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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name MATLOCK, JACK: FILES

Withdrawer

JET 3/31/2005

File Folder MATLOCK CHRON JANUARY 1985 (3/4)

FOIA

F06-114/2

Box Number 8

YARHI-MILO

801

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
6748	MEMO	RADICAL REDUCTIONS IN NUCLEAR WEAPONS (1B) <i>R 11/21/2007 F06-114/2</i>	1	1/16/1985	B1
6749	MEMO	MATLOCK TO MCFARLANE RE BURT-ISAKOV MEETING [9] <i>R 11/21/2007 F06-114/2</i>	1	1/17/1985	B1
6750	MEMO	MATLOCK TO MCFARLANE RE SHULTZ-DOBRYNIN MEETING, JANUARY 22, 1985 [38-39] <i>R 1/11/2012 M125/2</i>	2	1/23/1985	B1
6752	MEMO	PLATT TO MCFARLANE RE MEETING WITH SOVIET EMBASSY ON ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS, MIDDLE EAST, AND OTHER SUBJECTS [12] <i>R 11/21/2007 F06-114/2</i>	1	1/16/1985	B1
6751	MEMO	MCFARLANE TO PRESIDENT REAGAN RE SHULTZ-DOBRYNIN MEETING [40] <i>R 11/21/2007 F06-114/2</i>	1	ND	B1
6753	MEMO	SHULTZ TO PRESIDENT REAGAN [42-43] <i>R 11/21/2007 F06-114/2</i>	2	1/22/1985	B1

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]

B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]

B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]

B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]

B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]

B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]

B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

**National Security Council
The White House**

14

System # _____

Package # _____

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Paul Thompson	_____	_____	_____
Bob Kimmitt	_____	_____	_____
John Poindexter	1	<i>[Signature]</i>	_____
Tom Shull	_____	_____	_____
Wilma Hall	_____	_____	_____
Bud McFarlane	_____	_____	_____
Bob Kimmitt	_____	_____	_____
NSC Secretariat	_____	_____	_____
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____
<i>MATLOCK</i>	2	_____	_____

I = Information A = Action R = Retain D = Dispatch N = No further Action

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other _____

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: _____

(Date/Time)

*Jack,
This is a report from a
retired Navy 3*.* *[Signature]*

Ch... 15
✓

1/16/85

Subject: "Radical Reductions" in Nuclear Weapons

According to briefings by representatives of DOD, State, ACDA and the White House on 1/11/85, concerning the recent meetings in Geneva between Soviet and U.S. representatives, the Soviets are now talking about "radical reductions" in so-called offensive nuclear weapons systems, applying the term to both START and IMF. There is speculation that the term "radical" is purely political with the Soviets. At Geneva, they would not accept the U.S. term "deep reductions" or even "significant reductions". They want "radical" reductions, whatever that means.

During the UNA/USA/USSR meetings in New York City, the term "radical" was discussed privately and separately at lunch and dinner with two members of the Soviet delegation: (1) Yuriy A. Antipov, the First Secretary to the USSR Mission to the United Nations and (2) Yuri Shiyan, Senior Researcher of the Institute of Space Research, USSR Academy of Sciences.

In the discussions, Antipov and Shiyan were asked what the Soviets meant by "radical reductions"; what was their definition of the word "radical"? Reference was made to the U.S. terms of "deep" and "significant". Both of the above gentlemen responded that radical meant big reductions, of considerable significance. In attempting to get a better idea, the idea of a percentage cut in existing arsenals was suggested ...specifically, it was asked if a cut of 50 percent would be considered to be "too radical". Both men responded that they saw no problem with that figure; that it was entirely possible that 50 percent could at least serve as a point for discussion. Antipov did bring up the question of "what do you do about cruise missiles?" When it was suggested that such a question would be appropriate for discussion during the negotiations, but that a basic understanding of "radical" was the first order of business, he seemed satisfied.

Bottom line? It would appear that the Russian definition of "radical reductions" is not too different from that of the U.S.

ENDIT

DECLASSIFIED
NLS F06-114/2#6748
BY LOT NARA, DATE 11/21/07

JM CHRON
10

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

January 16, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCK SUBJECT: Proposed Draft Letter to Mr. David E. Wilke
Concerning the Principle of Reciprocity between
Journalists from Soviet Bloc Countries and
U.S. Journalists

I have reviewed and concur in the proposed draft letter from Linas Kojelis to David E. Wilke concerning the principle of reciprocity between journalists from Soviet Bloc countries and U.S. journalists.

Karna  Small concurs.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab I.

Attachment:

Tab I Memorandum to Sally Kelley

Tab A Proposed Draft Response and Incoming letter

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

MEMORANDUM FOR SALLY KELLEY

FROM: ROBERT M. KIMMITT

SUBJECT: Proposed Draft Letter to Mr. David E. Wilke concerning the Principle of Reciprocity between journalists from Soviet Bloc countries and U.S. journalists

We have reviewed and concur with the proposed draft letter to Mr. David E. Wilke on the principle of reciprocity between journalists from Soviet Block countries and U.S. journalists.

Attachment:

Tab A Proposed Draft Response and Incoming Letter

Department of State
Suggested Response

Dear Mr. Wilke:

Thank you for your letter of November 13 concerning criticism of the U.S by Warsaw Pact journalists stationed in this country.

Our country has always stood for the free and unfettered rights of journalists to express their views, no matter how repugnant those views may be to us. For that reason, we have never expelled a Communist correspondent or denied a visa on the basis of what that person has written about the U.S. In any case, U.S. immigration laws would not permit us to refuse a visa to someone solely on the grounds that we dislike the way in which he covers the U.S.

At the same time, we have vigorously supported the right of American journalists to practice their trade in Eastern Europe without reference to the content of their writings.

I thank you for communicating your views to me on this matter.

Sincerely,

Linas Kojelis
Associate Director
Office of Public Liaison

Mr. David E. Wilke
736 West Aldine,
3N,
Chicago, IL.

4

Department of State
Suggested Response

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Sincerely,

Linas Kojelis
Associate Director
Office of Public Liaison

Mr. David E. Wilke
736 West Aldine,
3N,
Chicago, IL.

5
8433150

T H E W H I T E H O U S E O F F I C E

REFERRAL

DECEMBER 4, 1984

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION REQUESTED:

DRAFT REPLY FOR SIGNATURE OF WHITE HOUSE STAFF MEMBER

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 278720

MEDIA: LETTER, DATED NOVEMBER 13, 1984

TO: LINAS KOJELIS

FROM: MR. DAVID E. WILKE
736 WEST ALDINE
3N
CHICAGO IL 60657

SUBJECT: URGES U. S. GOVERNMENT TO DEVISE PROGRAM OF
RECIPROCITY BETWEEN JOURNALISTS ASSIGNED TO
FOREIGN POSTS FROM THE U. S. AND THOSE FROM
SOVIET BLOC COUNTRIES

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN
TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE
UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE
(OR DRAFT) TO:
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE

SALLY KELLEY
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

8433150

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE

REFERRAL

DECEMBER 4, 1984

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION REQUESTED:

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FROM: MR. DAVID E. WILKE
736 WEST ALDINE
3N
CHICAGO IL 60657

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RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE
(OR DRAFT) TO:
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE

SALLY KELLEY
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

736 W. Aldine, 3N
Chicago, Il. 60657
Nov. 13, 1984

978780

Mr. Linas Kojelis
Associate Director
Office of Public Liaison
Old Executive Office Building
Room 128
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Kojelis:

A matter of serious concern has come to my attention. I have learned that Dusan Rovensky, a reporter for the Czech Communist newspaper, Rude pravo, is now chief U.S. correspondent.

As expected, articles from Rude pravo reveal that Mr. Rovensky is engaged in a propaganda campaign to vilify the U.S. at every turn.

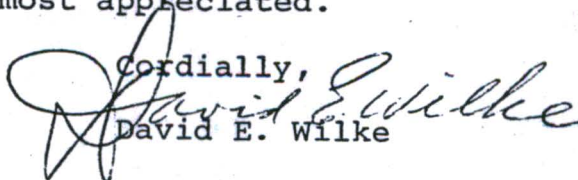
In one instance he writes: "Members of the American navy, whose units strangled the revolutionary movement in South America, murdered in Vietnam, and Beirut, intervened in Grenada, will accompany the Olympic flame. Can there be any greater insult to the Olympic ideal than this."

Elsewhere he writes: "Several anti-communist organizations met in Los Angeles in order to devise a plan concerning Socialist block athletes. Present at the meeting were extreme right-wing and neo-fascist groups, from the Cuban Freedom Fighters to the Polish American Congress. Also present were Czechoslovak immigrants."

What's most disturbing, however, is the fact that Soviet block correspondents like Mr. Dusan, are accredited to roam about the country while feeding the anti-American propaganda machine. No such freedom is allowed American correspondents in Czechoslovakia, for example.

I urge that the U.S. government do everything possible to devise a program of reciprocity between journalists assigned to foreign posts from the U.S. and those from Soviet block countries. In other words, American correspondents should be accorded the same privileges of criticism and free movement in Communist-dominated countries as those countries' correspondents enjoy here. If not, then I suggest that the U.S. deny visas and take other appropriate action.

Your attention to this matter will be most appreciated.

Cordially,

David E. Wilke

736 W. Aldine, 3N
Chicago, Il. 60657
Nov. 13, 1984

278720

Mr. Linas Kojelis
Associate Director
Office of Public Liaison
Old Executive Office Building
Room 128
Washington, D.C. 20500

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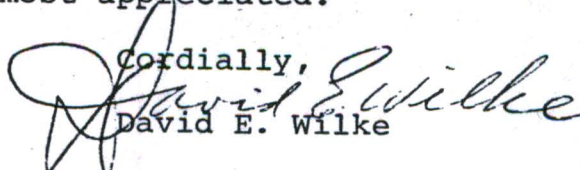
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Your attention to this matter will be most appreciated.

Cordially,

David E. Wilke

matlock
9

SYSTEM II
8590054

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

January 17, 1985

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

NOTED

FROM: JACK MATLOCK *JM*

SUBJECT: Burt-Isakov Meeting, January 16, 1985

A self-explanatory Platt-McFarlane memorandum reporting on Rick Burt's meeting with Isakov on January 16 is at Tab I. During that meeting, Rick proposed that arms control negotiations begin in Geneva in early March, reiterated our proposal for a joint space rescue mission, proposed consultations on the Middle East to be held in Washington February 19-20, protested the Soviet demarche to Mobutu, rejected Soviet preconditions for further discussions on southern Africa and expressed our opposition to Soviet efforts to arrange for an affiliation of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War with the World Health Organization.

Ron Ron Lehman, *Covey* Jock Covey, *G.R.* Gil Rye and *PR* Phil Ringdahl concur.

