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PRESIDENT'S
UN ADDRESS - June 17, 1982

oring these possibilities to build confidence, and I ask for your support of our efforts.

Call for International Support

One of the major items before this conference is the development of a comprehensive program of disarmament. We support the effort to chart a course of realistic and effective measures in the quest for peace. I have come to this hall to call for international recommitment to the basic tenet of the U.N. Charter—that all members practice tolerance and live together in peace as good neighbors under the rule of law, forsaking armed force as a means of settling disputes between nations. America urges you to support the agenda for peace that I have outlined today. We ask you to reinforce the bilateral and multilateral arms control negotiations between members of NATO and the Warsaw Pact and to rededicate yourselves to maintaining international peace and security and removing threats to peace.

We, who have signed the U.N. Charter, have pledged to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territory or independence of any state. In these times when more and more lawless acts are going unpunished—as some members of this very body show a growing disregard for the U.N. Charter—the peace-loving nations of the world must condemn aggression and pledge again to act in a way that is worthy of the ideals that we have endorsed. Let us finally make the charter live.

In late spring, 37 years ago, representatives of 50 nations gathered on the

other side of this continent, in the San Francisco Opera House. The League of Nations had crumbled and World War II still raged, but those men and nations were determined to find peace. The result was this charter for peace that is the framework of the United Nations.

President Harry Truman spoke of the revival of an old faith—the everlasting moral force of justice prompting that U.N. conference. Such a force remains strong in America and in other countries where speech is free and citizens have the right to gather and make their opinions known.

President Truman said, "If we should pay merely lip service to inspiring ideals, and later do violence to simple justice, we would draw down upon us the bitter wrath of generations yet unborn." Those words of Harry Truman have special meaning for us today as we live with the potential to destroy civilization.

"We must learn to live together in peace," he said. "We must build a new world—a far better world."

What a better world it would be if the guns were silent; if neighbor no longer encroached on neighbor and all peoples were free to reap the rewards of their toil and determine their own destiny and system of government—whatever their choice.

During my recent audience with His Holiness Pope John Paul II, I gave him the pledge of the American people to do everything possible for peace and arms reduction. The American people believe forging real and lasting peace to be their sacred trust.

Let us never forget that such a peace would be a terrible hoax if the world were no longer blessed with freedom and respect for human rights. The United Nations, Hammarskjold said, was born out of the cataclysms of war. It should justify the sacrifices of all those who have died for freedom and justice. "It is our duty to the past," Hammarskjold said, "and it is our duty to the future, so to serve both our nations and the world."

As both patriots of our nations and the hope of all the world, let those of us assembled here in the name of peace deepen our understandings, renew our commitment to the rule of law, and take new and bolder steps to calm an uneasy world. Can any delegate here deny that in so doing he would be doing what the people—the rank and file of his own country or her own country—want him or her to do?

Isn't it time for us to really represent the deepest, most heartfelt yearnings of all of our people? Let no nation abuse this common longing to be free of fear. We must not manipulate our people by playing upon their nightmares; we must serve mankind through genuine disarmament. With God's help we can secure life and freedom for generations to come. ■

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Reagan quoted vowing action against Soviets

By Gilbert A. Lewthwaite
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—President Reagan was quoted by a Polish-American leader yesterday as saying "absolutely something will be done" against the Soviet Union for its involvement in the Polish crisis.

"He did not say what," said Aloysius Mazewski, president of the Polish-American Congress, after a White House meeting with Mr. Reagan, adding: "They are working on a plan now so they come with the approval of all Western allies."

The Polish-American leaders urged Mr. Reagan to initiate economic sanctions against the Soviet Union, to expand humanitarian aid to the Polish people through charity organizations, to call for

an investigation by the Red Cross of human rights violations in Poland and to allow an increased flow of Polish refugees into the United States.

Mr. Reagan held a special session of the National Security Council following his meeting with the Polish-American leaders, while, in Western Europe, Assistant Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger consulted with allies in an attempt to formulate a unified response, and to decide whether to convoke an emergency session of North Atlantic Treaty Organization foreign ministers.

In an apparent effort to widen allied response, the ambassadors of Australia, New Zealand and Japan were called to the State Department.

Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig,

Jr., lighting the State Department's Christmas tree, talked of the "agony of the Polish people as they continue to be brutalized by military suppression from within, encouraged from without."

In the White House, Mr. Reagan expressed his admiration of the "courage" and "declaration of principle" of the Polish ambassador to the United States, Romuald Spasowski, who sought and was granted political asylum here over the weekend.

"I think he pointed out the seriousness of the situation," said Mr. Reagan. Administration officials reported that resistance to martial law in Poland was more widespread than had previously been realized, with as many as 20 coal mines in Silesia occupied by miners. Steel mill workers in

Krakow repulsed several attempts to dislodge their sit-in, said the officials, who confirmed that Catholic priests have been among those arrested.

Mr. Reagan, in a brief encounter with reporters in the White House, said of the Polish crisis: "We don't want it to go on long, and we are going to do everything we can to see it doesn't." He refused to give any specific proposals under consideration.

Mr. Reagan's initial response to the Polish military crackdown—suspension of government-to-government aid—was endorsed by the Polish-American leaders yesterday.

John Cardinal Krol, of Philadelphia, said: "I am glad there wasn't an overreac- See REAGAN, A2, Col. 4

Reagan faults disarmament drive

Washington (AP)—President Reagan says the disarmament demonstrations that sent hundreds of thousands of people marching in the capitals of Western Europe this fall were all sponsored by an organization "bought and paid for by the Soviet Union."

President Reagan's statement, in an interview to be broadcast later this week, brought an angry rebuttal from spokesmen of the American anti-nuclear weapons movement. They said that Soviet-backed groups take part, but that the European peace movement is a broadly based protest against the prospect of a nuclear war being fought on European soil.

President Reagan's comment came in an interview taped last week for the Public Broadcasting Service program, "Ben

Wattenberg at Large." The interview is to be aired Friday night. A transcript was made available yesterday to the Associated Press.

The president was asked about the protests, such as that which took place on December 5, when hundreds of thousands marched in Denmark, Switzerland, Italy, West Germany and Romania against U.S. and Soviet arms policies.

"Oh, those demonstrations," President Reagan said. "You could have used newsreels from the '60s in America. Those are all sponsored by a thing called the World Peace Council, which is bought and paid for by the Soviet Union."

The World Peace Council was identified in 1980 testimony before the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelli-

gence by John McMahon, a Central Intelligence Agency official, as a Soviet front organization and "a political action tool in support of Soviet foreign policy goals and military strategy." Mr. McMahon said it operated in 130 countries.

U.S. peace group spokesmen did not quarrel with that description, but with President Reagan's assertion that "all" the demonstrations are sponsored by the communist-front organization.

"He's all wet," said John A. Sullivan, associate executive secretary of the American Friends Service Committee, a Quaker peace group. "He shows a profound ignorance of the peace movement of the 1960s and what American citizens were up to and that seems to me to be See DEMONSTRATIONS, A2, Col. 3

Inside

Private housing aid
James Rouse and Atlantic-Richfield announce \$1 million housing grant for urban poor.....D1

Rain today
Rain today, high 45. Occasional rain tonight, low 35. Yesterday's high, 33; low, 18.....D2

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4 Sections

announce the IRA and to present view of events in But Mr. Fischer cited "grave concern about the Mr. Paisley's actions and cent weeks." He provided

The U.S. government under pressure from congress who asserted that ports terrorism.

Mr. Paisley, leader of Unionist Party and outsp the British Parliament, "The accusation that I am olence is a lie. ... Dubli shots, and anybody who st is to be denied even the speech. ... The liberty to case in the U.S.A. is denied

The State Department denial of free speech," said Democratic Unionist spoke

"This exposes the cant a the U.S. government, which lows IRA sympathizers to from the States without let Mr. Allister said.

Mr. Allister said next m tion of Ulster Protestants, w ley was to join, will go ahead visit.

Earlier this month, near the members of Congress in the State Department, ur Paisley's visa be canceled. Representative William Car

Among those opposing House Speaker Thomas P. Senator Edward M. Kenned chusetts Democrats and Ca extraction.

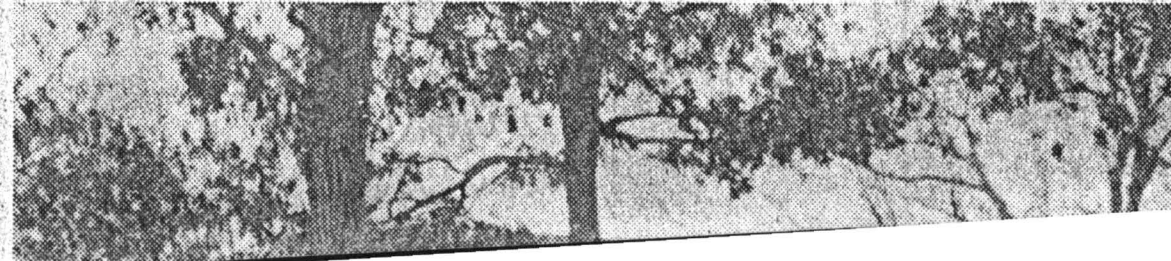
Mr. O'Neill said the State decision was appropriate be Mr. Paisley had been suspe British Parliament, establ military "third force" in No and was appealing to religio bigotry.

The delegation which M See PAISLEY, A6,

Columnist Louis Azrael of News American dies

Jay Spry

roles at the Vagabonds Theater as a young man—had still been producing a two-



in sympathy with
months ago, but this

ers' union, the International Longshore-
men's and Warehousemen's Union, said his

such a point that we rarely see any cargo
going into that area," he said.

long as there were guarantees the aid
would not be used by the Polish army or
militia.

