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TO CLARK

FROM ROSTOW, E

DOCDATE 12 APR 82

ROSTOW - CLARK

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→ ~~GAK~~

ON

KEYWORDS: ARMS CONTROL

SUBJECT: ARMS CONTROL & PUBLIC AFFAIRS STRATEGY - GROUND ZERO WEEK 18 - 24 APR

*file*

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR CLARK DUE: 13 APR 82 STATUS S FILES

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

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UNITED STATES ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY  
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF  
THE DIRECTOR

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT  
FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: Arms Control and Public Affairs Strategy

The growth of the anti-nuclear movement in Europe and here at home has been well chronicled by the media. While this movement includes such perennial elements as the old-line pacifists, the environmentalists, the disaffected left, and various communist elements, there is participation, on an increasing scale in the U.S., of three groups whose potential impact should be cause for concern. They are the churches, the "loyal opposition" and, perhaps most important, the unpoliticized public. Much of the energy devoted to this movement will culminate in Ground Zero Week, April 18-24. It is imperative that the Administration be aware of the groundwork which has been laid nationwide for the eruption of the issue of nuclear war during this period. The press and electronic media will be full of demagoguery and emotion as journalists hungrily interview tearful mothers and self-righteously indignant clergymen against a mushroom cloud background.

In order to minimize damage to the President's domestic, foreign policy and defense programs, and to provide Administration supporters with technical and rhetorical support in counteracting the growing stridency and hysteria attending this movement, I propose that the Administration begin an immediate media campaign to deal with issues raised by the aforementioned three groups. An active, broad and coordinated media strategy is called for, involving senior Administration figures, academics, elder statesmen, and clergy who support our position. It must be carefully timed and thematically appropriate.

At Tab A is a suggested chronology of appearances by spokesmen for the Administration position. At Tab B are

themes which should characterize our discussion of the issue. At Tab C is a longer-range plan for public affairs activities in the period following Ground Zero Week. At Tab D is a partial list of Ground Zero activities in Washington, D.C.

I suggest that you support an action program within the Administration to bring to public attention the importance of, and the justification for, the President's arms control policy.

*Engene V. Portnow*

Enclosures:

- Tab A - Chronology of Appearances
- Tab B - Themes
- Tab C - Long-Range Plan
- Tab D - Ground Zero Week Activities

TAB A

Saturday, April 17 -- Ground Zero Week, minus one

-- Scenario -- FRG-demonstrations at SPD Congress

If Necessary:

- PM      °Commentary on FRG-demonstrations by Richard Burt and  
 Manfred Von Nordheim: offered to networks and  
 evening news
- °George Will on Agronsky & Co. (Friday taping)
- °Photo Opportunity -- President and Mrs. Reagan at  
 Camp David: spring flowers -- atmosphere of calm

Sunday, April 18 -- Ground Zero Week, day one

-- Scenario -- Ground Zero Opening Ceremonies in  
 Lafayette Park (White House backdrop) and nationwide

- AM      °Meet the Press -- Vice-President Bush
- °Face the Nation -- Ambassador Nitze
- °Photo Opportunity -- President returns to White House  
 (exits helicopter with briefcase) to confer with  
 Secretary Haig, etc.
- °New York Times Op-ed by Rumsfeld (as GAC Chairman)  
 on the boldness and promise of the Reagan arms control  
 policy
- °Washington Post Op-ed by Professor William O'Brien  
 (Georgetown University) stating moral and religious  
 justification for prudent self-defense in the nuclear age

Monday, April 19 -- Ground Zero Week, day two

-- Scenario -- Clips of national symposia fed for evening news

AM °Photo Opportunity -- The President meets at the White House with Archbishop Hickey (pro-freeze) and Bishop O'Connor (pro-defense)

PM °Eugene Rostow speaks at the National Press Club (Scheduled)

°ABC Nightline -- Seymour Weiss and Colin Gray give critical assessment of Ground Zero Week and Administration arms control policy

Tuesday, April 20 -- Ground Zero Week, day three

-- Scenario -- More cuts of gatherings and demonstrations -- interviews with Warnke, LaRocque, Caldicott, et al

AM °American Security Council holds press conference assailing both Kennedy-Hatfield and Jackson-Warner

°Today Show -- Sen. Warner on Jackson/Warner

°Good Morning America -- Burt

PM °"Fireside Chat" by the President on peace, the lessons of World War II, etc. (no hardware or balance discussions)

Wednesday, April 21 -- Ground Zero Week, day four

-- Scenario -- More of the same (religious commentary, etc.)