Attachment:

Tab I - Platt-McFarlane Memorandum of January 16, 1985

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

DECLASSIFIED
NLS FOI-114/2 #6749
BY LOI, NARA, DATE 11/21/07

RECEIVED 17 JAN 85 12

TO MCFARLANE FROM PLATT, N

DOCDATE 16 JAN 85

URGENT

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997

By CAS NARA, Date 6/2/02

KEYWORDS: USSR ARMS CONTROL BURT, R
MIDDLE EAST ISAKOV, VIKTOR

SUBJECT: SUMMARY OF BURT MTG W/ ISAKOV OF USSR EMBASSY RE ARMS CONTROL
NEGOTIATIONS / MIDDLE EAST & OTHER ISSUES

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR MCFARLANE DUE: STATUS S FILES SII

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

MATLOCK

COVEY

RYE

KIMMITT

LEHMAN, R

RINGDAHL

COMMENTS

REF# 8501346 LOG NSCIFID (B /)

ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

DISPATCH _____ W/ATTCH FILE _____ (C)

National Security Council
The White House

System #

II

Package #

90054

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson			
Bob Kimmitt	1	K	
John Poindexter			
Paul Thompson			
Wilma Hall			
Bud McFarlane			
Bob Kimmitt			
NSC Secretariat	2	B	Shuff
Situation Room			

I = Information A = Action R = Retain D = Dispatch N = No further Action

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other _____

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: _____

(Date/Time)

Neelan Mallock

Curt Covey

Rye

Rohman

Kingdahl

Info Kimmitt (red box)



~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

ES SENSITIVE 8501346
United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520 SYSTEM II
90054

January 16, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. MCFARLANE
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Meeting with Soviet Embassy on Arms Control
Negotiations, the Middle East and other Subjects

Assistant Secretary Burt called in Soviet Embassy Counselor Viktor Isakov January 16 to convey our desire to begin arms control negotiations in Geneva in early March. Isakov undertook to report Burt's statement to Moscow. He asked if any decisions had been reached on who would lead the US delegation. Burt replied that no decisions had been taken. In response to the same question, Isakov said decisions on the Soviet delegation were still pending.

During the meeting Burt also reiterated on behalf of the President our offer for a joint US-Soviet mission to develop space rescue techniques. He recalled that in rejecting our offer last March the Soviets had stressed the need to address the "militarization of space." Burt told Isakov that now that we have agreed to discuss space as part of our arms control dialogue, the Soviet Union should look again at the space rescue mission. Burt also used the meeting to:

-- convey our desire to hold regional consultations on the Middle East in Washington on February 19 and 20;

-- protest the Soviet demarche to President Mobutu on January 9, alleging that the US and South Africa were plotting to invade Angola from Zaire;

-- reject Soviet preconditions for further US-Soviet discussions on southern Africa; and

-- express our opposition to their efforts to have the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW) establish an affiliation with the World Health Organization.

Nicholas Platt
Nicholas Platt
Executive Secretary

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~
DECL: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
NLS F06-114/2#6752
BY LOS NARA, DATE 11/21/07

*Rec'd 13
JM-Chan*

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

January 16, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCK *JF*

SUBJECT: Proposed Draft Letter to Mr. David E. Wilke
Concerning the Principle of Reciprocity between
Journalists from Soviet Bloc Countries and
U.S. Journalists

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K Small concurs.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab I.

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Tab I Memorandum to Sally Kelley

Tab A Proposed Draft Response and Incoming letter

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

January 17, 1985

Maltred: J 17 14

MEMORANDUM FOR SALLY KELLEY

FROM:

Robert Kimmitt
ROBERT M. KIMMITT

SUBJECT:

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Tab A Proposed Draft Response and Incoming Letter

15



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 8433150

Date January 14, 1985

For: Mr. Robert C. McFarlane
National Security Council
The White House

Reference:

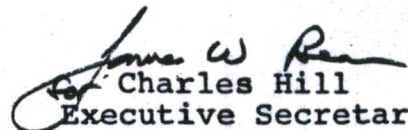
TO: Mr. Linas Kojelis From: Mr. David E. Wilke
Date: November 13, 1984 Subject: Principle of reciprocity
between journalists from Soviet bloc countries and U.S. journalists
WH Referral Dated: December 4, 1984 NSC ID # 178710
(if any)

_____ The attached item was sent directly to the
Department of State.

Action Taken:

- A draft reply is attached.
- _____ A draft reply will be forwarded.
- _____ A translation is attached.
- _____ An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
- _____ We believe no response is necessary for the reason
cited below.
- _____ The Department of State has no objection to the
proposed travel.
- _____ Other.

Remarks.


Charles Hill
Executive Secretary

UNCLASSIFIED

(CLASSIFICATION)



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
TRANSMITTAL FORM

14

S/S 8433150

Date January 14, 1985

For: Mr. Robert C. McFarlane
National Security Council
The White House

Reference:

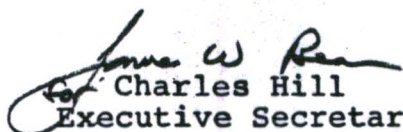
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Charles Hill
Executive Secretary

UNCLASSIFIED
(Classification)

736 W. Aldine, 3N
Chicago, Il. 60657
Nov. 13, 1984

278720

Mr. Linas Kojelis
Associate Director
Office of Public Liaison
Old Executive Office Building
Room 128
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Kojelis:

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As expected, articles from Rude pravo reveal that Mr. Rovensky is engaged in a propaganda campaign to vilify the U.S. at every turn.

In one instance he writes: "Members of the American navy, whose units strangled the revolutionary movement in South America, murdered in Vietnam, and Beirut, intervened in Grenada, will accompany the Olympic flame. Can there be any greater insult to the Olympic ideal than this."

Elsewhere he writes: "Several anti-communist organizations met in Los Angeles in order to devise a plan concerning Socialist block athletes. Present at the meeting were extreme right-wing and neo-fascist groups, from the Cuban Freedom Fighters to the Polish American Congress. Also present were Czechoslovak immigrants."

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Your attention to this matter will be most appreciated.

Cordially,


David E. Wilke

736 W. Aldine, 3N
Chicago, Il. 60657
Nov. 13, 1984

278720

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Office of Public Liaison
Old Executive Office Building
Room 128
Washington, D.C. 20500

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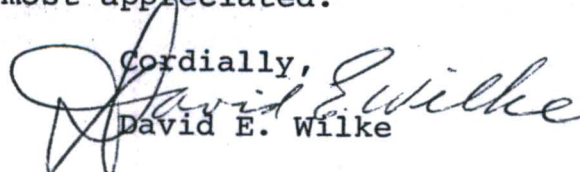
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Your attention to this matter will be most appreciated.

Cordially,


David E. Wilke

WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

F00503

O - OUTGOING

H - INTERNAL

I - INCOMING

Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 1/1

Name of Correspondent: David Wilke

MI Mail Report

User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

Subject: Urges U.S. Government to devise program of reciprocity between journalists assigned to foreign posts from the U.S. & those from Soviet bloc countries.

ROUTE TO:

ACTION

DISPOSITION

Office/Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>PL KOJE</u>	ORIGINATOR	<u>84/11/24</u>			<u>1/1</u>
<u>✓ 99 DOS</u>	Referral Note:	<u>1204</u>			
	<u>D</u>	<u>84/11/24</u>			<u>1/1</u>
	Referral Note:				
		<u>1/1</u>			<u>1/1</u>
	Referral Note:				
		<u>1/1</u>			<u>1/1</u>
	Referral Note:				
		<u>1/1</u>			<u>1/1</u>
	Referral Note:				

ACTION CODES:

- A - Appropriate Action
- C - Comment/Recommendation
- D - Draft Response
- F - Furnish Fact Sheet to be used as Enclosure

- I - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary
- R - Direct Reply w/Copy
- S - For Signature
- X - Interim Reply

DISPOSITION CODES:

- A - Answered
- B - Non-Special Referral
- C - Completed
- S - Suspended

FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:

- Type of Response = Initials of Signer
- Code = "A"
- Completion Date = Date of Outgoing

Comments: _____

Keep this worksheet attached to the original incoming letter.
 Send all routing updates to Central Reference (Room 75, OEOB).
 Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files.
 Refer questions about the correspondence tracking system to Central Reference, ext. 2590.

WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

F00503

O - OUTGOING

H - INTERNAL

I - INCOMING

Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 1 1

Name of Correspondent: David Wilke

MI Mail Report User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

Subject: Urges U.S. Government to devise program of reciprocity between journalists assigned to foreign posts from the U.S. & those from Soviet bloc countries.

ROUTE TO: Office/Agency (Staff Name)	ACTION Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	DISPOSITION	
			Type of Response	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>PL KAJE</u>	ORIGINATOR	<u>84/11/24</u>		<u>1 1</u>
<u>✓ 99 DOS</u>	Referral Note:	<u>1204</u>		
	<u>D</u>	<u>84/11/24</u>		<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note:			
		<u>1 1</u>		<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note:			
		<u>1 1</u>		<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note:			
		<u>1 1</u>		<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note:			

ACTION CODES:

- A - Appropriate Action
- C - Comment/Recommendation
- D - Draft Response
- F - Furnish Fact Sheet to be used as Enclosure

- I - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary
- R - Direct Reply w/Copy
- S - For Signature
- X - Interim Reply

DISPOSITION CODES:

- A - Answered
- B - Non-Special Referral
- C - Completed
- S - Suspended

FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:

- Type of Response = Initials of Signer
- Code = "A"
- Completion Date = Date of Outgoing

Comments: _____

Keep this worksheet attached to the original incoming letter.
Send all routing updates to Central Reference (Room 75, OEOB).
Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files.
Refer questions about the correspondence tracking system to Central Reference, ext. 2590.

21
JM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

January 17, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCK *JFM*

SUBJECT: Proposed Draft Letter to Bishop John M. Allin
Concerning the Plight of Soviet Jewry

I have reviewed and concur in the proposed draft letter (Tab A) to Bishop John M. Allin concerning the treatment of Jews in the Soviet Union. A memorandum is attached for your signature to Sally Kelley at Tab I.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachment:

Tab I Memorandum to Sally Kelley

Tab A Proposed Draft Response and Incoming Letter

Matlock

172

22

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

January 19, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR SALLY KELLEY

FROM: ROBERT M. KIMMITT *Bob*

SUBJECT: Proposed Draft Letter to Bishop John M. Allin
concerning the Plight of Soviet Jewry

We have reviewed and concur with the proposed draft letter to Bishop John M. Allin concerning the treatment of Jews in the Soviet Union.

Attachment:

Tab A Proposed Draft Response and Incoming Letter

UNCLASSIFIED
(Classification)

B

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 8500434

Date January 16, 1985

For: Mr. Robert C. McFarlane
National Security Council
The White House

Reference:

To: President Reagan From: Bishop John M. Allin

Date: December 10, 1984 Subject: Treatment of Jews in

Soviet Union

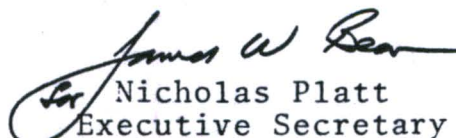
WH Referral Dated: January 08, 1985 NSC ID# 8500172
(if any)

 The attached item was sent directly to the
Department of State.