"He is all for the idea as long as he
knows the distribution goes to the people,"
said Mr. Mazewski of the Polish-American
Congress.

White House officials said that while
the president favored people-to-people aid
programs, no decision had yet been taken
on supplying increased stocks of U.S. gov-
ernment-held food surpluses to the charity
organizations.

Mr. Mazewski said the delegation hand-
ed Mr. Reagan a memorandum of sugges-
tions and concerns.

One of their chief concerns was the
whereabouts of Lech Walesa, the leader of
Solidarity. White House officials said they
had seen reports that he had been moved
to a military base on the outskirts of War-
saw, but said they had no information on
any subsequent change in his location.

Mr. Mazewski said the delegation advo-
cated economic sanctions against the Sovi-
et Union because "something should be
brought out to really indicate that it is
really the Soviet Union by proxy that is in-
volved in Poland.

"I would like to see economic sanctions
... [or] whatever is necessary to deter the
Russians from proceeding further in their
quest of subjugating the Polish people," he
said.

Mr. Mazewski added that although Mr.
Reagan said that "something" would be
done against the Soviets, "he didn't say
anything about embargoes. He didn't say
anything about sanctions. There is no com-
mitment whatsoever on that."

been freed from local jails, given white
armbands and recruited to help security
forces. These men helped security forces
end a sit-in at Wroclaw University
Wednesday, he quoted the clergymen as
saying.

During the operation, a professor was
beaten, had a heart attack and died in
front of his students, the clergymen told
Mr. Liebetanz. He said no medical aid was
provided.

About 7,000 people defied a ban and at-
tended the professor's funeral Friday,
they said.

Solidarity chief Lech Walesa, under ar-
rest, was reported to have been moved
from a government guesthouse at Chylice
on Warsaw's outskirts to general staff
headquarters in the capital because word
of his whereabouts had leaked out. Mr.
Walesa reportedly has refused to cooper-

Ambassador charged

London (Reuter)—The Polish gov-
ernment started criminal proceedings
yesterday against Poland's ambassa-
dor to Washington, who defected Sun-
day, Warsaw Radio reported.

The radio, monitored by the British
Broadcasting Corporation, said Amba-
sador Romuald Spasowski had "com-
mitted serious crimes against funda-
mental state interests."

The Polish Foreign Ministry there-
fore applied to the chief military prose-
cutor to institute criminal proceedings,
it added.

Jews blamed for problems

Anti-Semitism in Poland since

Vienna, Austria (KNT)—One ugly off-
shoot of the military takeover in Poland is
a new wave of anti-Semitism in the coun-
try that housed the World War II death
camps of Auschwitz, Birkenau and Tre-
blinka.

Radio Warsaw and the Polish newspa-
pers monitored in Vienna during the week-
end repeatedly carried reports blaming
Jews for Poland's economic problems.

Jewish professors were accused of
trying to organize resistance to the mil-

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Reagan faults peace drives

DEMONSTRATIONS, from A1

matched by his observations about the
peace movement in Europe today."

Mr. Sullivan said the European disarm-
ament movement is supported by many
organizations that are "religious and mod-
erate in politics" and added, "They are not
about to give away the concern for peace
to any bloc."

Dr. Herbert Scoville, formerly a top
CIA official and assistant director of the
U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament
Agency, also took issue with President
Reagan.

"I believe that President Reagan great-
ly underestimates the strength and
breadth of the anti-nuclear movement in
Europe," said Dr. Scoville, now president
of the Arms Control Association. "It is not
just composed of communist-supported
youths."

"Responsible people of all ages
throughout Western Europe are extremely
worried by the possibility of a nuclear war
being fought on their lands. These fears
have been accentuated by rash statements
by American leaders implying that a Eu-
ropean nuclear war would not necessarily
extend to the United States."

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WASHINGTON POST 6 October 1982

Hot Words for the Freeze

EARLIER President Reagan took a smart approach to the nuclear freeze movement, attempting to co-opt it, or at least to smother it, by insisting that he understood the concerns of pro-freeze people although he did not accept the freeze itself. Campaigning in Columbus, however, he took a different line. He said the freeze movement "that has swept across our country . . . is inspired not by the sincere and honest people who want peace but by some who want the weakening of America, and so are manipulating many honest and sincere people." His campaign audience of veterans lapped it up.

Mr. Reagan was wrong. The notion that the some who want to weaken America are manipulating the many who want peace is a misstatement and a smear. What the many are responding to are the anxieties generated by the inability of the nuclear powers to cap their arsenals. They are also responding to Mr. Reagan's own loose talk about nuclear war-fighting, a display of verbal recklessness that made him for a time the freeze campaign's chief recruiter. The intention of the freeze leaders is not to "weaken" this country. It is no fairer and no more conducive to civil debate to impugn the patriotism of their cause than it is for some of them to suggest that the president is gunning the country over a nuclear

precipice. He and his critics simply have different ideas of what nuclear security requires.

It's the more regrettable that Mr. Reagan spoke as he did because that kind of talk is getting around. An especially nasty example was Sen. Jeremiah Denton's attack on "Peaceday 1982," an event to take place next Sunday. On the Senate floor, Mr. Denton said that four organizations advising Peace Links, the Peaceday sponsor, are "either Soviet-controlled or openly sympathetic with, and advocates for, Communist foreign policy objectives." Several Senate wives are active in Peace Links, and the husbands quickly rose to deny any implication that their wives are traitors or dupes. They went on to defend the freeze as a valid exercise in free speech and democratic politics.

Sen. Denton got the rebuff he deserved. It is true, however, that one Peace Links advisory group, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, is a Soviet front and another, Women Strike for Peace, has connections to a second front, the Women's International Democratic Federation. They have the right. But why does Peace Links abide the taint that even the slightest connection to a Soviet stooge group imparts? Its judgment is in question. Mr. Denton should have left it at that.

BALTIMORE SUN 6 October 1982

Deep Freeze It, Please

Of the nuclear freeze movement, President Reagan said this Monday: "I think [it] is inspired by not the sincere, honest people who want peace but by some who want the weakening of America." That comes dangerously close to demagoguery in our view—and we speak as a newspaper that has consistently opposed the freeze movement.

We oppose the freeze movement because its objective—an immediate, mutual halt to all testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons—is a simplistic and unrealistic arms-control goal. Better that the United States and the Soviet Union sit down together and seriously negotiate toward the eventual goal of reducing the stockpiles of warheads and the massed delivery systems that both sides have built up over the past three decades. Time spent at the negotiations arguing about a freeze can better be spent arguing about specific weapons systems cuts.

But in opposing the views of the freeze advocates, we never have and never would question their sincerity, honesty or their patriotism. The president is explicitly questioning the sincerity and honesty of the leaders of the freeze movement.

He is implicitly questioning their patriotism. And as for those who are following these leaders, the president is suggesting they are witless, thoughtless dupes.

We believe that the two dozen U.S. senators of both parties who have spoken in favor of a freeze and the 202 U.S. representatives of both parties who *voted* for a freeze resolution, are too sophisticated and too patriotic to be manipulated by "those who want the weakening of America." The same applies to the leading religious and educational leaders who have supported it.

What's worrying the president could be the potential the freeze movement has for becoming a powerful and threatening political movement. Threatening to *him*. But the way to deal with that is to have his emissaries negotiate with the Russians with obvious good faith and diligence toward the general goal Mr. Reagan says he shares with the freeze movement—a world not periled by nuclear arsenals. The way *not* to do it is to resort to rhetoric that verges on 1950s-style red-baiting.

Put that language in the deep freeze, please, Mr. President.

The Four-Letter Pipeline

WALL STREET JOURNAL
6 October 1982

The NATO foreign ministers gathered in Quebec last weekend, taking a break from the tedium of opening a U.N. General Assembly, and talked about East-West trade and credits. The reports were that they diplomatically avoided the four-letter words, "pipe" and "line."

So the Western foreign ministers have at least broached what in our view is the commanding foreign policy issue of the 1980s—whether the West will continue to finance the East bloc economy and hence the Soviet military buildup. For all the criticism of President Reagan's pipeline sanctions, we doubt that any such talks would be taking place without the shock value of his decision. And of course, to discuss credits is to discuss the pipeline, for the great danger of the project has been that it would replace the Eastern European economies as the funnel for pouring Western credit into the Soviet bloc.

To understand the broader issue, the ministers ought to look at the pipeline specifically, to decide whether it is a viable trading proposition or a political favor for the commissars. With big energy projects going belly-up all around the world, it's not easy to view the granddaddy of them all as a sound commercial venture. Specifically, the Alaskan gas pipeline, a project of roughly similar scope, has collapsed because paying for the project would require gas prices of \$15 a thousand cubic feet, more than three times the current market price.

The pricing formula for the Soviet gas, as Wilfried Prewé of the Kiel In-

stitute explained it on these pages last week, includes both a floor price and a base price tied to world energy markets. The base price is about the market rate of roughly \$4.70, but is tied to movements of an index of oil prices. If slow inflation and low demand keep nominal oil prices down, the Soviets are still guaranteed a floor price equivalent to about \$5.70 in the late 1980s. The Europeans further are obligated to take or pay for 85% of the contract volumes. So in short, the economics of the pipeline represent a big bet on future energy prices and inflation rates, with the Europeans assuming most of the risks.

