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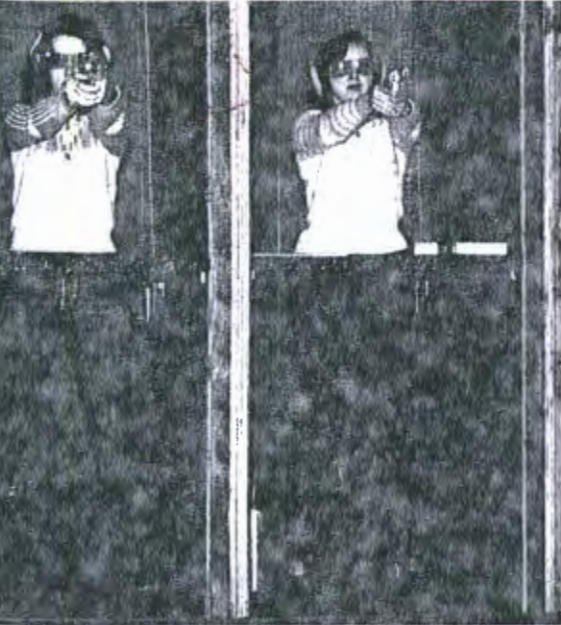
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Owen Franken—Sygma

a growing demand for stricter restraints

lation is "not a perfect vehicle." What's needed, she says, is a Federal ban.

That won't be easy to get. The National Rifle Association (NRA), regarded by many as the single most effective special-interest group in Washington, has stymied all attempts to strengthen Federal gun laws. With its \$30 million annual budget and 1.8 million active members, the NRA has contributed heavily to the election of such pro-gun candidates as Ronald Reagan. And it keeps close watch on gun-related legislative developments in Washington. Its opposition, for instance, could doom an attempt this year by Sen. Edward Kennedy and Rep. Peter Rodino to tighten the Gun Control Act of 1968. Although the 1968 law effec-

tively banned imports of firearms, it failed to restrict imports of gun parts used to assemble cheap handguns. By the same token, the NRA's support of a bill now pending in the Senate Judiciary Committee improves its chances of passage in the Senate. Critics say the bill, introduced by Sen. James McClure of Idaho and Rep. Harold Volkmer of Missouri, would weaken rules on interstate transfer of handguns and prevent Federal agents from making routine inspections of dealers' records.

Vulnerable: The NRA's main argument against gun control is that it violates the Second Amendment right to keep and bear arms. Opponents also believe that bans, registration or strict licensing requirements will eventually lead to confiscating the arms of

law-abiding citizens without hampering the criminals that the FBI says were responsible for nearly 11,000 handgun deaths in 1980—more than half of all homicides. They also insist that the local bans are virtually unenforceable. Even some liberals argue that handgun bans—in the absence of effective police protection—will make women and small merchants especially vulnerable to attack. "Many of us, including myself," says San Francisco Supervisor Carol Ruth Silver, who opposes the Feinstein proposal, "believe that the only defense we have is that little stash of metal."

Such sentiments, however, have not deterred the grass-roots advocates of control. "All we're asking is for an opportunity to

try it," says Feinstein. "Nothing will be lost, and it's bound to save lives." And the local movements have a slight advantage over the mighty NRA. There are too many of them for the association to fight effectively; local officials are also better able to withstand gun-group pressure. As Morton Grove village trustee Don Sneider puts it, "I don't need NRA finances to get into office."

The gun-control proponents may also get a boost from an unexpected quarter—the Reagan Administration. An Administration proposal to abolish the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) was at first widely perceived as a weakening of Federal gun-law enforcement. But it now appears that most of the BATF's firearms agents will be transferred to the Secret Service—which may prove to be an even more effective enforcer of the gun laws.

Right-to-bear-arms groups intend to fight the local handgun bans in the courts. But legal experts warn that they stand little chance of success except in states that preempt local jurisdictions from licensing and registering handguns. "It's been upheld for decades that you do not have a Constitutional right to have bazookas and hand grenades," says University of Chicago law Prof. Franklin Zimring. "The only thing new legally is that the weapons being banned are handguns." The political message, however, may be far more significant. "We have to remember what the American people want," says Rodino, "and the American people want stricter gun control." The new push at the local level is a point-blank reminder of that fact, and if it continues to grow, even a gun-shy Congress might eventually have to take notice.

MICHAEL REESE with LEA DONOSKY in Chicago, PAMELA ABRAMSON in San Francisco, ELAINE SHANNON and GLORIA BORGER in Washington and bureau reports

A Vote for a Nuclear Freeze

As long ago as 1798, town meetings in Vermont were telling Washington how to conduct foreign policy—that year, they opposed war with France—and last week they carried on the tradition. In voting throughout the state, 161 of 185 towns passed a resolution calling on their senators and representatives to ask the President to "propose to the Soviet Union a mutual freeze on the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons." It was the latest signal that the nationwide movement in favor of a nuclear-weapons freeze was gaining grass-roots political support.

Begun two years ago when the peace movement was fragmented and dispirited, the anti-nuclear campaign has recently accelerated. A petition that has been circulating for less than a year now has 500,000 signatures in favor of a Soviet-U.S. moratorium. Half a million people in California have endorsed a petition to put the freeze resolution on the ballot there as a referen-

dum in the coming election, and organizers also hope to have it up for popular vote in Michigan, New Jersey and Delaware. Meanwhile, in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Vermont, New York, Wisconsin and Oregon, one or both houses of the state legislature have passed versions of the resolution, and the Maryland General Assembly is expected to follow suit soon. The city of Boulder, Colo., which a year ago endorsed the

moratorium, last week went even further: it told the Federal government it would not cooperate in developing an evacuation plan for use in case of imminent nuclear attack.

This week senators from the first two states to join the movement, Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts and Mark Hatfield of Oregon, will appear at American University in Washington to announce a "sense of the Senate" resolution on behalf of the freeze. It has twelve Senate co-sponsors already, and while this resolution has no binding force, it can only add to the pressure on the Reagan Administration to pursue and even broaden its current arms-control talks with the Soviets in Geneva.



Lester Sloan—NEWSWEEK

ORIGINAL
KENSTEIN



the book than the movie. Takes images of Boris Karloff, you may not see them in this radio drama. The guide for this production is based on the novel. The National Radio Theatre production is possible by a grant from TRW.
SUNDAY 12 Noon WETA-FM 91



A Company Called TRW

Administration Opposes Nuclear Weapons Freeze

By John M. Goshko
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Reagan administration opposes congressional calls for a U.S.-Soviet freeze on nuclear weapons, saying it would put the United States "into a position of military disadvantage and dangerous vulnerability."

Responding to bipartisan resolutions introduced Wednesday by 19 senators and 122 House members, Richard R. Burt, the State Department's director of politico-military affairs, opened yesterday's press briefing with a formal reply.

"While we understand the spirit that motivates the freeze effort, the administration cannot support the freeze itself," Burt said. "A number of compelling facts argue against a freeze."

Burt's words were intended to counter both the congressional resolutions—sponsored in the Senate by such figures as Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Mark O. Hatfield (R-Ore.) and in the House by Jonathan B. Bingham (D-N.Y.), Edward J. Markey (D-Mass.) and Silvio O. Conte (R-Mass.)—and a nationwide disarmament movement.

The resolutions, intended to express the desire of Congress if adopted, call on the United States and the Soviet Union to seek a mutual and verifiable freeze on testing, production and further deployment of nuclear warheads and then negotiate major reductions on both sides.

In an initial reaction Wednesday, Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. called the idea "not only bad defense and security policy" but "bad arms control policy as well." In

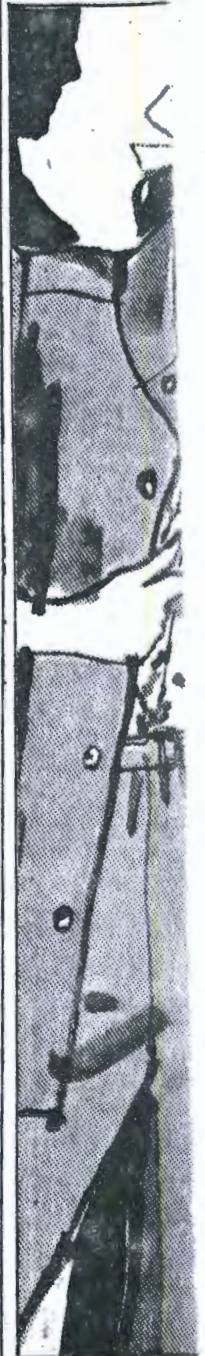
delivering the administration's formal and more considered response, Burt sought to be more conciliatory.

"The people who support the freeze share our desire to reduce the threat of nuclear war and to reduce existing nuclear stockpiles," he said. "Our disagreement is not one of strategy or objectives; it's really one of tactics. What's the most effective way to stop or curb the nuclear weapons competition?"

The Soviet Union, he asserted, has an overwhelming advantage over the West in Europe in intermediate-range missiles. Therefore, he contended, instituting a freeze of the kind proposed in Congress would block plans to deploy offsetting new-generation U.S. Pershing missiles in West European countries, halt President Reagan's program of modernizing the strategic-weapons arsenal and eliminate any incentives for the Soviets to bargain on the basis of the plan put forward by Reagan Nov. 18.

That plan calls for eliminating the Soviet SS20 missiles being deployed in Eastern Europe in exchange for canceling the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's scheduled placement of the Pershings in West European land bases, where they would be capable of striking the Soviet Union.

He said the freeze proposal is essentially the same idea that has been put forward by Soviet President Leonid I. Brezhnev. He added that it was only because of NATO unity in moving ahead with the Pershing deployment and the U.S. modernization program that the Soviets, after long heel-dragging, agreed to the intermediate-range missile reduction talks under way in Geneva.