Action Taken:

- A draft reply is attached.
- A draft reply will be forwarded.
- A translation is attached.
- An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
- We believe no response is necessary for the reason cited below.
- The Department of State has no objection to the proposed travel.
- Other.

Remarks:


Nicholas Platt
Executive Secretary

UNCLASSIFIED

(Classification)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
SUGGESTED REPLY

Dear Bishop Allin:

I have been asked to respond to your December 10 letter to President Reagan expressing your concern at the plight of Soviet Jewry. We have been closely monitoring the ongoing Soviet campaign against Hebrew teachers and other Jewish cultural activists, as well as other manifestations of Soviet anti-Semitism. Let me assure you that the President fully shares your concern.

The U.S. Government has consistently condemned the Soviet Government's restrictions on Jewish emigration and its persecution of Jews and members of other religious faiths. Such measures are contrary to the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Final Act. We have called upon the Soviets to comply with their commitments in that agreement. In addition, we have made it unequivocally clear in bilateral exchanges with the Soviets that their abuses of individual rights have a serious detrimental effect on U.S.-Soviet relations. In his recent discussions with Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko in Geneva, Secretary of State Shultz stressed our continuing concern over Soviet human rights abuses.

The Right Reverend John M. Allin,
Presiding Bishop, Episcopal Church,
815 Second Avenue,
New York, New York.

25

Unfortunately, the Soviets have been unresponsive to our representations on behalf of Soviet Jewry, labelling them as "interference" in their internal affairs. U.S. influence in Soviet emigration practices and persecution of Soviet Jews remains extremely limited. But we are not discouraged and will continue to exercise what influence we have.

Thank you for your expression of concern. If we can be of further assistance in this or any other matter, do not hesitate to contact us.

Sincerely,

REFERRAL

DATE: 08 JAN 85

MEMORANDUM FOR: DEPT OF STATE

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

TO: PRESIDENT

SOURCE: ALLIN, JOHN M

DATE: 10 DEC 84

KEYWORDS: USSR

MIDDLE EAST

MP

SUBJ: LTR TO PRES FM BISHOP ALLIN RE TREATMENT JEWS SOVIET UNION

REQUIRED ACTION: DRAFT REPLY FOR WH SIG

DUE DATE: 11 JAN 85

COMMENTS: ~~WH~~ FEELS THAT LTR SHOULD BE SIGNED BY EITHER STATE OR NSC,

PLS ADVISE

Loretta Y. Grayton
FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

*rec'd S/S-I
1/8/85 1630
CAB*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 2, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR LORETTA BRAXTON

FROM: MARSHALL BREGER

MB

SUBJECT: Correspondence from Reverend John M. Allin

Attached is a letter from the Rt. Rev. John M. Allin, the presiding Episcopal Bishop of New York. Allin knows the Vice President and I think it would be appropriate for NSC to answer his letter. If you are unable to do so, please inform me before passing it on to the State Department.

I would be grateful if you would provide me with a copy of NSC's response.

Thank you.

Attachment

259833 172
28

151
Doug Holladay

THE RIGHT REVEREND JOHN M. ALLIN
PRESIDING BISHOP, EPISCOPAL CHURCH



815 SECOND AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

December 10, 1984

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Reagan:

We have received disturbing reports that there are increased actions against Jewish religion and education in the Soviet Union, trials of unofficial teachers for Jewish study, confiscation of Jewish literature and religious items, and searches for drugs. These reports deeply concern us.

In addition such reports cast a shadow over the vitally important work our two nations have undertaken for peace in the world.

We urge you to bring these reports to the attention of the Soviet authorities and ask for a response as to what kind of action the government of the Soviet Union intends to take.

Sincerely yours,

John M. Allin
The Rt. Rev. John M. Allin
PRESIDING BISHOP

JMA:aq

12-21-84
Zev,
Doug knows the Bishop well & the Bishop has met w/ V.P. *MA*
Naureen
McEwen

18 DEC 1984

9

ID# 259833

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

Rec Dec 25

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: DECEMBER 17, 1984

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: RIGHT REVEREND JOHN M. ALLIN

SUBJECT: EXPRESSES CONCERN REGARDING THE INCREASED
ACTIONS AGAINST JEWISH RELIGION AND EDUCATION
IN THE SOVIET UNION

ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY (STAFF NAME)	ACTION		DISPOSITION	
	ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C COMPLETED D YY/MM/DD
DOUG HOLLADAY	ORG	84/12/17		C 84/12/17
<i>W Marshall Brear</i> REFERRAL NOTE:	A	84/12/17		C 85/10/17
<i>W Kim m</i> REFERRAL NOTE:	A	85/10/17		1/1
REFERRAL NOTE: <i>see memo attached</i>		1/1		1/1
REFERRAL NOTE:		1/1		1/1
REFERRAL NOTE:		1/1		1/1

COMMENTS

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES:

PL MAIL USER CODES: (A) (B) (C)

- *****
- | | | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---|
| *ACTION CODES: | *DISPOSITION CODES: | *OUTGOING | * |
| * | * | * CORRESPONDENCE: | * |
| *A-APPROPRIATE ACTION | *A-ANSWERED | *TYPE RESP=INITIALS | * |
| *C-COMMENT/RECOM | *B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL | * OF SIGNER | * |
| *D-DRAFT RESPONSE | *C-COMPLETED | * CODE = A | * |
| *F-FURNISH FACT SHEET | *S-SUSPENDED | *COMPLETED = DATE OF | * |
| *I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC* | | * OUTGOING | * |
| *R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY * | | | * |
| *S-FOR-SIGNATURE * | | | * |
| *X-INTERIM REPLY * | | | * |
- *****

REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE
(ROOM 75, OEOB) EXT. 2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS

SB Pending
JMC
30

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

January 22, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCK

SUBJECT: Proposed Draft Greeting to Commemorate the 67th Anniversary of the Proclamation of Independence in Ukraine

The State Department recommends that no message be sent to the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America to commemorate the 67th Anniversary of the Proclamation of Independence in Ukraine. I concur that it would be better to send no message, but if a message is necessary, then the substitute text attached should be used.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memo at Tab I.

Approve Disapprove

Attachment:

Tab I Memorandum to Claudia Korte
Tab A Revised Draft of Suggested Greeting and Incoming Letter

MEMORANDUM

456

~~Mallock~~
✓
31

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

February 4, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR CLAUDIA KORTE

FROM: ROBERT M. KIMMITT *RMK*

SUBJECT: Proposed Draft Greeting to the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America on the Occasion of the 67th Anniversary of the Proclamation of Independence in Ukraine

The State Department has recommended that no message be sent to the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America on the occasion of the 67th Anniversary of the Proclamation of Independence in Ukraine.

If it is considered essential to send a message, then we would recommend that the alternate text at Tab A be used.

Tab A Proposed Greeting and Incoming Letter

This is long overdue, and sent for the record.

Attached is a revised draft
as suggested by the State Deaprtment
as dictated by Mr. Shoemaker.

NSC, DOS approved

REVISED GREETING

SUGGESTED MESSAGE

I am indeed proud and honored to send my warm greetings to Ukrainian-Americans and the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America as you gather to honor your traditions and to call attention to the plight of Ukrainians in the Soviet Union.

This day is not an entirely joyful one for Ukrainians in America and abroad. There are constant reminders of efforts by the Soviet regime to deprive the Ukrainian people of their national identity, culture, and religious traditions. Indeed, Ukrainians who speak out against this oppression such as Yuriy Shukheyvich and others, have received especially harsh treatment and particularly long terms of imprisonment for espousing the principles of democracy and freedom.

Nevertheless, I remain confident in, and give my full support to the continuing struggle by Ukrainians everywhere to assert and preserve their cultural and ethnic identity. The Ukrainian spirit of freedom can never be quenched, as long as free Ukrainians continue to speak up for their oppressed brethren and give them the moral support they so desperately need.

May God bless you all.

34

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 17, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR BOB KIMMITT, NSC

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE REQUEST FOR
THE 67th ANNIVERSARY OF THE PROCLAMATION
OF INDEPENDENCE IN UKRAINE

Please review the attached request for a message to the 67th Anniversary of the Proclamation of Independence in Ukraine. The reception will be held January 22 on Capitol Hill. We will need your advice and a draft, if appropriate, by Noon Friday, January 18.

(for) Claudia Korte
ANNE HIGGINS
18-OEOB/Ext. 2941

AVH:CK:smc

Jan 22

35

Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc.

203 SECOND AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003

TEL: (212) 228-6840, 6841

January 14, 1985

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

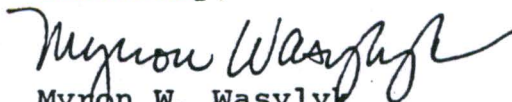
On behalf of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, it is with honor that I request your presence at a reception on Tuesday, January 22, 1985 at 6:00 p.m. in room 138 of the Dirksen Senate Office Building to commemorate the 67th anniversary of the proclamation of independence in Ukraine.

Although the independent republic endured only three years, until communist takeover in 1921, the Ukrainian spirit of freedom has not been quenched, for it is as prevalent in the hearts of Ukrainians today as it was in 1918.

However, this day is not an entirely joyful one for Ukrainians in America and abroad. There are constant reminders of the efforts of the Soviet regime to deprive the Ukrainian people of their national identity, culture, and religious traditions. Indeed, Ukrainians who speak out against this oppression have received especially harsh treatment and particularly long terms of imprisonment for espousing the principles of democracy and freedom.

We look forward to a positive response to our invitation. Knowing the demanding schedule which is before you, if previous commitments do not allow your participation, a greeting showing solidarity with the Ukrainian nation in their struggle for freedom, human rights, and national independence on the day which we celebrate the anniversary of a once independent Ukraine will be most meaningful.

Sincerely,



Myron W. Wasylyk
Director, Washington Office
Ukrainian Congress Committee of America
810 Eighteenth Street, N.W., Suite 807
Washington, D.C. 20006

cc: Linas Kojelis

SUGGESTED GREETING

I am indeed proud and honored to send my warm greetings to Ukrainian-Americans and the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America as you gather to remember the 67th anniversary of the proclaimed independence in Ukraine.

Although the independent republic endured only three years, until communist takeover in 1921, the Ukrainian spirit of freedom and self-determination has not been quenched, for it is as prevalent in the hearts of Ukrainians today as it was in 1918.