The Europeans are also assuming a hidden cost through the interest-rate subsidies they are giving the Soviets. On the money they have borrowed so far, the Russians are paying an average interest rate of 8.67%—clearly less than it costs Western governments or banks to raise the funds they are shipping east. (The governments going into the Western capital markets to borrow this money are the same ones blaming high interest rates on the credit demands created by U.S. federal borrowing.)

If the Soviets are getting their credits at 5% below the market rate, and the payback period of a planned \$11 billion in loans is 10 years, this represents an interest saving of about \$7 billion compounded. The Europeans have agreed to buy 23 trillion cubic feet of gas over the next 25 years, so the interest rate subsidy amounts to

about 30 cents for every thousand feet of gas. At a base price of \$5 and a floor of \$6, it's hard to make a case that Europe is paying only the market rate.

There still is, of course, a big unexplained difference between \$6 for Soviet gas and \$15 for Alaskan gas, a point the foreign ministers ought to ponder. There are some economies because the area of the Soviet pipeline is not entirely virgin territory, and presumably the Soviets are taking a lower wellhead price than the owners of the Alaskan gas. But much of this difference can be explained in two ways: the use of slave labor, either domestic or imported, and the enormous premium the Soviets are forced to attach on hard currency earnings that can be used to buy Western goods they cannot produce but are essential to their economy. Both of these points deserve long pondering if the NATO ministers are to discuss East-West economic policy.

If the NATO foreign ministers are not discussing the points above, there is reason to doubt whether their discussions are truly serious. But at least the subject has been recognized. Whether or not past contracts on the pipeline are fulfilled is secondary, especially if a cap can be placed on future credits to cover inevitable cost overruns. The important issue is that the West wake up to the implications of diverting to the Soviets scarce credit that would otherwise flow into capital investment supporting Western prosperity.

China and the bear

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR 6 October 1982

On the theory that a reduction in tension anywhere in the world is desirable, there should be no wringing of hands over the fact that the Russians and the Chinese may be moving toward a détente of sorts. It is true that the bitter Sino-Soviet split of the past two decades has had geopolitical benefits for the West, but no one would want to see that quarrel reach a point of armed conflict that could engulf much of the world. Efforts toward a thaw are therefore in the interest of all.

Even if the bilateral negotiations now begun in Peking lead to a normalization of ties, it is doubtful there will soon again be the close relationship that existed in the 1950s. The Chinese have a deep-seated distrust of the Russians that dates back to pre-Soviet times when the Russian tsars annexed territories on which the Chinese empire had a claim. Even during the brief period of communist collaboration, the Chinese came to dislike the Soviets for their arrogance, dominance, and refusal to share their nuclear knowledge.

The Russians, for their part, still tend to

link the Chinese with the Mongol invaders and worry about modern Asian hordes pouring over their border into the sparsely populated Siberian expanses.

Although mistrust runs deep on both sides, each now seems to want to mute the overt hostility and establish a more normal, more rational relationship. No doubt the chill in Moscow's relations with the United States plays a role, for what the Soviet leadership has always feared most is a war on two fronts: one with the West, another with China. Now that a more pragmatic, moderate regime has been installed in Peking, Mr. Brezhnev clearly sees an opportunity to try to diminish the tensions that have kept 45 Soviet divisions pinned down on the long Sino-Soviet frontier.

Since the heady days of ping-pong diplomacy with the United States, the People's Republic of China, in turn, has begun to pursue a more independent policy. It is again aligning itself conspicuously with the third world,

distancing itself somewhat from the United States, and permitting more trade, sports, and cultural ties with the Soviet Union as a counterbalance to its links with Washington.

Domestic politics may in part be driving these trends. For Deng Xiaoping, if he is to protect his flanks in the face of opposition to his reformist policies, has to show that he is willing to stand up to the US on such issues as American arms sale to Taiwan. In any case, it seems logical for Peking to seek an improvement of relations with its overpowering northern neighbor as it devotes time and resources to modernizing the economy. Indeed there is no reason why two nations that are natural trading partners should not have better ties.

Fundamental differences with the Soviet Union, however, are bound to remain and to prevent the kind of accommodation between two communist colossi that could pose a threat to the West. The Chinese let themselves be embraced once by the Soviet bear. They are unlikely to invite another hug.

Indecent Debate

6 Oct 82

Freeze 11/

President Reagan and Senator Denton of Alabama don't think much of Americans who agitate for a faster pace of arms control. They have a perfect right to resist, but not with the name-calling and innuendo to which they now resort.

Senator Denton overstepped the boundaries last week when he accused supporters of a National Peace Day of giving "aid and comfort to the enemies of this country." Among other victims of that loose talk was a colleague, Senator Bumpers of Arkansas, the sponsor of a Peace Day resolution, and his wife, Betty, a Peace Day organizer.

The President argued cogently for a few moments on Monday when he said he, too, favored a nuclear freeze, but only "after we have been able to negotiate the Soviet Union into a [weapons] reduction on both sides."

But when he then encountered some demonstrators for a nuclear freeze, the President followed Mr. Denton down the low road. Mr. Reagan charged that the freeze movement was "inspired by not the sin-

cere, honest people who want peace, but by some who want the weakening of America and so are manipulating honest people and sincere people."

The charge that those who demonstrate opposition on vital issues of national security are either the dupes of enemies or directly disloyal revives an ugly strain in the American political character. This was heinously perfected 30 years ago by Senator Joseph McCarthy, who, as Mr. Bumpers recalled, had even senators "jumping under their desks."

McCarthy did more damage to America than any of the enemies against whom he railed. But the matter is more serious even than violating the reputations of fellow citizens. The purpose of such ugly defamation can only be to prevent debate, to abridge the rights of individuals and to cheat the nation of a rational choice of policies.

As Senator Hart of Colorado said directly to Senator Denton: "I say to the Senator from Alabama, shame on you." And we say shame on you, too, Mr. President.

Freeze

CHICAGO TRIBUNE 7 October 1982

A freeze in understanding

As we have said repeatedly on this page, the supporters of a "mutual and balanced freeze" on Soviet and American nuclear weapons don't understand the problem very well; if they did, they would abandon the freeze campaign and support the administration's efforts to negotiate reductions in the superpower arsenals.

But if the freeze advocates misunderstand the problem, they are in good company. President Reagan doesn't seem to understand it very well either.

Mr. Reagan displayed his misunderstanding the other day when he told a gathering of veterans in Ohio that the freeze movement is being manipulated by people "who want the weakening of America." He, too, favors a freeze, he said, but only "after we have been able to negotiate the Soviet Union into a reduction on both sides of all kinds of weapons and then have a freeze where we're equal, and not freeze them now in a superiority that brings closer the chances of nuclear war."

- First, the question of motives:

It is false and slanderous to suggest that freeze advocates are mere dupes for nefarious plotters whose secret agenda calls for the weakening of America. Most of their leaders and organizers are people whose loyalty and integrity are beyond question. They believe that their campaign will not weaken America; on the contrary, they believe a freeze would pull the superpowers back from the brink of a nuclear holocaust that would be the ultimate in weakening the entire planet.

Mr. Reagan later said that he "did not have any Americans in mind" as villains. He was helped off the hook by Senate Majority Leader Baker, who excused the President's remarks as "broad brush comments common on the campaign trail." As Mr. Baker said, the Soviet Union sees the freeze movement as in its own interest and "will try to take advantage of it." But to suggest that Soviet agents have been able to manipulate a movement as broad as this is to insult the intelligence of millions of Americans and to suggest that we are not strong enough to cope with freedom of speech.

If some of the leaders are being manipulative or dishonest, it is only to the extent that they have oversimplified the nuclear dilemma in an attempt to engage the passions of a large number of Americans. Only by thus arousing the nation, they feel, can any real progress be made in dealing with an issue so complex that many Americans have been unwilling or unable to come to grips with it. Campaign organizers grasped the idea gratefully, if not entirely honestly, as a technique for getting people involved in a fundamentally important debate. That is not necessarily a bad thing, and it certainly is not an act of disloyalty.

- Second, the question of arms reductions:

The President and those around him apparently believe—and persist in stating—that Soviet strategic superiority is the crux of the problem. In fact, there is no agreement among the experts on who is superior to whom. Such organizations as the International Institute for Strategic Studies can discern no essential superiority on either side (except that in the European theater the Soviets are superior in both conventional and nuclear weapons). In the strategic balance between the superpowers, the nuclear arsenals are so different in deployment and design as to make comparison difficult. The Soviets have more megatonnage, but the U.S. has more warheads. The Soviets have more missiles in ground-based silos, but the U.S. has more in submarines and bombers.

So the Soviets cannot be said to be definitely superior. The problem is rather one of instability.

The two superpowers have advanced so far technologically that it is theoretically possible to "win" a nuclear war—to devastate an opponent in a first strike without being devastated in return. Leaders might therefore be tempted to launch a preemptive attack out of fear that the other side will do it first. It becomes a situation of kill or be killed, and that is profoundly dangerous.

That is why the goal of the President should be just what it is: to negotiate reductions in the kinds of weapons that cause the instability. That is also why a freeze would be worse than useless—it would lock the superpowers into this condition of instability. The idea is to get out of the predicament, not negotiate ourselves more deeply into it.

Incidentally, the pro-freeze argument that the superpowers must freeze immediately and then reduce is naive and unrealistic. Nothing in arms negotiations is immediate. A freeze, like any arms agreement between hostile and suspicious powers, must be worked out in exquisite detail. It must contain foolproof guarantees of verifiability, for example, that take months and years to negotiate. Better to go for reductions from the start than to dally over a freeze—which would, in any event, be part of any reduction agreement.