- AM      °CBS Morning News -- Dr. William O'Brien and Bishop O'Connor discuss the Catholic anti-nuclear movement (Archbishop Hunthausen, Bishop Matthiesen, etc.)
- °Photo Opportunity -- The President meets with a moderate women's group in the Oval Office -- press release describes President's concern and attention to their expressed anxieties about war, etc.
- °Post Op-ed by respected historian on the lessons of the 30's

- PM      °McNeill/Lehrer -- Richard Perle -- peace/deterrence (not limited nuclear war)

Thursday, April 22 -- Ground Zero Week, day five

-- Scenario -- More of the same (Kennedy demagoguery, etc.)

- AM      °Today Show -- Sen. William Cohen -- Congressional Resolutions
- °Good Morning America -- Rep. G. William Whitehurst -- Congressional Resolutions
- °Photo Opportunity -- Secretary Weinberger tours SAC Base -- informal -- conversation with pilots, mechanics, etc. (emphasize readiness, patriotism, etc.)

°Demonstration -- by Students for Peace and Security  
(contact Scott Thompson) against pacifism/unilateralism  
(site: White House gates)

°Wall Street Journal -- editorial about hysteria and  
policy development -- the need for calm (alternatively --  
interview with Solzhenitsyn on subject of Ground  
Zero Week)

- PM °Speech by Vice-President Bush to a World Affairs Council
- °Photo Opportunity -- Rowny meets with Swedish Ambassador  
to discuss START/Arms Control
- °Nightline -- Rep. Jack Kemp on arms control and  
the Defense budget

Friday, April 23 -- Ground Zero Week, day six

-- Scenario -- More of the same (European reaction to  
Ground Zero Week, etc.)

- AM °CBS Morning News -- Sen. Tower -- criticizes  
Administration MX Plan -- urges more MX in survivable  
mode
- °Today Show -- Anne Armstrong -- women in support of  
a strong defense
- °National Public Radio -- speech or interview by  
Secretary Haig
- PM °Discussions with George Will for Agronsky & Co.



PM °Photo Opportunity -- President or Secretary of State to visit Arlington National Cemetery (sobering backdrop of war's consequences)

Saturday, April 24 -- Ground Zero Week, day seven

-- Scenario -- Large demonstrations in D.C. and elsewhere -- possible weather factor

AM °Photo Opportunity -- President working, meeting Cabinet members (no President-at-play contrasted with earnest protestors)

°AP/UPI exclusive interviews with Haig on START

°Submit Perle Op-ed on Ground Zero Week to Post for Monday printing

PM °George Will on Agronsky & Co.

Sunday, April 25 -- Ground Zero Week, plus one

-- Scenario -- Ground Zero Week closing remarks in Lafayette Park -- much sound and fury (White House backdrop)

AM °David Brinkley -- Eagleburger -- on Ground Zero Week/Europe

°Meet the Press -- Sen. Baker on Administration arms control policy/budget

°President invites small group (3-5) of Ground Zero Week leaders (thoroughly screened) to the Oval Office for discussion (no White House-under-seige à la Nixon)

Monday, April 26 -- Ground Zero Week, plus two

-- Scenario -- Analysis and review of Ground Zero Week

AM

°Perle Op-ed in the Post

°Good Morning, America -- European diplomat or  
journalist to comment on similarities and differences  
of U.S. and European peace movements