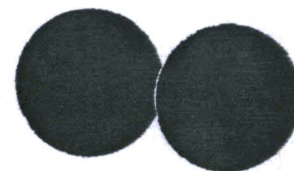
However, this day is not an entirely joyful one for Ukrainians in America and abroad. There are constant reminders of efforts by the Soviet regime to deprive the Ukrainian people of their national identity, culture, and religious traditions. Indeed, Ukrainians who speak out against this oppression, such as Yuriy Shukhevych and others, have received especially harsh treatment and particularly long terms of imprisonment for espousing the principles of democracy and freedom.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

31

Date: Jan. 16, 1985

TO: Claudia



FROM: LINAS KOJELIS
Associate Director
Office of Public Liaison
Room 438 OEOP, Ext. 2741

SUBJECT: 67th Anniversary of the
Proclamation of Independence in Ukraine,
Jan. 22, 1985

The attached is for your:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Information | <input type="checkbox"/> Review & Comment |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Direct Response | <input type="checkbox"/> Appropriate Action |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Draft Letter | <input type="checkbox"/> Signature |
| <input type="checkbox"/> File | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |

Please Return By Jan. 22, 1985

Comments: Claudia, I would appreciate your help in preparing a Presidential message for this event. I will hand-carry the message and read it at the reception. Thanks.

Matlock Chron
SYSTEM II
90070
6750 28

SECRET/SENSITIVE

January 23, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: JACK MATLOCK *JM*

SUBJECT: Shultz-Dobrynin Meeting, January 22, 1985

Thank Jack

Per RCM -- Shultz reported this to President orally. JM 1/28

Secretary Shultz has submitted a Memorandum to the President reporting on his meeting with Dobrynin January 22.

Dobrynin had asked for the meeting for the purpose of discussing Soviet proposals for observing VE-Day. Shultz took them under advisement and expressed concern about the Soviet policy of using the occasion to attack German "revanchism."

At the same meeting, Dobrynin acknowledged that the Soviets owe us a reply regarding the arms control negotiations, and said he expected one this week or next. He indicated that the delay is caused by the necessity of the Politburo passing on the arrangements.

Comment: I continue to be annoyed at the way State has failed to come up with a unified and detailed Allied position regarding observance of the VE anniversary -- but maybe these Soviet proposals will galvanize their activity. Off hand, I see no great problem with exchanging open letters -- provided we can negotiate the content of both in advance. As for delegations, this will require more careful thought, consultation with the British and French -- as well as the Germans, of course.

Dobrynin's excuse for the Soviet delay in setting the specifics for the negotiations rings true: these things doubtless require Politburo approval. In this regard, it is interesting to note that there seems to have been no Politburo meeting last week -- at least none was announced, and announcements have been routine for the last couple of years. This adds to the circumstantial evidence that Chernenko's health has taken a nose-dive. If this is the case, the Soviet leadership will be utterly preoccupied with the question of succession. Even so, I would expect them to find a way to approve the arrangements fairly soon.

SECRET/SENSITIVE

DECL:OADR

DECLASSIFIED
NLRR M08-125/2#6750
BY RW NARA DATE 11/11/12

39

SECRET/SENSITIVE

Recommendation:

That you send the attached memorandum to the President.

Approve ____ Disapprove ____

Attachments:

Tab I - Memorandum to the President

Tab A - Memorandum from Secretary Shultz to the President

SECRET/SENSITIVE

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROBERT C. MCFARLANE
SUBJECT: Shultz-Dobrynin Meeting

George Shultz met with Dobrynin January 22 and has submitted the attached memo on the meeting.

Dobrynin had requested the meeting to make several Soviet proposals for commemorative events in connection with the anniversary of VE-Day, which is coming up in May. George took them under advisement and promised a reply in due course.

Dobrynin also noted that the Soviets owed us a reply on the specifics of beginning arms control negotiations, and said he expected to have it this week or next.

It would appear that one possible reason for the Soviet delay in responding is Chernenko's health. Evidence is accumulating that he is ill, and the Politburo does not seem to have held its regular meeting last week.

We will be consulting with State regarding an appropriate reply to the Soviet suggestions for VE Day.

Attachment:

Tab A - Memorandum to the President from Secretary Shultz,
January 22, 1985

Prepared by:
Jack F. Matlock

cc: The Vice President

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~
DECL:OADRDECLASSIFIED
NLS FO6-114/2 # 6751BY LOS, NARA, DATE 11/21/07

SYSTEM II PROFILE

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

41
ID 8590070

RECEIVED 23 JAN 85 11

TO PRESIDENT FROM SHULTZ, G

DOCDATE 22 JAN 85

DECLASSIFIED
White House Guidelines, August 29, 1997
By CNS NARA, Date 6/12/02

URGENT

KEYWORDS: USSR

DOBRYNIN, A

SUBJECT: DOBRYNIN MTG 22 JAN

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR PRES DUE: STATUS S FILES SII

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

MATLOCK

COMMENTS

REF# LOG NSCIFID (K /)

ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

42

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

January 22, 1985

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: George P. Shultz *GPS*
SUBJECT: My Meeting with Dobrynin January 22

Dobrynin came in at his request for about 45 minutes this afternoon, mainly to present some Soviet proposals on joint commemorative events for VE-Day this spring.

The Soviets are suggesting several possibilities, he said:

- exchanging letters "at the highest level;"
- sending an official US delegation to the Soviet anniversary event in Moscow, and receiving a Soviet delegation here if we had a comparable event; and
- exchanging delegations of veterans' groups.

He added that the Soviets are also thinking of honoring distinguished men, such as Averell Harriman, who played a crucial role in US-Soviet relations during World War II.

I said I would get back to him concerning these suggestions, but I also gave him the flavor of our thinking on what the approach to the anniversary should be. The themes should be peace, reconciliation and looking to the future rather than the past. I said we have been disturbed by the Soviet campaign against the FRG. As a friend and ally, we would stand with the West Germans, and VE-Day events should not be directed against them. For them VE-Day represented a new beginning. Dobrynin responded that Soviet criticism of revanchism in the FRG has nothing to do with VE-Day. They see revanchist activities like meetings of ex-SS men and emigre groups that are tolerated by the government, watch them carefully and criticize them.

Dobrynin noted that they owed us an answer on the date and location of our arms control negotiations and the composition of their delegation. The Politburo had not yet passed on these matters, but he expected to have a reply this week or next.

DECLASSIFIED

NLS F06-114/246753

BY LST, NARA, DATE 11/21/07

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~
DECL: OADR

Dobrynin asked how our preparations for negotiation were shaping up. I said I thought we had had good, serious, substantive exchanges in Geneva; he said Gromyko and the Politburo felt the same way. I said I felt we have a good opportunity to move forward. The new US negotiating team is a strong one, you and I are fully engaged on the issues, and we have an improved internal structure for dealing with them. Dobrynin noted that both sides are using much the same language about engaging in a long and difficult process. I said we should not be afraid to make rapid progress, but history showed these things often take time. We will have to see if it is possible to reach mutually agreeable accords, but for our part we intend to give it a good try.

We agreed that it would be useful to get together in a week or two to review the overall relationship area by area.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 24, 1985

JMC
44
~~Matlock Price~~

Dear Dr. Price:

Thank you for your letter of December 21, and for the report and recommendations enclosed with it.

As Mr. Matlock has already indicated to you, these materials have been read with interest and you can be sure that we shall give careful consideration to your recommendations.

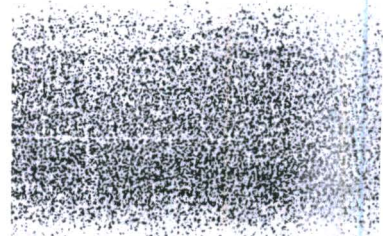
I appreciate your contacting me.

Sincerely,

Bud McFarlane

Robert C. McFarlane

Dr. Charles C. Price
15 Dogwood Lane,
Swarthmore, PA 19081



JM C45

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

UNCLASSIFIED

January 4, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM:

JACK MATLOCK *Jm*

SUBJECT:

Letter from Charles Price

At your request, I telephoned Dr. Charles Price of the organizations Alternatives to War and the World Federalist Association to thank him for his letter and to assure him that the recommendations by his organization were being given full consideration.

Actually, there is nothing of real interest in the organization's recommendations. Their trip to Moscow involved contacts with Yuri Zhukov and other inconsequential representatives of Soviet "peace and friendship" organizations, which are never involved in serious dialogues but are pure purveyors of propaganda.

You may wish to send a brief letter of acknowledgement, and if so, one is enclosed at TAB I for your signature.

Recommendation:

That you sign the letter at Tab I.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Enclosures:

Tab I - Letter for signature

Tab II - Incoming correspondence

46

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Dr. Price:

Thank you for your letter of December 21, and for the report and recommendations enclosed with it.

As Mr. Matlock has already indicated to you, these materials have been read with interest and you can be sure that we shall give careful consideration to your recommendations.

I appreciate your contacting me.

Sincerely,

Dr. Charles C. Price
15 Dogwood Lane,
Swarthmore, PA 19081

47

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 24, 1984

FOR: JACK MATLOCK

FROM: Wilma Hall

RCM asked me to send the Price
incoming letter to you for
follow-up action.

9385

48

Please Jack to
ask Matt to
call him.
Mary
Bud

December 21, 1984

RCM:

Mr. Charles Price called from Pennsylvania --

He said that your Sister-in-Law, Janet Rielly, called him and suggested that he call you. He is with the Academic Leaders for Alternatives to War and also with another world organization.

He has just returned from a 9-day trip to Moscow at the invitation of the Soviet Peace Committee where he met with nine different groups of Russians. Your sister-in-law called him and asked him to call you and tell you about his trip. He knows you are a very busy man and there is no need to call him back unless you wish to discuss with him. In any event, he said he would send you a report on his trip in the mail which you may use as you see fit.

He mentioned, too, he had met with William Clark about a year or so ago. He would enjoy an opportunity to talk with you but only if you have the time.

Charles Price is on your phone list: 215/543-8947.

Wilma

12/24
Wendy
Send
to Jack
for follow up
attached
Matt
Rem
see attached
12-21-84

Academic Leaders for

Alternatives to War

15 Dogwood Lane, Swarthmore, PA 19081, 215-543-8947

21 December 1984

Hon. Robert MacFarlane
National Security Advisor
The White House
Washington, DC

49
DEC 24 1984

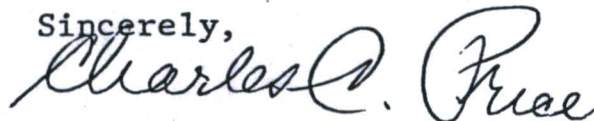
Dear Mr. MacFarlane:

For sometime I have been meaning to write to you to inform you of our endeavours to promote a comprehensive approach to the problem of ending the nuclear threat by a vigorous effort to define and achieve a civilized, effective and acceptable alternative to war. About a year ago, Jerry Wiesner, John Toll and I had a very interesting conversation on this topic with your predecessor, William Clark. Enclosed is some material about our activities.

Also enclosed is a report on a visit to Moscow by three officers of the World Federalist Association, hosted for nine days by the Soviet Peace Committee. We pushed all of the nine groups we met with to give serious consideration to our ideas on alternatives to war and/or to respond with their own. We have invited them to Washington in October 1985 for further discussions.