In the meantime the United States must continue arms development to deter, as best it can, any Soviet use of nuclear weapons. For the U.S. to freeze without a mutual (and verifiable) freeze by the Soviets would amount to gradual unilateral disarmament, with unknown but potentially catastrophic results; hence the plan's appeal to the Soviets. Deterrence, however frail and uncertain it may seem, has worked since World War II. Unilateral disarmament has never worked, from the time of the cave man to the present.

So the President is right, and the nuclear freeze advocates are wrong. It is too bad that neither seems to understand why.

WASHINGTON TIMES

7 October 1982 Pg. 4
12th draft resister indicted

CEDAR RAPIDS, Iowa - The student body president at the University of Northern Iowa has been indicted by a federal grand jury on charges of failing to register with the Selective Service.

Rusty Martin, 22, an outspoken critic of draft registration, is the 12th person nationally to be accused of failing to sign up, authorities said. He is accused of failing to comply with a federal law requiring all men born since 1960 to register with

USA TODAY

7 October 1982 Pg. 3
Civilian killed in Army grenade accident

FORT IRWIN, Calif. — One man died, four still are hospitalized and a sixth was treated for injuries after a grenade exploded during a clearing operation at a firing range Wednesday, the Army said. The men, all civilians, were searching the range for unexploded ordnance at 8:40 a.m., when one of them apparently stepped on a live grenade, an Army spokesman said.

the Selective Service System within 30 days of turning 18.

NEW YORK NEWS 7 October 1982

Lebanon: Rising from the ashes

IT'S FAR TOO SOON to see any tremendous improvement in the situation in Lebanon after the terrible months of warfare that turned it upside down. But the signals coming out of Beirut in recent days are hopeful.

The atmosphere for progress has certainly improved now that American, French and Italian peacekeeping troops are at work in the Beirut area trying to calm things down and give the fledgling Lebanese government the chance it so desperately needs.

The job of flushing out Palestinian guerrillas who escaped Israel's onslaught has quite properly fallen to the Lebanese Army. There will never be real stability in Beirut and the rest of Lebanon until the nation's 22,000-man Army asserts itself as a power strong enough to keep out all intruders.

The danger, of course, is that major muscle-flexing by the Lebanese Army, which is dominated by Christian elements, could backfire and touch off a new round of religious warfare. The Army's major sweep through West Beirut on Tuesday has raised real fears that President Amin Gemayel may be going too fast too soon against only part of the problem.

Largely untouched in the Army's crackdown so far are the private armies run by feuding Christians and Moslems, both of which have always played a big part in keeping Lebanon in turmoil. Priority is being given to routing remaining fighters of the Palestine Liberation Organization, but Gemayel should not waste any time in using his new-found power to get these Christian and Moslem militiamen to lay down their weapons and disband, too.

No one should forget that Christian goons did the dirty work in the massacre of civilians in the Chatilla and Sabra refugee camps. Gemayel cannot escape the responsibility for preventing such slaughter from ever happening again.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE 7 October 1982

Limits on freedom of information

WASHINGTON—In recent weeks my remarks concerning the Freedom of Information Act [FOIA] have been distorted repeatedly. I have never advocated the total repeal of the Freedom of Information Act. I have, however, repeatedly stressed the fact that there is an inherent incompatibility in applying an openness in government law to intelligence agencies whose missions must be carried out in secrecy.

The receipt of an FOIA request by an intelligence agency begins a lengthy process of searching numerous compartmented record systems and then reviewing any responsive documents. This careful review requires the time and attention of senior intelligence officials, thus diverting them from their primary duties. Despite these efforts, there is always the possibility of human error, which could result in the release of classified information damaging to the national security.

Moreover, the necessity to engage in this search and review is disturbing to friendly foreign intelligence services as well as to individual sources of information. Due to the existing exemptions in the act, FOIA releases for the most part consist of scattered words and phrases.

More important, the benefit to the public from FOIA releases is marginal. I fail to see how releases of bits of information serve the purpose of the FOIA to provide government accountability. The intelligence agencies have more direct executive branch and congressional oversight than any other agency within our government. Thus, the necessary accountability and oversight of intelligence activities is fully provided for by our elected officials who, unlike the

public, have access to all classified information.

As U.S. District Court Judge Gerhardt Gesell said after reviewing Philip Agee's FOIA request for the release of 8,600 documents, "It is amazing that a rational society tolerates the expense, the waste of resources, the potential injury to its own security that this case necessarily entails."

William J. Casey

Director,
U.S. Central Intelligence Agency

LEAP...Continued

that don't exactly make for good public relations.

Salen Project/Liner Services, for instance, is a wholly owned subsidiary of Saleninvest AB, a big Swedish concern. Another unit of the parent firm, Salen Shipping Agencies Inc. of Long Beach, Calif., lists itself as a shipping agent for Soviet merchant-vessel operations. While not entirely unusual, such activity does raise eyebrows.

QUESTIONS HAVE BEEN RAISED by U.S. Lines about the status of Merchants Terminal Management Corp. The company was dissolved by the state of Texas last February and has a number of outstanding debts, U.S. Lines charged. AMCO officials say there was a "clerical error" and that the firm now is incorporated in Delaware.

And International Cargo and Ship Chartering is headed by Henry J. Bonnabel, who was last in the public eye 16 months ago after he was subpoenaed by a congressional committee probing the loss with all hands of a ship he owned.

At the time, Mr. Bonnabel owned several World War II vintage ships used to carry government-aid cargoes. One, the Poet, was to carry corn to Egypt in October 1980. Manned by a crew of 34, it left Delaware Bay Oct. 24 and was never heard from again.

Despite the ship captain's record of radioing in every other day, as company rules required, Mr. Bonnabel waited 10 days before telling the Coast Guard the Poet was missing. A search — first by radio, then with aircraft — proved fruitless. No trace of the ship or its crew was ever found.

Mr. Bonnabel says, correctly, that he never was charged with wrongdoing by the Coast Guard, Congress or any legal agency. But he was officially criticized for his inexplicable delay in declaring the ship missing. There also have been reports that other ships he owned encountered problems at sea because of old or poorly maintained equipment. And the Poet wasn't the first ship controlled by Mr. Bonnabel to sink — the Silver Dove went down in the Pacific in 1973, although without loss of life.

These, then, are the pieces that make up American Coastal Line Venture Inc. Add a protest to the General Accounting Office by Sea-Land and a court challenge by U.S. Lines — dropped Tuesday because, an official said tersely, "We still believe we're right, but we have a business to run" — and it's hardly a picture to boast about.

It is impossible to argue with the desire of the Military Sealift Command to cut costs, or with the need of the U.S. merchant marine for more jobs and competition. It is entirely possible American Coastal Line will perform admirably, saving the government money and injecting new blood into the somewhat anemic American merchant-shipping scene.

But, to employ a time-worn adage, shouldn't the sealift command have looked hard before it leaped?

Freeze

--- 7 OCTOBER 1982

~~START~~ 2

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
7 October 1982

Dupes?

How can President Reagan mend fences with the millions of Americans whom he has in effect called dupes for supporting the nuclear freeze? Many of them in Congress and elsewhere have pointed one way: either to retract or substantiate his campaign-trail charges that the freeze movement is manipulated from abroad by "some who want the weakening of America." But to be convincing in the long run Mr. Reagan needs to pursue peace as vigorously as these fellow citizens through the START negotiations and other means he prefers to the freeze.

As it is, he has let the comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty negotiations languish. He has not pushed for ratification of test limitation treaties long since signed. And he has left the impression of being hastened into arms control initiatives by the very movement he says is being manipulated. Does this mean Mr. Reagan himself is a puppet at the remove of those who would weaken America? Obviously not. No one has to be manipulated into seeking peace when devastating nuclear arsenals could be triggered by war.

This does not mean that Moscow's minions have stayed out of the peace movement abroad even while that movement remains harshly suppressed at home. Indeed, communists latch onto and try to influence almost any movement with a good name - labor, liberation, civil rights, peace. But the communists should not be handed such causes on a tray by the abdication - or denigration - of democratic fighters for them.

Mr. Reagan is well within the bounds of responsible campaigning when he attacks the freeze itself as what he considers a threat to security. Part of the debate is whether the US would be frozen in a position of inferiority, as he says, or strengthened through cutting the enormous drain of the arms race.

But Mr. Reagan clouds the issue when he generalizes that the freeze movement is not inspired by "sincere, honest people who want peace." Clarification is in order.



Jan Sawka

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iversity on "The Issues of the 80's," Henry A. Kissinger during an hour-long speech made no reference to Poland, even in connection with the Kremlin succession — an issue that would inevitably involve new Polish crises and similar events elsewhere in Eastern Europe. During a recent Congressional hearing, three influential Western European spokesmen pleaded for an end to the pipeline sanctions, pointing out that these sanctions are unproductive, but they did not think it necessary to come up with alternative means to counter or protest the military coup in Poland.

Clearly, then, it is not impossible to see General Jaruzelski succeeding in his scheme, forcing the Polish people to once again pay the price of détente. The question is, however, whether Poles will cooperate. The first anniversary of the legalization of Solidarity is Nov. 10, and preparations for this day are already under way in Warsaw. Perhaps the West should begin preparations, as well.

Leopold Unger is a columnist for the Brussels daily *Le Soir* and a regular contributor to the *International Herald Tribune*. He is a fellow at the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars.

IN THE NATION

Enough Is Enough

By Tom Wicker

It was McCarthyism, it was low-road politics, it was disinformation — all delivered in the familiar aw-shucks style. And when President Reagan charged that "some who want the weakening of America" were "manipulating honest people and sincere people" in the nuclear freeze movement, actually it was he who tried to manipulate honest and sincere Americans.