°Today Show -- Midge Decter of Committee for a Free World

°New York Times Op-ed -- Nitze on truth and diplomacy

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TAB B

THEMES

1. "Arms Control - A New Approach" -- The failure of previous efforts and the intransigence of the Soviets in the face of idealism. The real prospects and incentives for reduction.
2. "The End of the Double Standard" -- We must condemn the Soviet buildup as hostile to the preservation of peace.
3. "Deterrence, Accommodation or Defeat" -- The three choices.
4. "The Lessons of the '30's" -- The failure to heed the warnings of Hitler. The death and suffering caused by appeasement and indecision.
5. "Better Red Than Dead?" -- There is a third choice (see #3).
6. "Equal Levels - Low or High" -- Our determination to deny superiority to the Soviets and our determination to pursue arms reductions.
7. "The Zero Option" -- The President's November 18 speech as the model for our efforts.
8. "Arms Control and Strategic Planning" -- The importance of eliminating Soviet pre-emptive capacity and preserving our deterrent forces.
9. "Arms Control and International Law" -- Aggression and the balance of power.
10. "Arms Control and NATO" -- The importance of resisting Soviet coercion based on their growing arsenal.

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TAB C

TAB C

MILESTONES

- April 19 Rostow Speech to the National Press Club
- May 10 Haig, Weinberger, Rostow meet with Conference of Catholic Bishops
- May 15 The President outlines, in a major speech, the proposal which the U.S. will make to the Soviets in Geneva for major reductions in strategic nuclear weapons
- May 20 INF Talks resume in Geneva
- June 6 The President tours the beaches of Normandy on the anniversary of D-Day, and delivers a "never again" eulogy
- June 8 President, speaking in Bonn, relates alliance security and arms control issues in a broad outline of our Atlantic policy
- Mid-June The President addresses U.N. SSOD II, perhaps making a new proposal on MBFR, TTBT, etc. while condemning Soviet violation of CBW accords
- Summer START Talks open in Geneva (when appropriate)



Subj: Ground Zero

1. From National Headquarters:

Activities are scheduled in: 150 Major Cities  
 600 Other Cities  
 750

330 College Campuses  
 900 High Schools

2. From Washington, D.C. Headquarters:

15 April "Educators for Social Responsibility"  
 Stiwell Friends School  
 4:30-8:00

18 April Opening Ceremony  
 Lafayette Park  
 2:00

1st Town Meeting  
 "What is National Security?"  
 7:30, place TBA

Children's Forum  
 Stephan Longfellow Fisk  
 Place and time TBA

19 April 2nd Town Meeting  
 "Where do nuclear weapons come from?"  
 (An historical review)  
 Place and time TBA

Today Seminar  
 "Prospects for War; Prospects for Peace"  
 Rockville Community College  
 Place and time TBA

19-23 April Noon Lecture Series  
 "Nuclear War Awareness"  
 Prince George's City Community College  
 Largo, Md.

Speakers' Corner  
 Lafayette Park  
 12:00-2:00

20 April Poets on Nuclear War  
 D.C. Space, 443 7th Street  
 7:30

3rd Town Meeting  
 "Who wants nuclear weapons? Who benefits?"  
 Place and time TBA



- 21 April Clouds of Doubts  
Film  
D.C. Space, 443 7th Street  
time TBA
- Atomic Music  
D.C. Space, 443 7th Street  
time TBA
- 4th Town Meeting  
"What do weapons cost us?"  
Place and time TBA
- 22 April Grace Cavaleri Show (Radio)  
Poets and the Bomb  
7:30
- 5th Town Meeting  
"Can we trust the Russians?"  
Place and time TBA
- Film  
Georgetown University  
Place and time TBA
- 23 April TV, Channel 32  
"Thinking twice about nuclear war"  
10:00 pm
- 6th Town Meeting  
"What are the consequences of a nuclear war? What  
will life after the victory be like?"  
All Souls Unitarian Church  
16th and Harvard Streets  
7:30
- 24 April Martin Luther King Library  
A stage reading of "Writings on War"  
2:00
- 7th Town Meeting  
"What are the politics of our military policy?  
What is the role of the citizen?"  
Place and time TBA
- 25 April Closing Ceremony  
Lafayette Park  
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 Stephan Longfellow Fisk  
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3rd Town Meeting  
 "Who wants nuclear weapons? Who benefits?"  
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 Film  
 D.C. Space, 443 7th Street  
 time TBA
- Atomic Music  
 D.C. Space, 443 7th Street  
 time TBA
- 4th Town Meeting  
 "What do weapons cost us?"  
 Place and time TBA
- 22 April      Grace Cavaleri Show (Radio)  
 Poets and the Bomb  
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- 5th Town Meeting  
 "Can we trust the Russians?"  
 Place and time TBA
- Film  
 Georgetown University  
 Place and time TBA
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- 24 April      Martin Luther King Library  
 A stage reading of "Writings on War"  
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 What is the role of the citizen?"  
 Place and time TBA
- 25 April      Closing Ceremony  
 Lafayette Park  
 Time TBA

## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 22, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR EDWIN MEESE III  
JAMES A. BAKER III  
MICHAEL DEEVER

FROM: WILLIAM P. CLARK *WPC*

SUBJECT: Policy Offensive on Arms Control and the  
Anti-Nuclear Movement

The movement to educate Americans on the effects of nuclear weapons is gaining momentum, and this week enters a crucial phase. Ground Zero activities are pictured as educational by its national organizers, who claim to want to arouse the citizenry rather than propose specific solutions, such as a nuclear freeze. But under the Ground Zero umbrella are a variety of policy proposals that would be detrimental to the United States. The next phase for the movement could be toward promotion of policy solutions, as its leaders try to keep up momentum. In any event, Ground Zero educational activities leave the movement open for exploitation by others of all stripes.

Our effort should be directed toward convincing Americans whose anxieties are heightened by this movement that our policy solutions best meet their desire that the United States do something to lessen the prospect of a nuclear holocaust. The time for us to do something is now, and I agree with Dave Gergen that the communications effort must be pulled together by the NSC and White House.

We have begun. I will personally chair an interagency meeting, probably this week, with a specific agenda to deal with the issues. I have no illusions about solving our problem by asking the bureaucracy to produce fact sheets on a lot of esoteric issues. That's just the kind of activity that could give everyone a feeling of accomplishment, while actually not moving the ball an inch. My purpose is to sensitize all departments to our concern about the direction of public and international opinion on arms control, and to emphasize our desire to take the lead in the policy solution phase of the movement's activities. I want to involve all departments in a coordinated strategy, bringing their talents to bear on specific aspects of the problem.

In no way do I wish to foster a "we/they" syndrome, wherein we become antagonists with Roger Molander of Ground Zero, or Billy Graham, or 40 Catholic Bishops, or the Mayor of Pella, Iowa. The broad public is being awakened to the problem specialists in and out of government have dealt with for years: they are scared to death at the prospect of nuclear war. We should welcome the public's concern about this issue, as it parallels our own. But we must convince the public that our policies are best for dealing with their newfound concerns: that unilateral disarmament by the United States would only endanger us more; that progress can be made only when the Soviets (where is their anti-nuclear movement, we should ask) respond to our fears about the growth of their conventional and nuclear armaments. We should go beyond a static restatement of our policy to generate real enthusiasm for new initiatives as we unfold them, especially our proposals for START. Clearly, as Dave Gergen says, we should emphasize the President's role as a peacemaker, but we must not let the Russians off the hook. We must also focus on concrete policy and new initiatives; otherwise, our "peace offensive" will be met with cynicism, both at home and abroad.

A strategy for the next six months could include these activities:

a) Immediate efforts to enhance communication of the President's philosophy on arms control. The radio talk Saturday was a beautiful step in the right direction -- perfectly timed to present the President's views at the beginning of Ground Zero week, rather than in reaction to it. We should hammer his theme in the immediate future, as in Gene Rostow's speech at the National Press Club (Monday, April 19), in network television opportunities involving Administration spokesmen and friends, and in Senate testimony on the Jackson/Warner Amendment later this month. This will mean passing the word to our own people and briefing outside organizations and individuals on a priority basis, one of the things I will stress at our initial interagency meeting. The themes must be kept basic. Any cabinet member or political official may expect to receive questions in public on this issue; while we do not want every appointee to become our spokesman, each senior official should know how to handle the issue when it comes up. More important, we urgently need a small, but readily available, stable of articulate people who can address the issue and guide the public to support our policy solutions. We should identify these people, and promptly formalize a system for providing our spokesmen on request -- or better yet, on our own initiative -- for public speeches, television appearances, editorial board conferences, media interviews, and group meetings.

