the sound conservative position is to support the completion of the Clinch River Breeder Reactor. Here, are some of the reasons why:

-- If the United States is to maintain even a modest annual growth rate of 3 percent, we will have to double our electrical power capacity in 25 years. Breeder reactor technology, an essentially inexhaustible source of energy, is needed to help supply this increased capacity if we are to have economic growth without relying upon foreign energy sources.

-- As the International Energy Agency recently warned, a new oil crisis may hit by the mid-1980's that would deal a "devastating blow" to the U.S. and other industrial nations. Such a prospect makes any effort to kill the Clinch River Breeder and thus cripple a readily available U.S. energy option the equivalent of committing national suicide.

-- President Reagan is firmly committed to breeder reactor technology and the completion of the Clinch River Breeder Reactor. He states that Clinch River is "essential to ensure our preparedness for longer-term nuclear power needs."

-- President Jimmy Carter, beginning weeks after his inauguration in 1977, attempted to kill the project and succeeded in stalling construction work on Clinch River for more than four years. This short-sighted move is largely responsible for driving the cost of CRBR from some \$1.7 billion (when the contracts were let in 1974) to the current estimated figure of \$3.6 billion.

-- The Soviet Union, France, Japan, and other nations are moving ahead of the United States in breeder technology. How can conservatives, or even liberals for that matter, force the nation to withdraw from this competition at the expense of America's continued growth?

-- The total cost of the Clinch River research and development project (now said to be \$3.6 billion by the Energy Department) is dwarfed by the drain on taxpayers caused by the annual cost of such social welfare programs as food stamps. For example, food stamp handouts cost somewhere in the neighborhood of \$11 billion in 1982 which is more than fifty times the amount spent on Clinch River in the same year. Furthermore, Clinch River dollars provide jobs, not handouts.

Mr. Morton Blackwell
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Page Three

-- Contrary to environmentalist misstatements, the Clinch River Breeder Design is technologically up to date and contains features, such as its heterogeneous core, which have attracted the attention of German, British and other foreign breeder experts. Repeated assessments by the General Accounting Office, most recently supported by their July, 1982 report, have concluded that among "a wide range of knowledgeable industry, government and private individuals, no one we talked with was able to provide us with any specific facts indicating that components or design features were obsolete."

-- After years of bureaucratic and regulatory delays, work has begun at the Clinch River site. Some 3,500 workers are already employed in 29 states and the District of Columbia, the plant design is 96% complete and about \$900 million worth of components have been delivered or are on order. If cancelled now, the cost to the taxpayer would be \$1.4 billion with nothing to show for it.

-- According to Senator Jim McClure, "the opponents of the Clinch River Breeder Reactor have come up with false and phony rigged figures and then repeat them." Among other things, the revenues from CRBR are liberally estimated at more than \$20 billion payable to the government over the 30 year life of the plant. This figure, developed by the Appropriations Committee, estimates 2% real growth in electricity prices.

-- Many question why private utilities have not contributed more money to this plant. I would simply point out that the electric utilities, companies that are closely regulated by government, are limited in their financial ability to invest in a long-term research and development project.

-- Professor Hans Bethe, a Nobel Prize Laureate, says that "once the breeder or a similar type of reactor is in place, the uranium in the U.S. will last for tens of thousands of years, at an affordable price. An inexhaustible energy source is as good as a renewable one."

Finally, halting the Clinch River project now, just as construction is finally beginning, would be tragic and would place our country's economic future in the hands of the radical environmentalists and others who oppose economic growth. The G.A.O. put it best in its most recent report.

Mr. Morton Blackwell
November 22, 1982
Page Four

Failure to construct Clinch River, it said, would "fore-close on the long-term future of a major energy option -- nuclear fission"

More is at stake than simply the Clinch River Project. We must not allow ourselves to be duped into joining forces with Ralph Nader, the Nuclear Freeze Movement and IAM.

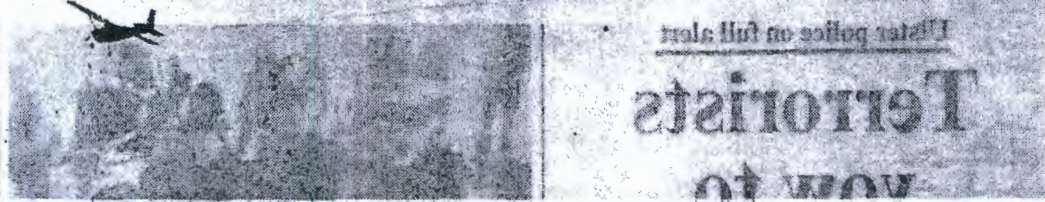
We have all worked too hard and fought too many battles to allow the left-wing to use the Clinch River issue to break our ranks as well as encourage us to abandon our principles.