3/11/82

Jay:

It turns out that Bud McFarlane was right on the nuclear weapons freeze. As you'll see on page 3 of today's Post Kennedy, Hatfield Bingham, et al. introduced their resolution formally yesterday at a fete at American University. The bureaucracy flailed around yesterday getting talking points to Secretary Haig for use on his Hill appearance and there will be a meeting of the interagency group on START today which will discuss strategy for countering the freeze initiative. The action within the EOP is now with the NSC, where it belongs, for this is inherently a political issue. Owen Kroemer is the action officer. He will be acting head of the Defense group starting Monday when Don Reed starts working full-time on NSDD-1, our military strategy.

I believe that we should learn several lessons from this episode:

- 1) we need to coordinate more closely with the NSC on defense issues — Kroemer and Vie do not know each other

2) We should stay away from issues where ^{lead on} the lead belongs elsewhere.

Vic did what he could to get you the information you wanted. He turned to people at State that he knew from his space policy work. In response to his question as to whether a vote was imminent, they told him "no" and that everything was under control. They did not mention the Kennedy-Katfield hoopla which they knew about and were trying to get Secretary Haig's attention on. They claim this was because Vic raised the wrong question.

As you can see from the attached Berger memo to the quadrumvirate (which I received yesterday), the senior staff was aware something might happen. Clark did get a phone call from Katfield ^{early} yesterday morning, and was not caught by surprise. Haig, on the other hand, was caught by surprise when Kennedy called him on Tuesday evening. Vic can tell you why that happened (the Politico-Military Bureau's front office screwed up).

Vic and I would like to talk this whole episode over with you after the 9:00 staff

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meeting.

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

March 2, 1982

Dear Colleague:

Next Wednesday, March 10, we and over 50 co-sponsors in the House of Representatives plan to introduce the attached resolution calling for a mutual freeze on nuclear arms with the Soviet Union, followed by major, systematic reductions from current levels.

No greater issue faces America or humanity than the prevention of nuclear war. We agree that the United States must maintain a position of strength in national security, and we will do whatever is necessary to assure that. But we also share the growing concern of American citizens and people throughout the world that the nuclear arms race is dangerously increasing the risk of a holocaust that could destroy not only the United States and the Soviet Union, but all human life on earth.


It is essential, therefore, that the United States do all it can to stop the nuclear arms race and seek to eliminate the danger of nuclear conflict. We believe that our resolution offers the most sensible and feasible first step towards achieving this goal with full regard for our national security needs.

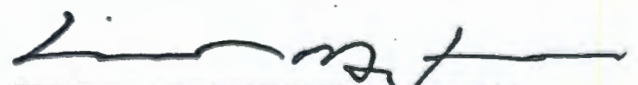
As you will see, the resolution requires bilateral action and agreement by the United States and the Soviet Union. Implementation of the freeze and the reductions in nuclear weapons must be carried out on a strictly mutual and strictly verifiable basis.

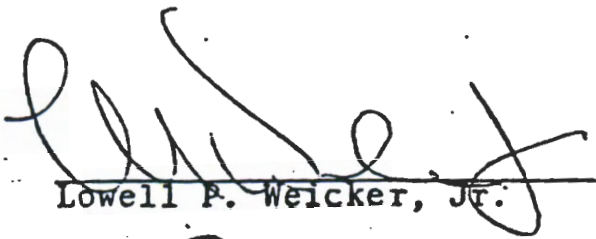
We know that the Soviet Union is continuing its massive build-up in strategic forces. We believe that there is no more effective means to curtail and reverse this build-up than the freeze and reductions proposed in this resolution. The endless cycle of nuclear escalation is more and more likely to end in nuclear conflagration unless we act in time to stop it.

We hope that you will join in sponsoring this resolution, so that realistic measures to reduce the danger of nuclear war will become the policy of our nation. It is time to signal to the world our determination to take concrete actions to prevent nuclear catastrophe. If you wish to co-sponsor this resolution, please contact our offices.

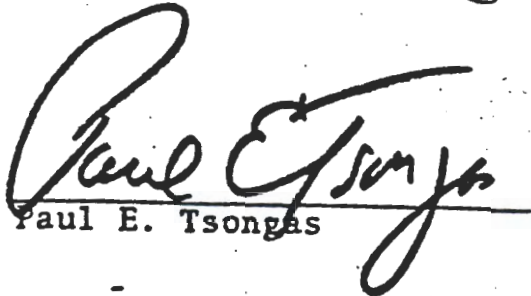
Sincerely,



Edward M. Kennedy


Mark O. Hatfield


Lowell P. Weicker, Jr.


Claiborne Pell


Paul E. Tsongas


Alan Cranston

NUCLEAR WEAPONS FREEZE CAMPAIGN

National Clearinghouse
4144 Lindell Blvd., Suite 201
St. Louis, MO 63108
(314) 533-1169

PROPOSAL FOR A U.S.- SOVIET NUCLEAR WEAPON FREEZE

To improve national and international security, the United States and Soviet Union should stop the nuclear arms race. Specifically, they should adopt a mutual freeze on the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons and of missiles and new aircraft designed primarily to deliver nuclear weapons. This is an essential, verifiable first step toward lessening the risk of nuclear war and reducing the nuclear arsenals.

STATE OF THE CAMPAIGN (February, 1982)

FREEZE RESOLUTIONS PASSED IN:

18 Town Meetings in Vermont
(Will be introduced in 163 others on March 2nd)

5 Town Meetings in Massachusetts

3 Town Meetings in New Hampshire
(Will be introduced at 30-50 others on March 9th)

3 Town Meetings in Connecticut

1 Town Meeting in Maine
(Will be introduced in over 50 more)

Eight City Councils around the nation.

Ashland, Oregon	Oxford, Ohio
St. Louis, Missouri	Yellow Springs, Ohio
Evanston, Illinois	Ithaca, New York
Fort Wayne, Indiana	Northampton, Massachusetts

Five City Councils in South Dakota have passed Freeze resolutions directed to all nuclear nations.

The Massachusetts and Oregon State Legislatures, the New York Assembly, the Wisconsin and Connecticut House of Representatives.
(Have been or will be introduced in Maryland, Ohio, Minnesota, Vermont, Kansas, Washington and Maine).

REFERENDUMS (Advisory):

Ballot victories in 3 State Senatorial Districts of Western Massachusetts in 1980 and in Boulder, Colorado in November of 1981.

Ballot victories at Amherst and Hampshire Colleges.

Campaigns are underway to put the Freeze on the ballot in November of 82' in California, Michigan, New Jersey and Delaware.

**THE
FREEZE**

Because Nobody Wants A Nuclear War

page 2

Montana is considering a referendum that focuses on a multilateral freeze and the MX missile.

ENDORSEMENTS:

69 Catholic Bishops

34 U.S. Representatives and 3 U.S. Senators

Prominent individuals from every walk of life, for example, William Winpsinger, President of the International Association of Machinists; Retired Admiral Gene R. LaRoque; Helen Caldicott, M.C.; and Linus Pauling, Nobel Laureate, Chemistry.

More than fifty national and international organizations have endorsed the Freeze including the National Council of Churches; the Union of American Hebrew Congregations; the YWCA of USA; the Conference of Black Mayors; and the United Presbyterian Church.

CAMPAIGNS (based on January questionnaire to state contacts)

Different levels of Freeze activity in 279 congressional districts and 43 states around the country.

17 - 20,000 people nationwide are actively organizing around the Freeze.

Over 500,000 petition signatures have been collected. This does not include the 400,000 that have been collected in California to put the Freeze on the November ballot there.

Nuclear Weapons Freeze Gains Nationwide Momentum

By Jay Mathews
Washington Post Staff Writer

LOS ANGELES, March 3—Their movement a little more than a slogan six months ago, advocates of a freeze on nuclear weapons production are already drawing analogies with taxpayers' revolt of the late '70s.

A petition drive to put the question on California's November ballot has gathered a half-million signatures. Nationwide, the growing movement got its greatest boost Tuesday when 5 of 185 town meetings in Vermont approved resolutions calling for a bilateral U.S.-Soviet freeze on nuclear arms production.

Sponsors expect the Vermont results to create political momentum that will sweep upcoming town meetings in Massachusetts and New Hampshire and lead to a landslide vote this fall in California, the nation's most populous state.

"Once we make it happen here, we will be setting a political match that ignites a response throughout the nation, just as the taxpayers' revolt did," said Harold Willens, the Los Angeles businessman who has organized the California drive.

He cited Proposition 13, the 1978 California tax-cutting initiative that sparked similar taxing movements throughout the country.

The California campaign may cost as much as \$1.5 million, said Willens, who campaigned for years for candidates who supported an end to the arms race. When one of his favorites, President Carter, didn't show up at a United Nations disarmament conference in 1978, Willens decided to change tactics.

"I believe it's more important to try to change the political climate on this issue than it is to change candidates," he said.

Supporters of the movement, who now claim more than 17,000 volunteers working in most of 50 states, hope that large popular votes will best encourage U.S. officials to devote more effort to negotiating arms controls.

The Reagan administration has suspended long-range strategic arms talks with the Soviets, though it is proceeding with discussions on short-range nuclear missiles in Europe.

Reagan administration official yesterday



Associated Press

Board of Civil Authority counted ballots after each of several votes at Tuesday's town meeting in Wolcott, Vt.

called the freeze idea ill-timed. "To impose a freeze at this time," said Joseph D. Lehman, spokesman for the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, "would be to reward the Soviets for a massive buildup, and penalize the United States, which has been relatively restrained."

Lehman said, however, that he did not think the pro-freeze movement would weaken the U.S. bargaining position in any upcoming arms talks or encourage the Soviets to delay making concessions.

"We welcome a public debate on this issue," Lehman said.

So far, the movement has encountered no organized opposition, in part because it calls for a bilateral freeze by both the United States and the Soviet Union and for safeguards against cheating.

Supporters say the Soviets should be just as interested as Americans in suspending the arms race, contending it has helped cripple the Soviet economy and added to arsenals already large enough to destroy both countries.