On Nov. 2 eight states, the District of Columbia, Philadelphia and Chicago will vote on nuclear freeze initiatives. The one in California, the nation's most populous state, is favored, and if it's approved there and in most of the other states — Arizona, Oregon, North Dakota, Montana, Michigan, Rhode Island and New Jersey — serious public pressure would be exerted on the Reagan Administration for a more forthcoming approach to strategic arms negotiations.

Win or lose, moreover, the freeze issue could turn out many voters who might otherwise have stayed home in a non-Presidential election year. Republican analysts rightly fear that such a turnout would be less favorable to their candidates than to the Democrats.

So Mr. Reagan had obvious political reason, if no other justification, for trying to manipulate the voters with his smear on the freeze movement, which he conceded "has swept across our country." He impugned its origins ("inspired by not the sincere, honest people who want peace, but by some who want the weakening of America"), though there's not a shred of evidence for that, and suggested that those who support it are dupes.

That included, of course, organizations like Common Cause, the American Public Health Association, the National Education Association, the United Auto Workers and many others — not to mention the thousands of individuals who've worked and voted for a nuclear freeze, or the members of Congress, Democrat and Republican, who have supported freeze resolutions.

The President also asserted, with little more justification, that a freeze would cost Ohio, where he was speaking, 7,000 jobs through the cancellation of the B-1 bomber. But if a nuclear freeze canceled the B-1, it's hot clear that 7,000 existing jobs in Ohio — a state hit hard by unemployment — would disappear; or that if the B-1 were built, 7,000 new jobs would be added in that state.

Besides, there are better ways than defense spending to put people to work. A 1976 Chase Econometrics study showed, for example, that a housing program of equivalent cost would employ, by 1980, 70,000 more persons

nationwide than the B-1 project.

But most misleading of all, Mr. Reagan repeated his ritual position that he, too, would favor a nuclear freeze "after we have been able to negotiate the Soviet Union into a reduction on both sides of all kinds of weapons and then have a freeze where we're equal, and not freeze them now in a superiority that brings closer the chances of nuclear war."

First, most authorities don't agree that the Soviet Union has nuclear superiority over the U.S. Second, particularly if it did, the kind of comprehensive mutual disarmament Mr. Reagan described could take years and perhaps never succeed, while nuclear weapons proliferated and constantly increased the danger of holocaust.

But Mr. Reagan's political instinct in emphasizing this theme was sound; polls show that the public generally favors a nuclear freeze — but only if it's seen to be equal. If a freeze appears to leave Moscow with a nuclear edge, public opinion turns against it.

That sounds like sensible caution but it's not, because everyone concedes that if either side were to launch a nuclear attack, the other would retain the retaliatory nuclear power to devastate the attacker. And that would be true even if small force imbalances in some cases did appear to favor the Russians.

If a nuclear exchange did occur, therefore, neither side could gain usable advantage — even if one hurled a few more or bigger warheads than the other — because both would be essentially destroyed. That has been well established by such organizations as Physicians for Social Responsibility, in reports on the catastrophic effects of a nuclear exchange — not just the immediate ground zero impact but such secondary effects as radioactive fallout, shortages of food, water and medical supplies, and destruction of medical facilities, infrastructure and the like.

"The biological 'survivors' in all probability will have merely postponed their deaths — by days, weeks, months or, at most, years — from secondary attack-related causes," Dr. Jack Geiger of the physicians' group has written. "Life in the interim will bear no resemblance to life before a nuclear attack."

Thus, Mr. Reagan is guilty of manipulation and disinformation when he insists that a freeze now could give the Russians an actual, usable advantage, or that we need more nuclear weapons to keep them from attacking us. Enough is enough, and both sides have enough; a freeze would only maintain the balance.

Freeze

PATRICK BUCHANAN

Reagan is correct (as is customary) on nuclear freezers

It was McCarthyism. It was low-road politics; it was disinformation," fumed Tom Wicker in *The New York Times*. "Shame on you, Mr. President," echoed the editorial page.

The comment that caused such melodramatics was Reagan's dismissal of some nuclear "freeze" demonstrators in Ohio last week with this commentary on their cause:

"They were demonstrating in behalf of a movement that has swept across our country, inspired not by the sincere, honest people who want peace, but by some who want the weakening of America and so are manipulating many honest and sincere people."

With this "smear on the freeze movement," thundered Brother Wicker, the president "impugned its origins... though there's not a shred of evidence for that, and suggested that those who support it are dupes."

Patrick Buchanan, a radio and TV commentator, is a syndicated columnist.

Our colleague has a point. The "origins" of the freeze movement within the United States are decidedly grassroots American. Its principal exponents are Sens. Hatfield and Kennedy, not Karla and Moscow Center. But the president conceded that — in speaking of "many honest and sincere people" — and beyond that, the case belongs wholly to Mr. Reagan.

Anyone who cannot see the hand of Moscow and the ugly faces of its odious little affiliates inside the "peace movement" in Europe and the "freeze movement" in the United States is simply not looking. At the June 12 nuclear freeze rally in New York, the largest such rally in history, columnist Joe Sobran easily discovered the whole menagerie of communist, pro-communist and anti-American organizations out of the closet and on the streets — from the American Communist Party to the Marxist-Leninist Party to the U.S. anti-Imperialist League. All the detritus of the '60s — those who cried "peace peace" in Vietnam then

cheered the North Vietnamese military victory — were present.

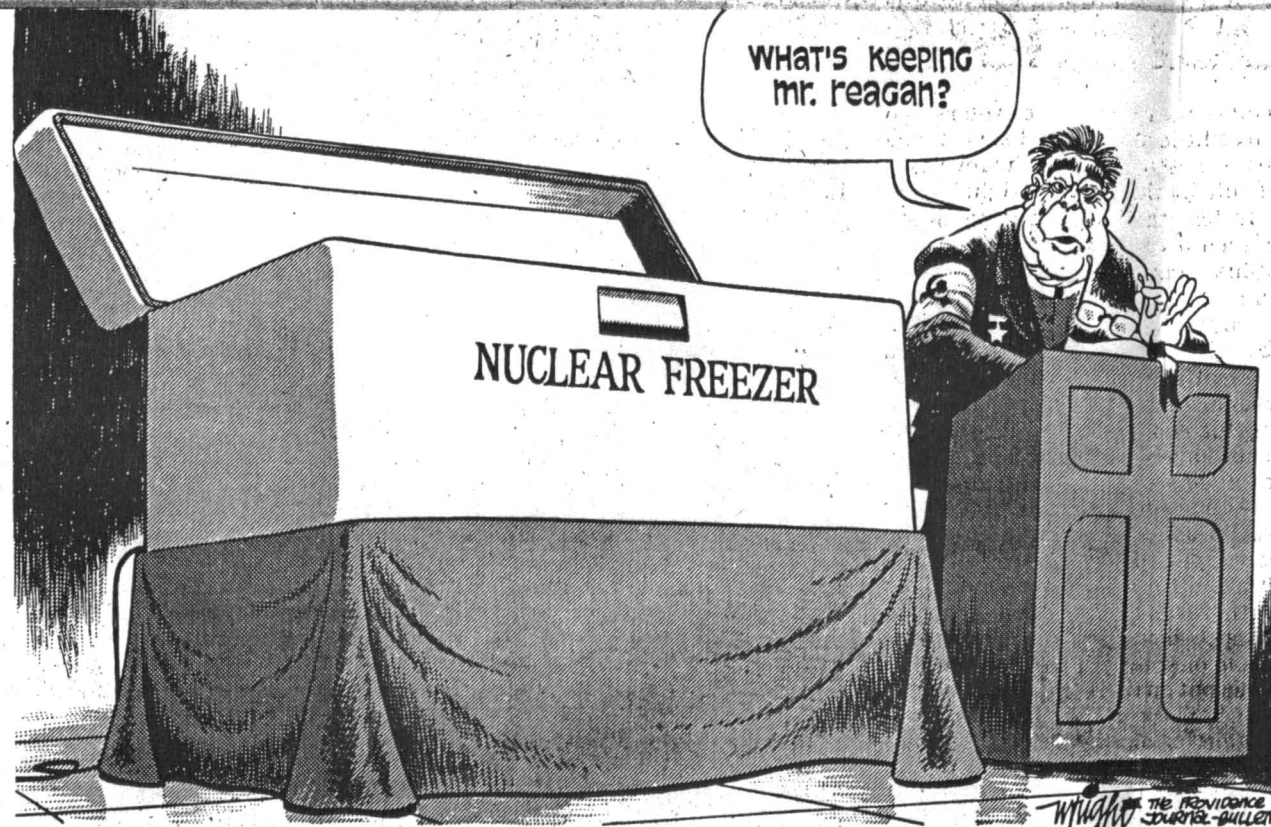
Has Wicker mislaid his May issue of *Commentary*? The cover article is a 10,000-word essay by Vladimir Bukovsky recounting Moscow's role in creating and guiding the peace and disarmament in the movement in the West. Bukovsky's sources are not CIA documents, but press clippings from East and West.

Assuming, as we must and do, benign motives to Hatfield and Kennedy, why did Brezhnev and

Gromyko endorse the demand for an immediate "freeze" in nuclear weapons.

The answer is simple and it is precisely as the president warns. If Kennedy-Hatfield became American policy, the United States would be frozen into a position of permanent inferiority.

A freeze would leave the Russians with an absolute monopoly of 600 first-strike weapons; and an absolute monopoly of theatre nuclear weapons dominating NATO Europe.