Sincerely,



Daniel J. Popeo

like Nuclear freeze



Airborne: An aircraft trailing a message for protesters at Greenham Common, Berkshire, while ground level placards speak at High Wycombe. (Photographs: Chris Gregory and Brian Harris).

Polite demonstration for peace

Protests spread to 'wartime' base

By Rupert Morris

Outside RAF Strike Command Headquarters at Naphill, near High Wycombe, Buckinghamshire, a day-long picket is stationed beside a caravan painted with anti-nuclear slogans.

Later this week students will parade by torchlight from High Wycombe town centre to the gates of the United States Air Force base at Daws Hill, on the south side of town. Ministry of Defence property has been daubed with the insignia of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, and Conservatives are being canvassed to join the Wycombe Peace Council.

The peace protesters in the fairly prosperous town, not previously noted as a hotbed of political dissent, are polite and decent. They were as shocked as anyone to learn of the defacement of Ministry of Defence property and denied doing it.

Yesterday's protest was outside the gates of the USAF base at Daws Hill, understood to house the computer control system for the cruise missile, and lately rumoured to be the intended site of a reserve Nato command war headquarters.

A three-strong delegation from the Wycombe Peace Council demanded an interview

with Major David Richmond, the base commander, but the commander does not speak to members of the public.

The Wycombe Peace Council has no more idea than anyone else exactly where the Americans intend to site their new wartime headquarters. Until news of the proposal broke last week, the peace movement's main attention had been focused on Naphill where an RAF anti-nuclear bunker is being built on land owned by the National Trust.

Dr David Owen, deputy parliamentary leader of the Social Democratic Party, said

last night that voters who wanted disarmament should demand that Parliament makes the final decision on the siting of cruise missiles on British soil (Anthony Bevin writes).

In a speech at the National Liberal Club, he said that the Commons had to reassert its right to ensure that the United States negotiated disarmament with the Soviet Union while preparing to deploy missiles.

"The common sense of the British people will not allow the Soviet Union to get away with a cosmetic negotiating position

Missile cuts analysis, page 5

Greenham Common peace protest broadcast in Soviet Uni

Continued from page 1... "I was treated with these weapons", "I needed her treatment by...". She said she ran along the... with other women, then down just before police bicycles approached the... coming close to, but not ally touching the women. said the police tended to be her with young women but one officer did push her, saying: "Go on there, grand... Throughout the day, as she removed the bodies of

protestors other women immediately took their place.

About 1,000 women, police estimate, spent Sunday night camped around the base and its 16 gates. Police reported that, just after dawn, a woman and MOD policeman were slightly injured, apparently as a lorry was attempting to enter the base.

All the organizers claimed yesterday that the number participating was probably closer to 2,000. Throughout the day, organizers remained in radio

contact with each other's groups.

A row was brewing yesterday after it was revealed that 20 of the women camped outside Greenham Common have got their names on the latest local electoral register.

Officials of the Conservative Association at Newbury saw the names on the draft electoral register which was published last month and yesterday submitted 20 forms of objection, which will mean a public inquiry.

Mr Philip Dumville, the Newbury Conservative agent said yesterday: "Our objections are based on the fact that these women have no genuine residential qualifications in this constituency.

"A piece of plastic sheeting can hardly be described as a permanent or secure home and in any case they all have homes to go to in other parts of the country where their families and belongings are".

A spokesman for the Electoral Registration Office at

Newbury said: "An election court will be held on December 22 with the Returning Officer presiding and he will hear evidence from both sides."

The Soviet Union yesterday presented the protest at the Greenham Common as evidence of firm European opposition to Nato plans for the deployment of Cruise and Pershing Two missiles (Richard Owen writes from Moscow).

Tass reports estimated the number of demonstrators as 35,000.