Soviet leader Leonid I. Brezhnev, replying last month to an appeal from an Australian disarmament group, said his country "is ready to reach agreement not only on the complete

termination of all nuclear weapons tests but also on ending their further production and on the reduction and subsequent elimination of their stockpiles."

The movement has attracted endorsement from three U.S. senators—Patrick J. Leahy (D-Vt.), Claiborne Pell (D-R.I.) and Lowell P. Weicker Jr. (R-Conn.)—and 39 House members and it is understood that Sens. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Mark O. Hatfield (R-Ore.) will submit a bipartisan resolution next week calling for a weapons freeze. Resolutions also are expected soon in the House, said Barbara Roche, co-director of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze campaign's national clearinghouse in St. Louis.

A freeze resolution has been introduced in Maryland's legislature, where it is expected to pass, and others are expected soon in Ohio, Minnesota, Vermont, Kansas, Washington and Maine. One or both houses of the legislatures in Massachusetts, Oregon, Connecticut, New York and Wisconsin have already passed resolutions.

Meanwhile, Boulder, Colo., where voters endorsed the freeze last year, this week joined a small but increasing number of localities that have rejected a federal request to develop a nuclear evacuation plan.

P.A-7

Post 3/3/52

AROUND THE NATION

Vermont Towns Vote Against A-Arms

WESTON, Vt.—Vermont's tiniest towns took a strong stand against nuclear weapons yesterday as residents exercised a right of self-rule that predates the Republic.

More than 160 communities were voting on a resolution that calls for an immediate freeze on the manufacture, testing and deployment of nuclear weapons and the missiles and bombers that deliver them.

By last night, 100 communities had voted to support the freeze, 15 had opposed it and seven had tabled the resolution.

In Weston, about 100 citizens gathered in the town's summer stock theater. Isaac Patch, a retired foreign service officer who was the first U.S. diplomat flown out of Czechoslovakia after the Communist takeover, spoke forcefully in favor of the nuclear freeze, urging his fellow townspeople to "tell the world that we recognize the seriousness of the nuclear arms race."

No one rose in opposition and passage was greeted by a burst of applause.

But in Westminster, a few miles away, retired U.S. Army Lt. Col. Donald Safford told his fellow townspeople that they were naive.

"If you believe that this thing is going to cause nuclear disarmament, then you believe in the tooth fairy because the Soviets are not nice little guys," he said, but his arguments failed to persuade his neighbors.

The towns voting represent 60 percent of the towns in the state. An additional 18 towns approved the resolution last year.

The proposition, cautiously worded and paying due respect to

the grass-roots tradition of town meetings, called on local delegations to the Vermont Legislature to ask it to petition the state's congressional delegation to call upon Congress to request that the president ask the Soviet Union to join in a moratorium.

Advocates, led by the Quakers' American Friends Service Committee, argued that in the end nuclear war is the most local of all issues and that nuclear war could more likely be prevented by pressure from the grass roots than by dialogue between the world's capitals.

This increased level of funding is crucial for the State of Ohio since it is one of the 18 States plagued by escalating unemployment rates and consequently must borrow from the Federal unemployment account. The most recently published figures for comparing National, State, and city unemployment rates reveal that in November, Ohio's rate of unemployment rates reveal that in November, Ohio's rate of unemployment was 10.9 percent—three full percentage points above the national average of 7.9 percent. The unemployment rate for Cleveland, during that same period was a staggering 12.7 percent.

This supplemental appropriation is of special importance to Ohio in light of recent announcements that over 1,000 persons staffing the job services centers in Ohio would be laid off as a result of the Reagan administration budget cuts. Additionally, 37 of the centers were marked for closure. These centers provide valuable assistance in matching jobless workers to available jobs.

During a time when more than 9 million Americans are out of work, it would be irresponsible for the Members of Congress to stand idly by and not protect funding and staffing for the job service agencies that are so vital in serving the needs of the record number of unemployed workers of our Nation. It is incumbent upon the Congress to remedy the mistakes of the Reagan administration which proposed that staffing for these employment service offices be reduced. I urge swift approval of House Joint Resolution 391.●

NUCLEAR WEAPONS FREEZE

HON. EDWARD J. MARKEY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 10, 1982

● Mr. MARKEY. Mr. Speaker, day by day, the world edges closer and closer to the brink of nuclear disaster. The arms race is getting out of control with the United States, the Soviet Union, and other nuclear weapons states now possessing more than 50,000 nuclear warheads. These warheads have a total explosive power of 1 million Hiroshima bombs. Yet in the face of this frightening capacity for destruction, the United States and the Soviet Union, between themselves, plan to construct 20,000 additional warheads in the next decade. It also appears likely that other nations will choose to join the nuclear club. Already, at least 30 countries have the technical capability to produce nuclear weapons. And at the moment, the United States and the Soviet Union cannot expect other nations to renounce nuclear weapons while the superpowers make no effort to curb their own voracious appetite for these arms.

The time has come to halt this unrestrained arms race. The superpowers' nuclear weapons programs today are at the point where new weapons systems will only "make the rubble bounce," as some commentators have noted. For example, it would take only several hundred of the more than 50,000 nuclear weapons that presently exist to effectively destroy both the United States and the Soviet Union. Just one Poseidon submarine has enough independently targetable warheads to cause 30 million fatalities in the Soviet Union.

I, therefore, am introducing today, along with 28 cosponsors, a resolution calling for the six weapons states—the United States, U.S.S.R., France, Great Britain, China, and India—to begin negotiations to adopt a freeze on nuclear weapons. Specifically, the resolution calls for the United States, in negotiations with the Soviet Union and the other nuclear weapons states, to propose halting all further testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons and of missiles and new aircraft designed primarily to deliver nuclear weapons.

Thomas J. Watson, Jr., former U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union, made a very perceptive statement about the utility of nuclear arms in an address to the Arms Control Association last December. "Thermonuclear weapons," he said, "are good for two things—for deterrence or for suicide."

The sad fact is that while the superpowers' stated policies have been to deter nuclear war, the weapons systems they have developed have brought the world closer to the second option—suicide. Rather than ease tension and achieve stability, the superpowers have allowed themselves to be caught up in a nuclear weapons spiral that has increased the pressure on both sides to use their nuclear arms in a crisis. And the next generation of United States and Soviet weapons, which promise to increase both sides' war-fighting capabilities in a limited nuclear exchange, will further fuel the arms race.

As a starting point, a nuclear freeze would halt the nuclear arms buildup in its tracks, while the weapons states begin meaningful negotiations for eventual reductions.

All across the country, grass roots organizations—made up of businessmen, ministers, doctors, lawyers, and community leaders, to name a few—have sprung up demanding a nuclear freeze. From Oregon to California to Texas to Vermont to Massachusetts, state legislatures, town meetings and religious conferences have called for a freeze on these weapons of mass destruction. Their message is clear. Enough is enough. The nuclear arms buildup the past quarter century has bought the superpowers and the rest of the world less, not more, security.

It is now time for the Congress to convey that message to the White

House, the Nation, and the rest of the world.●

TRIBLE MAGNUSON ACT AMENDMENT

HON. PAUL S. TRIBLE, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 10, 1982

● Mr. TRIBLE. Mr. Speaker, today I introduced legislation to permit the Secretary of Commerce to take emergency action under the Magnuson Fishery Conservation Management Act to address economic and social emergencies affecting U.S. fishermen and fish processors.

The Magnuson Act was enacted to "conserve and manage" the fishery resources found off the coast of the United States. Another purpose was "to take into account the social and economic needs of the States." Despite these dual purposes for the act, emergency regulations are permitted only for "an emergency involving any fishery resource." This permits emergency regulations when quick action is needed to conserve and manage the resource, but not when the emergency is of a social or economic nature. As the act is written, a social or economic emergency can continue for months before permanent regulations can be approved.

The Magnuson Act is to conserve and manage the resource and to take into account the social and economic needs of the States. The emergency powers of the Secretary of Commerce should reflect each of these purposes. My bill accomplishes this by extending this power to include social and economic emergencies that affect American fishermen and fish processors.

My constituents in Virginia who fish for a living and fishermen throughout the Atlantic States are examples of the urgent need for this legislation. Strict Federal catch limits and spiraling fuel costs are combining to cause these people great economic hardship.

A solution to this economic emergency is proposed in a new Atlantic groundfish management plan which would both conserve the fishery resource and allow fishermen to make a profit. This new plan has been approved and enthusiastically endorsed by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. However, since the plan addresses an economic emergency, it may not be put into effect on an emergency basis before it receives final approval from the Department of Commerce, the Office of Management and Budget, and the Council on Environmental Quality. Such approval can take months, an intolerable length of time for someone who is on the brink of economic disaster.

The needs of the American fishing industry and the sluggish pace of the Federal regulatory approval process

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CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

February 9, 1982

Dear Colleague:

The dangers of nuclear war grow more threatening each year as ever more sophisticated strategic weapons are added to Russian and American arsenals in a hopeless race for security. Both sides already have more than enough nuclear weapons to utterly devastate the other, but we keep testing and deploying new weapons in search of some illusory advantage, wasting billions of dollars in the process. SALT talks have been suspended and no one can say when START talks will start. We strongly support President Reagan's goal of reducing American and Soviet nuclear arsenals, but we know that past arms control efforts failed to meet expectations because development of new weapons continued unabated while negotiations took place.

A broad new coalition of religious groups, state and local elected officials, and community groups has come up with a simple and sensible proposal to end this vicious cycle. This nuclear weapons freeze campaign is circulating millions of petitions across the country which call on the United States and the Soviet Union to adopt a bilateral freeze on the nuclear arms race, with negotiations about actual reductions to follow. This effort recognizes that a rough balance of forces now exists which would permit both sides to stop work on new weapons.

