

League of Women Voters of Minnesota Records

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SALT and AMERICAN SECURITY



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The Department of State



Selected Documents

No 7

Bureau of Public Affairs Office of Public Communication

SALT ONE: Compliance

In response to a request from the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Secretary Vance forwarded to the committee on February 21 an Administration report on compliance with the SALT ONE agreements. Secretary Vance's letter of transmittal and the report begin on page 3.

SALT TWO: Verification

In response to another request from the Foreign Relations Committee, Paul C. Warnke, Director, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, forwarded on February 23 an Administration report on verification aspects of the SALT TWO agreement. The committee released unclassified portions from the report on February 24. Mr. Warnke's letter of transmittal and the report begin on page 11.



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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE



Current Policy

No. 38 October 1978 **Bureau of Public Affairs Office of Public Communication**

A Close Look at the Soviet Union and U.S.-U.S.S.R. Relations

Ambassador Malcolm Toon before the Conference on U.S. Security and the Soviet Challenge in Philadelphia on September 15.

The assignment given to me this morning was to provide a close look at U.S.-Soviet relations at the present time. Let me begin by sharing with you the view from our Embassy in Moscow. It will come as no surprise to you that the view in recent weeks has been somewhat somber, if not worse. The crackdown on Soviet citizens who challenged their government to observe the Helsinki principles finally resulted, as you all know, in harsh sentences to prisons and labor camps.

Another facet of the working of our relations was the Soviet harassment of Western journalists which culminated in convictions and fines of two American correspondents for slander, although I am happy to say that these two men, Craig Whitney of The New York Times and Hal Piper of The Baltimore Sun, are still vigorously practicing their profession in Moscow.

The American business community has not been immune to the latest Soviet outburst. An American businessman, Jay Crawford of International Harvester, was dragged from his car by Soviet authorities in early June, put in prison, and intensively interrogated—released after our intervention, on bail, so to speak—and finally tried.

A guilty verdict was preordained as always in Soviet courts, but thanks to the strong revulsion this case caused in the American business community and also to our efforts on his behalf—that is, those of the Government in Washington and the Embassy in Moscow, Mr. Crawford was given a suspended sentence and permitted to leave the Soviet Union,

Why he was chosen as the target of Soviet authorities reacting to our arrest of two Soviet spies is anybody's guess. In any case, he is now free and a potentially serious irritant in our relations has been removed.

Those are just some examples of unpleasantness which can be visited on individuals when it suits Soviet political purposes. But I see even more disturbing developments from my Moscow vantage point.

I see a country overly preoccupied with military preparedness, with a propensity to flex its political muscle around the world.

I see a people which is politically malleable in the hands of its leaders, apathetic but fiercely patriotic, talented and concerned, but with only the most limited opportunities to influence their destiny. Thus, unlike the situation here in the United States, there is little prospect that Soviet public opinion could operate as a brake on Soviet policies and actions that might threaten world stability.

In short, I see problems ahead, especially if we do not pursue a sensible American policy which from self-interest deals with the Soviet Union as it really is and on a realistic basis.



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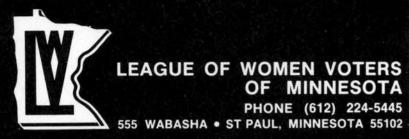
THE SALT PROCESS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE



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news release

FOR MORE INFORMATION CONTACT?

Jeannette Kahlenberg, 224-5445 Pat Llona - 920-0426

The SALT II Treaty is stalled. Full Senate hearings have been delayed because of the Iran crisis. Senators are asking for informed guidance now.

A new League of Women Voters of Minnesota (LWVMN) publication, "The SALT II Treaty, Background and Debate," states the main points of the Treaty, explains the SALT terms in glossary form, and examines the main arguments that have been put forth on both sides since the debate began.

This paper is unique because it was completed after the Senate Committees' hearings in late summer, whereas most educational publications were done earlier in anticipation of treaty signing without the flavor and scrutiny which the Senate hearings gave to the process. It was researched and written by Pat Llona of Edina, the International Relations chair for LWVMN, and Judith Rosenblatt of Roseville, the LWVMN VOTER editor. The League of Women Voters writes numerous publications for citizen education purposes. This is one of the few times a state League has obtained clearance to publish major research on an international question.

Discussion groups or private citizens who might want copies can call LWVMN, 224-5445. Copies are \$1 each, and there is a special rate for quantity orders. The State Department of Education is sending copies to all Minnesota high schools for use in social studies classes.



GREATER MINNEAPOLIS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Chamber of Commerce Bldg. • 15 South 5th St. Minneapolis, Minn. 55402 (612) 339-8521

January 31, 1979

Ms. Helene Borg, President League of Women Voters P.O. Box 5 Mound, MN 55364

Dear Ms. Borg,

It is my privilege to invite you to participate in a <u>Twin Cities Conference on United States Security and the Soviet Challenge</u> to be held Thursday, Feb. 22, 1979, at the <u>IDS Conference Theatre</u>, <u>IDS Center</u>, <u>Concourse Level</u>, <u>Minneapolis</u>.

This most important conference will be presented jointly by the U.S. Department of State (Bureau of European Affairs) and the Greater Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce, and will be co-sponsored by the St. Paul Area Chamber of Commerce, Minnesota Association of Commerce & Industry, League of Women Voters, Minnesota AFL/CIO, Minnesota Newspaper Association, and the Upper Midwest Council.

Honeywell, Inc. and Cargill, Inc., have agreed to be hosts for the event, providing funds for the meeting facilities and the luncheon.

In joining together to bring this conference to Minnesota at this current critical junction in U.S.-Soviet relations, our respective organizations believe that the conference represents an opportunity for state opinion leaders to secure a clearer understanding of the assumptions and objectives which guide U.S. policy.

The half-day event, which will begin at 8:30 a.m., will include presentations by three senior State Department specialists on U.S.-Soviet relations and strategic nuclear policy. The Honorable Walter F. Mondale, Vice President of the United States, will be the luncheon speaker. To provide for audience participation, a question and answer session will follow each speakers's presentation, and every effort will be made to allow adequate time for each question and answer, or the expression of a personal viewpoint.

Because of space limitations and the program format, it will be necessary to limit attendance to approximately 200 persons. As host sponsor, the Greater Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce will accept reservations on a first come, first served basis, and early response, using the enclosed RSVP card, will be greatly appreciated.

Cordially,

Harvey B. Mackay

President

February 9, 1979 No. 34

VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE TO ADDRESS CONFERENCE ON U.S. SECURITY AND THE SOVIET CHALLENGE

Minneapolis, Minnesota February 22, 1979

The U.S. Department of State and the Greater Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce, along with a consortium of other distinguished Minnesota organizations, are sponsoring a conference on "U.S. Security and the Soviet Challenge" at the Conference Theatre of the IDS Center in Minneapolis on Thursday, February 22. The conference features a luncheon address by the Honorable Walter F. Mondale, the Vice President of the United States in the Marquette Inn Ballroom of the Center. (A copy of the full program is attached.)

This conference is part of an effort to provide an opportunity for discussion between State Department experts and Minnesota community leaders on the national security issues related to a new strategic arms limitation agreement. The agenda will cover the key questions being raised by the public about these negotiations with the U.S.S.R. -- What is SALT and how does it impact on the U.S.? What limits will the treaty impose and will they be verifiable? and Should the SALT talks be related to Soviet actions in other areas? Following each session, speakers will answer questions from the audience.

In addition to the Greater Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce, the event is being co-sponsored by the St. Paul Area Chamber of Commerce, the Minnesota Association of Commerce & Industry, the Minnesota Newspaper Association, the Minneapolis League of Women Voters, the Minnesota AFL-CIO and the Upper Midwest Council. The corporate hosts for the meeting are Cargill and Honeywell.

All media wanting to cover the conference and the Vice President's visit must obtain press credentials through Mr. Robert Hurner of the Vice President's Minneapolis Office (phone: 612/725-2041; address: 462 Federal Courts Building, Minneapolis, MN 55401). The application deadline for press credentials is 12 noon on Tuesday, February 20. Admission by the public to the conference is by invitation only.

FOR MORE INFORMATION on the conference program, the Vice President's schedule while in Minnesota, and the schedules of State Department participants while in Minnesota, please contact:

Julia Moore U.S. Department of State (202) 632-8854

David Shama Greater Mpls. Chamber of Commerce (202) 395-6303 (612) 339-8521

Maxine Isaacs Office of the VP

CONFERENCE ON U.S. SECURITY & THE SOVIET CHALLENGE

IDS Center Minneapolis, Minnesota February 22, 1979

Sponsored by:
Greater Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce
and
U.S. Department of State, Bureau of European Affairs

Co-Sponsored by:
St. Paul Area Chamber of Commerce
Minnesota Association of Commerce & Industry
Minnesota AFL-CIO
League of Women Voters
Minnesota Newspaper Association
Upper Midwest Council

Corporate Hosts: Cargill, Incorporated Honeywell, Incorporated

8:00 a.m. Registration & Coffee

9:00 a.m. Opening Remarks

Welcome

Mr. Harvey B. Mackay President Greater Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce

Opening Remarks

Mr. M. D. McVay, Moderator President Cargill, Incorporated

9:15 a.m. Realities of U.S.-Soviet Relations

A Close Look at the Soviet Union

Robert L. Barry
Deputy Assistant Secretary of State
Bureau of European Affairs
U.S. Department of State

U.S.-Soviet Relations

Robert W. Farrand Bilateral Political Relations Office of Soviet Affairs Bureau of European Affairs U.S. Department of State

9:45 a.m. Question and Answer Session

10:15 a.m. Break

10:30 a.m. SALT II and the Nuclear Balance

U.S.-U.S.S.R. Balance of Forces
& the Emerging SALT Treaty

Leslie H. Gelb Director Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs U.S. Department of State

11:00 a.m. Question and Answer Session

11:45 a.m. Moderator's Summation

12:00 noon Lunch

12:30 p.m. Luncheon Address

Introduction of Speaker

Mr. Edson Spencer President Honeywell, Incorporated

Strengthening U.S. Security through SALT

The Honorable Walter F. Mondale Vice President of the United States

1:00 p.m. Question and Answer Session

1:45 p.m. Closing Remarks & Adjourn

2/7/79

PROGRAM

CONFERENCE ON U.S. SECURITY & THE SOVIET CHALLENGE

IDS Conference Theatre Minneapolis, Minnesota February 22, 1979

Sponsored by:
Greater Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce
and

U.S. Department of State, Bureau of European Affairs

Co-Sponsored by:
St. Paul Area Chamber of Commerce
Minnesota Association of Commerce & Industry
Minnesota AFL-CIO
League of Women Voters
Minnesota Newspaper Association
Upper Midwest Council

Corporate Hosts:
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Honeywell, Incorporated

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Registration & Coffee

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Opening Remarks

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Opening Remarks

Mr. William R. Pearce Corporate Vice President Cargill, Incorporated

9:15 a.m. Realities of U.S.-Soviet Relations

A Close Look at the Soviet Union

Robert L. Barry Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Bureau of European Affairs U.S. Department of State

(continued on reverse side)

U.S.-Soviet Relations

Robert W. Farrand Bilateral Political Relations Office of Soviet Affairs Bureau of European Affairs U.S. Department of State

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1:45 p.m. Closing Remarks & Adjourn



GREATER MINNEAPOLIS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Chamber of Commerce Bldg. • 15 South 5th St. Minneapolis, Minn. 55402 (612) 339-8521

Feb. 16, 1979

Dear Friend:

Your reservation has been received for the Twin Cities Conference on "U.S. Security and the Soviet Challenge", scheduled for Thursday, Feb. 22, at the IDS Conference Theatre - Marquette Inn, in downtown Minneapolis. Registration opens at 8:00 a.m., and the conference will begin promptly at 8:45 a.m.

The luncheon is set for 12:00 noon, and Vice President Walter F. Mondale will speak at 1:00 p.m. Adjournment will be at 2:00 p.m.

The U.S. Department of State would like to provide you with the enclosed materials. I know you will want to review the publications in advance of the conference.

Also enclosed is a yellow ticket which we ask that you present at the registration table when you arrive for the conference.

Thank you for accepting our invitation, and we look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Harvey B. Mack President

CONFERENCE ON UNITED STATES SECURITY AND THE SOVIET CHALLENGE

Thursday, February 22, 1979
Conference Theatre--IDS Center
Ballroom--Marquette Inn
Minneapolis, Minnesota

ARRANGEMENTS BY:

Greater Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce in Cooperation with the Minnesota Association of Commerce & Industry and the St. Paul Area Chamber of Commerce

CONFERENCE ON UNITED STATES SECURITY AND THE SOVIET CHALLENGE

Sponsored by:

Greater Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce
St. Paul Area Chamber of Commerce
Minnesota Association of Commerce & Industry
Minnesota AFL/CIO
Minnesota Newspaper Association
Upper Midwest Council

and the

United States Department of State Bureau of European Affairs

Thursday, February 22, 1979

IDS Conference Theatre Marquette Inn Minneapolis, Minnesota

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Minnesota opinion leaders meet for a background educational briefing on United States Security and the Soviet Challenge, with particular focus on the critical issues involved in the current Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) with the Soviet Union.

PROGRAM

CONFERENCE ON UNITED STATES SECURITY AND THE SOVIET CHALLENGE

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8:45 a.m. Opening Remarks

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President

Greater Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce

Moderator

Mr. William B. Pearce Corporate Vice President

Cargill, Inc.

9:15 a.m. Realities of U.S. - Soviet Relations

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Deputy Assistant Secretary of State

Bureau of European Affairs U.S. Department of State

U.S. - Soviet Relations Mr. Robert W. Farrand Bilateral Political Relations Office of Soviet Affairs Bureau of European Affairs

U.S. Department of State

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U.S. - U.S.S.R. Balance of Forces & the Emerging SALT Treaty

Mr. Leslie H. Gelb

Director

Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs

U.S. Department of State

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12:30 p.m. Introduction of Speaker

Mr. Edson W. Spencer Chief Executive Officer

Honeywell, Inc.

Luncheon Address

"Strengthening U.S. Security Through SALT"

The Honorable Walter F. Mondale Vice President of the United States

1:00 p.m. Question and Answer Session

1:45 p.m. Closing Remarks 2:00 p.m. Adjournment

SPEAKERS

THE HONORABLE WALTER F. MONDALE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

ROBERT L. BARRY

Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Bureau of European Affairs U.S. Department of State

ROBERT W. FARRAND

Bilateral Political Relations Office of Soviet Affairs Bureau of European Affairs U.S. Department of State

LESLIE H. GELB

Director Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs U.S. Department of State

HARVEY B. MACKAY

President
Greater Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce

WILLIAM B. PEARCE

Corporate Vice President Cargill, Inc.