20,000 IN MON. Dec 15

MISSILE PROTEST

Women encircle Cruise site

By HUGH DAVIES

ABOUT 20,000 unilateral nuclear disarmers, most of them women, yesterday encircled the Ministry of Defence base at Greenham Common, Berks, where 96 United States Cruise missiles are due to be based a year from now.

The women, many with toddlers in push-chairs, clasped hands to form a human chain around the nine-mile perimeter fence.

Men, including Mr Wedgwood Benn and Mgr Bruce Kent, general secretary of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, were encouraged to keep a low profile and given a special area in which to protest.

Male reporters, including teams from Soviet television and PRAVDA were told to keep their distance.

The organisers, 23 "Peace Camp" women who have served two weeks in prison after earlier protests at the base, said their intention was to illustrate the strength of anti-nuclear feeling among the women of Britain.

The theme was: "For centuries women have watched men go off to war. Now women have left home for peace."

They came in their droves. There were 200 coaches and, at one point, the police, trying desperately to cope with traffic jams, asked the BBC to broadcast a warning to motorists to steer clear of the area.

Demonstrators sang anti-war songs and many lit candles as the circle round the base was completed to a huge shout of "Freedom".

Julie Christie, the actress, stood beside a fence where somebody had erected a "Go home Yanks" poster.

Mrs Joan Ruddock, Bennite chairman of CND, stood nearby in the mud and angrily rejected criticism of her organisation by Mr Cecil Parkinson, chairman of the Conservative party.

In a weekend speech he voiced concern at the number of Communist members of CND, especially those involved in its controlling committee.

He stressed that he was not accusing CND of being a Russian front organisation, but said it was "a matter of concern" that the organisation seemed "so well financed, so well organised."

AMERICAN OFFICIALS refused to confirm or deny reports that a headquarters would be built at Daws Hill, site of houses and schools for American Service families.

Reports from Washington indicated that, contrary to earlier accounts, the existing American military headquarters at Stuttgart in West Germany will not move to Britain in time of war. The headquarters would be transferred to the Nato military headquarters at Mons, Belgium.

Troop movements

It has been stated that the High Wycombe post will, when completed, be staffed by a handful of officers in peacetime. In wartime several hundred support officers would be moved from Stuttgart to Britain.

Their main task would be to oversee the movement of men and equipment from the United States to Europe to reinforce the Nato forces.

ARRESTS AT TRIDENT DEMO

Police made several arrests when about 150 people demonstrated against Trident missiles at a Polaris submarine base at Faslane on the Clyde yesterday. Protestors blocked the three entrances to the base and police reinforcements were sent from Glasgow to help local and Ministry of Defence police.

Anti-nuclear protestors have been staging a peace camp on the main road near the base for several months.

DEMOS AT 40 BASES IN GERMANY

By MICHAEL FARR in Bonn

THOUSANDS of supporters of West Germany's growing peace movement demonstrated yesterday at more than 40 military bases, and in a number of cities, to protest at Nato plans to deploy new medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe.

The protest, organised by the Association of Citizens' Initiatives (B.B.U), the anti-nuclear, Ecologist "Green" party, and church groups, was held to mark the third anniversary of Nato's decision to deploy the Cruise and Pershing II missiles if no breakthrough is achieved in arms limitation talks.

West Germany is due to receive 96 Cruises and 108 Pershing II rockets from the end of 1985.

The B.B.U said that about 5,000 people turned out yesterday for demonstrations, including 1,500 who participated in "blockades" at military installations.

The "Greens" in Munich said that more than 10,000 people demonstrated throughout Bavaria.

Union festival

The weekend of protest began on Saturday with demonstrations in Dortmund, Düsseldorf, Hamburg, Frankfurt and Würzburg.

In Dortmund more than 10,000 young trade unionists attended a "festival" against the missile deployment, and in Würzburg 15 people blocked the entrance to the headquarters of an American infantry division by chaining themselves to it.

The B.B.U said the weekend's action should be a clear warning to the Government that the peace movement was determined to fight all preparatory measures for the deployment of new nuclear weapons.

remarks as "pathetic" saying that it was ridiculous for people to talk of a political conspiracy within the CND.

She said: "Nothing could be further from the truth."

Of the protest, swirling around her, she said:

"This is an action where women want to be in the front line with men in a support role. This is a place men are not used to occupying - supporting women, looking after the kids at home. That's where my husband is today."