We think this approach is realistic and promising, and have drafted the resolution printed below which closely conforms to the wording of the petitions being circulated by groups supporting a nuclear weapons freeze. If you would like to be an original cosponsor of this resolution, please let us know by Friday, February 26. Contact Gordon Kerr at 54411.

HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Whereas a nuclear war of any size would result in death and injury on a scale unprecedented in human experience, and a major nuclear war would end civilized human existence throughout the world;

Whereas both the United States and the Soviet Union have more than enough nuclear warheads to destroy every major population center in both nations and in all nations with which they are allied;

Whereas the history of the development and production of nuclear weapons demonstrates that the nuclear arms race is endless and unwinnable, that the goal of nuclear superiority cannot be achieved by any nation, and that the addition of hundreds or even thousands of new weapons will make no nation secure and will only add to already overstocked nuclear arsenals;

Whereas the continued development of new weapons will overtake arms agreements by the time they have been negotiated;

Whereas the United States and the Soviet Union have the obligation to assume the leadership in ending the arms race: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That, it is the sense of the Congress that the President should immediately propose that the United States and the Soviet Union adopt a mutual freeze on the testing and deployment of nuclear weapons and of missiles and new aircraft designed primarily to deliver nuclear weapons. This first step should be followed by negotiations to achieve substantial reductions in the nuclear arsenals of both nations, subject to rigid inspection.

Sincerely,


Rep. Jonathan Binham


Rep. Mike Lowry

P.S. Representative Ed Markey has introduced a generally similar resolution. We urge you to join us in sponsoring either or both of these calls for an end to the race for nuclear superiority.

M-10-46

Whereas the Congress acknowledges the catastrophic medical, social, political, and economic consequences of nuclear war;

Whereas the United States, the Soviet Union, and the other nuclear-weapon states have a significant responsibility for averting a nuclear war;

Whereas the United States, the Soviet Union, and the other nuclear-weapon states today possess 50,000 nuclear warheads, enough to destroy one another many times over, and the United States alone may spend more than \$222 billion in the next years in new nuclear weapons production; and

Whereas an unencumbered arms race threatens the security of the United States and the world: Now, therefore, be it

1 Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate
2 concurring), That it is the sense of Congress that the President
3 must take strong action to diminish the threat of nuclear war.
4 Therefore, the United States should, in negotiations with the
5 Soviet Union and other nuclear-weapon states, propose halting
6 all further testing, production, and deployment of nuclear
7 weapons and of missiles and new aircraft designed primarily
8 to deliver nuclear weapons.

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

February 11, 1982

Honorable Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
Secretary
Department of State
2201 C Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20520

COPY

Dear Mr. Secretary:

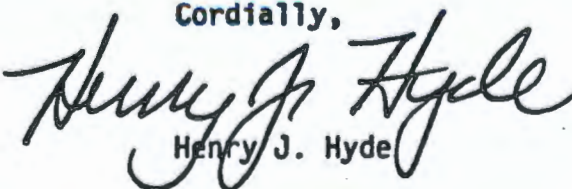
Enclosed are copies of communications from several of my colleagues urging support for resolutions calling upon the President to propose a mutual nuclear weapons freeze with the Soviet Union.

Since most Members of the House are in their respective districts during this recess, it is highly probable that considerable pressure will be put upon them by visiting delegations of church groups, community groups, and others, urging that they co-sponsor such legislation. I'm certain they will be told that the resolution is harmless, as it only expresses the "sense of the Congress" and by its terms is "mutual."

I view this entire push as more hazardous because it puts Congress on the side of the protest marchers in Europe and grossly oversimplifies such issues as verification, theater versus strategic weapons, Soviet preponderance in both nuclear and conventional arms, etc. It is all very seductive and calls for some counter-offensive on your part so that the average Member will be equipped to resist this politically attractive, but in my view dangerous, call for a freeze on nuclear weapons.

Don't overestimate the ability of the Congress to cope with determined and energetic anti-nuclear activists.

Cordially,


Henry J. Hyde

HJH:fw
Enclosures

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MWC

Dick-Gronet

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Los Angeles Times

Monday, February 15, 1982 / Part II

5

A Cold Look at Nuclear-Freeze Idea

California Initiative Pursues Honorable Goal Unrealistically

By ERNEST CONINE

As everybody with a cause knows by now, California is where it's at. Movements that succeed here have a way of spreading elsewhere.

Proposition 13 was a perfect example. The nationwide tax revolt wasn't taken seriously until Californians lowered their own property taxes in 1978. Then politicians from coast to coast knew that the wind had shifted.

Now comes the California Bilateral Nuclear Weapons Freeze Initiative, as it is officially called. It will appear on the ballot in November if its supporters can produce petitions bearing 346,119 valid signatures.

Backers of the initiative are confident that, if they can win in California, the result will be a tidal wave of grass-roots pressure from all over the country, demanding an end to the nuclear-arms race.

The initiative, though founded on unrealistic assumptions, is harmless on its face. It might even do some good by letting President Reagan know that a lot of people still want arms control.

All it does is declare that the danger of nuclear war is growing, assert that such a war would kill millions of people, and require the governor of California to send a letter to the President, his key Cabinet members and Congress.

The letter would urge the President to propose to the government of the Soviet Union "that both countries agree to immediately halt the testing, production and further deployment of all nuclear weapons, missiles and delivery systems in a way that can be checked and verified by both sides."

Who could reasonably object to that? To assure those who do not believe in unilateral disarmament, the initiative plainly calls for a freeze on both sides. And, for those who worry about Soviet cheating, it says in plain English that the proposed freeze should be subject to verification.

As pointed out by spokesmen for the sponsoring organization, the initiative does not even call for the removal of existing nuclear weapons.

The campaign to obtain the necessary signatures to get the initiative onto the November ballot began Dec. 1 and, according to the organizers, is going well.

And why not? Public-opinion polls consistently show that the American people favor efforts to negotiate a reduction in the U.S. and Soviet nuclear arsenals.

The polls also reveal a healthy public awareness of the danger of nuclear war. Public consciousness is being fanned further by concerned churchmen and by Ground Zero, a Washington-based organization dedicated to the proposition that people should think more about nuclear war and how to avoid it.

Churches are heavily involved in the initiative campaign. Prominent leaders of 12 major denominations—including Roman Catholic, Jewish and several varieties of Protestant churches—have signed on.

The initiative should be a shoe-in. However, people who sign the petitions and vote for the initiative do deserve answers to some questions that the sponsors have preferred not to bring up.

Do they really believe, for example, that Leonid L. Brezhnev & Co. will accept a nuclear freeze that, in the language of the initiative, "can be checked and verified by both sides?"

If the Russians say no, what then? The initiative is represented as a call for bilateral action; the sponsors insist that they are not calling for unilateral disarmament.

That being the case, are leaders of the movement ready to stipulate now that a Soviet *no* would render the initiative irrelevant—that a vote for the initiative would not later be construed as a mandate for unilateral arms reduction by the United States?

Finally, what steps are the sponsors taking to encourage circulation of petitions in the Soviet Union calling on the Kremlin to accept a bilateral nuclear freeze? If Soviet citizens are not free to tell their own government "Enough", what sort of pressures do sponsors of the initiative propose be brought on the Soviet leaders?

These are not idle questions.

It should be kept in mind that, while polls consistently demonstrate that the American people favor arms reduction, they just as consistently show that people don't trust the Russians, and believe that this country should maintain military strength equal to or greater than that of the Soviet Union.

A sweeping freeze on the "testing, production and further deployment of all nuclear weapons" may be eminently desirable if it can be enforced. But, in the case of the proposed freeze on production of nuclear weapons and delivery systems, it's a big if.

The initiative's stated requirement for adequate verification could not possibly be met without on-site inspectors in the other country's laboratories and defense plants. Anyone who believes that the Russians are prepared to tolerate that kind of snooping on their soil is living in a dream world.

There is every reason to suspect that some of the California initiative's principal sponsors know this quite well, and are prepared to press for a unilateral American freeze if Reagan refuses to propose a bilateral freeze, or if the proposal is made by Washington but is rejected by Moscow.

Archbishop John R. Quinn of San Francisco, for example, is associated with the Catholic bishops who challenge the very idea of nuclear deterrence and have thrown their weight behind unilateral nuclear disarmament.

Campaign director Harold Willens is a leading figure in the Pasadena-based Interfaith Center to Reverse the Arms Race, whose thrust is that the United States can safely call off its half of the arms race without waiting for matching restraint by Moscow. Whatever Soviet nuclear superiority might result is dismissed as irrelevant.

In sum, there is nothing wrong with the California nuclear-freeze initiative as such; its goal is honorable even if its means are unrealistic. But Californians who put their John or Jane Henry on the petition should do so with modest expectations.

Ernest Conine is a Times editorial writer.

Letters to The Times

Bilateral Nuclear Weapons Freeze

Ernest Conine's column (Editorial Pages, Feb. 15), "Cold Look at the Nuclear-Freeze Idea," is certainly that—cold in the sense of being off the beam.

Conine has attacked something we are not even suggesting: "a unilateral American freeze." He notes that our very name is Californians for BILATERAL Nuclear Weapons Freeze. And he admits, "There is nothing wrong with the California nuclear-freeze initiative as such." So he hits at us over the shoulder of the Interfaith Center to Reverse the Arms Race whose thrust—he claims—is unilateral. He is mistaken there. And he is mistaken in implying that my personal thrust is unilateral.

I welcome the chance to tell him and his readers that the thrust of the Interfaith Center (which I helped found) has been publicly and strongly bilateral since late 1980. My personal belief—and the initiative I am supporting—is this: "that the government of the United States (should) propose to the government of the Soviet Union that BOTH countries agree to immediately halt the testing, production and further deployment of all nuclear weapons, missiles and delivery systems in a way that can be checked and verified by both sides."

Certainly Conine raises good questions. But here again he appears to be misinformed. We who are promoting the freeze have been asking and answering these questions from the outset. With Conine we ask: "What if the Russians say no, what then?" Our answer: "Then the whole thing is off." For as our initiative says, "The safety and security of the United States must be paramount in the concerns of the American people." But the Soviets may accept. They have been making freeze-like proposals at the United Nations ever since 1976.