b) Communications with the activists. The fact that the activists have our attention should be kept secret. We want to demonstrate that we, too, are activists -- seeking resolution to the same concerns. As we organize to deal with the problem more coherently, we should make it known without fanfare that we are doing so, rather than have the media leap on the inevitable leak to portray us as secretive and defensive. Also, I see no reason to rule out high-level meetings soon with people like the Physicians for Social Responsibility group, Molander, Billy Graham, or Senator Jackson -- meetings designed to show the public that we are paying attention to the national message of concern, and that we have the best program to deal with those concerns. These meetings could hint at new initiatives and solicit views and recommendations. Even if the meetings do not reassure or convert the participants, they should at least help reassure the concerned public as to our good faith and reasonableness. (I am not suggesting meetings with those who are intent on political exploitation of the issue and would gain more from the exposure than would we. Questions of who to meet with, where, when, who should represent us, etc., need careful examination, but with dispatch.)

c) Address the arms control issue in the President's foreign policy speech in May and again on television prior to the European trip. The President should restate his policy as a major, but not central, part of his overall foreign policy speech, foreshadowing a new initiative in connection with START. Then, in line with Dave Gergen's suggestion, he should go on prime time to present his arms control proposals and propose a date for START. This appearance should come as soon as feasible after the foreign policy speech, and should be designed to capture the initiative by its boldness, to give the President genuine national (and perhaps bipartisan) foreign policy support as he goes to Europe. The television talk and our associated efforts could be the key to gaining public support from June to November. The talk should be accompanied by an all-out communications and policy coordination effort. The logic in doing this before Europe and before his UN speech seems overwhelming to me; but so is the task of agreeing on policy proposals, coordinating with allies overseas and here, and undertaking the communications effort in the relatively short time left. Needless to say, the reaction of the Soviets, other countries, and our public to the President's presentation will be factors in deciding how to proceed during the European trip and at the UN. the point is that we must go on the offensive and stay on the offensive, rather than waiting and reacting -- a situation likely to give the Soviets and anti-government forces in this country the upper hand.

Getting the job done:

This strategy calls for a special organizational approach. Ideally, one individual -- a Special Advisor reporting directly to the President and working closely with the National Security Advisor -- should manage this issue as a sole responsibility. He or she should establish a senior-level steering committee of principal members of the White House staff and Deputies in other key departments. This Special Advisor should keep policy issues moving, orchestrate our actions, take over and push the communications effort I have initiated, act as principal articulator of policy in public appearances, and develop and lead a team of spokesmen. There are drawbacks to this approach: we'd need an individual with the abilities and stature of a Henry Kissinger to make it work best; staffing and obtaining cooperation from all departments could be problems. However, the management advantages are obvious: there would be full time top-level attention to the problem; Presidential involvement and control would be insured. Public affairs benefits would also accrue -- we would have a competent and authoritative spokesman and team leader; we'd be giving evidence of the serious attention the Administration is placing on the issue. Another obvious advantage: the Special Advisor assignment would not last forever. It would stop, at latest, with START.

The alternative to a Special Advisor is for the President to designate someone with functional responsibility -- the Vice President Secretary of State, National Security Advisor, or Director of ACDA -- to take the lead and devote the major part of his time and effort to the project. That route presents many opportunities for failure.

In conclusion, what I have outlined is a proposed grand strategy to deal with what may be the most important national security opportunity and challenge of this Administration. With some hard work, it can be done. Success in the next six months is well within our grasp. There is no need for panic, only for planning and action. We should be fully in agreement on this strategy before proceeding. Could we talk about it briefly at everyone's earliest convenience.

cc: Dave Gergen