Last night your sister-in-law, Janet Riley, called me and came to our home to suggest I ought to try to see you at your convenience. We do believe that what we have to offer is significant for the future security of the United States and the world. We would be most pleased to meet with you at your convenience.

Sincerely,



Charles C. Price

Enclosed:

Moscow report

ALAW material

State Dept letter of 23 Aug 1984

50

World Federalist Association (USA)
MISSION TO MOSCOW
16-23 November 1984

On the initiative of Sandy Persons (WFA) and Max Habicht, a distinguished Swiss lawyer, world federalist and friend of Yuri Zhukov, the World Federalist Association (WFA) received a cable on 8 October 1984 from Yuri Zhukov, Chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee and member of the Supreme Soviet, inviting a WFA delegation to Moscow from 15 to 23 November 1984 as guests of the Soviet Peace Committee (SPC) in Moscow.

Bill Wickersham, Executive Director of WFA, and Charles C. Price, Chairman of WFA Executive Committee, met with Yuri Zhukov and Vladimir Kokashvili, Head, International Relations, SPC, at the UN on 25 October to work out details of the meetings in Moscow. On 14 November, Wickersham, Price and Sam Winograd (Member, Executive Committee, WFA) met with Olin Robison, President of Middlebury College and an expert on the USSR for a valuable discussion.

On arrival in Moscow, the three of us and our wives were met by Vladimir Kokashvili and Yuri Legin (SPC Staff), very pleasantly escorted around customs and immigration and taken to the Hotel Ukraina for our stay in Moscow.

In addition to being hosted for opera, ballet, the circus, sight-seeing and other events, we had serious, friendly and significant discussions with the leaders of the Soviet Peace Committee, the US and Canada Studies Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Institute of World Economics and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Commission for Liaison with Religious Circles, the United Nations Association in the USSR, the Seminary of the Russian Orthodox Church, the Committee of Soviet Scientists for Peace, Against Nuclear Threat, the Moscow Patriarchy and the Soviet Peace Fund. (A list of the individuals involved in these talks is attached.)

We were impressed in all of our meetings with the friendly atmosphere, the obviously sincere concern for peace and friendly relations between the US and USSR and the deep fear of nuclear war and US intentions. We pressed hard for our view that an end of the nuclear threat requires more than goodwill and arms control treaties, although these are indeed desirable. It requires achieving a goal long espoused by both the USSR and the USA, general and complete disarmament. This goal in turn, as expressed in the 1961 McCloy-Zorin "Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiations", requires both sides to accept international institutions, including a reformed and strengthened United Nations, effective in peaceful resolution of international conflicts, in maintaining international order and in assuring compliance.

At every meeting we presented a summary statement of this goal for the increasingly interdependent world community (see attached "Agenda for Discussion"). We repeatedly pointed out that the diverse ethnic, social and cultural groups in the Soviet Union, composed of fifteen republics, live in peace because the central federal government provides for peaceful resolution of conflicts and for promotion of their common welfare. We expressed the view that we could not even compete in hockey or basketball without agreed means to define the rules we play by and an authority to interpret and enforce the rules against individuals who violate them.

51

Attached is a list of materials left with those with whom we met in Moscow. We emphasize that some of these contained ideas for a governed world not necessarily endorsed by WFA. Please let us know if we can provide additional copies or further information.

Charles C. Price
World Federalist Association
418 7th St. S.E.
Washington, DC 20003

attached:

- 1) List of Soviet Participants
- 2) Agenda for Discussion
- 3) Declaration of Human Purpose
- 4) List of Documents Left in Moscow

52

Soviet Participants
WFA Discussions in Moscow
16 to 23 November 1984

16 November

Soviet Peace Committee, 36, Pr. Mira, Moscow, USSR
Yuri Zhukov, President, Soviet Peace Committee
Oleg Kharkhardin, 1st Vice-President (SPC)
Vladimir Kokashvili, Head, Department of International
Organizations (SPC)
Yuri Legin, Staff member, Department of International
Organizations (SPC)
Lev Semeiko, Research Fellow, Vice-President, Soviet
Peace Committee's Disarmament Commission

U.S. and Canada Studies Institute of the USSR Academy
of Sciences

Lev Semeiko, Research Fellow, Vice-President, Soviet
Peace Committee's Disarmament Commission
Valery Abarenkov, Research Fellow, member, Soviet
Peace Committee's Disarmament Commission

19 November

Institute of World Economics and International Relations
of the USSR Academy of Sciences

Alexei Arbatov, Head, Section on Arms Control
V. Frangulov, Research Fellow
A. Kozlova, Research Fellow

Commission for Liaison with Religious Peace Circles
(at SPC)

Vladislav Kornilov, Secretary, Soviet Peace Committee
Metropolitan Yuvenaly, Metropolitan of Kolomna and
Krutitsa
Yuri Legin, Executive Secretary of the Commission

20 November

UN Association in the USSR

Sergei Gribkov, Secretary-General of the Association
Prof. G. Voronzov, Board (International Relations,
Diplomatic Academy)
Karina Pogosova, Board member
Michael Khazanov, Institute of World Economics and
International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences

Committee of Soviet Scientists for Peace, Against
Nuclear Threat

Kosygina St. 2, 117334 Moscow, USSR
Prof. Sergei Kapitza, Vice-President of the Committee
Academician Vitaliy Goldanskiy, Head of the Sector
of the Institute of Chemical Physic, USSR Academy of
of Sciences
Dr. Elena Loshchenkova, Executive Secretary of the
Committee, Senior Research Fellow of the Space Research
Institute, USSR Academy of Sciences

CHARLES C. PRICE

14 November, 1984

Agenda for Discussion
World Federalist Association
Moscow, 15-23 November 1984

1. The WFA is the major US organization working for a goal long supported by the USSR:
 - (a) Total disarmament (M. Litvinoff, 1932)
 - (b) General and Complete Disarmament (McCloy-Zorin) (1961)
 - (c) US House Concurrent Resolution 123 and Senate Concurrent Resolution 125 (1984)

2. Common US perceptions for failure of McCloy-Zorin
 - (a) Assassination of President Kennedy and President Johnson's expansion of war in Vietnam
 - (b) USSR reservations on inspection for verification
 - (c) USSR opposition to reform and strengthening of UN called for by McCloy-Zorin
(Could the UN as is work for New York or Moscow, for the US or the USSR?)
(Could we play hockey or basketball without agreed rules and a referee able to enforce them on individuals?)

3. Therefore we of WFA believe GCD will require a reformed and strengthened UN authorized within principles defined by the Charter to enact, interpret and enforce international law designed to provide peace and common security for all nations, to promote cooperation and the common welfare, to protect national independence and diversity and to deter and punish international criminals.

4. See for example
 - (a) Emery Reves, "The Anatomy of Peace" 1945
 - (b) Clark and Sohn, "World Peace thru World Law" 1958
 - (c) US, USSR and Clark-Sohn draft treaties to implement McCloy-Zorin 1964**
 - (d) A. McKnight, "Draft Treaty for Disarmament" 1978***
 - (e) M. Raskin, "Draft Treaty for Disarmament" 1982
 - (f) R. Hudson, "The Binding Triad" 1981
 - (g) Campaign for UN Reform, "14 Points" 1982
 - (h) "World Federalism: What, Why, How?" 1983
 - (i) HCR 123 and SCR 125
 - (j) C. Price, "Declaration of Human Purpose" (an expansion of McCloy-Zorin) 1983
 - (k) Eliot Roosevelt, "The Conservators", Arbor House 1983

**UNA of the UK, 3 Whitehall Court, London SW 1

***"Current Disarmament Proposals", 1964 (c/o H. Hollins, 2 West 67th Street, New York, NY 10023)

54

A Declaration of Human Purpose
by
Charles C. Price, Ph.D.

1. Modern technology is inescapably weaving the world into an increasingly interdependent human community.
2. Modern weapons of mass destruction have made war and the threat of war an intolerable menace to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" and have become a crippling economic burden.
3. History teaches that peaceful human communities require a framework of law and order to foster the cooperation and to protect the freedom and the diversity which are characteristic of successful human enterprise.
4. A peaceful world demands no less than such a civilized, effective and acceptable system of law and order to encourage the further constructive development of the human adventure. Many heads-of-state and world leaders have articulated this goal.
5. One important official declaration of the principles for "general and complete disarmament in a peaceful world" is that by the US and the USSR in their 1961 "Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiations", which was unanimously endorsed by the UN General Assembly.
6. We hereby define further necessary requirements to achieve the goals therein proposed. We urge prompt, determined and intensive national and international efforts to still further define these goals and the strategies to achieve them.

Such an endorsement would express faith in a noble human purpose and give hope for the future of human civilization built on the foundation necessary for human cooperation.

(This expansion of the 1961 McCloy-Zorin "Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiations" has been prepared at the request of and for Parliamentarians for World Order.)

5

The new dimensions of destructive power now deployed demand renewed consideration for such a civilized, effective and acceptable alternative to war and the threat of war as an arbiter of international disputes. A suitable alternative should provide for

verifiable balanced reduction, toward ultimate elimination, of the nuclear weapons of mass destruction which now threaten all civilizations;

an end to the degradation of moral principles and of respect for human life resulting from massive nuclear armaments which are poised to kill hundreds of millions of people, and inescapably to poison the globe; and

renewed hope of a world of increasing cooperation, in which our energies could be devoted more constructively to justice, welfare, and the realization of the human potential with which we are all endowed.

These goals will require more than trust of one nation in another. There must be international institutions, based on time-tested principles of law and order, in which all nations can place a greater degree of confidence than in diplomacy, military deterrents and unenforceable treaties.

2. *The programme for general and complete disarmament shall ensure that States will have at their disposal only such non-nuclear armaments, forces, facilities and establishments as are agreed to be necessary to maintain internal order and protect the personal security of citizens; and that States shall support and provide agreed manpower for a United Nations peace force.*

(a). There may be merit in leaving nations with purely defensive weapons systems, such as mine fields and fixed gun emplacements incapable of projection beyond each nation's own borders. Such

(e). *The discontinuance of military expenditures.*

The more rapidly the programs of disarmament can be carried out the safer it will be, given time for adequate verification. It will be safer because it will be more difficult to replace surreptitiously weapons destroyed and because there will be less time for some major conflict to erupt which might endanger the disarmament process. Furthermore, concern over possible small temporary imbalances will be the less significant the more rapid the reduction to the "zero-zero option" can occur.

An important initial verification procedure must be for international inspection of forbidden armaments manufacturing facilities, in order to make sure that such production is indeed discontinued promptly. At the same time, records of past production of banned armaments should be sealed and turned over to the international inspectorate, to be opened near the end of the disarmament process. These records of production, together with the verified destruction records, would give assurance against significant numbers of secretly hidden weapons.

A useful agreement on permissible light arms might be based on those commonly accepted for use by member States against their own citizens.