EDSON W. SPENCER

Chief Executive Officer Honeywell, Inc.

ROBERT L. BARRY

Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Soviet and Eastern European Affairs Bureau of European Affairs U.S. Department of State

Robert L. Barry was appointed Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Soviet and Eastern European Affairs at the Department of State on January 4, 1979.

Prior to this appointment Mr. Barry's most recent assignments have included Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Economic and Development Policy in the Bureau of International Organizational Affairs, Director of the Office of United Nations Political Affairs, and Deputy Director of the Department of State's Office of Soviet Union Affairs.

Mr. Barry has served in various positions dealing with the Soviet Union for over ten years. From 1965 to 1967 he worked in the Soviet Affairs Office of the Department of State. During 1968-1970 he served at the American Embassy in Moscow. He spent a year as an Advisor for Political and Security Affairs at the U.S. Mission to the United Nations from 1970 to 1971. In 1971 he was assigned as Deputy Principal Officer at the American Consulate General in Leningrad. Following his assignment in Leningrad he returned to the United States where he served from 1972 until 1974 as Chief of the U.S.S.R. Division of the Voice of America.

He entered the Foreign Service in 1963. Mr. Barry's first tour of duty was at the American Consulate General in Zagreb, Yugoslavia.

He graduated summa cum laude from Dartmouth in 1956. He attended Oxford University in England, and completed a masters degree in history and a special program in Eastern European area studies at Columbia University. From 1957 to 1960 he served in the United States Navy as an officer on Atlantic and 6th Fleet destroyers.

Mr. Barry, a resident of Rindge, New Hampshire, is married to Margaret Crim Barry. Mr. and Mrs. Barry have three children: John, Peter and Ellen.

ROBERT W. FARRAND

Officer-in-Charge, Bilateral Relations
Office of Soviet Union Affairs
Bureau of European Affairs
U.S. Department of State

Robert W. ("Bill") Farrand was born in northern New York in 1934. He received his B.S. from Mt. St. Mary's College (Maryland) in 1957 and his M.A. from Georgetown University (Washington, D.C.) in 1968. From 1957 to 1964 he served in the U.S. Navy.

In 1964, Mr. Farrand joined the Department of State as a career Foreign Service Officer. His first overseas position was a rotational assignment from 1965 to 1967 as an Administrative, Consular and then Economic Officer at the American Embassy in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. In 1967 he returned to the United States for Russian language training at the Foreign Service Institute which is the training branch of the State Department. Following this training, he served as a Consular Officer from 1968 until 1970 at the American Embassy in Moscow, handling visa, passport and citizenship matters in the Soviet Union.

In 1970 he returned to Washington, D.C. and served for two years as an international economist and commodities specialist in the Department's Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs. His next assignment was from 1972 to 1976 at the American Embassy in Prague, Czechoslovakia as an Economic/Commercial Officer. From 1976 until 1978 he was reassigned to the American Embassy in Moscow as Director of the U.S. Commercial Office.

Mr. Farrand assumed his present duties as Officer-in-Charge of Bilateral Relations in the Office of Soviet Union Affairs in August 1978.

LESLIE H. GELB

Director Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs U.S. Department of State

Leslie Gelb was appointed by President Carter in February 1977 as Director of the Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs at the Department of State. Prior to his present appointment, Mr. Gelb was the Diplomatic Correspondent for the *New York Times*.

Mr. Gelb was born in New Rochelle, New York in 1937. He graduated from Tufts College in 1955, and was awarded his Ph.D. degree from Harvard University in 1964. While completing his studies at Harvard, he taught courses in American Government, International Relations and Defense Policy. In 1965 he taught at Wesleyan College in Connecticut.

In 1966 Mr. Gelb worked as an Executive Assistant to Senator Jacob Javits of New York. From 1967 until 1969, he worked in the Office of the Deputy Secretary of Defense, first as the Deputy Director of Policy Planning and Arms Control, and later as Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary.

From 1969 until 1973 he was a Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution in the field of American Foreign Policy and Defense Policy. During his time at Brookings he wrote a yet-to-be published book on the Lessons of the Vietnam War. He was the *New York Times'* Diplomatic Correspondent from October 1973 until accepting his present appointment.

Mr. Gelb is married to the former Judith Cohen and they have three children.

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TWIN CITIES CONFERENCE ON U.S. SECURITY AND THE SOVIET CHALLENGE

(Alphabetical list of participants registered through 2-20-79)

Bruce Abbe Minnesota Farmers Union St. Paul

Daniel Aberg Minneapolis

James Anderson Minneapolis

Jane Abts Minnetonka

Karen Anderson League of Women Voters Minnetonka

Ruth Armstrong League of Women Voters St. Paul

Raymond Arveson Superintendent of Schools Minneapolis

Robert Ashbach Minority Leader St. Paul

John Ashton Burlington Northern St. Paul

Kay Bach League of Women Voters Edina

George Bardos Control Data Corp.

Robert Barry Bureau of European Affairs U.S. Dept. of State

R. C. Bengtson The West Central Daily Tribune Wilmar

Marguerite Benson League of Women Voters Minneapolis Pam Berkwitz League of Women Voters Minneapolis

Lee Berlin Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Minneapolis

Lois Binder Minneapolis

Marion Bohling League of Women Voters Richfield

Frederick Boos Grand View Lodge Office Minneapolis

Helene Borg League of Women Voters Mound

Don Bottemiller Homecrest Industries Wadena

Peggy Breimayer Minneapolis

Gladys Brooks Minneapolis

Polly Brown Wayzata

Harlan Buck Minnesota American Legion

Joanna Caplan SALT Working Group U.S. Department of State

Thomas Carlin
The Dispatch and Pioneer Press
St. Paul

Betty Carver World Affairs Council Edina Lilas Christopherson Minnetonka

Harold Chucker Star & Tribune Minneapolis

Alroy Claseman SES Accounting Service St. Paul

Pearl Cole Minneapolis

Dan Cohen Minneapolis

Sue Cornelius Excelsior

Earl Craig, Jr. Urban Coalition of Minneapolis Minneapolis

Lewis Crain Northern States Power Company Minneapolis

Jerome Crary Northwestern Bell Telephone Company St. Paul

Jack Crocker Super Valu Stores, Inc. Hopkins

Carolyn Cushing League of Women Voters St. Paul

Harry Davis Minneapolis

John Davis Macalester College St. Paul

Bruce Dayton Wayzata

Mark Dayton Minneapolis Eugene Dean St. Paul

Louis DeMars City Council Minneapolis

Richard Dempsey The Transcript Little Falls

Merlin Dewing Peat, Marwick, Mitchell & Co. Minneapolis

Donald Dick First Grand Avenue State Bank St. Paul

Mary Dobbins League of Women Voters Minneapolis

Carl Drake, Jr. St. Paul

Meredith Dregni St. Luke's Presbyterian Church

Fred Dresser Midwest Federal Savings and Loan Minneapolis

Mary Duddleston St. Paul

Philip Duff, Jr.
Red Wing Republican Eagle
Red Wing

Fran Dye League of Women Voters Bloomington

Richard Evens Special Assistant Attorney General

Robert Farrand Bureau of European Affairs U.S. Dept. of State

William Faulkner American Hoist & Derrick Company St. Paul Norman Feldman Honeywell

Evelyn Fischer St. Paul

Hank Fischer Minnetonka

James Frankard Peerless Chain Company Winona

Clarence Frame First National Bank of Saint Paul St. Paul

Mike Freeman Minneapolis

John French Minneapolis

Thomas Gagnon The Daily News Faribault

Donald Garretson 3M Company St. Paul

Leslie Gelb Bureau of Politico-Millitary Affairs U.S. Dept. of State

Mildred Gidding League of Women Voters Anoka

Archie Givens, Jr.
Willows Convalescent Centers, Inc.
Minneapolis

Gleason Glover Urban League of Minneapolis Minneapolis

Luella Goldberg Minneapolis

Joan Growe St. Paul

C. R. Gustafson Otter Tail Power Company Fergus Falls Gerald Hagaman Minnesota Farmers Bureau St. Paul

Harold Haglund McGladrey Hendrickson & Co. Minneapolis

Sandy Hale Minneapolis

Roger Hale Minneapolis

Judy Hamilton Minnetonka

Ann Heegaard Minnetonka

Hugh Henig Control Data Corp. Minneapolis

Trish Herbert Minnetonka

Al Hofstede Mayor

Ralph Hofstede Minneapolis

Ed Hogan Minneapolis Chamber

Oscar Howard Howard's Industrial Catering Minneapolis

Jerry Hudson Hamline University St. Paul

Hella Mears Hueg The Sibley Company St. Paul

John Hulse Northwestern Bell Minneapolis

Robert Hurner Minneapolis

Milton Hurwitz M.D. St. Paul

Emery Jackson Rochester

Demetrius Jelatis Red Wing

Sue Jirvani League of Women Voters Edina

Peter Johnson SALT Working Group U.S. Department of State

Virgene Johnson Minneapolis

Warren Jones Two Dot Land & Livestock Company Harlowton

Jack Jorgensen Minneapolis

Burton Joseph Minneapolis

Bob Joyce Minneapolis Chamber

Jeannette Kahlenberg White Bear Lake

Betty Kane Golden Valley

James Keenan Northwestern Bell Telephone Company

Kathleen Kemper Minneapolis

Stanley King Minneapolis

Karen Knudsen League of Women Voters

Kay Kramer Minneapolis

Joyce Lake White Bear Lake

Donald Lein Jostens Janet Leslie Excelsior

Phil Lewis WCCO Radio

Pat Llona League of Women Voters

Merlyn Logensgard Minnesota Farm Bureau

Scott Long Minneapolis

Diane Lynch St. Paul Chamber

Harvey Mackay Mackay Envelope

Amos Martin St. Paul Chamber

Glenn Matson Dept. of Commerce

Mary Jean McCall St. Paul

Barbara McClure Mound

Malcom McDonald Space Center

Oren McDonald Minneapolis

Norm McGrew Minneapolis Chamber

L. D. (Tip) Mills The Hutchinson Leader

Julia Moore SALT Working Group

Wenda Moore Minneapolis

Terrence Murphy
College of St. Thomas

John Murray St. Paul Marilyn Nelson Minneapolis

. . . .

Mary Lou Nelson Minneapolis

Vern Neppl Independent Republicans of Minnesota

Eugene Neuman Minneapolis

Robert Nickoloff First Federal Savings and Loan Assn

Carl Nielsen Dairy Craft, Inc.

Norma Noonan Augsbury College

Harvey O'Phelan Minneapolis

Mary Onstad Minneapolis

Martha Oye League of Women Voters

Cathy Pearson SALT Working Group

James Peterson Minneapolis

Wayne Petersen Honeywell, Inc.

Betty Phelan League of Women Voters

Scott Phillips Minneapolis Chamber

William Phillips
International Multifoods

Jim Pirius Cong. Vento Staff

Martha Platt Minneapolis

Stanley Platt Minneapolis Carl Pohlad The Marquette National Bank of Mpls

Laurie Prestou Minnetonka

David Preus American Lutheran Church

S. Clark Pyfer Galusha, Higgins & Galusha, C.P.A.

Eric Radtke Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs

Dave Ramnes The Daily Journal

Robert Reimers Reimers Seed Company

Hazel Reinhardt Minnesota State Planning Agency

Rose Mary Ritchie Minnetonka

Jim Rosenbaum Office of Sen. Boschwitz

Judy Rosenblatt League of Women Voters

Robert Rumpza Minnesota Farmers Union

Robert Rupp The Webb Company

Theodore Sanborn
The North Central Companies

Louise Saunders Charlie's Cafe Exceptionale, Inc.

Mary Schertler Cong. Vento Staff

Emily Schmitz League of Women Voters

R. W. Schultz The Kahler Corporation Rick Scott Minnesota DFL

Sue Scribner League of Women Voters

Richard Seaberg Univac Div., Sperry Rand Corp.

Lucy Senner Downtown Council

David Shama Minneapolis Chamber

Rabbi Shapiro St. Louis Park

Neil Sherburne Lakeland

James Sieben St. Paul

Otto Silha Minneapolis Star and Tribune Co.

Glen Skovholt Minneapolis

G. Richard Slad St. Paul

Warren Spannus St. Paul

Ronald Speed Honeywell, Inc.

Edson Spencer Honeywell, Inc.

Carl Sproat St. Paul

James Starr Cambridge

George Steuber Blaine Louise Sundin Minnesota AFL-CIO

Mary Swanson League of Women Voters

Donald Swartz United Television

Lois Swenson Minneapolis

Genevieve Thayer League of Women Voters

Bruce Vento U.S. Congress

Laird Waldo Hubbard Milling

Winston Wallin The Pillsbury Company

Nancy Wangen Minnetonka

Vin Weber Special Assistant to Sen. Boschwitz

Willie Mae Wilson Urban League of St. Paul

Mark Winkler Minneapolis

Charles Withers Rochester

Arlen Wittrock &t. Paul

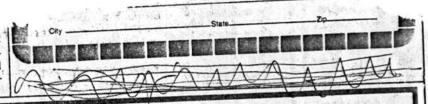
George Young Superintendent of Schools

Katherine Youngblood Edina

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4, president of the Fairsystem, doesn't consider it addbeds at all. He says the proposal offers a way to achieve a net reduc-



A PANEL DISCUSSION ON THE

RIDAY AUGUST 10

7:00 p.m.

Coffman Union's Great Hall University of Minnesota

FEATURED PANELISTS:

RICK SCOTT - State Chairman of the DFL

VINCE HAWKINSON - Pastor, Grace University Church past Executive Secretary,

STANLEY PLATT - Board Member of New Directions

Lutheran Peace Fellowship

PAT LIONA - League of Women Voters

DAVID ROE - President, Minnesota AFL-CIO

BOB SCHMIDT - Executive Vice President,

Control Data Corporation

MODERATOR: PROFESSOR WESLEY ST. JOHN, INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, HAMLINE UNIVERSITY

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PROJECT REQUEST FORM

TO: LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS EDUCATION FUND

1730 M Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

Date September 11, 1979

FROM: Name Sally Sawyer

League of Women Voters of Minnesota

Address 555 Wabasha

St. Paul, MN 55102

Proposed project:

and arguments for and against the treaty.

Printing of "Current Focus" on SALT II: Background information

Details of the project to be considered, including plans for execution:

We have already distributed the above material (copies attached) to each local League in Minnesota and we have had very positive response and interest. However, now we would like to have the information professionally printed and distributed more widely. We would edit the material slightly for the non-League audience, probably omitting the magazine re-print, re-writing the introduction to the arguments, and printing the pro and con arguments in two columns opposite each other.