"What about verification?" Conine asks. "The initiative's stated requirement for adequate verification could not possibly be met without on-site inspectors in the other country's laboratories and defense plants."

But that is not what the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff says. He is Gen. David Jones of the Air Force, as tough and knowledgeable as they come. At a Senate Armed Services Committee hearing on verification by satellite, radar and seismograph, Jones was asked, "Do you believe we can verify the SALT agreements this way?" "Yes, I do," he said. His answer applies even more to the freeze because freeze provisions are total; totality wipes out ambiguity and makes verification easier.

Conine recognizes "adequate" as the important word. Harold Brown, former secretary of defense, has said, "We can adequately verify Soviet compliance by our own intelligence efforts." Adm. Noel Gayler, former director of the National Security Agency, said, "It is a reasonably safe area to negotiate with the Russians on, particularly so far as Russian cheating is concerned. . . . A difference of a few weapons on one side or the other doesn't make any difference in the destruction."

Gayler was referring to such redundancies as our having almost 9,000 strategic warheads and the Soviets more than 7,000—when just two of our Poseidon submarines, retrofitted with MIRVed Triton missiles, can wipe out every Soviet city of more than 100,000 population.

All this is reflected in President Reagan's push for "verifiable reduction in strategic nuclear weapons". He announced this as a goal for his START (Strategic Arms Reduction Talks) program last November. We support him in that. We feel nothing should be allowed to postpone it, no "linkage" should be allowed to block it. START could become the prime goal of a once-more-united American people.

And if we can get the President to initiate START with the bilateral freeze, that goal might be achieved. For START and the freeze together could rewrite arms control history.

So, as Conine says, "The initiative might do some good by letting President Reagan know that a lot of people still want arms control."

HAROLD WILLENS

Los Angeles

Willens is campaign coordinator of the initiative.

When I first got interested in the Bilateral Nuclear Weapons Freeze campaign, I referred to it in my innocence as the "nuclear freeze" and was annoyed that people working in the campaign insisted on always using its full name—until it occurred to me, as it did to all the others, that, while there can be no reasonable objection to it, certain people are so in love with their visions of Armageddon or *Gottterdammerung* that they will use any and every means of putting down an attempt to prevent their realization, in this case the most obvious means being somehow to misrepresent it as unilateral disarmament.

Conine achieved in his column a masterpiece of tortured reasoning, wherein he found a path to "unilateral disarmament" by envisioning in the minds of us schemers the hidden intention of stirring up such a public clamor for an end to the

drift to nuclear war that if Reagan or the Russians should refuse to consider our modest proposal our leaders would not be able to cast the issue aside but would have to accept unilateral disarmament.

On the contrary, our hopes are actually tied to the fact that it does not involve disarmament at all but simply a halt to further production of nuclear weapons on both sides.

Conine correctly interpreted the polls that show most Americans remarkably sane in their thinking on this issue. By an overwhelming margin, they want to give this modest plan a chance to work, but by an equally overwhelming margin ("not trusting the Russians") they make it clear they will accept only a plan that can be verified to their satisfaction.

I also think it safe to say that an even more overwhelming majority hope that this or some plan will be adopted and will work and that the result will be *multilateral*, not unilateral, disarmament and an end to the threat of war in the world. If no plan works, then the people who are dreaming of their Armageddon or their *Gottterdammerung* will have their dream realized.

DON L. HEAD
Los Angeles

Dr. Owen Chamberlain

Dear Fellow Citizen,

Right now, nuclear warheads sit waiting all over the world. They are aimed at you, your family and your friends. And there are enough nuclear weapons to destroy every person on earth.

In the next few minutes, you are going to be asked to make one of the most important decisions of your life, a decision to help prevent such destruction and a thermonuclear war. You can do it. Here's how:

In another state, California, there is an intensive new campaign now under way to have the citizens of that state officially call for an end to the arms race -- to press upon Congress and the President the urgent need "to propose to the Soviet Union an immediate mutual freeze on the testing, production and deployment of all nuclear weapons, missiles and delivery systems."

These words are the heart of the Bilateral Nuclear Weapons Freeze Initiative which can be on the November, 1982 California Ballot if we can gather 500,000 signatures to put it there. This initiative, by itself, is not going to stop the arms race. But it is the vital first step toward that goal.

What has the California Nuclear Weapons Freeze Initiative got to do with you? A great deal! Even though you don't live in that state, you can help assure the success of this critically important citizens' move to put an end to the nuclear arms race. Once the initiative is on the Ballot, we are convinced the people of California will approve it. And that, we hope, will be the spark that sets ablaze across the entire country the flame of protest against nuclear weapons. ✓

Until now, no nation, no state, no electorate anywhere in the world has ever voted on this critical issue. The decision about the arms buildup has been left to the "nuclear priesthood" -- a small, elite group of military and political strategists who are moving us closer and closer to a nuclear war. They are preparing weapons systems and a political climate for World War III as if such a war were inevitable.

If we have learned anything from history, it is that too often misguided leaders have taken their nations down the path to destruction while an unwilling, disapproving citizenry stood by helpless. We are determined not to let this happen in the matter of the nuclear arms race.

Protests against the arms buildup have already begun and are gathering strength in Europe. It's time now for every concerned American to speak out. And the most effective thing you can do right now, no matter where you live, is to help see that the California Bilateral Nuclear Freeze Initiative passes.

Remember, it was the people of the United States who finally forced our government to end the war in Vietnam. And as tragically destructive as that war was to us -- physically, mentally and spiritually -- it was child's play

(over, please)

compared to what will happen when the next thermonuclear device is used. And experts tell us it will be used unless we take that vital step toward stopping it.

NOW is the time to take that step.

We are not questioning or challenging our country's need for a strong defense. We are challenging the buildup of nuclear arms. We are saying a nuclear arms race between the U. S. and the U. S. S. R. is leading both countries and the world down the road to annihilation.

Already, the American people are being conditioned by Washington to accept phrases like "limited nuclear war" and "tactical weapons." We are being lulled into a state of believing that when "it" happens, it will happen, as it always has before, to other people.

That is simply not so. The "limits" of today's nuclear war are the ends of the earth. And calling them "tactical weapons" does not make today's nuclear weapons any less lethal.

Nuclear weapons are not -- as hard-liners would have us believe -- "bigger," "more modern" and "more powerful" versions of conventional weapons. In one millionth of one second, one large strategic warhead can release more energy to kill than that produced by all conventional weapons in all wars in the history of mankind. And there are now 50,000 nuclear warheads of all types in the world.

There's no need for me to reiterate the horrors of what will happen if nuclear weapons are used. There's hardly an intelligent man or woman alive who doesn't know of these horrors ... of the firestorms of over 1000 degrees Fahrenheit that will be set in motion ... of people choking to death from toxic gases and lack of oxygen ... of the millions who will suffer from radiation burns ... of the radioactive dust clouds that will cover hundreds of square miles bringing with them excruciating pain, gut-wrenching sickness and death.

These are the known effects. The unknown effects are as important. We just don't know all the horror that a nuclear war could bring.

We do know that disease, deformation and horrible genetic aberrations would be our legacy to the survivors and their progeny, if indeed they were able to have any. We do know that in a nuclear exchange, all the accomplishments of centuries of civilization would vanish and the abundant earth would become a wasteland. If the end comes, we may not be remembered as the generation that destroyed our earth because there might not be anyone left to remember.

I urge you not to dismiss these warnings as the ramblings of hysterical people. They are not. They are the cautionary words of some of the most informed scientists in the world today, many of them Nobel laureates like myself. We know that unless steps are taken to prevent further insane arms buildup between the two super powers, we are risking an end to human life as we know it.

We scientists are only too well aware of the menace we created with "the bomb." To indicate how close the world moves to midnight ... doomsday ...

(next page, please)

the thermonuclear war we dread ... we use the hands of a symbolic doomsday clock. The hands of that clock now stand at four minutes to midnight. We can not wait one second longer. The nuclear freeze initiative MUST be on the California ballot in November.

That's why we ask you to take that first important step with us -- to give us your commitment and your financial support for the long journey back to safety and sanity.

The California nuclear freeze initiative can be the beginning of a new nationwide crusade that can not only influence the decisions of policy makers today, but can also help inspire more enlightened, more progressive leaders for tomorrow.

To succeed, we need public support, ... your support.

It's going to take money to mount a campaign to insure that California voters -- and the rest of the world watching -- are aware of the significance of what is happening. It will take money to publicize the names and statements and commitments of the people, in all fields, from all nations, who already share the concern and are now ready to share in the struggle.

Among the many, many people ready to make statements firmly in favor of a bilateral freeze are religious leaders (including representatives of the Vatican), scientific leaders (including more than a score of Nobel laureates), political leaders, statesmen and many others.

When one Californian, Archbishop John R. Quinn, recently spoke in San Francisco's beautiful Saint Mary's Cathedral at the 800th anniversary celebration of the birth of the gentle Saint Francis of Assisi, he called from his pulpit for a nuclear freeze, proclaiming:

"Not only the peace of the world but the very survival of the human experiment is at stake" unless people take specific, every-day steps against nuclear weapons and become "active in a national campaign for a nuclear arms freeze and bilateral disarmament of nuclear weapons by the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

His words brought forth an unprecedented outpouring of support not only from the 600,000 Catholics of his archdiocese, but from Protestants and Jews, as well. It was news that made headlines across the country.

There is no way that even the most distorted mind can call these people "crackpots" or "radicals." There is no way anyone can discount the facts that are the foundation for a nuclear freeze. Those facts are:

- * A freeze on nuclear missiles and aircraft can be verified by existing national means.
- * A freeze would hold the existing nuclear parity between the United States and the Soviet Union, and would eliminate excuses for further arming on both sides.