4. *The disarmament programme should be implemented in an agreed sequence, by stages, until it is completed, with each measure and stage carried out within specified time-limits. Transition to a subsequent stage in the process of disarmament should take place upon a review of the implementation of measures included in the preceding stage and upon a decision that all such measures have been implemented and verified and that any additional verification arrangements required for measures in the next stage are, when appropriate, ready to operate.*

57

access without veto to all places, as necessary for the purpose of effective verification.

The creation of an International Disarmament Organization has been formally proposed at the 1978 UN General Assembly Special Session on Disarmament. It could be done now to monitor existing arms control agreements and to study and propose further agreements. Its experience could be helpful in developing the verification procedures envisioned for general and complete disarmament in a peaceful world.

7. *Progress in disarmament should be accompanied by measures to strengthen institutions for maintaining peace and the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means. During and after the implementation of the programme of general and complete disarmament, there should be taken, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter, the necessary measures to maintain international peace and security, including the obligation of States to place at the disposal of the United Nations agreed manpower necessary for an international peace force to be equipped with agreed types of armaments. Arrangements for the use of this force should ensure that the United Nations can effectively deter or suppress any threat or use of arms in violation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations.*

The necessary agreement to "strengthen institutions for maintaining peace and the settlement of disputes by peaceful means" is an absolutely critical requirement for the programme of "general and complete disarmament in a peaceful world". The principles of the UN Charter are a noble statement of purpose to end the threat of war. It is obvious, however, that the UN has in fact failed to remove the threat of war. To be effective and acceptable the UN must be reformed and strengthened with defined and agreed authority to

58

the International Court of Justice. Many boundary disputes related to national military security will, of course, become essentially insignificant in a peaceful world.

8. *States participating in the negotiations should seek to achieve and implement the widest possible agreement at the earliest possible date. Efforts should continue without interruption until agreement upon the total programme has been achieved, and efforts to ensure early agreement on and implementation of measures of disarmament should be undertaken without prejudicing progress on agreement on the total programme and in such a way that these measures would facilitate and form part of that programme.*

Renewed agreement to seek the goals defined herein would place interim steps in a more hopeful and constructive framework which could make agreements on significant arms reductions more attainable.

To achieve the goal of "general and complete disarmament in a peaceful world", as outlined in the 1961 "Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiations" and restated in the final documents of the 1978 and 1982 UN General Assembly Special Sessions on Disarmament, will not be easy. To establish the required institutions will demand difficult accommodations and will require creative imagination, determination and inspired and dedicated political leadership.

The difficulties in settling such a course must, however, be measured against the forlorn hope that nuclear deterrents, diplomacy and "collective security" will succeed in saving the world from nuclear devastation. Since World War II, the record of numerous bloody and costly wars, including several actively involving the US and the USSR, does not auger well for the future. Hope for a developing human civilization demands a more successful alternative.

World Federalist Association

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Seeking the abolition of war through just and enforceable world laws

51



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Material to Moscow
15 November 1984

1. Academic Leaders for Alternatives to War (McCloy-Zorin)
2. Declaration of Human Purpose (Charles Price on McCloy-Zorin)
3. State Department Letter on Moscow Visit
4. "World Federalism: What, Why, How?"
5. The Binding Triad Proposal
6. Campaign for UN Reform: 14 Points
7. Maxim Litvinoff, 1932 "Disarmament Plan and Comment
8. "Energy and Order" book by Charles Price
9. "Anatomy of Peace" by Emery Reves
10. Joint Statement by Six Heads of State (Parliamentarians for World Order)
11. "Governance" by Joseph Slater (Aspen Institute)
12. "Statement of Purpose", Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends, Working Group on World Federal Government
13. Alternatives to War, Readings and Organizations
14. Senate Concurrent Resolution 125
15. "Reflections on Disarmament", by Charles Price (from the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science)
16. World Association of World Federalists flyer
17. READERS DIGEST on Emery Reves
18. Beliefs and Goals, WFA
19. Charles Price Memo to UN Disarmament Panel
20. Comparison of US and USSR Draft Treaties on McCloy-Zorin
21. Moscow "Agenda for Discussions"

Alternatives to War

15 Dogwood Lane, Swarthmore, PA 19081, 215-543-8947

Memo: 14 June 1983

The academic leaders who have signed the statements attached are deeply concerned by the threat of nuclear war. We do not necessarily agree on United States weapons policy nor on proposed arms control measures and we do not propose to speak on such issues.

Our purpose is to urge our government to initiate and to support serious efforts to define and to achieve civilized, effective and acceptable alternatives to war and the threat of war as the basis for coping with international conflict. (See the attached letter to President Reagan)

In earlier discussions with William P. Clark, Robert T. Gray, Adm. Jonathan Howe, George P. Shultz and General Richard T. Boverie, several suggestions were made that we come back with more specific proposals. The frequently stated American goal of the rule of law rather than the rule of military force in the increasingly interdependent world community we believe to be worthy of serious consideration to achieve this goal.

We chose two items related to this objective which are already on the political agenda. The first is H. Con. Res. 123, which seeks Congressional endorsement for reestablishing U. S. efforts to achieve the goals of the 1961 US-USSR "Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiations". This was negotiated for the U. S. by a distinguished Republican, John J. McCloy and was endorsed by the UN General Assembly 125-0. The second item is the Law of the Seas treaty which will establish worldwide institutions for a rule of law for the oceans.

We believe President Reagan has a remarkable opportunity to reestablish efforts to define and to achieve a rule of law objective as a complement to the current necessity for "peace through strength". Serious initiatives to achieve this goal, with assured elimination of all weapons threatening us would improve American security and signal American leadership for a world of peace and justice.

Charles C. Price

Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.

Clark Kerr

Charles C. Price

61

15 September 1982

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20550

Dear Mr. President:

As individuals deeply involved in, and committed to, American colleges and universities, we, the undersigned, express our concern over the growing threat of nuclear war. Our concerns have been not only for the current operation of our institutions, but insofar as our institutions are custodians of the knowledge and wisdom on which civilizations are based, we feel a larger responsibility as well. As educators charged with conveying vision and values to our students and in our society, we are concerned not only with possible destruction of our institutions and those who comprise them, but with the catastrophe that major nuclear war would represent to the American people and to all civilizations.

We believe it is urgently important to begin now to seek seriously and vigorously for alternatives which would be more effective in protecting and promoting the interests, welfare and security of the American people. Many distinguished Americans have suggested ways to turn the world away from the nuclear threat. We do not propose a specific remedy but do believe one is possible and that a major investment in planning, negotiating and cooperating to establish civilized, effective and morally-acceptable alternatives to nuclear war as an arbiter of international disputes is urgently needed. We support your proposals to reduce nuclear arsenals as a useful step in this direction.

We suggest that clear objectives of the planning and negotiations that are needed should include:

verifiable balanced reduction, toward ultimate elimination, of the nuclear weapons of mass destruction which now threaten all civilizations;

ending the degradation of moral principles and of respect for human life resulting from massive nuclear armaments which are poised to kill hundreds of millions of people, and inescapably to poison the globe; and

offering hope of a world of increasing cooperation, in which our energies could be devoted more constructively to justice, welfare, and realization of the human potential with which we are all endowed.

In urging such an effort, we do not propose innocent or unbalanced trust of the Soviet Union. An effective alternative to the threat of mutual assured destruction, with escalating probability of major nuclear war, will probably

Academic Leaders for Alternatives to War

15 Dogwood Lane, Swarthmore, PA 19081, 215-543-8947

I. I support the principles outlined in House Concurrent Resolution 123, commonly known as the "common security resolution, as a statement of a goal which could represent an effective and acceptable alternative to war and the jeopardy of nuclear confrontation.

James E. Cheek (Howard)	Nannerl O. Keohane (Wellesley)
G. Armour Craig (Amherst)	Clark Kerr (California)
Amey A. DeFriez (Radcliffe)‡	Norman Lamm (Yeshiva)
James F. English (Trinity)	C. Peter Magrath (Minnesota)
Rev. Thomas Fiizgerald (St. Louis Univ.)	Jean Mayer (Tufts)
Christopher C. Fordham III (North Carolina)	James Powell (Oberlin)
Luther H. Foster (Tuskegee)*	William C. H. Prentice (Wheaton)*
Theodore Friend (Swarthmore)	Charles C. Price (Swarthmore)*‡
Marvin L. Goldberger (Cal. Inst. Tech.)	Jonathan E. Rhoads, M. D. (Pennsylvania)*
Paul Gray (M. I. T.)	David S. Saxon (California)
Robert D. H. Harvey (Johns Hopkins)‡	Michael Schwartz (Kent State)
Rev. Timothy S. Healy (georgetown)	Robert B. Stevens (Haverford)
Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh (Notre Dame)	Donald M. Stewart (Spelman)
Elizabeth T. Kennan (Mt. Holyoke)	Barbara A. Thacher (Bryn Mawr)‡
Donald Kennedy (Stanford)	Barbara S. Uehling (Missouri)
	Jerome B. Wiesner (M. I. T.)*
	Harris L. Wofford (Bryn Mawr)*
	John S. Toll (Maryland)
	Herbert York (U. Cal. San Diego)*
	Matina Horner (Radcliffe)

Endorsements are personal; institutional affiliation is for identification only. *Retired. ‡Board chairman, others are presidents or equivalent.

June 1983

103

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. Brown of California submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Expressing the sense of the Congress that the common security of all nations is threatened by the escalating arms race and that the danger of nuclear war requires renewed and persistent efforts to negotiate a comprehensive treaty for staged disarmament to be verified by an international security and disarmament authority and accompanied by strengthened international peacekeeping and dispute resolution institutions.

Whereas the United States was founded upon the principle that all people are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with the inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;

Whereas these inalienable rights are being jeopardized today by the unprecedented destructive power of modern weapons and the unchecked growth of national armaments;

Whereas the Secretary General of the United Nations in his 1982 Report called urgently for rededication to the Charter principle of collective action for peace and security;

Whereas President Reagan in his March 1983 address to the Los Angeles World Affairs Council noted, "that nations should turn their best energies to moving away from the nuclear nightmare";

Whereas the House of Representatives has passed House Joint Resolution 13 (98th Congress), calling for the pursuit of an immediate, mutual and verifiable freeze as an objective to the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START);

Whereas House Joint Resolution 13 referred to the fact that the United States and the Soviet Union have previously signed a Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiations, known as the McCloy-Zorin Agreement, which the General Assembly of the United Nations endorsed unanimously on September 20, 1961;

Whereas the United States has, as its ultimate goal, a world which is free from the scourge of war and the dangers and burdens of armaments, a world in which the use of force has been subordinated to the rule of law, and a world in which international adjustments to changing circumstances are achieved peacefully;

Whereas the fears and suspicions of, and misunderstandings among, nations make progress toward this goal difficult at the very time the increasing dangers and burdens of armaments make progress imperative; and

Whereas a decent respect for the opinion of mankind makes it incumbent on this great free Nation to set forth its vision of the world at peace and declare its willingness to move with all deliberate speed in concert with others to negotiate the agreements, conditions, and institutions for world peace and the rule of law: 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 be encouraged in his efforts to achieve deep cuts in the amounts of nuclear weapons held by each nation and to establish a peace which will endure.

agreement which would provide for the common security of all nations through (A) the staged, proportional disarmament of all nations until nonthreatening force levels are reached under effective international inspection and control, and (B) concurrent agreements providing methods and instrumentalities for the peaceful settlement of international disputes, for effective compliance during the staged disarmament process, and for effective enforcement as nonthreatening force levels are approached, in accordance with the following principles of the McCloy-Zorin Agreement:

(1) The international agreement should specify the sequence for disarming all nations, by stages, and the time limits for each stage.