CND was well represented at the demonstration by women including Mrs Helen John, newly elected to its national council after being imprisoned for a week. She has advocated breaking the law if necessary to stop the missiles.

Toys and poems

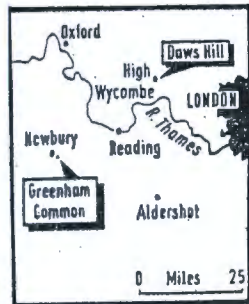
Yesterday's protest was designed to be as peaceful as possible. Participants were encouraged to tie toys and baby clothes to the wire and pin up photographs of children, poems and cardboard tombstones bearing the names of victims of violence and war.

One poem began: "We need to close our eyes and lean back against the sky, time to let a smile roll around our lips."

Nearby a banner was more strident: "Stop US cruising to catastrophe!"

Two policemen manning the main gate had their boots polished by members of the so-called "European Theatre of War," an anti-nuclear group of actors whose members used

Continued on Back P. Col. 6



HQ 'WOULD NOT ADD TO THREAT'

By IAN BOYNE

SETTING up an American military command post near High Wycombe would not make the area a more likely target for Russian attack, Mr Raymond Whitney, Conservative MP for Wycombe, said yesterday.

Mr Whitney a former First Secretary at the British Embassy in Peking was commenting on reports that the US Air Force base at Daws Hill has been chosen as the site for a new headquarters.

He said: "We already have the RAF Strike Command headquarters only a few miles from Daws Hill, so, as far as I am concerned, it will not make any difference."

"The real point is that we must prevent war. Anything which means that the West's defence capabilities are increased is something we must support."

CND campaign

The reports about Daws Hill are expected to be followed by protests by unilateral nuclear disarmers some of whom are already campaigning against the Ministry of Defence plans to build a £300 million underground bunker on 12 acres of National Trust land adjoining the Strike Command headquarters.

MISSILE PROTEST

By HUGH DAVIES

Continued from Page One

kitchen mops to wash down the Defence Ministry fencing.

Huge cobwebs of coloured cotton were knitted into the fence. The spiders web, with a tiny missile trapped in its threads, is the symbol of the Peace Camp.

Police are preparing for less whimsical activity today when the women turn their so called "embrace of the base" into a full-scale blockade designed to halt all activity.

Plans are afoot to confront American Servicemen physically as they arrive for work from quarters outside the camp.

The Americans have already been instructed to ignore the protest and stare straight ahead as they pass the Peace Camp women.

Every demonstrator arriving yesterday from places as far afield as Scotland, Denmark and West Germany was handed a printed set of instructions on how to act if arrested.

The briefing document lists the kind of charges likely to be made, from obstructing the highway, to a breach of the Official Secrets Act.

Much of the strategy was worked out at the recent Sheffield conference of the CND where members with legal experience were instructed to make sure they acted only as observers in case their experience was needed to help arrested women.

The instructions urge women to shout their names to the observers if arrested.

Events today could affect a vote tomorrow night at a meeting of Newbury District Council which has twice tried to evict the women from their Greenham Common camp which was set up in September 1981.

A motion is to be debated calling for "legal arrangements" for the provision of a special site, similar to one leased to protesters at Faslane, Scotland "for the temporary use by peaceful protesters."

MUD AND

MOTHERS

By BRIAN SILK

THE 20,000 women who converged on the United States Air Force base at Greenham Common yesterday found themselves slithering and sliding and nearly sinking in the mud as they strove to encircle the base.

Finally all hands were joined and the nine miles girdle was complete. The Americans were surrounded.

The fact that there were no Americans to witness the triumph being either away for the weekend or kept concealed deep inside the base did not seem to matter as squeals of delight ran along the wire.

Those already wearing the shabby uniform of protest did not mind the brambles in their hair and the mud on their clothes.

The grey-haired lady in the smart tweeds and brogues was also unconcerned as she sank almost to her knees in the bog. "Hold my hand tightly Daphne," she said softly. "Pray with me for peace."

It was a day to show what female power could do against nuclear power.

Male domination

Many brought husbands and girlfriends with them unaware that this was also intended to be a day of protest against the male dominated society.

The message was made clear to any men who dared to approach the demonstrators gathered around the main gate of the base.

"No men allowed here" barked a tough looking guard who was barely recognisable as being of the appropriate gender herself.

Men were more welcome at the East Gate where they were assigned to running a crèche for those children too young for the expedition along the fence.