(over, please)

- * A freeze would save as much as 100 billion dollars a year in U. S. and Soviet military spending ... help reduce inflation in the U. S. ... balance our budget ... reduce our taxes ... and raise employment.

But most importantly, a nuclear freeze could save our lives, save our world.

The call for a nuclear freeze initiative is NOT an exercise in futility. The support is there. A recent Gallop Poll shows an overwhelming majority of the American people favor a nuclear freeze. What's needed now is not a poll, but action.

So right now, today, before the sun goes down, take that first important step toward ending the threat of thermonuclear war. Help us put the Bilateral Nuclear Weapons Freeze Initiative on the 1982 Ballot in California.

You can help by sending in your contribution. We need every dollar we can get to assure the success of this campaign. Send \$50 if you can. It's an investment in your future. If you can't send \$50, send \$15. Send whatever you can. But send your check today.

It's going to be tough going until Election Day, 1982. But with people like you behind us, we know we can succeed. And if the longest journey begins with a single step, then the loudest protest begins with a single voice -- your voice.

Sincerely,



Owen Chamberlain *
for Citizens for a Bilateral Nuclear
Weapons Freeze

- * Dr. Chamberlain is a nuclear physicist who shared the Nobel Prize in 1959 for his discovery of the anti-proton. He helped design the atomic bomb at Los Alamos, New Mexico, in 1944-45.

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SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION

Whereas the greatest challenge facing the earth is to prevent the occurrence of nuclear war by accident or design;

Whereas the nuclear arms race is dangerously increasing the risk of a holocaust that would be humanity's final war; and

Whereas a freeze followed by reductions in nuclear warheads, missiles and other delivery systems is needed to halt the nuclear arms race and to reduce the risk of nuclear war;

Resolved by the Senate and the House of Representatives
of the United States of America and Congress assembled,

1. As an immediate strategic arms control objective, the United States and the Soviet Union should:

(a) pursue a complete halt to the nuclear arms race;

(b) decide when and how to achieve a mutual and verifiable freeze on the testing, production, and further deployment of nuclear warheads, missiles, and other delivery systems; and

(c) give special attention to destabilizing weapons whose deployment would make such a freeze more difficult to achieve.

2. Proceeding from this freeze, the United States and the Soviet Union should pursue major, mutual and verifiable reductions in nuclear warheads, missiles and other delivery systems, through annual percentages or equally effective means, in a manner that enhances stability.

23

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

February 9, 1982

Dear Colleague:

The dangers of nuclear war grow more threatening each year as ever more sophisticated strategic weapons are added to Russian and American arsenals in a hopeless race for security. Both sides already have more than enough nuclear weapons to utterly devastate the other, but we keep testing and deploying new weapons in search of some illusory advantage, wasting billions of dollars in the process. SALT talks have been suspended and no one can say when START talks will start. We strongly support President Reagan's goal of reducing American and Soviet nuclear arsenals, but we know that past arms control efforts failed to meet expectations because development of new weapons continued unabated while negotiations took place.

A broad new coalition of religious groups, state and local elected officials, and community groups has come up with a simple and sensible proposal to end this vicious cycle. This nuclear weapons freeze campaign is circulating millions of petitions across the country which call on the United States and the Soviet Union to adopt a bilateral freeze on the nuclear arms race, with negotiations about actual reductions to follow. This effort recognizes that a rough balance of forces now exists which would permit both sides to stop work on new weapons.

We think this approach is realistic and promising, and have drafted the resolution printed below which closely conforms to the wording of the petitions being circulated by groups supporting a nuclear weapons freeze. If you would like to be an original cosponsor of this resolution, please let us know by Friday, February 26. Contact Gordon Kerr at 54411.

HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Whereas a nuclear war of any size would result in death and injury on a scale unprecedented in human experience, and a major nuclear war would end civilized human existence throughout the world;

Whereas both the United States and the Soviet Union have more than enough nuclear warheads to destroy every major population center in both nations and in all nations with which they are allied;

Whereas the history of the development and production of nuclear weapons demonstrates that the nuclear arms race is endless and unwinnable, that the goal of nuclear superiority cannot be achieved by any nation, and that the addition of hundreds or even thousands of new weapons will make no nation secure and will only add to already overstocked nuclear arsenals;

Whereas the continued development of new weapons will overtake arms agreements by the time they have been negotiated;

Whereas the United States and the Soviet Union have the obligation to assume the leadership in ending the arms race: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That, it is the sense of the Congress that the President should immediately propose that the United States and the Soviet Union adopt a mutual freeze on the testing and deployment of nuclear weapons and of missiles and new aircraft designed primarily to deliver nuclear weapons. This first step should be followed by negotiations to achieve substantial reductions in the nuclear arsenals of both nations, subject to rigid inspection.

Sincerely,

Jack Bingham
Rep. Jonathan Bingham

Mike Lowry
Rep. Mike Lowry

P.S. Representative Ed Markey has introduced a generally similar resolution. We urge you to join us in sponsoring either or both of these calls for an end to the race for nuclear superiority.

44-111

Joseph Kraft
Brezhnev Offers Us A Rare Opportunity

A sudden turn of events has handed the Reagan administration a golden opportunity to cut a good deal with the Soviet Union on arms control. For Leonid Brezhnev has coupled an offer that can be topped with a threat that has to be challenged.

Washington is thus in a rare position to combine negotiations with a show of strength. The requirement is a specific, early offer for mutual reduction of intercontinental weapons—that is, a follow-up to the SALT II treaty.

Until Brezhnev's latest statement, the Reagan administration was on the defensive in dealing with Russia. It had repeatedly demanded that Moscow show signs of moderation in areas of tension. Moscow did not comply. The Reagan administration began to look to everybody like a paper tiger.

At the same time there was pressure, first from the European allies and increasingly from dovish opinion in the United States, for a more flexible American position on arms control. President Reagan eased the pressure somewhat when he put, in a speech on Nov. 18, the American position for negotiations with Russia on intermediate-range nuclear weapons based in Europe. He said the United States would cancel plans to deploy 672 Pershing and cruise missiles on the European Continent if the Russians agreed to scrap the 900 or so SS20s they have targeted at Western Europe.

But the yearnings for arms control were satisfied for only a brief period by that so-called zero-based proposal. Recently there has been more pressure from Europe for an American position that included intercontinental weapons. To that there was added last week a congressional resolution put forward by Sen. Edward Kennedy and Mark Hatfield. The resolution called for negotiation of an immediate halt to the nuclear arms race in all its dimensions—a freeze on production and further deployment of nuclear warheads, missiles, and other delivery systems.

These demands on the Reagan administration for more concessions provided the backdrop for the Brezhnev statement. The Soviet leader first reiterated, in somewhat more formal fashion, a freeze proposal that dovetailed perfectly with the Kennedy-Hatfield resolution.

He said that "the Soviet leadership has taken a decision to introduce unilaterally a moratorium on the deployment of medium-range nuclear armaments in the European part of the U.S.S.R." It called on the United States and its allies to follow suit—but, as President Reagan stressed, that would "lock in" Russia's enormous present advantage in nuclear weapons on the Continent.

To that offer, Brezhnev added—for the first time at his level—a distinct threat as to what Russia would do if the United States and its allies went ahead with the deployment of the cruise and Pershing missiles. In that case, Brezhnev said:

"There would arise a real additional threat to our country and its allies from the United States. This would compel us to take retaliatory steps that would put the other side, including the United States itself, in its own territory, in an analogous position."

The general nature of that threat admits no doubt. Brezhnev is saying that if the United States and its allies go ahead with nuclear modernization in Europe, Russia will retaliate by increasing its nuclear weapons it has targeted on the Continent and the United States. The use of the word "analogous," moreover, suggests that the Soviet leader has in mind subjecting this country to the menace of intermediate-range nuclear weapons. Such weapons could reach U.S. territory only if they were based in Cuba.

But three times—under the Kennedy administration during the missile crisis of 1962; and under the Nixon and Carter administrations in lesser episodes—the United States has exacted from Moscow a pledge not to place nuclear weapons in Cuba. The Reagan administration cannot allow even an implicit threat to that understanding to go by. So there will simply have to be a test of Brezhnev's meaning.

The heavy odds are that Moscow will once more climb down on using Cuba for nuclear weapons. But that, of course, is only half the battle. The great opportunity is to use the occasion to advance the arms control negotiations from the domain of intermediate missiles in Europe to the area of intercontinental weapons.

Partly because of campaign rhetoric about the SALT II accord negotiated by the Carter administration, and partly because of internal confusion and bickering, the Reagan administration has so far refrained from stating its position on intercontinental missiles. But the elements of a deal are obvious. The United States can ask the Russians to scrap their massive nuclear blockbusters—the SS16s especially. In return this country would cancel projects to build such new weapons as the B1 bomber or the MX missile.

The riposte to Brezhnev would at that point be complete. The United States would be out front in arms control proposals. Russia would be on the defensive. It is possible—even likely—that there would be achieved true progress in reducing the level of armaments, and making the world a safer place.

Roger Landrum

What the Democrats Can Do

The Democratic Party faces a decision that may determine control of the federal government for the rest of the decade. One choice is to lay back and wait for the Reagan policies to fail. This strategy suggests that the party has been basically right all along, and that voters who crossed over to Reagan will come to their senses as they face the reality of conservative government.

One of several deficiencies with this stand-pat strategy is the probability that the Reagan record by 1984 will be more ambiguous than flat-out failure. The 1980 election was more than a repudiation of Carter, as a number of former senators can attest; it expressed a populist revolt against much of the Democratic Party's agenda during the 1970s. The party gradually became identified with high taxes, runaway government spending, quotas, capitulation to special interest groups and erosion of productivity. Reagan is on the popular side of all these matters. If he is only partially successful with the economy, many voters will stick with him in preference to the redistributionism the Democrats went for whole hog. Even if the political tides turn on Reagan, he could step aside in 1984, and a Bush campaign would shed the least successful Reagan policies while running against the "old liberalism."