WHAT'S KEEPING Mr. Reagan?

ment in the '50s and the "Give Peace a Chance" crowd in the '60s. Bukovsky lists them:

"... the same old mixture of communists, fellow travelers, muddle headed intellectuals, hypocrites seeking popularity, professional speculators, frightened bourgeois, and youth eager to rebel for the sake of rebelling. There are also the inevitable Catholic priests with a 'mission' and other religious people who believe that God has chosen them to make peace on earth right now. But there is also not the slightest doubt that this motley crowd is manipulated by a handful of scoundrels instructed directly from Moscow."

Mr. Reagan, then — as is customarily the case — was dead right in this premise, even if imprecise in his verbiage; and Bukovsky, one senses, is equally on in his historical pessimism:

"It is also quite amusing, if one has a taste for such amusement to be reminded of how many people are practically incapable of deriving any useful knowledge from even the recent lessons of history. Once again, the universal craving for peace right now, this very moment, and at any price, has rendered people utterly illogical and irrational, and left them simply unable to think calmly. Their current arguments, if one may call them that, are so childish, senseless, selfish, that an involuntary smile comes immediately to one's lips. Even at best, what one hears is a parroting of the kind of old moldy Soviet slogans and cliches that even schoolchildren in the Soviet Union would laugh at."

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

October 21, 1982

FOR: JUDGE CLARK
BUD McFARLANE
DICK BOVERIE
SVEN KRAEMER
WALT RAYMOND
→ KEN de GRAFFENREID
CARY LORD

FROM: BOB SIMS

Inside Washington



World Peace Council Link

Soviets *Do* Influence Peace Movement

Sen. Jeremiah Denton (R.-Ala.) isn't the only one who's getting upbraided for suggesting that the "peace" movement is being manipulated by those who aren't exactly friendly to the United States. So, too, is the President of the United States, who has come under fire for his remarks in Ohio that



The president of the World Peace Council, Romesh Chandra, is also a member of the Central Committee of the Communist party of India.

"Many honest and sincere" peace demonstrators have been set up by those who would weaken this country. When Vermont State Sen. Madeline Harwood pointed to the Soviet role in the "nuclear freeze" referendum in her own state, she was accused of "McCarthyism."

The Left, in short, is trying to intimidate anyone who divulges the truth about Soviet influence in the so-called "peace movement."

What evidence is there of Soviet influence? Well, here's what John Barron, one of the foremost authorities on the KGB, states in the *October Reader's Digest*, the contents of which have been deliberately downplayed by the media in general:

"Today, the KGB is concentrating one of the largest Active Measures campaigns mounted since World War II. Its objective is to secure military superiority for the Soviet Union by persuading the United States to abandon new weapons systems that both American political parties and numerous strategists judge essential to Western military security. The name of the campaign is 'nuclear freeze.'"

Barron points out that the World Peace Council, which is extremely influential in the U.S. peace movement, has played a central role in promoting the freeze, and that the WPC is an international Soviet front. The Soviet control over the WPC is not a Barron fantasy or the opinion of some "right-wing fringe" group, but the conclusion of the U.S. government itself.

The CIA, for instance, delivered a study on Soviet propaganda on July 3, 1978, to the House Select Committee on Intelligence, more than two years before President Reagan assumed office. Here's what it said about the WPC:

"The most important international front is the

World Peace Council (WPC), which acts as a major sounding board for Soviet themes on peace and disarmament. The president of the WPC is Romesh Chandra, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist party of India. It has affiliate national Peace Councils in 120 countries."

In recent months, according to a July 1982 State Department document, the thrust of its activities, along with other Moscow-directed "peace" organizations, "has been to try to see that the peace movement in Western Europe and the United States is directed solely against U.S. policy and that it avoids any criticism of the Soviet nuclear threat."

Here's what Barron himself says about Chandra and the WPC: "... the Russians supervise Chandra closely by assigning both International Department and KGB representatives to the permanent secretariat of the WPC in Helsinki. The public record amply demonstrates the totality of Soviet control.

"In its 32 years of existence the WPC has not deviated from the Kremlin's line of the moment. It did not raise its voice against Soviet suppression of Polish and East German workers in 1953, Soviet slaughter of Hungarians in 1956, Soviet abrogation of the nuclear-test moratorium in 1961, the clandestine emplacement of nuclear missiles in Cuba in 1962, the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, the projection of Soviet military power in Angola, Ethiopia and Yemen. The WPC has failed to criticize a single Soviet armament program: only those of the West. And it endorsed the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. . . . Virtually all of its money comes clandestinely from the Soviet Union."

None of this, however, prevents it from having a huge influence over the U.S. peace movement. U.S. lawmakers, for instance, frequently meet with WPC leaders right in the Nation's Capital, and all sorts of "peace" groups—ranging from the American Friends Service Committee to Women Strike for Peace to Jesse Jackson's PUSH—closely cooperate with the WPC.

The idea of a nuclear freeze had been advanced in the U.S., says Barron, at a convention of the Mobilization for Survival (MFS), composed of various organizations, "including the U.S. Communist party, the U.S. Peace Council and Women Strike for Peace. One energetic leader of the Mobilization for Survival is Terry Provanca. . . ."

Provanca is also a member of the World Peace Council, and according to our copy of the WPC's 1980-1983 membership list, is "Director of Disarmament Programme of American Friends Service Committee" as well.

There are a number of other members of the WPC who are also active in the U.S. peace movement. American Communist party officials, such as Dr. James E. Jackson, is a WPC member. Another C.P. official, Michael Myerson, is listed as "Executive Director of U.S. Peace Council," the WPC's American affiliate.

Jack O'Dell, a former adviser to Martin Luther King, has taken the 5th Amendment when asked by congressional committees about his Communist activities. But O'Dell, who now serves as Jesse Jackson's International Affairs Director of People United to Save Humanity (PUSH), is also on the 1980-1983 WPC membership list. So is Joseph Miller, the national treasurer of another important "peace" group, SANE.

When Sen. Denton took on Betty Bumpers' Peace Links group (see HUMAN EVENTS, October 16, page 3), he said he was concerned about its National Advisory Council. The 14-member council, according to Peace Links' own brochure, "assists in the organizational development of Peace Links, assists in the selection of target states, explores opportunities for international activities, and provides support to the state Peace Links campaign."

Three of the 14 organizations from which Peace Links draws its advisory council, it turns out, have members on the Soviet-controlled Peace Council as well. They are the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (Barbara Armentrout), Women Strike for Peace (Edith Villastri) and the United States Student Association (Frank Jackalone, the USSA's president).

Many other Americans active in the "peace movement"—some of them professors, others labor union leaders and still others legislators—are on the WPC membership list.

Thus, how can anybody with any integrity intellectually challenge the point that the Soviets are having a considerable impact on the peace movement in this country?

'Citizens Against Nuclear War'

Left-Wingers Form Yet Another "Peace" Group

Damaged by charges that some of the major "peace groups" are linked to Communist-front organizations, proponents of a nuclear freeze have launched a new organization, "Citizens Against Nuclear War," to make it appear that nuclear disarmament by the U.S. is as American as apple pie.

Although this new coalition is supposed to be composed of "mainstream national organizations," including labor, religious and environmental groups, a close look reveals that its key organizers are closely associated with extreme left-wing causes.

Its president, Terry Herndon, is also the executive director of the National Education Association (NEA), the militant teachers' union, while Karen Mulhauser, a former top official of the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL), serves as executive director. Morton Halperin, an operative with the Center for National Security Studies (CNSS), a group that has worked to restrict the operations of U.S. intelligence agencies, sits on its "advisory committee."

The group claims to be non-political, in the sense that it does not support or oppose individual candidates. But when a HUMAN EVENTS reporter visited the Citizens Against Nuclear War (CAN) office at NEA headquarters, asking for literature about the group and its objectives, he was given, among other things, a copy of a *Rolling Stone* magazine article about politics and the nuclear freeze that included a list of "fifteen vulnerable hawks" who are facing "a close race" in November. The literature urged readers to send contributions to the Council for a Livable World Political Action Committee.

In announcing the formation of the group at a news conference last week in Washington, Herndon said that CAN's objectives were "(1) negotiation of a verifiable bilateral freeze on the production, testing, and deployment of nuclear weapons; (2) cancellation of the irrational civil defense programs for evacuation of American

cities in the event of nuclear war, and (3) observance of all previously negotiated international arms agreements."

Herndon said, "The issue of preventing nuclear war and the corresponding fear of a nuclear holocaust is at the forefront of the people's concern. Citizens, cities, [and] state opinion leaders across the country have endorsed the freeze on the production, testing and deployment of nuclear weapons, and three weeks from today over 25 per cent of the voting public will have an opportunity to vote on the freeze on initiatives in nine states—Arizona, California, Massachusetts, Michigan, Montana, Oregon, New Jersey, North Dakota and Rhode Island—and major cities—Philadelphia, Denver, Chicago and Anchorage."

Herndon added, "The people are trying to tell the politicians something important, and we are going to help them do that."

The NEA executive director explained that CAN will serve as a "bridge" between its national membership organizations and the "arms control community," which he defined as the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, Physicians for Social Responsibility, SANE, Ground Zero, the Arms Control Association and the Center for Defense Information.

CAN has distributed a statement by Randall Kehler, the national coordinator of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, endorsing its efforts. Kehler said, "I wholeheartedly support CAN and wish them every success as we work together to bring about this essential first step to reverse the arms race—a U.S.-Soviet nuclear weapons freeze."

The list of organizations that belong to CAN includes the American Jewish Congress, Americans for Democratic Action, Friends of the Earth, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the

International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, the United States Student Association and, of course, the NEA.