Donor(s):

To be solicited

Proposed budget for the use of the grant (including 5% overhead due Education Fund):

| * | Expenditures |
|-----------------|---|
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| 1000 | 1000 Staff time and office overhead |
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| 150 1st downwid | \$2835 Buch mail 3000 capies + 60 stuff |
| | 1000 1746 1000 1846 1st downwid |

Distribution plans for printed material (if such material is part of the project):

The State Department of Education is considering distribution of this material to all social studies teachers in the state. We would also like to send a copy to all newspaper editors in the state, as well as to promote it to members of the general public.

fole



LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA • ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102 • TELEPHONE (612) 224-5445

September 12, 1979

Roger Wangen
State Department of Education
St. Paul, Minnesota 55/0/

Sciol Stades Cropair Coordinator Copital Square Blog. 550 Cedar St.

Dear Mr. Wangen:

Attached is one clean copy of the "Arguments for and against the SALT II Treaty" about which I talked to you on the phone last week. I am also enclosing a copy of a background paper on SALT II which we did earlier. Both pieces are probably needed together. If you prefer not to make your own copies of this, we would be glad to furnish 15 copies for your Task Force meeting on September 14 at 60¢ apiece for the "Arguments" or \$1.00 for both pieces together.

If you decide to use this with social studies teachers around the state, the League of Women Voters would like to have an outside reader go over it. This is our usual policy before widespread distribution of any of our publications. We would also do some minor editing. I would therefore appreciate your Task Force members not copying this material or distributing it at this time, in this form.

We have had one bid on what it would cost to print this material, with the arguments presented in two columns, "pro" on one side and "con" on the other. If you are intersted in a more finished looking piece, we could probably have it printed within two or three weeks and sell it to the Department of Education, or through you to local secondary schools, at about the same price as the zeroxed form, \$1.00 for the combined pieces, assuming a minimun order of 1000 copies.

We would see these pieces being used to supply teachers with the basic information and arguments about the Treaty and for advanced students who would be interested in putting on a debate on the topic. A teacher's guide for some of our future publications would be an excellent idea, but there is doubtless not time to prepare one on this subject, since it is such a current topic.

I will check with you next week about whether you think there is a market for this material through the Department. We appreciate your interest in League materials and hope that we can continue to have a cooperative relationship.

Sincerely yours,

Jeannette D. Kahlenberg, Director of Development SEP 17 1979

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Continuing Education and Extension

Office of the Dean 150 Wesbrook Hall 77 Pleasant Street S.E. Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455 (612) 373-3900

September 14, 1979

Ms. Pat Llona Leauge of Women Voters of Minnesota 555 Wabasha St. Paul, Minnesota 55101

Dear Pat:

I have read with considerable care the League publications on SALT. I think they are very well done. They are well-written, balanced, and certainly address the major issues. In my view, they constitute an important resource in helping citizens reach independent judgments on the substance of the debate.

My only concern is format. If you do indeed get money to reproduce them, I hope those funds will be adequate for a redesign. Only the most diligent citizen would be willing to cope with the solid mass of print, and that will be a deterrent to distribution. Whether we like it or not, Americans are accumstomed to handsome packaging.

Otherwise, as I have already said, I think the content is super.

Sincerely yours,

Barbara Stuhler Associate Dean

BS/sm

THE NORTH CENTRAL PUBLISHING COMPANY



Riverview Industrial Park 274 Fillmore Avenue East, Saint Paul, Minnesota 55107

Telephone (612) 224-5455

10 September 1979

Jeanette Kahlenberg League of Women Voters 555 Wabasha St. Paul, Minnesota 55102

Dear Jeanette:

We are pleased to submit the following quotation for your consideration:

additional 1,000's

Salt II Treaty Item: Size: 8½ x 11 No. of Pages: 8 Methods: offset lithography 70# Flambeau Paper: Ink: one color Compedition: NCP - 50,000 characters, keylining by NCP Litho Plates: NCP Bindery: saddle-stitch Packing: bulk Delivery: truck

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LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA • ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102 • TELEPHONE (612) 224-5445

October 15, 1979

Mr. Otto Silha Chairman of the Board Minneapolis Star and Tribune 425 Portland Avenue Minneapolis, MN 55488

Dear Mr. Silha:

Attached is a draft of a publication on SALT II by the League of Women Voters of Minnesota. It is the reason I tried to contact you last week and was referred to Elizabeth Stevenson. We thought you would be interested in seeing this material, since it is a very timely subject.

Sincerely yours,

Pat Llona

L/K

Enclosures



CURRENT FOCUS PROS AND CONS ON THE SALT II TREATY

League of Women Voters of Minnesota

555 Wabasha, St. Paul, Minnesota 55102 Phone (612) 224-5445

October 1979

The Salt II Treaty BACKGROUND AND DEBATE

INTRODUCTION

On May 9, 1979 Secretary of State Cyrus Vance announced that the United States and the Soviet Union had, after seven years of negotiations, reached agreement on a second Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT II) Treaty. The 70-page agreement was signed during a summit meeting between Presidents Carter and Brezhnev in Vienna on June 18.

Following the signing, debate began in the U.S. Senate on ratification of the Treaty. The Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Forces committees have spent several months on hearings. On October 15, the Foreign Relations committee began mark-up of the proposal, section by section. The timetable called for the Treaty to be taken up by the Senate on November 1, with a vote on the issue anticipated before the end of the year.

There are a large number of uncommitted senators. Many have said that they will wait to hear all the testimony and debate before making up their minds.

This paper contains (1) a description of the present strategic force levels of the US and the USSR; (2) the history of SALT I and II; (3) a chart summarizing the major terms of the SALT II Treaty; (4) a discussion of the methods of verification and (5) a summary of the major pro and con arguments on SALT II. A glossary at the end of the paper explains and discusses acronyms and technical terms important for understanding of the Treaty. Not all of these terms are included in the text of the paper. Thus the glossary may be considered an integral part of this publication.

The League of Women Voters of the United States neither supports nor opposes the SALT II Treaty although League Principles and positions include statements of members' desire for disarmament and world peace. The factual and impartial information on SALT II is provided here by the League of Women Voters of Minnesota so that citizens can make up their own minds about ratification of the Treaty.

STRATEGIC CAPABILITIES OF THE US AND USSR

The US and USSR are roughly equal in overall strategic nuclear power, but have maintained different emphases:

- The US has about twice as many deliverable strategic nuclear warheads as the Soviets.
- Both nations possess secure retaliatory weapons on submarines.
 The USSR has a larger number of subs and SLBMs, but the US has technologically superior missiles and far more of its SLBMs at sea at all times than does the USSR.
- The Soviets have more and larger land-based missiles (with more throw-weight), but US missiles are more accurate.

Seventy percent of the Soviet strategic force is land-based, fixed-target ICBMs.

- The US has a substantially larger heavy bomber force, more of which is on alert at all times; and our bombers are more capable than the Soviets'.
- The USSR has extensive air defenses, whereas US air defenses are minimal.

| PRESENT STRATEGIC FORCE | LEVELS | |
|--|--------|-------|
| | US | USSR |
| WARHEADS – in missiles and bombers | 9200+ | 5000+ |
| LAND-BASED INTERCONTINENTAL BALLISTIC MISSILES (ICBMs) (for the US, these are Minuteman and Titan missiles in underground silos) | 1054 | 1400 |
| SUBMARINE LAUNCHED BALLISTIC MISSILES (SLBMs) (the US has 41 subs with Polaris and Poseidon missiles) | 656 | 950 |
| STRATEGIC BOMBERS | 350 | 150 |

THE TREATY

SALT negotiations began in 1969 and are a continuing process of step-by-step reductions in levels of strategic weapons, while verifiable parity is maintained between the two superpowers.

SALT I, signed in 1972, included an ABM Treaty limiting antiballistic missile defense systems to two sites in each country and an Interim Agreement on Strategic Offensive Arms. In 1974 an ABM Protocol reduced the sites to one per country (the US installation in North Dakota has since been deactivated). The Treaty is of unlimited duration, subject to review every five years.

The Interim Agreement froze ICBMs and SLBMs at the number operational or under construction in 1972. It was to last five years, then be replaced by SALT II agreements with permanent limitations and possible reductions. (It did not freeze the number of MIRVs, and both sides have increased their total numbers of strategic warheads under the Treaty.) To allow more time to draft SALT II, both countries agreed not to violate SALT I after the October 1977 expiration date.

SALT II negotiations began in November 1972, with the goal of a comprehensive agreement limiting strategic offensive weapons. The basic framework for a treaty was agreed to by Presidents Ford and Brezhnev at Vladivostok in 1974. But a number of key issues remained undecided and negotiations within the framework lasted longer than was expected.

This paper has been researched, written, and edited by Pat Llona, Chair, and Judy Rosenblatt, member, of the International Relations Committee of the League of Women Voters of Minnesota. It is a revision and condensation of two earlier papers: "The SALT II Treaty," June 1979, and "Arguments for and Against the SALT II Treaty," August 1979, prepared by the same authors for LWVMN.

In March 1977 the Carter Administration proposed limitations beyond the Vladivostok principles, but the Soviets insisted on not changing the rules in the middle of the game. Subsequently, it was agreed that a separate protocol of shorter duration than the Treaty would deal with several issues on which no longer-term resolution is yet possible. The two governments also agreed to formulate a set of principles for a third phase of negotiations, SALT III, which would impose significant reductions in arsenals.

THE SALT II TREATY IN BRIEF

I. A Treaty lasting until 1985

- A. An overall ceiling of 2400 (at first) strategic delivery vehicles, reduced to 2250 in 1981. This includes ICBMs, SLBMs, cruise missiles and heavy bombers.
- B. A sublimit of a combined total of 1320 launchers of MIRVed land- and sea-based missiles, aircraft equipped to carry long-range cruise missiles, and MIRVed ASBMs.
- C. A sublimit of 1200 MIRVed ICBM, ASBM and SLBM launchers.
- D. A sublimit of 820 MIRVed ICBM launchers.
- E. A ban on constructing more fixed ICBM launchers or adding fixed, heavy ICBM launchers.
- F. Each nation permitted to test and deploy only one new type of light ICBM.
- G. A limit of 10 MIRVs on the one new ICBM, 14 MIRVs per SLBM and 10 warheads per ASBM. Long-range cruise missiles are limited to 28 per bomber or 20 per existing heavy bomber.
- H. Ceilings on the launch-weight and throw-weight of strategic ballistic missiles.
- I. A ban on rapid reload ICBM systems.
- J. A ban on certain new types of technically feasible but undeployed strategic offensive systems, including ballistic missiles on surface ships and launchers on the seabeds.
- K. Exchange of data on numbers of weapon systems in constrained categories.
- L. Advance notification of certain ICBM test launches.

II. A Protocol lasting until at least 1981

- A. A ban on deployment of ground- and sea-launched cruise missiles with ranges over 600 kilometers (375 miles). ALCMs with any ranges may be deployed. Development and testing of all types of cruise missiles allowed; no range limitations.
- B. A ban on testing and deployment (but not on development) of mobile ICBM launchers.
- III. Joint Statement of Principles for SALT III. Both sides agree to seek:
 - A. further reductions in ceilings.
 - B. further technological restraints on new weapons.
 - C. strengthened verification.
 - D. resolution of issues temporarily covered by the Protocol (cruise missile, mobile ICBMs).

What Does It Mean?

1. Under this agreement, US plans currently on the drawing board would go forward for the cruise missile, Trident submarine and the land-based MX missile. The US could develop and test GLCMs and SLCMs (see II, B). If, by 1982, the earliest that development could be completed anyway, the US were to decide that we need these weapons, we could deploy them rapidly.

- 2. The agreement would reduce US uncertainty about the nature of Soviet strategic forces in the 1980s, which the State Department believes would simplify the task of maintaining essential equivalence in strategic weapons between the two nations.
- 3. For the first time existing weapons would have to be dismantled: the Soviets would eliminate 250-300 missiles. This could create a useful precedent for the future. Without a treaty, it is estimated that the Soviets would add about 700 new missiles by 1985.
- 4. As newer systems are deployed in the 1980s, both sides might be forced to dismantle some present forces to stay within the numerical limits. The US would have to phase out older systems after the first six or seven Trident submarines are deployed.
- 5. Current Soviet practice is to develop four new ICBM models in parallel; under the treaty they would be restricted to one. The US has traditionally developed only one ICBM model at a time.
- 6. Neither side could put more warheads on a missile than had been tested on that missile by an agreed date. This hampers the Soviets with their greater throw-weight. The limits on warheads per missile (see I, G) are important because the Soviet SS-18 could have carried 30 to 40.
- 7. The Treaty doesn't restrict the ability or right of the US to supply our allies with modernized nuclear hardware.
- 8. The Treaty mandates numerical parity for the first time in five years. SALT I capped the arms race while allowing a perception of Soviet superiority.

METHODS OF VERIFICATION

The SALT II Treaty does not rely on trust. The State Department maintains that compliance with provisions of the treaty can be verified through technical intelligence methods ("national technical means" or NTM). It would be a violation to interfere with or conceal against verification by these methods. NTM include:

- 1. Reconnaissance satellites All launch points, airfields, construction sites, etc., are regularly photographed from space. Satellites equipped with radio listening devices can record signals from electronic equipment on the ground. Satellites include low-orbiting ones and fixed, 22,000-mile high early warning types with infrared sensors that can spot launches anywhere in the USSR.
- 2. Ground Radar These include line-of-sight systems near the Soviet borders that track missiles and over-the-horizon radars located at more distant sites that get signals bounced off the ionosphere.
- 3. Radio receivers record telemetry signals from Soviet test missiles to the ground, providing detailed data on their performance and characteristics. The SALT II Treaty bans encrypting these messages (using code to make the telemetry transmissions undecipherable by monitors).
- 4. Land, sea and aircraft platforms equipped with cameras, radars, infrared sensors and radio receivers monitor reentry of MIRVed Soviet test missiles.

A Standing Consultative Commission (SCC) was established by the SALT I accord and would be continued under SALT II. In this body the US has raised questions about any unusual or ambiguous activities of the Soviets, and they have raised questions about our activities. For every question raised by the US, either the activity stopped or we obtained a satisfactory explanation. Our five-year experience has shown no significant violations of the SALT I Treaty by the Soviets. This would indicate that the SCC is a viable forum for discussion of matters related to compliance.

ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST THE SALT II TREATY

The issues of disagreement are numbered. The authors attempted to be as comprehensive as possible, within the limits of time and readily available resources, and believe that most major disagreements between proponents and opponents are covered.