Any male not prepared to take on this duty was ordered from the area. A notice gave the same instructions with the added emphasis of a four-letter word.

Throughout the nine miles, the fence was decorated with slogans, pictures, articles of children's clothing, quotations from such as President Carter and Descartes and one appeal for the sparing of Wales from the holocaust by making it a nuclear free zone.

Sandwiched between a group of punk rockers and the site chosen by the English Collective of Prostitutes was a more respectable woman, Mrs Anne Armstrong from Weybridge, was placing her own personal display on the wire.

Tennis programme

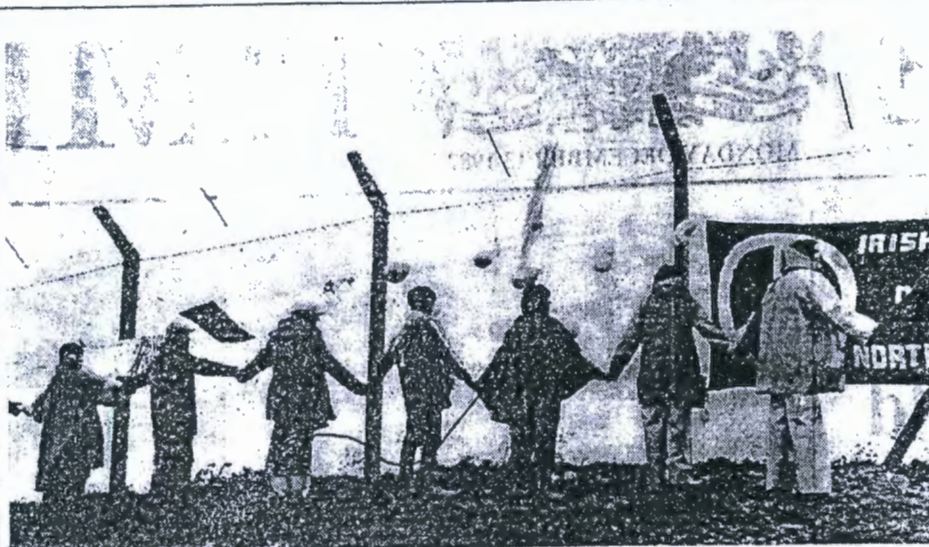
There were old programmes from the theatre and ballet, a couple from the Wimbledon tennis tournament and another from a stately home.

"You're supposed to put up things which mean a lot to you," she explained. "This is what I want to stop them destroying: art, literature, the theatre and the ballet."

Close by another woman was parked on a garden chair blissfully breastfeeding her baby under a banner which said "Wages for housework campaign."

Those new to the camp found it to be a place of extreme squalor.

Home for the campers was half-a-dozen tents which were no more than crumpled plastic sheeting strung between the trees.



Anti-nuclear demonstrators linking hands around Greenham Common air base and (below) the women

Labour MP wants debate on soldier 'dismissed for belonging to CND'

By Anthony Bevin, Political Correspondent

Mr Frank Field, Labour MP for Birkenhead, is to press for a Commons debate on the case of a soldier who was dismissed from the Army "because he joined the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament".

The serviceman, Mr Jeffrey Clare, was given his discharge and 24 hours' notice to hand in his kit after seven years in the Royal Artillery, because "his services were no longer required".

Assessment of his military conduct and character, signed by his commanding officer, said that his conduct was "exemplary", and his testimonial included the words "intelligent", "reliable" and "sober". His commanding officer said he had "no hesitation in recom-

mending him to any future employer".

But in a letter to Mr Field last October Mr Jerry Wiggan, Parliamentary Under-Secretary for the Armed Forces, said that the commanding officer had over a period of time "observed a lack of the required standard of efficiency and motivation".

Mr Clare's membership of CND was known to his commanding officer "and was no doubt part of the picture he built up of Mr Clare's attitude generally".

But after further pressure from Mr Field the minister has now explained the terms of Mr Clare's testimonial, which, he says, "goes, perhaps, somewhat farther than Clare's record of military service would justify".

Mr Wiggan says that any

Serviceman's conduct will be assessed "exemplary" provided no period has been spent in detention".

The minister also explains why Mr Clare was refused resettlement training, saying that that is a privilege rather than a right for those with five years' service.