The other choice for the Democrats is to reach agreement on a bold new agenda. Democrats have not been right all along on some key issues, and the party now needs to show what kind of program it stands for. Alas, party spokesmen and councils have thus far adopted a posture of carping about Reagan initiatives—witness the televised response to the State of the Union speech—while offering no clear alternatives.

Does anyone know what the Democratic Party's position is on taxation? Taxes have been falling like water torture upon the American people: federal and state income taxes, property taxes, sales taxes, excise taxes and all the other taxes. As taxes took more and more of the income of working people, the Democratic party sank deeper into redistribution schemes. Those who wanted to keep more of their income got sanctimonious speeches about compassion at the same time that a progressive tax system which is supposed to distribute the tax burden fairly was an obvious sham. In a system riddled with loopholes, those with lots of money shelter it from taxes while others pay the cost of government.

The political genius of Reagan's position on taxation has been his general attitude against taxes, and the clarity of his campaign plan for a 30 percent across-the-board cut in income taxes. This is not to say that Reagan's overall solution is correct. Tax loopholes



"Got any ideas yet?"

have grown wider under Reagan. As a final insult to any semblance of fairness, our federal legislators have now removed their own salaries from most, if not all, of the tax burden.

Plenty of political space exists for Democrats to leapfrog Reagan on the tax issue. The party could bring forward a plan that is both effective and fair. One way of achieving this is flat tax rates with a progressive system; no exemptions or deductions permitted. All citizens and corporations pull on the oars of taxation evenly. Because more revenue would be raised—estimated at more than \$225 billion this year—tax rates could be driven down at moderate income levels and the deficit could still be attacked.

Flat rates carry disadvantages. Government loses flexibility in stimulating the economy. Loss of deductions would hurt people of moderate income unless rates were lowered. Some sacrifices are necessary if we are to have a tax system that citizens view as fair, that raises enough revenue to operate government, and that can be understood by ordinary people. Voters may want this kind of tax system even more than they want tax relief.

If the benefits of flat rates to the country and to working people don't calculate, either economically or politically, the least the Democratic Party can do is bring forward a plan that sweeps aside loopholes permitting some to evade paying their fair share of government.

The initiative can be seized by the Democratic Party on other fronts. The American economy is not going to expand significantly or steadily without greatly enlarged markets overseas. The new markets are in the Third World, especially in large nations such as Nigeria, India, and Brazil. The Reagan administration has achieved little in this direction. Nations such as Nigeria scarcely exist in Reagan's mind, and his administration is unpopular in the Third World.

Before 1984, the Democratic Party has the opportunity to prepare a comprehensive plan for expanding the markets of American commerce. Highly visible missions to key Third World countries—led by Kennedy, Mondale, and other party leaders—would signal to voters that the party is working on plans for the domestic economy that are worth voting for.

Let the Democratic Party come out for national service—not a military draft but a system with non-military and military options for youth to serve the country. Reagan opposes this in favor of a more and more costly mercenary armed forces of dubious quality.

Complaining about the plight of the poor is right and admirable, but it does not add up to a program on the great issues or for governing the country. Rather than remaining mired in its tracks, the Democratic Party should reach for a new agenda, regardless of the fortunes of Ronald Reagan. Then the party is in a position to select the candidates who can best take the program to voters, and implement it if returned to power.

The writer is a consultant in education and social policy.

"As taxes took more income of working people, Democrats sank deeper into redistribution schemes."

Ellen Goodman

Why Save the Truth for Last?

BOSTON—What a season it's been for swan songs.

First, we heard Adm. Hyman Rickover singing a different tune as he surfaced into civilian life. The man who spent his lifetime building up a nuclear fleet spent a day in January tearing it all down. "What difference does it make if we have 100 or 200 submarines?" he crooned in a congressional subcommittee. "We can sink everything in the open several times."

In retirement, Rickover sounded like a regular citizen of reason, repeating his role in the arms race — "I'm not proud of the part I played"—and jumping onto the Good Ship Disarmament.

Then, last week, we heard from Rep. Marc Lincoln Maris, a moderate Republican from Pennsylvania. Maris is retiring this year, after three terms, because of a serious back ailment. On his way off-stage, he offered a dramatic retraction of the votes he cast with his party last year, votes cast out of political savvy and not conviction.

In a bitter aria he called: "The time has come to stop this massacre!" He went on to blast a "president and his cronies whose belief in Hooverism has blinded them to the wretchedness and to the suffering they are inflicting . . ." on anyone "other than those . . . fortunate enough to insulate themselves in a corporate suit of armor."

His verses echoed through a nearly empty House of Representatives as if he were singing in a shower. But he ended on a telling note: "These words are what I truly believe."

Well, reading the lyrics to these swan songs, it occurs to me how routinely people say what they "truly believe" as they greet the door.

We've all seen this happen, and not just in politics. A disgruntled employee finally produces a memo outlining what's wrong with the company and the boss. The memo is, of course, attached to a resignation. One marriage partner ultimately tells another precisely what was wrong with their relationship . . . as she is packing.

An awful lot of the time our profiles in courage are in retirement.

Some of the reasons are obvious to us by now. Freedom comes only in the absence of ambition. It's easiest to say what you think when you don't want anymore; don't want a vote, a job, power, popularity.

Speaking your own mind is, by definition, a solitary experience. It doesn't fit easily with the notion as Maris reiterated it in his speech, "that you go along to get along."

I don't think this administration is unusual. Most parties in power have a poor sense of loyal opposition. There is often a gentleman's agreement in Congress and White Houses and parties to love it or leave it.

In fact, most people who are planning to stay feel constrained by fear: the fear of expulsion, the fear of making futile gestures, the fear of disloyalty and the fear of controversy. Sometimes even presidents can and up inhib-

ited by their offices, officers and ambitions. But what a disastrous loss of freedom this is.

In a remarkable speech, Dwight Eisenhower once warned Americans about the dangers of the military-industrial complex. "The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist," he said.

But he said this in his farewell address. What if it had been his inaugural address? What if he had done something about it?

As for Rickover, what if disarmament had been his policy and not his parting apology? As Maris discovered, a swan song often plays to an empty house.

The poet Yeats once wrote, "We taste and feel and see the truth. We do not reason ourselves into it." But it's easy to reason ourselves out of it.

And too often, truth is just an exit line.

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Hobart Rowen

Tax Imported Oil? Nonsense

In the wake of tumbling crude-oil prices, the latest panacea being examined by government officials and debated in corporate boardrooms is a tax on oil imports—maybe \$5 to \$10 a barrel. This presumably would stimulate domestic output, encourage conservation and further reduce dependence on imports, especially from OPEC.

It is a half-baked idea based on faulty reasoning. Milton Russell of Resources for the Future put it succinctly: "The idea that these oil prices going down is bad for us is perverse."

Fear is the basic rationale behind the proposal. We are warned that lower oil prices will reverse the healthy trend of the past couple of years toward sharply reduced consumption: car buyers will go back to gas-guzzlers, wasteful practices will be resumed by industry, the search for alternatives to oil will be slowed and dependence on OPEC will be increased, rather than weakened.

None of these reasons stands up under close scrutiny. OPEC's influence on oil prices is already on the way down, its notorious oil "weapon" disarmed, thanks to its greed, which stimulated conservation and led to discovery and exploitation of

other oil sources and alternative fuels.

A \$5- or \$10-per-barrel oil import fee not only is unnecessary to de-fang OPEC, but would reverse the only viable healthy economic trend in the United States—reduced inflationary pressures stemming in good part from lower oil prices. For those looking for an anti-OPEC weapon, a better strategy is to fill the strategic petroleum reserve while oil is cheap.

As economist Alan Greenspan says: "The trend to reduced consumption is irreversible. Lower prices aren't going to trigger a massive increase in fuel consumption. Sure, there will be some increase [as prices drop]. And there will be some increases as economic recovery gets under way. But we are seeing a semi-permanent response [to the earlier big jump in oil prices]."

For example, homeowners aren't going to pull the insulation out of their houses if fuel oil prices go down. In industry, Greenspan adds, the major research-and-development effort launched to cut fuel consumption costs, beginning with the first oil shock, is leading to permanent changes.

Russell agrees with Greenspan. "People are

not dumb," he said in an interview. He expects them to "accept the short-term benefits" of soft oil prices. For example, they may opt this summer for a cross-country trip instead of nearby resorts with cheaper prices at the gas pump. But the small car is here to stay (high sticker prices and interest rates buttress the trend). Moreover, it's hard to find gas-guzzlers; even larger cars today are relatively fuel-efficient.

But the import-oil fee backers have other motivations. In part, the proposal reflects a publicly feeling in the domestic energy industry—oil and other fuels—that the soaring price joyride they've enjoyed in the 1970s is coming to an end too fast. They fear it jeopardizes investments in new energy ventures based on the expectation of high-priced oil. It may well stall some projects (that's already happening). But as Greenspan suggests, that could be a good thing, saving the investors and the nation "from construction of a long series of white elephants."

Russell believes that capital investment decisions are based on long-term probabilities, which down the road still point to expensive energy, com-

pared to the 1960s. "But it may be that it's economically wise to delay some investments that industry thought would pay off earlier—and I think that's both publicly and privately wise."

When you get right down to it, the only "benefit" of an import duty would be the yield to the Treasury of about \$40 billion in new revenues from the import duty directly, and from the windfall profits tax on domestic oil—which would be allowed to rise to the duty-fattened import price.

But the costs of such a benefit to the budget deficit would be enormous in other directions. Higher oil prices would have a serious inflationary impact. Because oil costs would be higher here than in the rest of the world, one more noncompetitive element would be added to American exports, already struggling in world markets.

Worst of all, the oil import fee would deliver a wholly unjustified bonanza to domestic oil producers whose profits would swell, even after the windfall profits tax. Such a multi-billion-dollar gift to the domestic oil industry would fatten its purse for an additional burst of questionable industrial takeovers.