PRO

CON

1. Summary of Administration and Opponent Views

The Carter Administration's views of the danger if the SALT II Treaty isn't ratified were summed up by State Department Counselor Matthew Nimitz¹:"'We'd run some substantial risks first, of initiating a dangerous and costly new strategic arms race which would not increase our security. The situation would be extremely destabilizing and very expensive.' Nimitz also argues that SALT's failure would jeopardize the Administration's efforts to negotiate 'deep cuts' in arms levels and would set back US-Soviet efforts to reduce East-West troup strength in Central Europe and ban nuclear tests.

"'We also run a risk of heightened tension in the world,' he warned.' It would create a more difficult atmosphere for human rights, for trade, and for understandings about other areas of the world.'"

William Lee², a careful student of past Soviet defense budgets and programs, can identify little, if any, modification in the general magnitude of Soviet defense budgets and, therefore, defense programs in response to international events or changes in the US programs. He says the Soviet five-year plan is so interrelated and complex that anything beyond marginal adjustment is extremely disruptive and in the past has rarely occurred. (Note, changes in US programs have included: slowing the Trident submarine program, dropping the B-1 bomber project, nondeployment of the neutron bomb, and hesitation on the MX missile program.)

Lt. Gen. Edward Rowny³, who represented the US Joint Chiefs of Staff in six years of negotiation, says the Treaty undermines our strategic forces' deterrance ability because our ICBMs will remain vulnerable from the early '80s to the end of the treaty (1985), and possibly even for 10 years. (It would be that long before the MX is fully operational.) Gen. Rowny says we could have insisted that the Soviets reduce their heavy ICBMs and that they would have done so. He resigned in June 1979 in protest. He suggests that a position where the US is strategically inferior may cause future Soviet leaders to be less deterred. This is also destabilizing.

2. Conversion from Military to Civilian Expenditures

The governments of the world spent \$434 billion in 1977 on armaments; over 50% of this was spent by the US and the USSR.⁴ Aside from the ever-increasing danger of nuclear holocaust, military expenditures are highly inflationary, producing no goods or services that can be used. Military spending is also highly wasteful of money, resources and energy. SALT II is a necessary prerequisite for SALT III, which would call for arms cuts, allowing us to reduce our military budgets and devote our resources to activities that benefit people, produce jobs and lower inflation. Studies show that civilian activities generate more jobs than defense spending does. In 1975 a US Labor Department study concluded that the number of jobs generated per \$1 billion spent is 72,800 for military, 99,800 for state and local governments, and 201,500 for education revenue sharing.⁵

There is no argument that billions are wasted on arms that might be placed elsewhere. But at an arms control conference in June 1977⁶, it was stated that there is a great difference between what the US and Russia spend on defense. A defector estimates that there are over 10 million people required for the Soviet Union's defense effort, including 4.6 million military personnel. The figure for the US is 5 million people for defense, including 2.1 million in military services. The question here is whether or not we need to improve our military posture to counter an unwarranted Soviet buildup. Secretary of Defense Brown and Secretary of State Vance, who are in the best position to know, say "yes".⁷

3. Rules and Standards

The Treaty provides a basis for judging what the Soviets are up to — it establishes rules and limits by which both sides have to abide. Without it there would be no standards, no limits, no rules against concealment.

We actually gain very little in the rules of verification by national technical means since they are limited to what would threaten the terms of the Treaty. "Even where the limitations appear to be precisely defined, compliance is, in many cases, difficult to verify," says Paul Nitze in his testimony. Some critics don't like the fact that encoding of information from missile tests is allowed under SALT II if it doesn't impede verification. The State Department says "Verification is the process of determining to the extent necessary to safeguard our national security, that the other side is complying with the SALT agreement." Some Senators think the encoding possibility is a potential loophole to allow the Soviets to evade US monitoring of Russian compliance with the agreement.

4. Relation of Security to Costs

Without the Treaty we would have to assume the worst about the Soviets and prepare for it, at great cost and the higher risk that some day, either by intent or by accident, the weapons would be used. All-out nuclear competition would be more burdensome for the Soviets than for the US because the USSR is a poorer country whose people have many unmet needs. But the

We are <u>already</u> assuming the worst about the Soviets in that the consensus is to move ahead with the MX missile and to build up our forces in face of the Soviet buildup in Europe, in fact in all of their offensive and defensive systems. Eugene Rostow ¹⁰ says we were more secure in 1945-72 without an arms limitation agreement. He cites Soviet default on obligations as guaranter of

4. Relation of Security to Costs (contd.)

arms race would be extremely costly for both sides, and more weapons would make neither country more secure.

Some SALT observers estimate that without an accord the Soviets might deploy 3000-3500 strategic launchers by 1985. They have 2500 launchers to the US' 2100 presently and would be required under SALT II to destroy 250 to stay under the limit of 2250.

The Senate Budget Committee estimates that without the agreement, the US could spend up to \$70 billion (constant FY 1979 dollars) on arms over the next 15 years — above our currently expanding defense budget.

5. Verification

The SALT II Treaty does not rely on trust; we can verify Soviet compliance through national technical means (NTM). While the Soviets can be expected to test limits and exploit loopholes and ambiguities, they have never brazenly violated the terms of earlier agreements. The Defense Department has stated, "It is our view that the USSR has complied with the obligations it assumed in the SALT I Agreements." If any "holes" are discovered, they can be closed without renegotiating the Treaty.

the peace agreements of 1973 (for which Sec. of State Henry Kissinger was given the Nobel Peace Prize), which the Soviets treated like scraps of paper. Professor Rostow warns against the Soviet "breakout" (of the Treaty) capability. This is also cited by Gen. Rowny.

Jeremy Stone¹¹, director of the Federation of American Scientists, says, "The Soviets recognize that the basic momentum of their strategic programs can be continued and maintained under the strictures of SALT II, notwithstanding limits; so their concessions (to the Treaty) are marginal in strategic terms." Mr. Stone would like real disarmament to take place and wants a resolution to that effect. He wants definite reductions in numbers included in SALT III or, he says, SALT will "self-destruct."

Retired Gen. David Woellner¹³, representing the Coalition for Peace Through Strength, claims that the loss of Iran as a monitoring station was important, because it looked down the Russian missile testing range. The radar system there was a 24-hour "cue" device, the most important part of the system for observing test firings and counting numbers of warheads. The airborne collectors of information and ships at sea at the point of impact were alerted by it.

Sen. John Glenn, after being briefed on security-classified monitoring methods, told a witness at the Senate hearings that he would not use the word "adequate" to describe the US capability to verify. He added that the US will be reluctant to report Soviet interference with verification because it reveals too much about US intelligence gathering.¹⁴

The Joint Chiefs of Staff gave what has been termed an unenthusiastic unanimous approval to SALT II. Among three topics of concern about which they had reservations was verification. Verification, they say, "will be a stern challenge to our varied and highly capable intelligence systems." 15

6. Throw Weight and Numbers of Soviet Missiles

State Department analysts do not see the greater numbers and throw-weight (useful payload) of Soviet ICBMs as a great threat to the U.S. Simply keeping close to the US in strategic nuclear capability has been an enormously expensive and difficult task for the Soviet Union. Secretary of State Vance has said, "... insofar as strategic forces are concerned, their direction is one of maintenance of rough equality or rough parity between the two nations." Gen. George Brown, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Defense Secretary Brown agree that the scenario put forward by Treaty critics of a Soviet first strike which would destroy US land-based ICBMs is "farfetched." "I can't take it seriously," said Gen. Brown.

In order for the Soviets to contemplate a first strike, they would have to be sure that all their missiles would work and destroy 1000 US missile sites. How could they be sure? Missiles are not 100% reliable. Also, only two warheads can be fired at the same launcher because of the danger that effects from the first explosion will destroy later warheads. How would they know the US President wouldn't launch a counterattack even before their first-strike missiles hit? We expect the Soviets to act in their own interest, and that includes not starting a nuclear war which would destroy their own society.

If land-based, fixed ICBMs are inherently vulnerable, the Soviets are in much worse shape than we are, since such missiles constitute 70% of their strategic force and only 30% of ours. While the Soviets have relied on the land-based ICBMs as their nuclear deterrent, the US has developed a Triad of strategic systems, so that we would not be vulnerable by "putting all our eggs in one basket." Each element of the Triad (land-based sub-

From 1969 to 1972, when we signed the SALT I Interim Agreement, the Soviets doubled their missile force. The 1972 agreement froze fixed ICBMs then operational or under construction. The US then had 1054 to the Soviets 1607. The Russians started building large ICBMs early in the contest between Russia and the US. Norman Polmar, the historian on military technology, attributes this to Russia's geographical location next to our European allies and to the Russian lack of a strategic bomber position (which the US already had). The throwweight of the Russian ICBMs is much greater than that of the US missiles.

Russia has 308 MIRVed modern heavy ballistic missiles (MHBMs); the US has none. The Russian MHBM has a useful payload of 16,000 pounds. The US MIRVed ICBM, the Minuteman, has a useful payload of 2,400 pounds; it is a light missile. The Russian heavy missile (NATO designation SS-18) has 10 warheads, limited to 10 under the terms of the SALT II Treaty. But it could carry 20 to 30. The US Minuteman has three warheads and is limited to three under the terms of the treaty.

Two other Russian missiles that we call the SS-17 and SS-19 have payloads of about 7000-8000 pounds each. All during the SALT II negotiations these were spoken of as "light missiles," says Gen. Rowny, who pointed out in his Senate testimony that the area destruction capability of even these so-called light missiles is much greater than that of our missiles. Instead of numbers of ICBMs, said Rowny, we should have been speaking of the weight or hard target kill capability (ability to destroy a huge area of industrial or military sites). In that contest, even if less accurate the Russian ICBMs have a huge advantage. Taking into account the fact that we will soon have some better guidance systems in the Minuteman III, estimates are that the US ICBMs could not

6. Throw Weight and Numbers of Soviet Missiles (contd.)

marine-based and bombers) can stand alone, according to our State Department. The Soviet advantage in ICBM throw-weight is currently compensated by the US advantage in numbers of nuclear warheads, missile accuracy, and numbers and capability of heavy bombers.

In the unlikely event that our land-based missiles were completely destroyed, we would still be able to respond with SLBMs and bombers. The Missiles from one Poseidon submarine could destroy every large and middle-sized city in the Soviet Union; and we have 31 Poseidons, plus 10 Polaris submarines

Without SALT II and the limits it imposes, the Soviets could deploy even more nuclear weapons; and our hypothetically vulnerable land-based Minuteman missiles would be even more vulnerable. In any case, Pres. Carter recently ordered full-scale development of the MX, a lightweight missile which is mobile. This means that US land-based ICBMs will not be "sitting ducks." The mobile MX would be comparable to the SS-17 or SS-19, Russian light missiles. The MX would be larger than the Minuteman III, with the same range but greater accuracy. The cost estimate two years ago was \$10-20 million each, excluding development and launch-facilities cost.

destroy more than 50% of the Soviet ICBM silos in 1985. Right now a first strike against us by the Soviets could knock out virtually all of the land-based missiles that the US has. There has been no disagreement voiced during the Senate hearings over the vulnerability of our ICBMs.

Some Treaty opponents want a revision that would make the Russians reduce the number of SS-18s, or else allow the US to deploy an equally heavy force. The problem with the latter is that if the Russians said yes we would have to undertake a massive buildup to equal their forces — and the US defense experts still don't favor the heavy type of ICBM.

The mobile MX has not yet been developed. As to its helping our "sitting ducks", it won't be fully deployed before 1990. One option for deployment (multiple protective system — the MX in vertical silos with random movement from silo to silo) is not considered to be acceptable to the Soviets.

Each element of the Triad <u>cannot</u> stand alone. The submarine system has the following drawbacks; 50% of the subs are docked at all times; communication is a problem as the subs must trail an antenna close to the surface, which is dangerous for detection; Sec. Brown speaks of our Trident sub on patrol in 1981, capable of longer on-station times. ¹⁸ This suggests that the submarine leg of the Triad is not always reachable. (ICBMs reach targets in 30 minutes).

B-52 bomber bases can be hit by Russian sea-launched cruise missiles of less than 375-mile range, the limit in the Treaty, whereas Russian Backfire bomber bases cannot be hit by US sea-launched cruise missiles under the range limit imposed by the Treaty.

In one of the final testimonies to Senators¹⁹, Gen. Alexander Haig, newly retired NATO chief, recommended that the Treaty be held in abeyance until we have corrected our military position or clarified our objectives and come to a consensus on what to do to counteract what most now concede is an excessive Russian military buildup.

7. Effect on Our Allies

The US has pledged to increase our arms budget so that the NATO countries will be adequately protected. The US has reassured our allies that the Protocol, which forbids deployment of ground-launched cruise missiles, will not be extended beyond its 1981 end date. Until then we will be able to develop and test ground- and sea-launched cruise missiles. The US has pledged to help NATO modernize its conventional weapons.

The NATO countries count on us to maintain the allied military posture and to manage the East-West relationship. The breakdown of SALT would encourage Soviet pressure on Western Europe. The West Europeans believe in detente and don't want to abandon it. They would go their own way and make their own bargains without SALT II, but they'd be weaker and distanced from us. US allies would lose faith in the American ability to conduct international affairs.²⁰

Some opponents say the Treaty endangers vital NATO interests. A news analysis put it this way²¹: "Senator Henry Jackson believes that the treaty endangers vital NATO interests. His argument: Russia is free to deploy without restraint its 2,500 mile SS-20 missiles targeted on Western Europe. But the U.S. in a treaty protocol is barred from deploying ground and sea-launched cruise missiles in Europe with a range of more than 375 miles. These weapons are viewed by some allies as invaluable to counter the Soviet nuclear threat to Europe. Even though the ban is temporary, expiring at the end of 1981, Jackson and other senators maintain that it establishes a precedent that the Russians will exploit to handcuff NATO and to embarrass the US with its allies."

The "disastrous" results from last year's on-again, off-again deployment of the neutron bomb has already given Europe some concern over our ability to conduct international affairs. The Soviets have the advantage in Europe of such arms as theater nuclear missiles and aircraft.

8. The Backfire Bomber

The Backfire is a modern Soviet swing-wing bomber with characteristics intermediate between those of heavy and medium bombers. It could reach American targets at subsonic speeds on high altitude, one way, unrefueled missions, but it would be vulnerable to US interceptors.

Close observation of Soviet uses of this bomber since 1969 indicates that it is deployed for use in a theater or naval strike role (against Europe or China) and is a replacement for older Soviet medium bombers. The Soviets have pledged to produce no more than 30 Backfires per year and not to change its role from

The Backfire is versatile. It can be used for nuclear strikes, conventional attacks, antiship warfare, reconnaissance and electronic warfare. It is capable of missions against NATO, China, Japan and the Middle East. Norman Polmar²² points out that the Soviet General Staff could change the Backfire mission to intercontinental in a matter of 24 hours, whereas for the US to prepare a defense against it would take several years. Polmar mentions thinning air defenses in the US, as did Gen. Rowny.²²

At the rate they are being built the Soviets could have 300-400 Backfires at the end of the Treaty period, say some. The Com-

8. The Backfire Bomber (contd.)

theater weapon to intercontinental strategic weapon.