"Those, however, who have been discharged on the grounds that their services are no longer required - an administrative method of discharging without stigma those who, in one way or another, have not measured up to the required standards - are not eligible to receive resettlement training".

Mr Wiggan has told Mr Field that the soldier was not discharged because of his CND membership.

Women of all ages came from Norway, Denmark, Sweden, America and West Germany by car and coach, causing traffic delays of about an hour between Newbury and the base five miles away.

The demonstrations marked the third anniversary of the announcement that cruise missiles would be sited in Britain.

Mr Peter Blaker, Minister of State for the Armed Forces, said yesterday that the peace movements were playing into the hands of the Soviet Union (Anthony Bevin writes).

Commenting on the aims of the Greenham Common demonstrators, he said: "We share their horror of the consequences of nuclear war. But while they can talk peace, we have to keep it; we have to take the steps which we think are best calculated to preserve the peace".

The minister said that there was evidence of Soviet involvement in the peace movements of Europe.

"I think that the Government recognizes that most of the people who support CND are absolutely genuine in their concern", Mr Blaker said. "But I think it is right that it should be pointed out that the Soviet Union is delighted, it makes no secret of it, at the activities of the so-called peace movements in Western Europe, which, it feels, are going to serve its purposes."

"I believe that they are actually harming the prospects of peace. They are harming the prospects of getting agreed disarmament by the Soviet Union as well as the West, that

Linked hands circle wire at Greenham

By Judy Foreman

Tens of thousands of women from Britain and Europe gathered around RAF Greenham Common yesterday linking arms and "embracing the base" in a peaceful protest against the siting in 1983 of 96 American cruise missiles.

There were no arrests, police said, although as night fell hundreds of women remained to prepare for today's attempt to close the base.

Mrs Helen John, the Greenham Common peace camp organizer, said that the turnout was 31,000 people. A Newbury police spokesman could neither confirm nor deny this figure, but said that number was considerably in excess of earlier police estimates of 10,000-12,000.

"The day has gone by very peacefully except the roads have been very badly congested", he said.

Thousands of men supported

the women but bowed to their wishes by standing aside as the women linked arms. Dozens of men minded children at creches set up in tents at one of the gates, and distributed food and hot drinks; by early afternoon they had long since run-out of plastic cups.

About 300 women had slept in the rain on Saturday night near the base's No 8 gate, joining the small group of women who have been camping there for the past 15 months.

Despite an early morning downpour and a temperature of 40°F, by mid-morning the women had begun decorating the entire fence along the nine-mile perimeter with balloons, pictures of their families, baby clothes and slogans for peace. Banners proclaiming "Take the Toys Away from the Boys" epitomized the spirit of the day.

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Minister says Russians involved in protests

Continued from page 1

Mrs John said: "Incredible. It has been totally peaceful because peace people are just like that".

Miss Joan Ruddock, chairwoman of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, said: "It

has been a fantastic day for the peace movement. I think its peacefulness and informality springs from the fact that it was organized by women and the majority of the participants were women".

THE SUNDAY TIMES, 12 DECEMBER 1982

Labour plan to rein in 'too Tory' spy men

by Simon Freeman and Barrie Penrose

FORMER intelligence officers reacted angrily yesterday to Labour Party claims that Britain's two intelligence services, MIS and M16, were simply an arm of the Conservative Party and that both services regarded anyone left-of-centre as "a subversive and an enemy of society". Labour's attack on the two services is made in a confidential party report which proposes radical changes in the way they operate and report to the government.

The report argues that intelligence officers assume "almost without question" that the Labour Party and the trade unions are dangerous and that the Conservatives are the "natural protectors of society".

But George Young, a former deputy director of M16, dismissed the allegations yesterday as nonsense. Young, who became a prominent Conservative after he left the intelligence world, said: "I would say that there was absolutely no political bias by MIS or M16. If anything, most of my friends were Labour-inclined."

Another senior retired officer, who was a director-general of MIS, told The Sunday Times: "Members of the security services are quite able to tell the difference between someone who is a left-winger and someone who is subversive. But what can we do about it? We are attacked from all sides for either being too weak or too severe."

The Labour report—drawn up by the party's 27-strong security services study group, which includes the Labour leader, Michael Foot, and the shadow home secretary, Roy Hattersley—has two key proposals: for a Security Act which would, for the first time, give MIS and M16 a statutory basis with well-defined but limited power, and for an Information and Privacy Act guaranteeing freedom of access to most government documents.