(2) The international agreement, with the understanding of all parties that the nature and extent of control will depend on the verification required for each stage, should provide such strict and effective international control at all stages that all parties could be assured that all other parties are complying with the agreement.

(3) An international security and disarmament authority should be established with its own voting procedures within the framework of the United Nations, to implement control over the inspection of disarmament.

(4) The international security and disarmament authority should have its own inspectors who should have unrestricted access without veto to all necessary places for verification at each stage of the disarmament process and its own international peacekeeping surveillance system, using the best available satellite surveillance technology.

(5) The disarmament process should proceed in such a manner that at no point could any nation or group of nations gain military advantage, and equal security is insured for all.

(6) There should be agreement among all parties before each subsequent stage in the disarmament process is begun that the preceding stage has been implemented and verified in a satisfactory manner and that any additional verification arrangements required for the next stage are ready.

(7) Progress in disarmament should be accompanied by measures to create new institutions, and to strengthen existing ones, for maintaining the peace and resolving all international disputes by peaceful means.

(8) The nations participating in the negotiations for an international agreement should strive to achieve and implement the widest possible agreement at the earliest possible date and should continue their efforts without interruption until agreement upon the total program has been achieved.

(9) Nuclear-free zones and existing treaties and agreements should be preserved and expanded as part of the negotiating process and efforts on other arms control and disarmament measures should continue in a manner designed to facilitate negotiations on the international agreement.

Sec. 3. The Congress, therefore, calls upon the President to initiate renewed serious consideration of the "Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiations" by the appropriate agencies of the Government and to initiate joint reconsideration of the "Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiations" with the Soviet Union for the purpose of assessing the relevance and validity of these principles today as the basis for an alternative to war. The Congress further encourages private organizations, foundations, and private citizens to assess the relevance and validity of these principles today and to determine a practical approach to achieve these goals.

Sec. 4. The President is requested to transmit copies of this resolution to the heads of government of all nations of the world and to invite their participation in establishing the common security of all nations and peace in the world.

Sec. 5.(a) The President is requested to report to the Congress by June 30, 1984, on the steps he has taken respecting this resolution and the responses received.

(b) The President is requested to submit a final report to the Congress by June 30, 1985, on the United States Government's reassessment of the "Joint Statement of



United States
of America

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No. 63

House of Representatives

COMMON SECURITY—A BLUEPRINT FOR SURVIVAL

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1983

• Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, periodically there have been moments of optimism, energetic endeavors, and success in our arms reduction history. Last week's House vote on the freeze was one such moment. But more often there have been frustration and disillusionment because we have only really been tinkering at the fringes of an insane and deadly situation. After almost every successful arms control agreement there is a renewed outburst of arms expenditures elsewhere. There has never been a time when successful arms control did not result in an increase in expenditures for arms—and that is suicide.

The philosopher, Albert Camus, understood this propensity toward suicide when he said:

Probably every generation sees itself as charged with remaking the world. Mine, however, knows it will not remake the world. Its task is even greater; to keep the world from destroying itself.

I am convinced that the survival of the world depends a great deal upon our ability to formulate a multilateral, comprehensive approach to arms reduction—not just control. As a result, today I am reintroducing my bill, the common security resolution, which is based upon the joint statement of agreed principles for disarmament negotiations. Also known as the McCloy-Zorin agreement, this statement was initiated under President Eisenhower and negotiated successfully during the tenure of President Kennedy and two respected Republicans, John J. McCloy and Arthur Dean. In December 1961, the U.N. General Assembly unanimously endorsed the statement.

This multilateral, comprehensive approach, endorsed by the United States, the U.S.S.R., and the United Nations, was the outcome of over 15 long and frustrating years of arms talks. The international climate following World War II was not nearly as favorable to arms control as that following World War I. After World War I, there was a deep disillusionment with war. Most members of the League of Nations—whose covenant included provisions strongly supporting disarmament—believed that the maintenance of peace required the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety. This belief

prior arms race between the participants.

Conversely, after World War II, weapons were widely regarded as necessary to prevent war. The proponents of this view argued that had the Western powers been strong enough to oppose Hitler early on, he would not have built up his armies, and peace would have been preserved. Force would control force. This emphasis on the use of force to prevent aggression was soon intensified by the cold war, and is again being strongly promoted.

Throughout the late 1940's and 1950's, a propaganda war was waged while nuclear and conventional arms grew on both sides, heightening the danger. Proposals were bantered back and forth, yet little was accomplished except increased tensions. The Berlin crisis, the Bay of Pigs adventure, and a massive U.S. missile deployment program to counterbalance what was erroneously believed to be a large-scale Soviet ICBM deployment effort, all contributed to the increased East-West tensions in the early 1960's.

Nevertheless, the troubles of the 1960's also improved the climate for arms control. The Cuban missile crisis in particular made both sides realize the dangers of nuclear war and the difficulty of communication in such moments. This led to a series of individual steps. There emerged such measures as the hot line, the limited test ban, the Nonproliferation Treaty, and the Outer Space Treaty.

While some may consider selected negotiations to be successful, a price has been paid. Multilateral, comprehensive disarmament talks have been forestalled, and last summer came to a complete halt. Moreover, the individual negotiations have failed to come to grips with the control of new armaments as they were being built. Critical decisions, such as the H-bomb decision of 1950, the missile programs of the 1950's, and the MIRV program of the late 1960's, were hardly discussed at the arms control negotiations.

I do not want us to face relearning the bitter and disastrous lesson of an arms race propelling us toward war—perhaps truly a war to end all wars. Therefore my resolution calls for secure disarmament and a framework for the peaceful settlement of disputes. This resolution works in concern with other peace initiatives and encourages a multilateral disarmament agreement, binding upon all nations, and verified by an international body. Disarmament would proceed in phases, insuring that no country secures a military advantage over another.

I have incorporated into my proposal concepts from a May 1982 report by

tled, "Common Security—a Blueprint for Survival." This report looks beyond superpower confrontations to the need to hold multilateral negotiations on nuclear arms reductions, the need to limit nonnuclear weapons of mass destruction, and the need to be concerned about the international buildup in conventional weapons. This report proposes concrete, constructive remedies, and I recommend it to anyone interested in what more can be done to achieve worldwide disarmament.

The significant contributions—including the name of this resolution—made by the Commission should be a starting point in the process of achieving true international security and genuine disarmament. The Chairman of the Commission, Olaf Palme, former Prime Minister of Sweden, deserves much credit. Other notables include Cyrus Vance, former Secretary of State of the United States, George Arbatov, member of the Soviet Central Committee and Deputy of the Supreme Soviet, David Owen, former Secretary of State for Great Britain, and many other experts.

The common security resolution would require verification of disarmament, promote institutions dedicated to peaceful resolutions of disputes, and require the peaceful development of space. Initiatives of this type are not utopian dreams but constructive proposals to insure common security and our very survival. Of course passage of the common security resolution cannot, by itself, bring peace or remove the threat of nuclear war. We can and we must develop the means to halt the global arms race, defuse political crises, and insure the peaceful resolution of conflicts. The technology of global destruction is with us and the alleviation of that technology can only occur through social technology—learning to trust and understand each other for our mutual benefit and that of future generations.

As Jonathan Schell explained in his book, "The Fate of the Earth":

Nuclear peril threatens life, above all, not at the level of individuals, who already live under the sway of death, but at the level of everything that individuals hold in common. Death cuts off life; extinction cuts off birth . . . In extinction, a darkness falls over the world—not because the lights have gone out but because the eyes that behold the light have been closed.

Let us not wait for the political and military tensions to mount beyond our grasp. Let us begin to develop the new social technologies we will need for our, and our children's, survival. Let us permit future eyes to behold the light—and the promise of lasting peace. I encourage my colleagues to join me, along with 26 cosponsors, in

45

Alternatives to War

15 Dogwood Lane, Swarthmore, PA 19081, 215-543-8947.

14 March 1984

PROPOSED PLANK for the DEMOCRATIC and REPUBLICAN PARTY PLATFORMS

Expanding arsenals of nuclear weapons represent a grave threat to the future of human civilization. Efforts to cope with the threat through the United Nations and by arms control negotiations must be encouraged but have so far proven inadequate and ineffective. For three quarters of a century, most United States Presidents of both parties have reiterated that the United States goal of peace and justice in the world will require the rule of law in international affairs. Our party is dedicated to the task of controlling and ultimately eliminating the threat of nuclear war. To achieve this goal, we will institute serious and determined national and international efforts to define and achieve a civilized, effective and acceptable alternative to war based on the rule of law in international affairs. Until we reach this goal, a military deterrent is required. This must, however, be vigorously complemented by a dedicated effort to reform and strengthen the United Nations so that it may become a much more effective institution for peace and justice. To this end, we will strengthen the role of our government in seeking this goal and will provide support for more effective research and public education efforts by nongovernmental institutions. We believe We believe this effort for peace to be so crucial for the future security and welfare of the United States and the American people that it should receive major budgetary support.

- - - - -

I subscribe to the above statement and urge the Party Platform Committees to include it in their 1984 Platforms. I further urge the League of Women Voters to use it in their 1984 election activities.

_____ date

_____ signature

10. t. o.

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ALAW Platform Proposal Signatures

1. Amey A. De Friez, Radcliffe#
2. James F. English, Jr., trinity
3. Rev. Thomas R. Fitzgerald, St. Louis
4. Christopher C. Fordham, III, North Carolina
5. Luther H. Foster, Tuskegee*
6. David Fraser, Swarthmore
7. Marvin L. Goldberger, Cal. Inst. Tech.
8. Robert D. H. Harvey, Johns Hopkins#
9. Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., Notre Dame
10. Clark Kerr, California*
11. C. Peter Magrath, Minnesota
12. William C. H. Prentice, Wheaton*
13. Charles C. Price, Swarthmore*#
14. David S. Saxon, Mass. Inst. Tech.
15. Donald A. Stewart, Spelman
16. John S. Toll, Maryland
17. Barbara S. Uehling, Missouri
18. Arnold R. Weber, Colorado
19. Jerome B. Wiesner, Mass. Inst. Tech.*
20. Robert C. Good, Denison
21. Matina Horner, Radcliffe
22. Kenneth Keller, Minnesota
23. David McLaughlin, Dartmouth
24. Martin Meyerson, Pennsylvania*
25. Herbert York, La Jolla*
26. Steven Muller, Johns Hopkins
27. G. Armour Craig, Amherst
28. Barbara A. Thacher#, Bryn Mawr
29. Mary Patterson McPherson, Bryn Mawr

June 1984

Board Chairmen
 * Retired

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 125—THE COMMON SECURITY RESOLUTION

Mr. PELL (for himself, Mr. HATFIELD, Mr. CRANSTON, Mr. PERCY, Mr.