The 115 Backfires that the Soviet Union now possesses are more than offset by the 1000 or so American forward-based aircraft stationed in Western Europe, Asia and on aircraft carriers. We and our allies did not want our medium bombers included in the SALT II ceilings. England and France also have strategic aircraft which are not counted. Exclusion of these bombers along with the Backfire was to our mutual interest.

If Backfires were equipped with long-range cruise missiles, they would be counted under the SALT II ceilings on launchers and MIRVed missiles.

mitment by Pres. Brezhnev to limit production of the Backfire to 30 per year is not part of the signed Treaty, nor is the pledge to limit its radius of action. Brezhnev's assurances were in a written statement handed to Pres. Carter.

Gen. Rowny points out that the US B-52s are counted as heavy bombers because they are capable of striking targets on unrefueled missions and landing in third countries. The Backfires can do the same.

9. Linkage

Some critics argue that passage of the Treaty should be linked with Soviet "good behavior." It is inappropriate to deny ourselves a treaty we think is in our own best interest in order to put pressure on the Soviets. Because we don't like Soviet misbehavior in many areas, we must have the Treaty, so that we can keep tabs on what they are doing in the area of nuclear weapons - the most important aspect of the US-Soviet relationship, since it concerns not only our own but the world's survival.

The treaty is not useful as a lever in other areas. We will accept only equality in offensive weapons. If we say "you must improve behavior in . . . or we won't have SALT," we are cutting off our nose to spite our face . . . or as Mao said, "lifting a rock only to drop it on our own foot."24

Among the critics who have suggested linkage is former Sec. of State Kissinger."... there was Kissinger's proposal to link future SALT talks to the Senate's view of Soviet behavior. He wanted to make the President send a report card to the Senate annually on the Russians' conduct in the world. Then, every two years, the Senate would vote on whether they were behaving themselves and, if not, whether to call off the Strategic Arms

10. Improved Systems

Some SALT critics say the Soviets have been rapidly expanding their nuclear arsenal in the last 10 years by developing and deploying new missile systems. These critics leave the impression that the US has been standing idly by while the Soviets outstrip us. But the US has been modernizing all three parts of the US strategic Triad:

Land-based systems - Two programs will improve our present Minuteman force: the NS-20 guidance system will increase accuracy of our 550 Minuteman III missiles from 400 yards to 200 yards. Mark 12A warheads will double the yield on each warhead of 300 of the missiles from 170 to 350 kilotons. The mobile MX is to be developed and deployed in a network of roads and shelters in the western US, according to Administration plans.

Sea-based systems - This year the US will begin deploying a new Trident I missile in 12 of our existing Poseidon submarines, which will increase the missile range from 2500 to 4000 miles. In 1980 the first of at least 14 new Trident subs will be deployed. Plans call for deployment late in the 1980s of a more powerful Trident II missile, which would have a range of up to 6000 miles.

Air-based systems - Although the B-1 bomber program was cancelled, a great deal of money is being spent to improve the offensive and defensive capability of our B-52 bombers. By 1981 the first of 3,434 ALCMs will be deployed on the B-52s. Also planned is an entirely new cruise missile carrier.26

SALT II allows us to modernize our forces and preserve our deterrent with stabilizing programs such as the subsonic cruise missile, a retaliatory rather than a first-strike weapon.

Land-based systems - The last of the Minuteman missiles were deployed in 1975. Compare their weight (2,400 pounds) to that of the Soviet SS-18 (16,000 pounds). (See issue No. 6.) Part of the strategic balance for the US had to come from accuracy. The MX is not built, and Congress will have to approve the cost. We have no way of knowing the Soviets' improvement in accuracy of the MIRVed missile.

Sea-based systems - The Soviet Delta submarine, probably superior to the Trident, will be ready before Trident.

Air-based systems - B-52s are very old (production stopped in the early '60s). Norman Polmar²⁷ says the existing force is predicted to wear out in the 1980s.

In his Senate committee testimony, former Sec. of State Kissinger, while recommending ratification of the Treaty, called for some conditions: acceleration of the Trident missile and submarine system and the MX ICBM, improvement of tactical nuclear weapons, expanded conventional forces and a larger Navy.

11. New Weapons

The SALT II agreement helps prevent the development of new weaponry. The risk in an unbridled technological competition is that one side, in fear of what the other may have developed, will strike first. If the arms race continues, new weapons systems that are difficult to detect through technological verification systems will be developed. The strategic cruise missile - small, capable of being launched from many different platforms (bombers, submarines, flat-bed trucks) or of being confused with shorter-range tactical cruise missiles - is one of these. There would be others.

One of the Treaty constraints has to do with "new missile systems." A variation of more than 5% over any systems tested before May 1, 1979 would be equivalent to a new system. No characteristics of the large number of missiles tested by the Soviets have been offered to us. In the past we have believed that we could monitor those characteristics to an accuracy no greater than plus or minus 15%. Precisely defined limitations are in the Treaty, but compliance is difficult to verify. Verification of stockpiling also poses difficulties.

Many new weapons are not covered in SALT II, for example laser beams.

12. Atmosphere

The atmosphere of suspicion that would result from nonratification could jeopardize agreements and discussions between the US and the Soviets in many other areas of mutual concern.

A suspicious atmosphere exists already, with or without SALT II. The only mutual concern seems to be not letting the other get ahead in the arms race. The Soviets do not understand our gestures of restraint. General Rowny says any increase in their momentum of buildup will put them on a war footing. That is not mutual restraint.

13. Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

American efforts to avoid proliferation of nuclear weapons to other countries could be undermined by the failure of SALT II. as other countries conclude that the US isn't really serious about arms control. The Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty comes up for review in 1980. Without a SALT II agreement, it might not survive.

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe is not a part of SALT but it is a negotiating forum on mutual concerns between NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries. Mutual and balanced force reduction talks are also ongoing. SALT is not the only line of communication.

14. Does It Limit Arms?

It is true that the Treaty only sets upper limits (although the Soviets would have to destroy 250 existing missiles to comply and both sides would have to destroy old systems as they deploy new ones that bring them over the limits). But, without the agreement even more weapons would be built — in an atmosphere of suspicion and noncommunication. It is necessary to sign this treaty to preserve the process of negotiation in order to get to substantial arms cuts in SALT III and SALT IV. Both sides are committed to begin SALT III negotiations with the goal of substantial reductions, the only way to remove the threat of nuclear destruction. We must remember that it was the Soviets who refused in 1977 to go along with Pres. Carter's proposal for cuts in the nuclear arsenals of both sides.

Jeremy Stone and Eugene Rostow²⁸, Sens. George McGovern and Mark Hatfield and numerous other critics, both "hawks" and "doves" in both political parties, agree that the Treaty does not really limit arms. Sen. Hatfield has proposed an amendment to freeze the nuclear weapons systems of both superpowers to the numbers deployed at the time the Treaty was signed. Other Senators have proposed "reservations" or "understandings" to modify the Treaty. (See Glossary for definitions).

15. Public Opinion

Polls indicate that over 70% of the American public support ratification of SALT II.

Most of the American public is not familiar with the terms of the Treaty. The results of a nationwide poll taken in March 1979 show how answers change when questions are posed a different way and more information is given.²⁹

16. Effect in the Soviet Union

If we don't ratify SALT II, the Soviets will see the US as an unreliable negotiating partner. They would think the US is becoming more hostile towards the USSR and would accelerate spending on new strategic delivery systems. We, of course, would have to match their increases, at great cost to both sides. The failure would sour the political climate. It would be a strong signal to the new Soviet leadership which will be taking over in the next few years that they shouldn't take any risks for disarmament but should "tough it out."30

We are now analyzing our estimates of what the Soviets feel toward us. Such conjecture is a questionable practice since, according to Gen. Rowny,"...in 51 US national intelligence estimates of predicted Soviet performances over the past 10 years ... 49 have underestimated the situation."31

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- 10. from a paper, "The Case Against SALT II," by Eugene Rostow, professor of law at Yale. 11. from testimony of Jeremy J. Stone, director of the Federation of American Scientists, before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, July 12, 1979.
- 12. quoted in the February 1979 Defense Monitor, Center for Defense Information. 13. in a speech at the St. Paul Athletic Club, June 19, 1979. quote in the article "Significance of SS-18 Role Questioned," Aviation Week and Space
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- 20. analysis by Curtis W. Kamman, Special Assistant, Office of the Special Adviser to the Secretary of State, US Department of State, in speech "The Soviet Challenge Their View of the World and Our Relations with Them," at Conference on SALT II, April 26, 1979.
- 21. in an article in US News and World Report, July 16, 1979.
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- op. cit. testimony by Gen. Towny.
- op. cit., State Department representative Curtis W. Kamman.
- quotation from article by Anthony Lewis, "Kissinger's Quest for Future Power," Minneapolis Tribune, August 24, 1979.
- US plans for modernization of forces appeared in "SALT II: The Troubled Treaty," Council for a Livable World Reports, May 1979.
- 27. op. cit., by Norman Polmar.
- op. cit., Jeremy Stone testimony; Eugene Rostow paper.

 "Public Attitudes on SALT II," the results of a nationwide scientific poll of Americanion, published by Committee on the Present Danger, March 15, 1979.
- 30. op. cit., speech by Curtis W. Kamman
- 31. op. cit., testimony by Gen. Rowny.

GLOSSARY

- ABM antiballistic missile, capable of intercepting incoming ballistic missiles; defensive system limited by the SALT I Treaty.
- ALCM air-launched cruise missile. See CRUISE MISSILE.
- AMENDMENT makes actual changes in language of Treaty. The Treaty would have to be renegotiated with the Soviets. A RESERVATION, weaker than an amendment, is an attachment which substantially modifies or limits one or more of the Treaty provisions, yet does not change the text. It would have to be communicated to and agreed to by the Soviets. An UNDERSTANDING, or "interpretation," does not modify any provision but clarifies or explains Senatorial interpretation of some provision in the Treaty. Under existing practices, the President, who would be expected to apply any Treaty "understandings," would communicate them to the Soviets. Renegotiation is not required.
- ASBM air-to-surface ballistic missile, launched from an airplane.
- BACKFIRE BOMBER NATO name for a Soviet swing-wing bomber intermediate between current heavy and medium bombers, presently being deployed with Soviet medium bomber and naval aviation units. One of the issues of disagreement between the Soviets and US, as the US wanted these considered heavy bombers and thus counted within the ceiling of 2250 strategic delivery vehicles. This bomber can hit US targets only by flying from Arctic bases at high altitudes and subsonic speeds on one-way missions, unless refueled (it can be refueled in midair). The US is not at a disadvantage because our medium bombers based in Europe are not counted under SALT II either. If Backfires were equipped with long-range cruise missiles, they would come under the SALT II ceilings.
- BALLISTIC MISSILE a missile that is self-powered during most of its ascent, travels in a high arc, typically outside the atmosphere, and descends as a free-falling object.
- CRUISE MISSILE essentially a small, pilotless jet airplane, relatively cheap to produce, that can fly low to elude radar detection and is potentially capable of great range and accuracy. Its flight path stays within the earth's atmosphere. Item of dispute by US and Soviets; covered in the SALT II Protocol.
- ESSENTIAL EQUIVALENCE Doctrine of the US that the US and USSR must not only maintain equal strategic nuclear forces but also the perception on both sides that forces are at least equal; any advantages in force characteristics enjoyed by the Soviets are offset by US advantages in other characteristics.
- GLCM ground-launched cruise missile. See CRUISE MISSILE.
- HEAVY (BALLISTIC) MISSILE missile with a launch- or throw-weight greater than that of the Soviet SS-19 ICBM, under SALT II definitions. Ballistic missiles are divided into light and heavy according to their throw-weight and launch-weight.
- HEAVY BOMBER.— strategic delivery aircraft (in the US, B-1s and B-52s) that can carry a variety of missiles and bombs, including ASBMs. US planners believe that these planes must be capable of penetrating Soviet defenses not constrained by SALT, so the US has decided to modernize them by equipping some with long-range ALCMs.
- ICBM intercontinental ballistic missile, land-based, fixed or mobile, rocket-propelled vehicle. The US has 54 Titan and 1000 Minuteman ICBMs. Government planners believe that both US and USSR ICBMs are becoming increasingly vulnerable to attack as technology produces improvements in missile accuracy. See MX MISSILE.

- LAUNCH-WEIGHT the weight of the fully loaded missile itself at the time of launch. Includes the aggregate weight of all booster stages, the post-boost vehicle and the payload.
- LIGHT (BALLISTIC) MISSILE a ballistic missile equal to or lighter than the Soviet SS-19 ICBM. See HEAVY MISSILE.
- MIRV multiple, independently targetable reentry vehicle, a system of several warheads on a single ballistic missile, each capable of being delivered against a different target.
- MOBILE MISSILE land-based missile that can be moved to avoid successful targeting by an opponent. Mobility can be achieved by vehicles on wheels or rails, or by moving launchers among launch points (the "shell game"). See MX MISSILE.
- MX MISSILE "missile experimental," mobile ICBM under consideration by the US, to replace what some planners consider vulnerable fixed Minuteman ICBMs.
- NTM national technical means, technological systems for monitoring the strategic forces (construction, movement, testing, etc.) of another country. Under the SALT II Treaty, neither side would be able to interfere with the NTM of the other party or deliberately conceal information so as to impede verification by NTM of compliance with the treaty provisions.
- PAYLOAD weapons and penetration aids carried by a delivery vehicle (ballistic missile or bomber).
- POST-BOOST VEHICLE often referred to as a "bus"; that part of a missile's payload carrying the reentry vehicles, a guidance package, fuel, and thrust devices for the MIRVs.
- RESERVATION See AMENDMENT
- SLBM submarine-launched ballistic missile, most survivable element in the US Triad of a first-strike attack. The US has 41 nuclear submarines equipped with 160 Polaris and 496 Poseidon missiles. Each Poseidon can carry up to 14 MIRV warheads. Poseidon missiles are being replaced by Trident missiles (see TRIDENT).
- SLCM submarine-launched cruise missile, See CRUISE MISSILE.
- STRATEGIC WEAPONS nuclear weapons that can reach the territory of one nation from the territory of another. As contracted with TACTICAL WEAPONS, nuclear or non-nuclear medium or short-range weapons, used primarily in a given battle zone; and CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS, non-nuclear weapons.
- THROW-WEIGHT the weight of the payload that can be put on the end of a missile and thrown from launch to target; an indirect way of measuring destructive power. Soviet throw-weight exceeds the US's because the USSR has emphasized land-based ICBMs in its strategic planning. The US has opted for smaller, more accurate ICBMs and a more balanced Triad of forces.
- TRIAD the three main elements of US strategic offensive forces: land-based ICBMs, submarine-based SLBMs and heavy bombers.
- TRIDENT submarine-launched, long-range missile which the US has developed to replace Poseidon missiles; viewed as a stabilizing deterrent weapon. Eventually Poseidon subs will be replaced by a fleet of much larger Trident submarines, each carrying 24 missiles. The first deployment of Trident I Missiles on Poseidon subs was scheduled for October 1979.
- UNDERSTANDING See AMENDMENT.