There are also plans to scrap the Official Secrets Act.

Women gather at atom base

By DAVID ROSENBERG

MORE than 15,000 people, most of them women, are expected to converge on Greenham Common air base, near Newbury, Berks, today, for a two-day demonstration against the deployment there next year of American nuclear Cruise missiles.

Peace groups from all over Britain and abroad will join the 40 women who have spent 15 months in spartan conditions camped outside the front gates of the base.

Last night the first arrivals from the United States and several European countries were welcomed by the organisers in the marquees springing up on the mudbath of a field outside the entrance.

The Greenham Common women have slept there on mattresses on wooden planks, covered in plastic sheets, since the local council ordered them to take down their tents.

Many of the demonstrators will be members of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, which is enjoying its greatest support since the heady days of the Aldermaston marches.

Many CND supporters spent yesterday helping the Greenham women with signposting arrangements and erecting information and creche marquees.

The first coachloads of demonstrators are expected to arrive shortly after dawn. The women hope to ring the entire nine-mile perimeter of the base with a circle of demonstrators holding hands.

Each has been asked to bring

a "symbol of life" — baby clothes, photographs or flowers — to hang on the wire fence.

Later the men accompanying them are planning to march to Aldermaston. A "service for peace" will be held outside the gates.

Tomorrow the women plan a non-violent blockade of the base to try to bring it to a standstill by stopping vehicles entering or leaving. Berkshire police have cancelled all leave for two days.

Chief Inspector Nicholas Brecken of Newbury said: "If these women obstruct the entrance to the base, we shall be on hand to deal with them."

Many of the Greenham Common protesters served jail sentences for refusing to be bound over to keep the peace.

Although most of the protesters will return home tonight, the organisers hope that between 3,000 and 4,000 will remain for tomorrow's blockade.

But they believe that the authorities will try to defuse a possible confrontation by keeping transport movements to a minimum.

It is understood that some of the demonstrators may decide to start the blockade earlier than planned to increase pressure.

Greenham Common is due to house 96 Cruise missiles from December next year.

Peregrine Worsthorne: when women make war for peace

PIA

Tories to fight CND campaign

By Our Industrial Correspondent

Russia is giving large funds to the peace movement in Europe, Mr Cecil Parkinson, the Conservative party chairman, said yesterday. He gave a warning that the priority for the Tories in the coming year must be to counter the growing movement for unilateral nuclear disarmament.

His speech, in Barnsley, reflected the increasing concern in Government over the recent upsurge in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and activity against the siting of cruise missiles, which are due to arrive in Britain towards the end of 1983.

Mr Parkinson stressed that nuclear disarmament would be uppermost on the political agenda next year. It was an issue which had a direct influence on Britain's future, and it must be a priority in the New Year to explain to the British people the true facts.

How the West's Peace People go wrong

FOR MONTHS our television screens have carried images of war and peace: on the one hand, ever more hideous weapons of mass destruction, sprouting like dragons' teeth from underground silos or from the depths of the ocean; on the other, thousands upon thousands of ordinary men and women demonstrating in the streets of London, New York, Bonn, or Amsterdam against an arms race which seems out of all control.

It is not even a dialogue of the deaf, simply a confrontation of the death wish against the will to live—or so it seems. Even the NATO Council now recognises that public hostility to its policies will make 1983 the most difficult year yet faced by the alliance. CND has already achieved the most impressive victory for single-issue politics in recorded history.

Yet no government can afford to base its defence and foreign policies upon a single issue. It must take into account every one of the major factors which bear upon the prospects for war and peace. Opinion polls are bound to reflect the contradictions in public attitudes which are inevitable on questions which arouse powerful emotions. Party conferences may vote simultaneously by five to one for Britain's continued membership of a nuclear alliance and by two and a half to one for the denial of all nuclear facilities for that alliance. Governments must find some way of reconciling such contradictions.

The Canadian Government, for example, as the Opposition New Democratic Party points out, while renouncing nuclear weapons for itself, has harboured US nuclear warheads since 1963, and now subsidises the development in Canada of components for America's nuclear cruise missile. The non-nuclear Labour Governments of Norway and Denmark committed themselves to help finance the installation of cruise and Pershing missiles in other European countries.