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Erotic Tales by New Breed of Authors Raise Soviet Eyebrows

MOSCOW

The defenders of the moral purity of Soviet society have a new bone to pick with younger Russian writers. During the past year or so they have introduced in popular Soviet fiction oversexed women and discussed their anatomy more explicitly than ever before, in a trend that threatens to take the Soviet reader "on the path of sin," in the words of one critic.

Consider, for example, the story about two young women published in the journal *Moskva*. Nina, who is single, takes a new lover each week from among a group of about 20 young villagers given to seemingly uninterrupted drinking. The other woman, Lena, is married but has an affair with a visitor to their remote Siberian collective farm.

In the midst of drunkenness and debauchery, the narrative goes into considerable details about Lena's "shameless beauty" as she stands naked before her lover. Meanwhile, the collective farm practically collapses.

Only one person in Ivan Sbitnev's story "Hunters" is interested in the farm. He is an inspector from the regional Communist Party headquarters who is at a loss to figure out what is going on in the village where, in the end, things go from bad to worse.

Another story in the journal *Neva* is set in a provincial town where an aging widower arriving from Moscow has a one-night affair with a 21-year-old woman, Nina. But Nina loves another man. The widower eventually returns home heartbroken, but not before the narrative places him outside Nina's window where he covertly watches her undress.

This may not seem a matter of great significance to a Western reader, who can pick up books by Harold Robbins, Erika Jong or Judith Krantz in a neighborhood drugstore.

But in a country known for its prudishness and ambitions to create a new Soviet man, semi-explicit description of eroticism is a new thing.

Traditionally, Soviet fiction has been imbued with the sense of party-mindedness and moral uplift. The object of a hero's in-

fatuation is a woman in a neighboring collective farm. The general theme is one of boy-gets-girl—but only after overfulfilling work norms. Promiscuity does not exist. The system promises love as reward for solid work.

The traditional approach is generally a rule in the main literary journals such as *Novi Mir*, *Oktyabr* and *Nas Sovremenik*.

But smaller, provincial literary journals have begun to give their readers a somewhat different diet. The story "Hunters," for in-

Letter From Soviet Union

stance, reveals the sense of despair in the village, with no element of moral uplift. About a dozen other small journals in the course of the last year also have begun to give their readers a close look at the female body, with erotic thoughts pushing party-mindedness into the background.

The journal *Zvezda*, for instance, printed a story in which the author places the heroine naked in front of a mirror to analyze her physical beauty. The *Journal Don* has a mid-

dle-aged village teacher secretly observing a 10th-grader as she undresses to take a dip in a local river.

A young, aggressive woman named Olga does a striptease in the pages of the journal *Volga* in front of a group of her male and female friends. With her panties finally off, she defiantly cries, "Let's all take everything off, everything. There's nothing to be ashamed of."

In the magazine *Ural*, a character named Chuvilin is about to make love to his girlfriend: "His heart was beating madly. There was his Vera, natural, hot, accessible, his sweet Vera. She took off her dress, then unhooked her bra. Two ripe breasts filled with juices of life were bared before his dazed eyes. Vera was wearing only her shoes. Chuvilin reached with his hands . . ."

Then there is almost a heretical note in a fictionalized account about the 17th-century peasant rebel Ivan Bolotnikov, published in the journal *Volga*. It portrays the man regarded as a major precursor of the Bolsheviks as having forgotten about his revolt

against the czar while he succumbed to a buxom temptress in a scene of passion that matched Chuvilin's.

The appearances of naked Olgas, Ninas, Veras and Lenas on the pages of various magazines in the course of the past year has been criticized as a new, negative trend in Soviet fiction.

The authoritative weekly *Literaturnaya Gazeta* focused its criticism exclusively on "it," a reference to sex descriptions. Critic Sergei Chuprinin studiously avoided the mention of the word sex. He did not deal with the fact that the enormous volume of popular fiction is also a source of information about changing social mores and attitudes.

What younger writers have done with their recent writing constitutes "a peak of literary licentiousness," the critic said. "There are clear suspicions that the scenes of intimate character in contemporary prose will have a negative influence on public morals and push gullible readers on to the path of sin."

—Dusko Doder

Washington Post 3/18/82

George F. Will

Forget the Freeze

I note with regret, but not amazement, that those who are advocating a mutual U.S.-Soviet "freeze" of nuclear arsenals are not like Albert Einstein, who said: "Everything should be made as simple as possible, but not simpler." Simplicity makes the freeze proposal politically attractive, and irresponsible.

In the 1970s, while the Soviets raced ahead, America unilaterally practiced a semi-freeze. It deployed multiple warheads (MIRVs) on some existing missiles, but deployed not a single new ICBM. America deployed not a single new submarine-launched ballistic missile (SLBM) in the 1970s.

Applied to intermediate-range missiles in Europe, the freeze proposal is the Soviet negotiating position: accept the Soviet's 300 SS20s and permit no comparable U.S. missiles. Furthermore, if their general superiority in offensive systems were secured by a freeze, the Soviets could further refine their destabilizing counter-force capabilities.

By BAS

For example, a freeze would prohibit new SLBMs but not new attack submarines that hunt SLBM submarines. These could eventually give the Soviets a destabilizing capability for destroying the U.S. sea-based deterrent.

A freeze would kill the B1 bomber, but would not inhibit the air defenses by which the Soviets degrade the effectiveness of America's ancient B52s. To try to preserve even a shadow of this leg of the strategic triad, America would have to spend heavily. The B52's "escape time" (the time it takes to get out of range of nuclear effects from incoming missiles) is inferior to the B1's and inadequate to the threat of Soviet SLBMs off the U.S. coast. Therefore, B52s would have to be rebuilt for better escape capability and would have to be more dispersed (B52s can use fewer airfields than B1s, so airfield modernizations would be necessary) at prohibitive cost.

The budgetary impact of a freeze would be modest. Strategic programs—weapons, command, control, communications—account for just 15 percent of the defense budget. The freeze would prevent some procurements, but would make other spending necessary to ameliorate the freeze's destabilizing effects.

(The freeze proposal makes it timely to note that some aspects of existing arms-control agreements are destabilizing. The ban on missile defenses (ABMs) is one example. Another is

the ban on new silos. This prevents, for example, deploying any of our permitted number of ICBMs on the south sides of mesas. Given the inherent limits on ballistic missile trajectories, such basing would make America's land-based deterrent more survivable, and the world safer.)

The proposed freeze would extend to "testing, production and further deployment of nuclear warheads, missiles and other delivery systems." But proponents cannot explain how they will provide for verification of, say, a freeze prohibiting improved yields of warheads, or improved throw-weights of missiles, or even new missiles. How, for example, will they verify whether new Soviet cruise missiles are nuclear-armed? Such verification is beyond the capability of our national technical means, and the Soviets will not permit the necessary on-site inspection.

The freeze proposal illustrates the dangerous asymmetry inherent in U.S.-Soviet arm negotiations. Such seductively simple panaceas pander to the widespread desire to believe that there can be an easy, cheap escape from the dangers posed by modern physics and the modern Soviet state. In the only superpower where public opinion matters, the freeze proposal will undermine support for modernization of strategic weapons. The argument will be: any new U.S. program will "provoke" the Soviets to reject a freeze.

But the Soviets are serious about arms limitations only when America's ongoing programs compel Soviet seriousness. The Soviets rejected the idea of limits on defensive systems—until the Nixon administration won congressional approval for ABMs. Then the Soviets reversed themselves. However, the fact that congressional support for the ABM was so fragile (a one-vote margin in the Senate) encouraged the Nixon administration to accept a destabilizing result in SALT I: a temporary (five-year) and ineffective restraint on offensive systems, but, effectively, a ban in perpetuity on ABMs.

Proponents of a freeze advertise it as a first step toward President Reagan's more ambitious goal of reductions in force levels. But were the Soviets to agree to a freeze, it would remove the only incentive—ongoing U.S. programs—for the Soviets to negotiate reductions.

The freeze proposal is popular with many who supported, and served in, the previous administration. That administration wasted four precious years killing and retarding U.S. strategic programs, and—not coincidentally—negotiating arms control agreements so imbalanced and porous that a Democratic-controlled Senate would not ratify them. The freeze proposal is another example of posturing and wasted motion that the world can ill afford.

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3/23/82 Nuclear Freeze



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

March 23, 1982

8/2/11

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MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Proposed Press Guidance on the Nuclear
Freeze Proposal

Copies for
1) GAK
2) VIC REIS
3) LOU MONTUZZI

file START

Attached is proposed guidance for the President's use in response to questions regarding proposals for a nuclear freeze.

L. Paul Bremer III
Executive Secretary

Attachment:

Proposed press guidance for the President.

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

Q: What is your view on proposals for a nuclear freeze?

A: No one is more determined than I to avoid the horror of nuclear war. That is why I have insisted upon the need for real reductions in the level of nuclear arms, on both sides, and on agreements which are equitable and verifiable.

I support agreements on nuclear weapons at equal and substantially reduced levels. We can achieve such agreements, which will enhance our security and that of the Soviet Union. To do so, however, we must give the Soviet Union an incentive for arms control. We must ensure Soviet recognition that the U.S. will maintain the balance, through arms reductions if possible, through modernization of our forces if we must.

As I have before stated, I oppose a freeze on nuclear weapons. Such a freeze would reward a decade of unilateral Soviet buildup, while penalizing the U.S for a decade of unilateral restraint. It would perpetuate a dangerously unstable and unequal strategic balance. As currently proposed, such a freeze would be impossible to verify, thus having us base American security on trust of the Soviet Union. We have to do better.

Q: What is your reaction to the Resolution introduced today in the Congress in favor of a freeze at equal, substantially reduced levels?

A: I am pleased that this distinguished group of legislators has introduced a Resolution which recognizes the need for substantial reductions, leading to equal levels.