MATSUNAGA, Mr. STAFFORD, and Mr. SARRANES) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 125

Whereas the United States has, as its ultimate goal, a world which is free from the scourge of war and the dangers and burdens of armaments, a world in which the use of force has been subordinated to the rule of law, and a world in which international adjustments to changing circumstances are achieved peacefully;

Whereas the United States and the Soviet Union signed a "Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiations," known as the McCloy-Zorin Agreement, which was presented by both nations to the United Nations General Assembly and endorsed unanimously on December 20, 1961; and

Whereas the McCloy-Zorin Agreement calls for an international accord on general and complete disarmament in stages with agreed verification measures, agreed procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes, establishment of a United Nations peacekeeping force, and creation of an international disarmament organization to implement control and inspection of the disarmament process to ensure that no military advantage is gained by any participant and that there is equal security for all.

Whereas a decent respect for the opinion of humankind makes it incumbent on this great free Nation to set forth its vision of the world at peace and declare its willingness to move with all deliberate speed in concert with others to negotiate the agreements, conditions, and institutions for world peace and security and the rule of law: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the United States (the House of Representatives concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress that the President should be encouraged in his efforts to achieve deep cuts in the amounts of nuclear weapons held by each nation and to establish a peace which will endure.

Sec. 2. The Congress calls upon the President to direct renewed consideration within the government and to initiate discussions with the Soviet Union of the "Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiations" for the purpose of assessing the relevance and validity of these principles today.

Sec. 3. (a) The President is requested to report to the Congress by December 31, 1984, on the steps he has taken respecting this resolution.

(b) The President is requested to submit a final report to the Congress by September 30, 1985, on the United States Government's reassessment of the Joint Statement and on the progress made in discussions with the Soviet Union.

Sec. 4. The Congress further encourages private organizations, foundations, and citizens to assess the continued relevance and validity of the Joint Statement and to determine a practical approach to achieve the agreed principles set forth therein.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I am submitting today a concurrent resolution

arms control back on track. I am pleased to be joined by six cosponsors, the Senators from Oregon, California, Illinois, Hawaii, Vermont, and Maryland (Messrs. HATFIELD, CRANSTON, PERCY, MATSUNAGA, STAFFORD, AND SARRANES).

Many Senators share my distress that, for the first time in 15 years, there are no negotiations in progress to control nuclear arms, nor is an early return to the bargaining table in prospect. This unfortunate state of arms control is a reflection of the terrible relations between the United States and the Soviet Union on a whole range of issues. It is no wonder that large numbers of our constituents are fearful that the threat of nuclear war is growing, not receding.

I led a delegation of eight Senators to the Soviet Union last August to discuss some of the central issues between the two nations with senior Soviet officials, including the late Soviet President, Yuri Andropov. I came away with a greater awareness of the gulf between the sides, but with a heightened sense that it would be foolish and reckless to stop the dialog and to abandon our efforts to seek mutual areas of agreement.

We should not underestimate the seriousness of the present situation. We are engaged with the Soviet Union in an arms race that could well be propelling us toward a final conflict. It is a perilous time and we would be wrong to ignore that fact. There is nothing the Congress could do which would be more important than setting our nation back on a course toward peace.

I and my fellow cosponsors have concluded that we would do well to recall and build upon the ground work which was so carefully laid in 1961 for arms-control agreements to follow. At that difficult time in their relationship, the Soviet Union and the United States agreed upon a statement known as the McCloy-Zorin agreement. This statement was initiated under President Eisenhower and negotiated successfully during the tenure of President Kennedy. The agreement was signed on September 20, 1961, by John H. McCloy for the United States and Valerian A. Zorin for the Soviet Union. In December 1961, the U.N. General Assembly unanimously endorsed the statement.

The McCloy-Zorin agreement calls for an international accord on general and complete disarmament in stages with agreed verification measures, agreed procedures for the peaceful settlement of dispute, establishment of the U.N. peacekeeping force and creation of an international disarmament organization to implement control and inspection of the disarmament process to ensure that no military advantage is

Very optimistically, the two sides expressed the hope that the international accord would ensure:

First, "That disarmament is general and complete and war is no longer an instrument for settling international problems.

Second, That such disarmament is accompanied by the establishment of reliable procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes and effective arrangements for the maintenance of peace in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations."

We know now that the optimism of 1961 was premature. Regrettably, we have found in the years since the McCloy-Zorin agreement that progress toward disarmament can be excruciatingly slow. On the other hand, I suspect that there is a broader realization now of the potential value of maintenance of peace. In years past, the United Nations has been of considerable value in helping to maintain the peace in the Middle East, and U.N. forces remain there even now. The Lebanon experience has demonstrated once again how important it could be to strengthen the ability of the United Nations to accept and carry out those peacekeeping responsibilities. We and other nations would be far better off if we could turn to the United Nations in moments of need and find that body better prepared to accept peacekeeping responsibilities.

The resolution I am introducing does not presume to judge the validity of each aspect of the 1961 accord. Rather, the resolution recognizes the farsighted nature of the agreement and calls for renewed consideration by our Government and discussions with the Soviets to assess the relevance and validity of these principles today. The President would be expected to report to the Congress on the reassessment and on discussions with the Soviets.

Mr. President, I believe that there is much in the McCloy-Zorin agreement which could help us out of the present arms-control impasse and on to a genuinely productive course toward reduction and the eventual elimination of nuclear weapons. We have become diverted from that goal. We have lost sight of the importance of controlling the spread of conventional weapons. We live in a world which, like a powder keg, could explode at any point. We must not allow the situation to continue. We hold this world in sacred trust for our children, and their children, and we must not fail them.

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Whereas a decent respect for the opinion of humankind makes it incumbent on this great free Nation to set forth its vision of the world at peace and declare its willingness to move with all deliberate speed in concert with others to negotiate the agreements, conditions, and institutions for world peace and security and the rule of law: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the United States (the House of Representatives concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress that the President should be encouraged in his efforts to achieve deep cuts in the amounts of nuclear weapons held by each nation and to establish a peace which will endure.

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98TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

S. CON. RES. 125

Entitled: the "Common Security Resolution".

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JUNE 19 (legislative day, JUNE 11), 1984

Mr. PELL (for himself, Mr. HATFIELD, Mr. CRANSTON, Mr. PERCY, Mr. MATSUNAGA, Mr. STAFFORD, and Mr. SARBANES) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Entitled: the "Common Security Resolution".

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Whereas a decent respect for the opinion of humankind makes it incumbent on this great free Nation to set forth its vision of the world at peace and declare its willingness to move with all deliberate speed in concert with others to negotiate the agreements, conditions, and institutions for world peace and security and the rule of law: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives*
2 *concurring)*, That it is the sense of the Congress that the
3 President should be encouraged in his efforts to achieve deep
4 cuts in the amounts of nuclear weapons held by each nation
5 and to establish a peace which will endure.

6 SEC. 2. The Congress calls upon the President to direct
7 renewed consideration within the government and to initiate
8 discussions with the Soviet Union of the "Joint Statement of
9 Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiations" for the
10 purpose of assessing the relevance and validity of these prin-
11 ciples today.

12 SEC. 3. (a) The President is requested to report to the
13 Congress by December 31, 1984, on the steps he has taken
14 respecting this resolution.

7

1 (b) The President is requested to submit a final report to
2 the Congress by September 30, 1985, on the United States
3 Government's reassessment of the Joint Statement and on
4 the progress made in discussions with the Soviet Union.

5 SEC. 4. The Congress further encourages private orga-
6 nizations, foundations, and citizens to assess the continued
7 relevance and validity of the Joint Statement and to deter-
8 mine a practical approach to achieve the agreed principles set
9 forth therein.

○



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

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August 23, 1984

Mr. Sandford Zee Persons
Director of Development
World Federalist Association
418 7th Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

Dear Mr. Persons:

I was pleased to hear from you about the World Federalist Association delegation trip this fall. I am certain that Dr. Price and his group will find the Soviet Union an interesting country and I personally wish them the best of luck in their discussions with the Soviets of the McCloy-Zorin Agreement.

The US-USSR Agreement on Contacts, Cooperation, and Exchanges (known as the Cultural Agreement) was allowed to expire following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. We recently presented the Soviets with a draft text for a new Exchanges Agreement and expect formal negotiations to begin in the near future. In the absence of an Exchanges Agreement -- as in the present situation -- the policy of the Department of State is neither to encourage nor to discourage private exchanges. However, it is our experience that private activities, such as your proposed delegation visit, form a useful adjunct to the more formal, structured government-to-government contacts. In addition, in his speech of June 27, 1984 before the participants of the "Conference on US-Soviet Exchanges" sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution, President Reagan emphasized the important role of people-to-people ties in easing strains between the US and USSR.

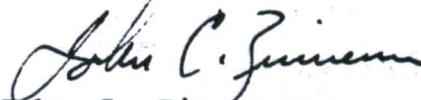
I hope that in arranging meetings in the USSR you press for contacts not just with the usual group from the USA and Canada Institute (headed by Georgiy Arbatov) but with the young political leaders in the provinces and the Central Committee structure who will form the core of the future Soviet leadership. These contacts can prove quite interesting to you and as well, can often form a more effective means of communicating American views to Soviet citizens not regularly exposed to Western sources of information.

73

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If you or Dr. Price have concerns about the preparations for the trip, do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely,



John C. Zimmerman
Office of Soviet
Union Affairs

Please Jack to
ask Matt to call him.
Mary Bud

Rice 74
work.

December 21, 1984

RCM:

Mr. Charles Price called from Pennsylvania --

He said that your Sister-in-Law, Janet Rielly, called him and suggested that he call you. He is with the Academic Leaders for Alternatives to War and also with another world organization.

He has just returned from a 9-day trip to Moscow at the invitation of the Soviet Peace Committee where he met with nine different groups of Russians. Your sister-in-law called him and asked him to call you and tell you about his trip. He knows you are a very busy man and there is no need to call him back unless you wish to discuss with him. In any event, he said he would send you a report on his trip in the mail which you may use as you see fit.

He mentioned, too, he had met with William Clark about a year or so ago. He would enjoy an opportunity to talk with you but only if you have the time.

Charles Price is on your phone list: 215/543-8947.

Wilma