Most disturbing is the fact that the Newspaper Guild, an AFL-CIO union that represents thousands of journalists across the U.S., is also listed as a member of CAN. How these journalists, through their union, can endorse the objectives of CAN, which include a nuclear freeze, and then report fairly and objectively on the forces that make up the nuclear freeze movement is a question that hasn't been answered by Charles Perlik, the Newspaper Guild's president.

Who set off the nuclear freeze?

Freeze
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Joseph C. Harsch

Ronald Reagan is not the first United States President to think that some sinister foreign influence lies behind a popular movement running contrary to his purposes.

Mr. Reagan is contending now with a massive popular movement to "freeze the bomb." It has swept across the country. It has pushed resolutions through many a state legislature and scores of town halls. It is a vivid cause among the great Protestant denominations. The Roman Catholic hierarchy in the US is likely to give it decisive endorsement.

The movement is having an important political effect. White House advisers recognize that the only way to defuse it is for the President to get into serious negotiations with the Soviets over limitations on weapons. If it was not politically imperative before, it is politically imperative now that the President give convincing evidence that he wants a SALT II, or a START, agreement with the Soviets.

Besides, the President's opening position must itself be convincing evidence of a sincere desire to arrive at a fair agreement.

Mr. Reagan's emotional reaction to all of the above came out in a speech he made to veterans' organizations in Columbus, Ohio, on Oct. 4. He said that the movement was "inspired by, not the sincere, honest people who want peace, but by some who

want the weakening of America and so are manipulating honest and sincere people."

Presidents Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon also contended with a highly emotional popular movement which hurt them politically and interfered with their policies and purposes. The "peace movement" began during the Johnson administration. It plagued the President. It was an important factor in causing him to decide to back out of the 1968 presidential race.

Lyndon Johnson, like Mr. Reagan, suspected foreign influence behind the movement. He instructed both the FBI and the CIA to hunt for the foreign perpetrators of the movement which was portraying him as a war-making rather than peace-loving man.

Richard Nixon felt the pressure of the peace movement from the moment he entered the White House. It never gave him any peace. Like his predecessor he ordered both the FBI and the CIA to find out who was behind it.

There were other factors behind the political downfall of Richard Nixon, but the peace movement and his reaction to it were woven all through the fabric. It was his frustration over that movement and the pressure it was putting on his politics which caused him to

order the "plumbers" operation for spying on Americans. The discovery that he had in fact been using the investigative agencies of the government to "spy" on Americans was one of the major counts against him when matters were moving toward impeachment in the House of Representatives.

It is possible, even probable, that had there been no peace movement to harass Mr. Nixon he would not have done the things which forced his resignation. Had he ended the Vietnam war by 1972 he might well have served out his second term peacefully and with general credit.

Both the FBI and the CIA did their utmost to find some sinister foreign inspiration behind the peace movement of the late '60s and early '70s. If something could have been found it seems likely that it would have been uncovered.

The essential fact about the peace movement which plagued Presidents Johnson and Nixon is that it was caused by the nature of the Vietnam war, not by sinister or foreign influence.

The war was unpopular for many reasons. The arguments for massive US involvement in Vietnam were never persuasively explained to the American public. Compulsory service in a remote jungle was unpopular,

and unacceptable, without effective explanation. Television brought into the home not only the daily face of war with Americans being killed. It also showed My Lai and what Americans did to others. Public opinion was repelled and revolted. It wanted out.

The nature of the Vietnam war induced a mass peace movement. President Nixon could have defused it had he extricated the US from the war during his first term in office. He failed to do so. That failure was a large part of his political undoing.

The "freeze the bomb" movement of today dates from specific things done and said during the first year of the Reagan administration. There was the "hard line" toward Moscow, the arms buildup, the failure to pursue nuclear arms limitations, and, above all, talk from high administration quarters of "fighting a limited nuclear war."

The combination of those things frightened not only the American people but the allies as well.

There are indeed "some who want the weakening of America." Moscow certainly wishes it. But there was no need for Moscow to manipulate "honest and sincere people." The "honest and sincere" were frightened by Reagan talk into the freeze movement, without any manipulation.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

NEWS CONFERENCE
BY
THE PRESIDENT

November 11, 1982

The East Room

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

November 11, 1982

NEWS CONFERENCE
BY
THE PRESIDENT

The East Room

8:00 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Before taking your questions, I want to share with you just briefly my reflections on the important events that we've witnessed today. From Moscow, we've learned of the death of President Brezhnev -- a man who played a major role in world affairs for more than two decades. Here in the White House, I met with Phil Habib about our plans to help bring peace to the Middle East where the opportunity for progress has been fundamentally improved by recent developments in that region. And also today, the space shuttle was successfully launched.

Once again, we will expand mankind's opportunities for enriching the human experience through peaceful exploration of the universe. Those events could have a critical impact on our future -- a future we face with confidence and resolve. If there is a lesson for us, it is that we, as a free people, must always be prepared for change so that when it comes we're ready to meet new challenges and opportunities. Our system of government is unique and best able to adapt to change and move forward without disruption or break in continuity of purpose.

I want to underscore my intention to continue working to improve our relationship with the Soviet Union. Our two nations bear a tremendous responsibility for peace in a dangerous time -- a responsibility that we don't take lightly. Earlier this year, we put forth serious and far-reaching proposals to reduce the levels of nuclear and conventional forces. I want to reconfirm that we will continue to pursue every avenue for progress in this effort. But we shouldn't delude ourselves. Peace is a product of strength, not of weakness -- of facing reality and not believing in false hopes.

Today we honor American Veterans -- men and women who, by their courage and dedication, protected our freedom and independence. In the wake of events in the Soviet Union, we remain hopeful for a better relation. Conscious of our national interest and determined to remain a free people, I can think of no better day than Veterans Day to rededicate ourselves to peace and to do those things necessary to maintain the peace and to preserve our freedom.

Now, Jim, I believe you --

Q Mr. President, who will be leading the U.S. delegation to Leonid Brezhnev's funeral? If you won't be going, how come? And also, aside from your personal hopes for peace, do you have reason to believe that the next coming months might see the new Soviet leadership flexing its muscles a bit and a period of increased tension coming about?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, answering the last part first. No, I don't anticipate that as they make this transition.

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And we certainly can hope that there won't be anything of the kind. But with regard to the service, we've had no direct official word yet on anything about the service, although we are in communication directly with them. And it was just a plain case of looking at schedules and my own scheduling calling for visits here by a head of state next week and it was felt that it would be better for George to head that delegation. But it will be an appropriate and a very distinguished delegation.

Q So it will be --

THE PRESIDENT: That what?

Q It will be the Vice President then who will be heading the delegation?

THE PRESIDENT: This is what we're considering now. No final decisions have been made because, as I say, we're waiting to hear some word about the services.

Q If there is a period of tension, how would you respond?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, we've had periods of tension before and I -- I can just -- you can't guess that in advance or what the answer would be, except that I think we'd -- We must remember that our goal is and will remain a search for peace and we would try to find the best way to achieve that. And, incidentally, I believe that we can continue that search without my attendance at the services.

Helen.

Q Mr. President, at your last news conference you said it would take a palace coup for you to approve a five-cent-a-gallon increase in gasoline, build highways and create jobs. Have you changed your mind? And I'd like to follow up, if I may.

THE PRESIDENT: Helen, I don't think that I said it with reference to that. I said that on a general subject of tax increases, as such, it would take a palace coup.

But on the thing that we're talking about, this particular subject is under discussion. But it was under discussion a year ago and at that time I asked the Department of Transportation, Drew Lewis, the Secretary, to hold off certainly for another year because of the economic problems that we face.

I don't view this proposal as, let's say, a job-creating program, although, obviously, there would be jobs created by going forward with that effort.

But what we're talking about here is, also, and we have used the term to try and make people understand what it would be, that if we do it, it would be a user fee. It would be dedicated to the rebuilding of our highways and bridges. This is a problem that must be met sooner or later. I wish the economy were such that we didn't have to worry about it at all. But it is still under discussion. No decision has been made. And if it is put into effect, it isn't anything that would in any way reduce the incentive features of our tax cuts because the average individual's tax would only -- for that purpose -- would only go up about \$30 a year.

Q It sounds like you're leaning toward it.

And, while I'm on the subject, Mr. President, with 11.6 million people out of work, would you be willing to have some cutbacks in defense spending to help these people who are out of work?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, Helen, we're doing a number of things to help the people that are out of work. It

is true that there are other voices that are being raised in the Congress who are suggesting that the answer is to go back to things that have been tried before in previous recessions, namely make-work job programs with the government taking billions of dollars out of the private sector to spend on these projects. And no one has ever noticed or looked to see how many people might have lost employment over here because of the transfer of funds to those government projects.

The truth is that over a seven-year period, which includes 1981, a year in which that budget was not ours -- we inherited that -- but through 1981 the government has spent \$66 billion on the kind of job programs that some of them are talking about now on the Hill. And that \$66 billion got us nothing but an increase in unemployment. It did not resolve the problem.

We can't resolve the problem and really do what is right for the unemployed unless we make the economy sound, expand the economy, and thus create the jobs that we must have. One of our problems, if I may just point out -- and then I'll quit lecturing -- one of the problems is that 3 million of the unemployed are the result of that many new entrants into the work force over the last two years. And because of the stagnant economy, we did not create the 3 million new jobs for those new entrants into the work force. And this has got to be one of our great problems -- is creating the jobs to keep up with that kind of expansion.

Lesley, and then I'll --

Q Mr. President, the Polish government announced that they are about to free Lech Walesa. And as you've mentioned, Mr. Brezhnev is dead and a new Soviet leadership is coming into power. Is there any thought in your mind that this would be a good time for you to take some big step -- even a symbolic step -- to -- that would lead to the lessening of tensions between East and West? And are you thinking of taking any initiatives that would give the world a signal that you would like that to come about?