Behind the public postures of some extremists there is a growing recognition on both sides of the nuclear argument that public opinion in the West, combined with new features in the military balance between East and West, have created the opportunity and the need to make rapid progress both towards disarmament and towards a non-nuclear strategy for NATO. If, however, either side in the nuclear argument is paralysed in its traditional postures, or gives pride of place to different objectives, whether the defeat of Communism or the defeat of Capitalism, the opportunities now open may never recur.

This intuition, it seems to me, lies behind Mr E. P. Thompson's opposition to the recent decision by CND to revive the slogan 'NATO out of Britain,

As the Pentagon considers a new fall-back military headquarters in Britain, DENIS HEALEY calls on the West to 'revise its policies both on disarmament and defence.'

Britain out of NATO' and his emphasis on the need for CND to demand concessions from the Soviet bloc. It also explains the insistence by Monsignor Bruce Kent, General Secretary of CND, that 'the demand for a British non-nuclear defence policy is not a demand for unilateral disarmament on the part of Western Europe, but is exactly a call for the reduction in nuclear weaponry.' The same intuition lay behind the demand by Mr Robert McNamara and other American statesmen of impeccable qualifications that NATO should give up relying on the first use of nuclear weapons.

Striking power

I believe it is urgently necessary for the West to revise its policies both on disarmament and defence so as to take advantage of the opportunities now open. Otherwise both sides will soon be deploying new weapons which increase—however irrationally—the fear of a first-strike and provoke a strategy of launch-on-warning. Moreover, the difficulty of detecting cruise missiles by techniques currently available and the impossibility of knowing whether missiles are carrying nuclear warheads or conventional 'smart bombs' will make it very much more difficult to reach verifiable agreements on arms control. The stability of a military balance which has protected a generation of Europeans from war could be upset for good, and the chances of replacing it by co-operation on disarmament could be destroyed.

That is why I think the alliance should rapidly revise its present proposals on arms control. The International Institute for Strategic Studies, generally accepted as the most reliable authority on the military balance, has recently estimated that in strategic nuclear forces Russia and America are now roughly equal, and that when British and French nuclear forces are included, the Warsaw Pact advantage in Europe is still under two to one. The alliance's proposals for nuclear arms control in Europe must therefore be revised to treat nuclear armed aircraft and submarines as part of the equation and take account of existing French and British nuclear forces—incidentally the proposed British Trident force would have more striking power than all the Soviet SS-20s put together.

In Washington the Committee for National Security, led by Mr Paul Warnke, who negotiated the SALT II Treaty and was previously deputy Defence Secretary, has recently made sensible proposals along these lines which would require Russia to dismantle 100 SS 20s and all the older SS4 and SS5 missiles, in return for America not deploying the cruise and Pershing II. Simultaneously America and Russia would freeze the number of their F111 and Backfire aircraft, and agree not to use other aircraft in their roles.

If such an agreement could be reached in the INF negotiations it could form a building block for the negotiations on reducing strategic arms—indeed, it could provide the basis on which to freeze all strategic weapons while negotiations proceed. Popular support for a nuclear arms freeze is already spreading like wildfire in the United States and is a factor behind Congressional reluctance to support President Reagan's MX programme.

Meanwhile NATO should move rapidly towards a strategy which makes the alliance no longer dependent on the first use of nuclear weapons. General Rogers has already described one such strategy as requiring an increase of only 1 per cent in spending already planned. In fact few NATO countries are likely to meet their existing targets. But I believe a non-nuclear strategy would be possible within existing spending, provided Germany agreed to defend its territory in depth, and the Continental allies agreed to organise reserves for local defence as the European neutrals do already. For example, if Germany adopted the Austrian system she could mobilise eight million reserves—six times the number currently planned.

Germany's reluctance to give up the strategy of forward defence has hitherto prevented NATO from considering such proposals. But Germany herself has never provided the facilities needed for forward defence, and America's reported decision to move her land headquarters from Stuttgart to Britain—her naval headquarters is already here—is proof enough that the so-called forward strategy would not prevent massive Soviet attacks deep inside West Germany.

The fact is that the prospects of arms control could be transformed and Europe relieved of the menace of nuclear war by changes in Western policy which are perfectly feasible. Those who are concerned to give political effect to the growing revulsion against the nuclear arms race would do better to concentrate their efforts on moving the alliance in this direction, rather than debating whether it is better to be Red than dead. In the real world that choice is not available

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