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- "We Support SALT," The New Republic, CLXXX:18, May 5, 1979.



LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

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PHONE: (612) 224-5445

TO: Salt I

FROM:

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LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA • ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102 • TELEPHONE (612) 224-5445

October 18, 1979

Mr. Edward Reuter, President Reuter, Inc. 410 11th Avenue So. Hopkins, MN 55343

Dear Mr. Reuter:

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota would like to request a contribution of \$500 toward the printing and distribution of an impartial paper on the SALT II Treaty. I am enclosing a draft of the paper, essentially as it went to the printer today. We believe it is a useful and unbiased publication and will be helpful to Minnesota citizens in making up their minds about ratification of this important Treaty.

The paper will be printed in two columns, with the Pro arguments on one side and the Con arguments on the other. It will be about eight printed pages. The Department of Education has already planned to send it to every high school in the state for use in social studies classes. The League will also send it to all daily and weekly newspapers in Minnesota. Numerous other organizations and individuals have requested copies.

The League of Women Voters originally prepared this material for the use of our own members, but now we have decided that it deserves wider distribution. However, we require outside funding in order to accomplish this task. On the other hand, it is such a timely topic that we believed it was necessary to take it to the printers today. If we have your decision on funding by Thursday or Friday, Oct. 25 or 26, or possibly by Monday, Oct. 29, we will be able to add the name of your company to the credits on the last page. This would be a tax-deductible contribution through the League of Women Voters Education Fund.

We hope that you will respond favorably to this request.

Sincerely yours,

Pamela Berkwitz,

President



LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA • ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102 • TELEPHONE (612) 224-5445

October 15, 1979

Minneapolis Star and Tribune Foundation 425 Portland Avenue Minneapolis, MN 55488

Attention: Elizabeth Stevenson

Dear Ms. Stevenson:

Attached is a draft of the League of Women Voters of Minnesota (LWVMN) publication on SALT II, for your information. Jeannette Kahlenberg, our Director of Development, appreciated the opportunity to speak to you last week about this project. You indicated that you would mention it to Mr. Silha. I have taken the liberty of also sending him a copy of this material.

The League of Women Voters believes that this information provides an impartial view of SALT II - background, history, and pro and con arguments. We would like to print this information in a more readable, two column format, with some minor editing, and distribute about 2000 copies. We believe that this brief summary of the arguments on the Treaty would provide Minnesota citizens with valuable information in making up their own minds on ratification.

In our recent conversation, you indicated that the Minneapolis Star and Tribune Foundation would not be able to fund our entire project at this time. However, we have received today a pledge of \$500 from MTS Systems Corporation. I am therefore returning to you to request \$500 which combined with other contributors might enable us to go ahead with the project.

The State Department of Education has already said they will mail out 750 copies to all the high schools in Minnesota. We have distributed about 300 copies in typed format already to local Leagues who are sponsoring meetings and debates on SALT II in their communities. The demand for copies is continuing. We have had inquiries from churches and we believe that service organizations, colleges, the World Affairs Center, chambers of commerce, the United Nations Association, the Upper Midwest Council, daily and weekly newspapers, libraries, etc. may be interested.

We require outside tax-deductible gifts in order to fund this project. Our budget including printing costs, distribution costs, office and overhead comes to \$2000 with \$500 already pledged.

I have enjoyed speaking with Mr. Silha on the phone in the past. The LWVMN hopes the Foundation will consider contributing to the funding of this immediate project.

Sincerely yours,

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA • ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102 • TELEPHONE (612) 224-5445

October 18, 1979

Mr. Donald F. Melton President PaR Systems Corporation 3400 Lexington Avenue North St. Paul, Minnesota 55112

Dear Mr. Melton:

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota would like to request a contribution of \$100 toward the printing and distribution of an impartial paper on the SALT II Treaty. I am enclosing a draft of the paper, essentially the way it will be printed. We believe it is a useful and unbiased publication and will be helpful to Minnesota citizens in making up their minds about ratification of this important Treaty.

The paper will be printed in two columns, with the Pro arguments on one side and the Con arguments on the other. It will be about eight printed pages. The Department of Education has already planned to send it to every high school in the state for use in social studies classes. The League will also send it to all daily and weekly newspapers in Minnesota. Numerous other organizations and individuals have requested copies.

The League of Women Voters originally prepared this material for the use of our own members but now we have decided that it deserves wider distribution. However, we require outside funding in order to accomplish this task. It is such a timely topic that we wish to have it printed and distributed immediately. This would be a tax-deductible contribution through the League of Women Voters Education Fund.

The League appreciates you past contributions to the local League in Shoreview and to our State League conference on Arms Control last spring. We hope that you will also respond favorably to this request.

Sincerely yours,

Pamela Berkwitz, President



LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA • ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102 • TELEPHONE (612) 224-5445

October 18, 1979

Mr. Charles H. Johnson Vice President FMC Corporation Northern Ordnance Division 4800 E. River Road Minneapolis, Minnesota 55421

Dear Mr. Johnson:

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota would like to request a contribution of \$100 toward the printing and distribution of an impartial paper on the SALT II Treaty. I am enclosing a draft of the paper, essentially the way it will be printed. We believe it is a useful and unbiased publication and will be helpful to Minnesota citizens in making up their minds about ratification of this important Treaty.

The paper will be printed in two columns, with the Pro arguments on one side and the Con arguments on the other. It will be about eight printed pages. The Department of Education has already planned to send it to every high school in the state for use in social studies classes. The League will also send it to all daily and weekly newspapers in Minnesota. Numerous other organizations and individuals have requested copies.

The League of Women Voters originally prepared this material for the use of our own members but now we have decided that it deserves wider distribution. However, we require outside funding in order to accomplish this task. It is such a timely topic that we wish to have it printed and distributed immediately. This would be a tax-deductible contribution through the League of Women Voters Education Fund.

The League of Women Voters of Findley joins the state League in this request. We hope that you will respond favorably.

Sincerely yours,

Pamela Berkwitz, President 571-9201

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LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA • ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102 • TELEPHONE (612) 224-5445

October 18, 1979

Mr. G. N. Butzow President MTS Systems Corporation Box 24012 Minneapolis, MN 55424

Dear Mr. Butzow:

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota is very pleased with your decision to contribute \$500 toward the printing of the enclosed paper on the SALT II Treaty. We believe that it is useful and impartial information and will be helpful to Minnesota citizens in making up their minds about ratification of this important Treaty.

The paper as enclosed is our draft essentially as it has gone to the printer. We have made some minor revisions and editing changes since this draft was typed. It will be printed in two columns with the Pro arguments on one side and the Con arguments on the other. It will be about eight printed pages. The Department of Education, as our Director of Development told you on the phone, already plans to send it out to every high school in the state for use in social studies classes. We will also send it to all daily and weekly newspapers in Minnesota. Numerous other organizations and individuals have requested copies.

We continue to seek additional funding, but are grateful to you for your interest and support which has given us the needed impetus to go ahead and have the piece printed. Since it is such a timely issue, we wish to have it distributed immediately.

Sincerely yours,

Pamela Berkwitz, President

Anily Tribute

TWO SECTIONS
PRICE
TWENTY CENTS

HIBBING, MINNESOTA 55746, FRIDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 30, 1979

'U' professor urges SALT pack

BY HARVEY MEYER

A military weapons systems, expert, in Hibbing Thursday night, called for U.S Senate ratification of SALT II to ensure not only the United States' but the world's survival.

a draft of SALT II has already been signed by President Carter and Soviet Communist Party Chief Leonid

Breshnev.)
However, two-thirds of U.S.

reduced to 2,250.

SALT II negotiations are limited to nuclear weapons with a firing range of more than



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SALT II paper promotion - as of Dec. 7, 1979

650 copies to State Dept. of Education, Nov. 15. Being sent out Dec. 7 or 10 with cover letter from SDE plus order blanks for more copies. (which we just made up and took over there.)

Letters and copies to:

Medtronic - Dave Ducloss
Control Data - Gary Lohn - said no to buying copies in quantity.

2 VPs at Control Data - Robert Wesslund and Robert Schmidt
Editor at the Tribune- Robert J. White
Elmer Andersen for all the Sun papers - he said "yes" by phone.
Andy Marlow - KUOM
Hand delivered to KSJN

MTS Syptem - capy of SALTA Grow - Subtle? women of \$ 500 please St Part Desgratch - Johne Roedler; Bill Sourmer

ce to party of gods R. Pett.



LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA • ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102 • TELEPHONE (612) 224-5445

December 4, 1979

The Honorable Elmer L. Andersen 1810 Como Avenue St. Paul, MN 55108

Dear Mr. Andersen:

Enclosed is a copy of a publication on SALT II which we hope you will find interesting.

We would be grateful if you would consider this worthy of writing a personal review for all the SUN papers or of distributing this news release and publication to your local editors.

We tried to reach you by phone today and will try again in a day or so.

Sincerely,

Pat Llona International Relations Chair

Georgeann Ryberg Hall Treasurer

L/H:M Enclosures 2

fle



LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA • ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102 • TELEPHONE (612) 224-5445

December 3, 1979

Mr. Andy Marlow KUOM 550 Rarig Center University of Minnesota Minneapolis, MN 55455

Dear Mr. Marlow:

Pat Llona, our International Relations Chair, has suggested that you might be interested in this LWVMN publication on the SALT II Treaty. It is an impartial look at the pros and cons of SALT II, intended to help Minnesota citizens make up their minds on ratification.

The League has this publication available throught the state League office for anyone who is interested. The League also has a speakers bureau ready and willing to present both sides of the issue to any interested group or on the radio.

Sincerely yours,

Judy Weinigs

Judy Weinig,

Public Relations Chair



LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA • ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102 • TELEPHONE (612) 224-5445

December 3, 1979

Mr. Robert E. Wesslund Control Data Corporation Headquarters 8100 34th Avenue South Bloomington, MN 55420

Dear Mr. Wesslund:

At the suggestion of Pat Llona, our International Relations Chair, I am sending you a copy of one of our latest LWVMN publications. It is an impartial look at SALT II, intended to help Minnesota citizens make up their minds on ratification.

We have sent it to all the high schools in the state through the State Department of Education and now are distributing it to some other people who we believe may find it interesting.

Sincerely,

Pam Berkwitz President

B:M Enclosure



LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA • ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102 • TELEPHONE (612) 224-5445

December 3, 1979

Mr. Robert J. White Associate Editorial Editor Minneapolis TRIBUNE 425 Portland Avenue South Minneapolis, MN 55415

Dear Bob:

I'm enclosing a copy of our League of Women Voters of Minnesota Current Focus on SALT II. It was done with objectivity and has Education Fund approval for this reason.

The State Board of Education has taken 650 copies for social studies classes throughout the state. We have less than 1,400 left and would like to inform the public that these are available so they can have a handy guide when the Senate debates the SALT II treaty.

If you have the opportunity and feel this is a good paper, we would appreciate a mention when you (or someone else doing editorials) do anything further on SALT II. The state League also has a speakers bureau on SALT II -- we give arguments on both sides and explain the terms and the SALT language. (For your information, each copy is \$1.00 - \$1.30 mailed first class.)

Sincerely,

Pat Llona International Relations Chair

L:M Enclosure



LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA • ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102 • TELEPHONE (612) 224-5445

December 3, 1979

Mr. Robert D. Schmidt, Executive Vice President Control Data Corporation Headquarters 8100 34th Avenue South Bloomington, MN 55420

Dear Mr. Schmidt:

At the suggestion of Pat Llona, our International Relations Chair, I am sending you a copy of one of our latest LWVMN publications. It is an impartial look at SALT II, intended to help Minnesota citizens make up their minds on ratification.

We have sent it to all the high schools in the state through the State Department of Education and now are distributing it to some other people who we believe may find it interesting.

Sincerely,

Pam Berkwitz President

B:M Enclosure



LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA • ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102 • TELEPHONE (612) 224-5445

December 5, 1979

Ms. Jackie Roedler, City Editor St. Paul DISPATCH 5 East Fourth Street St. Paul, MN 55101

Dear Ms. Roedler:

We thought you might be interested in this new League of Women Voters of Minnesota publication on SALT II. As part of our League's goal to educate the public, we hope this impartial information will prove useful.

We would be very pleased if you care to comment in the DISPATCH on this material's availability or on any of the information it includes.

Sincerely,

Judy Weinig Public Rélations Chair

W:M Enclosure



LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA • ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102 • TELEPHONE (612) 224-5445

December 5, 1979

Mr. William Sumner, Editor St. Paul PIONEER PRESS-DISPATCH 5 East Fourth Street St. Paul, MN 55101

Dear Mr. Sumner:

We thought you might be interested in this new League of Women Voters of Minnesota publication on SALT II. As part of our League's goal to educate the public, we hope this impartial information will prove useful.

We would be very pleased if you care to comment editorially on this material's availability or on any of the information it includes.

Sincerely,

Pam Berkwitz President

B:M Enclosure From: Jeannette

To: Pam, Judy R., Pat L. - For Your Information
This and similar cover letters plus copy of SALT II and order blank were
sent first class Dec. 14 and 17 to: 32 Minnesota Colleges and Universities;
MN Council of Churches, and 13 regional libraries - with accompanying suggestion
they let their libraries, member denominations, etc. know about the
publication.

December 17, 1979 (wn straight!)

Sint or literhead, first closs -

To: Political Science Department

From: League of Women Voters of Minnesota

Attached is a recent League of Women Voters of Minnesota (LWVMN) publication on the SALT II TREATY: an impartial view of the pros and cons of ratification, intended to help Minnesota citizens make up their own minds about the Treaty.

LWVMN is pleased to offer you this complimentary copy. We have further copies available through the state League office, 555 Wabasha, St. Paul, MN 55102, at a cost of \$1/copy. A discount is available for multiple copies. The LWVMN also has a speakers bureau, willing to present both sides of the issue to interested groups for a fee of \$50 plus expenses, per speaker.



LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA • ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102 • TELEPHONE (612) 224-5445

December 17, 1979

To: Minnesota Council of Churches

From: League of Women Voters of Minnesota

Attached is a recent League of Women Voters of Minnesota (LWVMN) publication on the SALT II TREATY: an impartial view of the pros and cons of ratification, intended to help Minnesota citizens make up their own minds about the Treaty.

LWVMN is pleased to offer you this complimentary copy. We have further copies available through the state League office, 555 Wabasha, St. Paul, MN 55102, at a cost of \$1/copy. A discount is available for multiple copies. The LWVMN also has a speakers bureau, willing to present both sides of the issue to interested groups for a fee of \$50 plus expenses, per speaker.

We hope that you will find this material helpful and make its availability known to denominational offices and churches.

QS | OB 8100 34th Avenue South Mailing Address/Box O Minneapolis, Minnesota 55440





December 11, 1979

Pam Berkwitz, President League of Women Voters of Minnesota 555 Wabasha St. Paul, Minnesota 55102

Dear Ms. Berkwitz:

I received the League of Women Voters of Minnesota Current Focus on the SALT II treaty and would like 20 more copies for distribution.

I want to compliment your organization on a brief but comprehensive summation of the issues. All who were involved in the gathering and preparing the information did an excellent job.

I hope all able to read get a copy so they can better understand the issues and inform their Senators.

I am for ratification of the SALT II tready and I believe if we have an informed population, the results will be for ratification of the treaty.

I would like you and your organization to keep up the good work of informing the public of the issues.

Sincerely,

R. E. Wesslund

Vice President

Technology Exchange

Control Data Corporation



LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA • ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102 • TELEPHONE (612) 224-5445

December 14, 1979

Mr. R. E. Wesslund, Vice President Technology Exchange Control Data Corporation HQS10B 8100 34th Avenue South Box 0 Minneapolis, MN 55440

Dear Mr. Wesslund:

Thank you for your kind letter and positive comments about our SALT II publication. We are pleased that you found it a helpful summary of the issues.

Enclosed also are the 20 additional copies which you requested. Since you are a friend of the League, having participated in our Arms Control meeting last winter, we are pleased to send them to you free of charge. We have also distributed free copies to all the high school social studies departments in the state and to a few other special friends. However, our outside funding was not sufficient to allow widespread free distribution so that we are selling copies for \$1 each to the general public in order to try to make our project self-supporting. We therefore enclose an order blank, should you know of other people who might like to purchase additional copies.

Again, we are pleased that you found the material interesting and useful.

Sincerely yours,

Panela Berkintz

Pamela Berkwitz

President

B:M Enclosures



LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA • ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102 • TELEPHONE (612) 224-5445

December 4, 1979

The Honorable Elmer L. Andersen 1810 Como Avenue St. Paul, MN 55108

Dear Mr. Andersen:

Enclosed is a copy of an article which we would be interested in getting in all SUN newspapers.

We would be grateful if you would consider this worthy of writing a personal review for your papers or of distributing this news release and publication to your local editors.

We tried to reach you by phone today and will try again in a day or so.

Sincerely,

Pat Llona International Relations Chair

Georgeann Hall Treasurer

L/H:M Enclosures 2



A CATALOGRAPHICA

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA • ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102 • TELEPHONE (612) 224-5445

December 6, 1979

Mr. G. N. Butzow
President
MTS Systems Corporation
Box 24012
Minneapolis, MN 55424

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Dear Mr. Butzow:

Enclosed is the finished copy of the League of Women Voters of Minnesota paper on SALT II which you helped to fund. We are getting numerous requests for this paper and we have given 650 copies to the State Department of Education for distribution to all the high schools in the state.

We deeply appreciate your interest and support.

Sincerely yours,

Pamela Berkvitz,

President

B/K



LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA • ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102 • TELEPHONE (612) 224-5445

January 21, 1980

The Honorable Elmer L. Andersen 1810 Como Avenue St. Paul, MN 55108

Dear Mr. Andersen:

Thank you for sending us the copy of the editorial you wrote on the SALT II Treaty and for your complimentary remarks.

I appreciate the fact that you consider this a newsworthy subject. At SALT meetings I have encountered youthful students curious about the Treaty as well as adults who say they don't have time to assemble all the facts. I feel our SALT paper has helped to fill a need that all good citizens have to be informed.

Following your editorial, we received more requests for copies of the paper. One was from an Iowa reader of your Princeton UNION EAGLE. On January 13th I attended a SALT forum initiated by Senator Rudy Boschwitz. The auditorium was filled, and the meeting lasted over 2½ hours. Interest in the Treaty is not dead.

Thank you again for publicizing our paper. I will watch hopefully for mention of it in our Edina SUN.

Sincerely yours,

Patricia J. Llona International Relations Chair

Decision time for SALT II Treaty

After seven years of negotiation and more than six months of public debate since its signing, it is now time for the U.S. Senate to vote ratification or rejection of the SALT II Treaty. It comes at an extremely difficult time with Russia invading Afghanistan and showing little of the spirit of peaceful cooperation disarmament efforts require. We believe it is necessary, however, to consider the treaty and its value to us and not be distracted by other issues that raise emotions and generate confusion. It is also

essential to evaluate alternatives.

Minnesota's League of Women Voters has published an eight-page summary of facts and a presentation of pros and cons of the 70-page official document prepared by Pat Llona, chair, and Judy Rosenblatt, member, of the International Relations Committee of the state league. There is a brief summary of the background and provisions of the treaty, comparison of the strategic capabilities of the US and USSR, a special review of the methods of verification, a negative and positive review under 16 headings of issues and concerns, 31 bibliographical notes, a glossary and a list of sources in addition to those cited in the notes. It is a most useful publication in providing a mass of dependable information in concise form. The League office is 555 Wabasha St., St. Paul 55102. Phone (612) 224-5445. It takes no official position on the treaty.

We believe our best interest and that of our allies and the rest of the world would be best served by retification rather than rejection. We hope our Senators David Durenberger and Rudy Boschwitz will combine forces to provide two of the 60 votes needed

to ratify.

In 1939 the United Nations General Assembly proclaimed the 70's as a "disarmament decade." One could laugh derisively at the record but the SALT I Treaty was a beginning and SALT II does prescribe some limits and its ratification would lead to SALT III negotiations aimed at substantial reduction. It seems to us better to be on the positive side of patiently working for control rather than giving up and resigning ourselves to unbridled armament competition and a posture before the world of inability to conduct our international relations. Certainly we shouldn't let Russia be in the position of saying "we were willing to work on arms limitation and the US refused."

Restraint is never easy but it seems better to keep negotiating and continue communicating trusting that the peoples' will for peace in all nations will ultimately influence leadership to secure peace rather than encourage conflict in a nuclear age.

ELMEP L. ANDERSEN 1810 COMO AVENUE St. Paul, Minnesota 55108

January 8, 1980

League of Women Voters of Minnesota 555 Wabasha Street St. Paul, Minnesota 55102

Attention: Pat Llona and Georgeann Hall

Dear Pat and Georgeann:

Thanks very much for sending me the publication on SALT II. I thought it was very well done and have been looking for an opportunity to make use of it. We had an editorial in the Princeton Union-Eagle last week on it and possibly in the SUN Newspapers next week. Russia makes it so exceedingly difficult to be cooperative on matters of mutual benefit and world concern by its paradoxical conduct in other areas, most currently Afghanistan.

Nevertheless I do feel we should keep trying for arms limitation, difficult as it may be.

Thanks so much.

Sincerely yours,

Elmer L. Andersen

January 8, 1980

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS EDUCATION FUND 1730 M Street, N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

Second FINANCIAL REPORT FOR EDUCATION FUND GRANT

| TO: League of Women Voters Education Fund | |
|--|--|
| FROM: League of Women Voters of Minnesota | |
| The following is a final financial report of the grant | made for expenses |
| incurred in connection with SalT II (Name of Project) | · . |
| Education Fund Grant \$ 857.02 | |
| 5% Education Fund Administration Fee \$ 42.85 | |
| | |
| INCOME | EXPENSES |
| Total Income from Education Fund \$899.87 | Printing \$ 688.00 |
| Other Income (if any) | Distribution |
| TOTAL | Promotion E.F. Ree Other 42.85 |
| | Volunteer's Expenses |
| | Office 16 9.02 Typing & Overhead including rent, utilities, phone and supplies |
| | TOTAL \$899.87 |

Please send this report and three copies of any material published in connection with this project to the Education Fund not later than two months after completion of the project for which the grant was awarded. November 2, 1979
(Date)

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS EDUCATION FUND 1730 M Street, N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

Partial FINANCIAL REPORT FOR EDUCATION FUND GRANT

| TO: League of Women Voters Education Fund | | | | | | | |
|--|---|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| FROM: League of Women Voters of Minnes | ROM: League of Women Voters of Minnesota | | | | | | |
| The following is a final financial report of the | | | | | | | |
| incurred in connection with SalT (Name of Project) | <u>II</u> . | | | | | | |
| Education Fund Grant \$ 960. | 00 | | | | | | |
| 5% Education Fund Administration Fee \$ 48. | .00 | | | | | | |
| 1008 | .00 | | | | | | |
| INCOME | EXPENSES | | | | | | |
| Total Income from Education Fund \$ 1008.00 | . Printing \$ | | | | | | |
| Other Income (if any) | Distribution | | | | | | |
| TOTAL \$ 1008.00 | Promotion | | | | | | |
| | Project Director 300.00 E.F. fee 48.00 | | | | | | |
| | Volunteer's Expenses | | | | | | |
| | Office 660.00 Typing & Overhead including rent, utilities, phone and supplies | | | | | | |
| | TOTAL \$ 1008.00 | | | | | | |

Please send this report and three copies of any material published in connection with this project to the Education Fund not later than two months after completion of the project for which the grant was awarded.

New Directions

305 Massachusetts Avenue, NE • Washington, DC 20002 • (202) 547-6600

February 13, 1979

Ms. Helen Borg P.O. Box 5 Mound, MN 55464

Dear Ms. Borg:

After six years of negotiation by the Nixon, Ford and Carter Administrations, the SALT II treaty appears almost ready for signing. Following this, an intense ratification debate will begin in the U.S. Senate. Since the Senate vote is expected to be very close, New Directions has begun organizing citizen support in key states.

Minnesota's two Senatorial votes are critical to the final outcome of SALT. Thus, New Directions is sponsoring a working conference on SALT in Minneapolis on Tuesday, March 6. You are invited to join us on that date to hear Paul Warnke, former chief negotiator for SALT and Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, explain why ratification of the treaty is so important to our security interests. Following Mr. Warnke's speech, Sanford Gottlieb, New Directions Arms Reduction Coordinator, will lead a discussion on how to build support for the treaty. During this discussion I will outline ways which, based on my own twelve years' experience as a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives, have proven effective in influencing the outcome of Congressional decisions.

The Conference, which begins at 9:45 a.m., will be held in the second floor lounge of the Minneapolis Club, 729 Second Avenue, South. It will end promptly at noon. I hope that you can join us at this critical time. Incidentally, there is no charge for the session.

Would you please complete the coupon below and return it to New Directions so that we can have some indication as to how many to expect on March 6.

Sincerely, Charles W. Whaln Charles W. Whalen, Jr. President

Arms reduction coordinator cites SALT II effects

By Mitchel Benson

If the weapons race continues, a world of 6 billion people will live in 20 nuclear-armed nations by the end of this century, says the arms reduction coordinator of a citizens lobby.



an increase in skin cancer and extensive crop failures.

"A nuclear war is unlike anything humanity has ever experienced," he said. "For anyone to assume that one is more secure in a country with nu-

relations at the time of the debate.

 The credibility of the Carter administration on foreign policy at the time of the debate.

The specific guidelines of SALT
 Ar

Gottlieb said "a lot of emotions will be involved and subHe said that if ratification fails, there will be four results:

A "tall spin" in Soviet-American

relations.

An unrestricted nuclear arms
race.
 An increased danger of nuclear
war as other countries, following
the model set by the two super

powers, will confinue nuclear arms



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SALT

SOME BACKGROUND ON THE "OPEN LETTER".

Why do I write this? I am profoundly grateful to have been born in the United States of America, the greatest experiment in freedom in all of recorded history. As a direct result* of the extent of individual human freedom enjoyed here, the US became the most productive and therefore the most prosperous country ever known. Sadly, we are now losing the freedom and the productivity, unnecessarily. Through the ages, most people have always gone hungry and millions have starved (even on fertile lands, like the Ukraine under communism); but in the US it is so rare as to be newsworthy when someone starves. If you understand Christian stewardship, you will appreciate my desire to preserve these blessings for the coming generations and extend them for all mankind. For this reason I have been a student of freedom for most of my adult life. Hence, you may find some seldom mentioned, but interesting, facts contained in the attached letter, in addition to items you have heard before but thought unbelievable.

Please be aware that for years we have all been exposed to statist (left-wing, collectivist, socialist) bias in school texts, in the newspapers, on the radio and even in church publications (especially from the National Council of Churches and its affiliates). As a result we unconsciously tend to view the facts thru an emotional filter. You can notice the effect when two intelligent people study the same facts whereupon one always votes Democrat and the other Republican. Each one discounts the facts that do not agree with his bias. Please be aware of this likelihood and resist the urge to reject the information in my letter before checking it critically. If you find a genuine error, please correct me.

Another psychological obstacle is the fact that none of us likes to hear bad news. We even tend to dislike someone who brings it to our attention. In ancient times, the messenger who brought news of a defeat was sometimes killed for his trouble. Try to react kindly toward me, remembering that sounding the alarm in time may make a favorable outcome.

If you find cause for concern, please take a few minutes to write to your elected representatives. As little as two lines will help, for they count the number of letters on each side of an issue. Politicians receive so much mail that they are not likely to read my long letter. It is written for you, as I believe that you care and will take the time.

Sincerely,

* Confirm this by reading the fascinating book, "Mainspring" by Henry G. Weaver. It is a refreshing look at history, tracing the rise and fall of human freedom. Send \$1.50 to the Foundation for Economic Education, Irvington, NY 10053 for a copy.

Neal F. Page 4504 W. 64th St. Edina, Minn 55424 Phone (612) 922-1214 OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT CARTER: Are we buying defeat on the installment plan?

Consider the Panama Canal: Where others had failed, we wiped out yellow fever and got the canal built. We paid double for the land: Columbia/Panama for the whole of it, and each landowner as well. The commerce from the canal made a poor country less poor. Control of the canal is vital to our defense. Most Americans did not want to lose it, especially to a pro-communist dictatorship. You had to do much arm twisting and bribing to get the give-away approved, to the regret of thoughtful Americans.

Roosevelt made the mistake of strengthening the Soviets by recognizing them in 1933. For advisors he had "IvoryTower" socialists from Harvard. (Bill Buckley said he would rather be ruled by the first 80 persons in the Boston phone book than by Harvard professors.) Since then, the Soviets have added millions of once-free people to their gigantic "prison" and today threaten the free world. Recently, you decided to recognize Communist China. Because the American people would be likely to oppose it, you committed this blunder by yourself... the act of a dictator. Free nations will no longer trust us, for you cancelled recognition of Taiwan as though it was our enemy. You were so anxious to please the communists, that you double-crossed our friends in Free China.

Communists do things like that! They have a long record of broken promises. Despite their proven dishonesty, you continue to promote the SALT negotiations. To sign an agreement would be tragic, for it would limit OUR strength but not communist strength, as they cheat. To please them, you have also cancelled the Bl bomber, leaving us dependent on aging B52's. You seem willing to give up the neutron bomb and the longer range cruise missle. While the communists pursue a policy of "divide & conquer" and seperate us from our friends, you naively assist them. You offend our oil-supplying Arab friends with endless gifts to Israel. You abuse our friends in Rhodesia and South Africa, so they may fall to communism. You do nothing effective to stop Castro. If Brezhnev himself sat in the White House, he probably could not have done more to hurt the USA, because the people would not support a communist. You, however, we trust.

To survive, we must learn from history. In 1938, Hitler was building a huge war machine like the Soviets are doing today. The naive Neville Chamberlain, in a vain hope to avoid war, signed an agreement appeasing Hitler. It was a near-fatal mistake for all of Europe, for hardly a year passed before Stalin and Hitler attacked Poland, starting WWII for which Britain was unprepared. If we wish to survive, we should be prepared like the Swiss. They have already completed fallout shelters for everyone. All qualified young men get military training and take their guns home with them. In contrast, our men are mostly unprepared. Communists, as agressors, have strategic advantages. Free nations as defenders, need much greater military power to survive (parity is not enough).

Non-agressor nations tend to prepare a defense for the last war (e.g. France's Maginot Line was ineffective in a WWII of mobility and air power). Under the guise of "peaceful coexistence" the next war is already raging. We are letting the enemy win with their most powerful weapon: infiltration (&subversion) thru the campuses, media and government. They have weakened our will to fight (thru a no-win policy in Korea and Vietnam), weakened our economic strength (thru inflation causing defecits), and weakened our intelligence agencies thereby blinding us (Intelligence enabled us to win WWII). In addition, many of us unwittingly aid our enemy: 1 -- In the midst of an energy crisis, left-wing demonstrators obstruct our energy development. 2 -- Union bosses push our wages higher so our products cannot be sold abroad resulting in a disasterous balance of trade. 3--Spend-thrift legislators cause inflation and the dollar is collapsing, thereby discouraging saving and investment. You will continue to blunder as long as you keep statist dreamers as advisors when there are better men available. Consider the German money and why it is twice as strong as the American dollar. Although it was the Allied armies who toppled the Nazis, it was Ludwig Erhard who led Germany away from socialism to prosperity. You can find American counterparts of his (they met together over the years) at "The Freeman", Irvington-on-Hudson, NY 10533. It is a group that publishes important economic truths for those willing to learn. Any citizen can write to them. Like Winston Churchill, who was ignored too long by his country, these men have the skill to help.

In your State of the Union address, you got applause by stating that you have had no war. Four times in this century we have gone to war, each time under a Democrat president. Think of Chamberlain whose concessions to Hitler did not avoid war. Your concessions to communism are weakening the USA, inviting attack and defeat. Let's be strong instead!

Neal F. Page, Edina, Minn.

New Directions

305 Massachusetts Avenue, NE · Washington, DC 20002 · (202) 547-6600

May 9, 1979

Dear Friend:

After months of delay, the SALT II Treaty will finally be signed in June. As you well know, the opponents of this modest treaty have not waited to launch their well-financed campaign of fear to prevent ratification by the U.S. Senate. They have pursued this campaign through films, speakers, press conferences, and direct-mail letters. Now they will try to inundate the senate with anti-treaty mail.

We can't match the volume of their preprinted postcards, but we certainly can produce more thoughtful, personally-written letters to help persuade Senators Rudy Boschwitz and David Durenberger to support SALT II. We urge you to:

- 1. Write your own letters this week to Minnesota's freshman senators, emphasizing the importance of SALT II to U.S. security and world security. Mailing Address: Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20510.
- Activate local organizations to send mailings on SALT II to their members as soon as possible.
- Write concise letters to the editors of daily and weekly Minnesota newspapers, preferably pegged to SALT-related developments.

Remember, SALT II would oblige the Soviet Union to scrap up to 300 missiles and bombers and would place limits on the number of warheads each missile can carry. With SALT II, the USSR would be able to deploy several thousand fewer warheads than would be the case without the treaty. Ratification of SALT II would also open the door to deeper mutual cuts in SALT III and be a clear signal of super-power restraint to nations now debating whether to join the Nuclear Club.

The enclosed article from <u>Newsweek</u> may be of use in your community. Bulk prices are listed. Please let us know how we can help to build a growing movement for worldwide arms reduction.

Charles W. Whalen, Jr.

Procident

Sanford Gottlieb

Arms Reduction Coordinator

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

May 24, 1979

Ms. Helene Borg President League of Women Voters of Minnesota P. O. Box 5 Mound, Minnesota 55364

Dear Helene:

You will recall that in early March I sent you a questionnaire concerning SALT II following your attendance at the Security Conference sponsored by several Twin Cities civic groups. I was encouraged by the time and thoughtful preparation that many of you put into your answers. I realize that several were not able to attend the conference for various reasons. However, I would like to share the results of this survey with all who were invited because your continuing input is very important to me.

About 40% of those who attended returned the questionnaire. Prior to the Security Conference 31% said that they had favored ratification of the treaty, while 60% were neutral or felt they did not have enough information. After the conference, 77% were in favor of ratification and 20% were still neutral or uncertain. The large number who shifted from a neutral to pro-ratification position were convinced that the treaty was too important to be rejected because of setbacks in regional competition or other factors. I was informed that Vice President Mondale gave an excellent presentation in favor of ratification and the negative arguments were only briefly mentioned - factors which I am sure were influential.

There were several questions dealing with the worst case "first-strike scenario" and the credibility of the U.S. deterrent. The critics of SALT II argue that a Soviet first-strike would destroy our land based missiles while leaving the Soviets with most of their strategic capability. 50% of you felt that this was an unconvincing argument. Approximately the same number found Vice President Mondale's rebuttal argument convincing.

A clear majority of those who responded felt that the most critical issues related to strategic arms limitation are the verification question and the need to maintain overall parity in force levels. Concern for the verification issue was evident in another question where 60% of the respondents felt that U.S. inability to verify Soviet compliance, or the likelihood of cheating by the Soviets, were the most realistic and worrisome problems with which our government will have to deal. I too am very concerned with this particular aspect. Before I can give my support I must have complete confidence in our verification capabilities.

Ms. Helene Borg May 24, 1979 Fage 2

There is still a great deal that needs to be heard and said about this vitally important matter. Thank you again for your valuable comments and input, and I welcome your further observations.

Dave Durenberger

United States Senator

DD/bwj

MINNESOTANS FOR SALT

900 Mt. Curve Ave., Minneapolis, MN 55403

Phone: 612 377 - 4980

CO-CHAIRS: Ned Crosby

Martha Head

January 11, 1980

STAFF: Pegatha Arisian Roberta Aitchison

Dear Ms. Borg.

Thanks for lending your name to our ad, which ran in the Minneapolis <u>Tribune</u> of Friday, December 14th. In case you didn't see it, a reduced copy is enclosed. Obviously a single ad is not going to change the minds of very many people, especially on an issue as complex as SALT II. What it did accomplish was to show that a wide range of people are behind the effort to achieve sensible limits on nuclear weapons.

It is with regret that we are closing down our operations. Clearly there is nothing which can be done to get SALT II passed in the Senate until the President decides that it is proper to take it up again. Although we hope this will be soon, it seems unlikely that it will be before the 1980 Presidential elections. Indeed, there is a chance that SALT II is permanently dead.

Whatever the fate of SALT II, we are determined that our efforts for strategic arms control be continued. SALT II was not based upon trust of the Russians or a belief that nuclear weapons should be limited only if they are on good behavior. Rather it was based upon the belief that if the strategic arms race continues, we may end up with so many nuclear weapons that they cannot be controlled effectively in a crisis. An accidental nuclear war means the end of American civilization as we know it today. The Russian's behavior in Afghanistan is all the more reason for seeking a stable nuclear balance in the world, so long as this can be achieved in a way that is objectively verifiable.

In our short existence we managed to draw together a very broad coalition of thoughtful and prominent people of many different political philosophies. We believe this coalition can have a strong influence in promoting a reasonable policy for strategic arms. We will be contacting you in the future when the time is ripe.

REgacha arisian

Encl.

The summons have proceed public protests from Catholics in Western Europe and the United States. Liberal Catholic priests privately attack the processings as being remissional. occedings as being reminiscent

The Schillebeeckx bearing is regarded by liberal members of the clergy as a beliwether case that may reveal the nature of Pope John Paul's papa-

The Rev. Hans Kung of Switzerland, a liberal theologican, has written that the new pope is condoning "inquisitorial proceedings." Others have charged that the pope is ignoring human rights within the church while advoration them outside. ating them outs

The impression in church circles in The impression in church circles in Rome is that the pope may not have ardered the proceedings against Schillebeeckx. Instead, church sources suggest, it may be that the members of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, who are known as conservatives, have sensed a new spirit of conservatism and are acting accordingly.

The congregation also has initiated proceedings against theologians Jacques Pohler of France and Bernhard Haster of Switzerland, among

On Wednesday Schillebeeckx re-ceived the support of the primate of Holland, Cardinal Jan Willebrands, who declared that he was convinced that the theologian had not taught a heretical doctrine. The cardinal questioned the procedure questioned the procedure of the in-vestigation, calling it unfair that Schillebeeckx had to face question-ers whose names he did not know in

Willebrands is one of the most influ



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EASE JO

We support Strategic Arms Limitations. In the near future the debate over SALT II will be starting in the Senate.

Please join us in urging Senators Rudy Boschwitz and Dave Durenberger to vote for ratification of the Salt II Treaty.

Frank Adams Dr. Oscar Anderson Tom Andrews Connie Bell Pat Benn Valdimar Bjornson Helene Borg Harry Boyte Gladys Brooks Polly Brown Pierce Butler, III Cy Carpenter Jean I. Clarke Richard W. Clarke Bishop Wayne K. Clymer Stanley R. Cowle Earl Craig John Crosby Laura Crosby **Ned Crosby** John Davis Kenneth Dayton Mark Dayton Carrie Dortman Tom Dortman Peter Dorsey Jay Dregni Meredith Dregni Jean Druker

John French Glesson Glover Paul Goldberg **Erwin Goldfine** John Greenman Virginia Greenman N. Bud Grossman Bon Grussing Roger Hale Sandra Hale Judy Hamilton Philip Harder **Bob Hatch** Nancy Hatch Vince Hawkinson Jean Heilman Douglas Head Martha Head Anne Heegaard Peter Heegaard Roger Heegaard Elizabeth Heffeitinger Walter Heller Don Hill Curtis HIII Rev. Sally HIII Patty Holloran Thomas E. Holloran

Charles Hommeyer Terrence Hopm **Burton Joseph** Bob Killeen E. Robert Kinney Margee Kinney York E. Langton John Latz David Lebedoff David Lilly Michael W. McCarthy Charles McGuiggan Willard McGuire Jeanne Meyer Lyle Meyer Dick Moore Irene Moore Joseph E. Murphy, Jr. Virginia Myers Judy Neis Richard Nelson Win Neuger Christie Cozad Neuger arry Periman Medora Periman Rev. Francis X. Pirazzini David Preus Pagi G. Quie, M.D.

Sidney A. Rand Fritz Reindei Helen Reindel Archbishop John Roach Ken Rothchild Nine Rothchild David Roe William Rowe Sister M. Joyce Rowland John Ruce Joyce Ruce Mary Schertler Robert Schmidt Harold Schwartz, M.D. Joe Selvaggio Phoebe Selvaggio Mary Shephard **Nell Sherburne** John Sinclair Maxine Sincle Barbara Stuhler Mary Van Evera Bill Walker Fred Well, Jr Jon Wefald Lois White Kate Wulf

| Yes, | would | like | to | loin | vou | in | VOUL | effort |
|------|-------|------|----|------|-----|----|------|--------|
| | | | | | | | | |

- I have written the Senators a letter. (Their address: U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510)
- I would like more information about the SALT II Treaty.
- ☐ Enclosed is my donation to help you in your effort

Minnesotans for SALT 900 Mt. Curve Avenue Minneapolis, MN 55403

SALT II

Thursday, April 26, 1979 Free and open to the public

AAUW Clubhouse 2115 Stevens Avenue Minneapolis

Sponsored by: The U.S. Department of State; the World Affairs Center, Continuing Education and Extension, University of Minnesota; the United Nations Association of Minnesota, and the League of Women Voters of Minnesota

PROGRAM

10:00 a.m. Registration

10:30 a.m. "Soviet Capabilities and Intentions"

- Curtis W. Kamman, Special Assistant, Office of the Special Advisor to the Secretary of State, Department of State

11:30 a.m. A new film on verification of Soviet military activity

12:30 p.m. Luncheon

2:00 p.m. "The SALT II Treaty"

- Townsend Ecopes, President, Association of American Publishers and former Undersecretary of the Department of the Air Force

3:00 p.m. Adjourn

PLEASE NOTE: Although there is no charge for this conference, luncheon is available at the AAUV Clubhouse for \$6.00. If luncheon is desired, RESERVATIONS AND CHECKS must be received at the World Affairs Center, without exception, by Tuesday, April 24. We are sorry, but after that date we cannot make luncheon reservations for anyone.

For the SALT II Conference RETURN THIS RESERVATION FOR LUNCHEON ONLY

| Enclosed is my check for | for | luncheon reservations | | | |
|--------------------------|-----|-----------------------|--|--|--|
| NAME | | TELEPHONE | | | |
| ADDRESS | | | | | |
| CITY | | ZIP | | | |

Make check payable to the UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA and mail to:

World Affairs Center University of Minnesota 306 Wesbrook Hall 77 Pleasant St. S.E. Minneapolis, NN 55455

Luncheon reservation deadline:

APRIL 24, 1979

The University of Minnesota is an equal opportunity educator and employer.

A CONFERENCE ON SALT II

Thursday, April 26, 1979

Sponsors:



United States
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of state



World Affairs Center



United Nations Association of Minnesota

AAUW Clubhouse 2115 Stevens Ave.



League of Women Voters of Minnesota