THE PRESIDENT: We have been trying to do that in the area of quiet diplomacy, tried in the summit conference, tried in the NATO conference, of various things. We are prepared and ready -- and they know that -- about trying to have a better relation. But it's going to require some action, not just words. For ten years detente was based on words from them and not any deeds to back those words up. And we need some action that they -- it takes two to tango -- that they want to tango also.

Q But are you willing to take the first step at this stage, at this juncture?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, there are some people that have said I took the first step with lifting the grain embargo. Have we gotten anything for it?

Q After the last set of unemployment figures came out, your spokesmen said that there would be an improvement in the situation in the near future. Do you foresee the unemployment

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situation becoming worse before it gets better, or should we look for an improvement next month?

THE PRESIDENT: The unemployment, as I've said so many times before and as we all know, is the last of the indicators that comes up as you are coming out of a recession, when you are in that period of transition. But also if you look back at history, you will find that in that same period it is very volatile. It could possibly go up some more, it could go the other way, it could stay level. It isn't a sound indicator to look at that and say, which way is the economy going?

But we believe that what we're doing is the only course that can stimulate the economy. And I think we've seen evidences of that in the marketplace. We have just received word that in September the applications for FHA home mortgages, single dwellings, has gone up to a point that is higher than it has been for the last several years, in the last four, at least. The sale of homes in October, of new homes, already built, was way above the normal level for the month of October. And you can find other things: automobile sales last month increased 3.9 percent. So we think we're on the right course. But this doesn't mean that we don't do some of the things such as our job training program to try and solve that problem of the increasing people in the work force, which will train a million people a year, the program for export trading companies that we have passed. They estimate that for every billion dollars of exports, that's about 40,000 jobs in our country. We're pursuing that.

We're still trying to get action, and we've been trying for about a year, on the enterprise zone proposals.

But we're doing those things that we think are proper. We're not going to go down the dead end street that just leaves us set up for another recession. Yes, Lou?

Q Mr. President, if I can return to the defense budget question, a number of Republicans, not just those who want to return to policies of the past, have suggested that in the spending cuts that are necessary in this next budget, that it would be good if the Pentagon also participated in this. And some have even said that in the long run the defense budget would be better if the economy is healthier. Have you ruled out the possibility that you would modify in any way your call for an increased defense budget, maybe just for this one year, when the economy is not what you'd like it to be?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, Lou, it isn't the kind of a budget that you can do it for just one year. There is weapons systems and so forth, are things that have to go on down the line. You don't just call up a supplier and get a delivery on what it is you want to buy, or call him and say, send it next month.

And you've got to remember the greatest share of the defense budget is for humanity. It is for the men and women in the armed forces, the pay scale that is now approaching some reasonable level.

But we're looking at everything, and we're not prepared to -- any indications yet of what we're looking at. I would have to

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say that yes, we're looking, if there are savings that can be made without delaying or setting back what we think is the improvement we must have if we're going to close that window of vulnerability that we inherited. We can't do that. The first and primary function of the federal government is the national security. Chris?

Q Mr. President, Israel continues to ignore your call for a freeze of settlements on the West Bank. How damaging is Israel's ignoring of that freeze to the peace process, and what are you prepared to do about it?

MR. PRESIDENT: Well, Prime Minister Begin is coming here, and I am sure that he and I will have some talks on that as well as other subjects. We do think that it is a hindrance to what we're trying to accomplish in the peace movement.

Obviously the solution to the Middle East must be what we outlined earlier. And that is to bring the Arab states and Arab leaders and the Israelis together at a negotiating table to resolve the differences between them. And that begins with them recognizing Israel's right to exist as a nation. So, we're -- I am still optimistic and that's why Phil Habib is going back there. Now, wait.

Q Are you prepared to do more than just talk with Prime Minister Begin? Are you prepared to consider any sanctions to force a change in Israeli policy?

MR. PRESIDENT: I don't believe it would be good diplomacy to be threatening or anything, and I don't believe that's necessary. I think that all of us realize that peace is the ultimate goal there. Sam?

Q Mr. President, your Social Security Commission is to report by the end of the year. But Senator Dole says that the Democrats ought to come forward with a program to repair the Social Security system before the Commission reports or he fears the Democrats just won't support it. Now, do you support Senator Dole's call in that respect?

MR. PRESIDENT: Well, let me just say without whether I support it or not, I can understand the Senator doing that in view of the experience we've had with others laying back and then offering no proposal to solve a problem. If you will recall a little history, a year ago when we talked about the threat to Social Security solvency, they claimed there was no such threat. But we said at the time it could not get through July of 1983 without having its house put in order. They denied that. Now they are admitting that it can't get through July of 1983.

Q But, sir, what about my question? Do you support Senator Dole's call?

MR. PRESIDENT: I said that I wasn't going to comment as to whether I supported it or not. I said I could understand why he would say that. I do feel this, the answer to this problem is so serious, the solvency of Social Security, that it is time that those who have frightened the senior citizens of this country the way they have, quit frightening them because I know of no one, and especially me, who is going to support any program for restoring fiscal solvency that reduces the checks below the level that the present beneficiaries are getting. And these people, poor people, have been frightened to death by charges that there were some of us out there that were trying to take this away from them. And we're not. Now, I don't want to get into whether we should do it or not, but what he is saying is what has to happen. It is time for the leadership of

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both of us -- both sides of the aisle, to come together with the knowledge that we've got to sit down around the table and work out a solution to this problem.

Q -- sir, excuse me, but if you don't want to answer my question, I understand, but may I try another one then? If you don't want to reduce the benefits, the only other way is to raise taxes or to remove from the rolls some number of people in the future who might otherwise be on it. What course do you prefer?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, Sam, there are a number of opportunities that go back that -- a long way and it can go back to people that are presently paying in and are a long way from collecting. There are a number of opportunities. As for taxes on Social Security, I think it's time the American people knew that for the next eight years, beginning in 1983, there is going to be a tax increase every year in Social Security tax. Five of the eight years, it will simply be for part of the wage earners because their tax increase will come from the increase in the amount of salary or wage that is being taxed. But three of those eight years will also be in addition to that -- an increase in the rates.

I don't think that there's very much more room. More people working for a living today are paying a higher Social Security tax than they are income tax -- more people than there are the other way.

Kathy?

Q Mr. President, back on the gasoline tax. Secretary Lewis briefed you yesterday. Can you at least tell us what you see as some of the pros and cons of that proposal -- particularly the mass transit aspect? And can you make it equitable for all states or will some states bear an unfair burden of that tax?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, again, as I indicated earlier, you'll have to wait on that one because that one was just presented yesterday. No decision has been made. It is under consultation and deep thought by all of us and we are faced with the need, both at the local and state level and for our own interstate -- the federal highway system. And the program that has been proposed deals with both those problems. But you'll just have to wait and see if we make a -- what decision we make.

Joe?

Q Sir, you like to describe yourself as an optimist -- a man who sees opportunities instead of problems. And in that light, I would like to hear what you think are the opportunities that the United States now has with the death of President Brezhnev?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think that the death of President Brezhnev is a factor in this -- of what opportunities we might have. I have felt for a long time that we have an opportunity because while the entire world, including the Soviet Union and ourselves, is involved in a deep recession and deep economic problems -- all of us -- it would seem to me that out of those troubles, that might be a time where, in a cooperative sense, we could find out that we'll all be far better off if we decide to get along with each other instead of one pursuing an aggressive policy and the other one resisting that and so forth.

So, I am optimistic that -- and would have been without his death today -- continue to be optimistic that we can get together.

Yes, Bob?

Q Mr. President --

THE PRESIDENT: Bob Ellison.

Q Mr. President, in your earlier statements about jobs and employment, will you firmly oppose the jobs bills coming down from Capitol Hill or are there certain guidelines or criteria under which you will support them?

THE PRESIDENT: The guideline and criteria for anything that is proposed is going to be; does it further or does it delay the improvement of the economy?

Now, nothing has come down from the Hill. There's only been talk that you have repeated on the air or that you've written in the press about what they're talking about up there.

I will say that several proposals I've heard sound exactly like the kind of job programs that I was criticizing a little while ago in which they're simply going to take billions of dollars for the creation of temporary work without realizing that that would be a drag on the economy and would slow down our effort to really restore legitimate employment.

Now, Bob Kittle.

Q Mr. President, you've said recently that you believe a number of sincere Americans who support a nuclear arms freeze are being manipulated by those who want the weakening of America.

Could you elaborate on this for us? Do you have any evidence of foreign involvement in the U.S. peace movement?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, there is plenty of evidence. It's even been published by some of your fraternity. There was no question but that the Soviet Union saw an advantage in a peace movement built around the idea of a nuclear freeze, since they are out ahead. And I'm -- I want to emphasize again that the overwhelming majority of the people involved in that, I am sure, are sincere and well intentioned and, as a matter of fact, are saying the same thing I'm saying and that is, we must have a reduction of those nuclear weapons and that's what we're trying to negotiate now in Geneva.

But to put the freeze first and then believe that we have not weakened our case for getting a reduction when the other side is so far ahead, doesn't make sense.

But, yes, there has been in the organization of some of the big demonstrations, the one in New York and so forth, there is no question about foreign agents that were sent to help instigate and help create and keep such a movement going.

Q Is that the extent of the involvement as you know it or has there been money involved or are there other ways that the Soviet involvement has manifested itself?

THE PRESIDENT: I can't go beyond what I've done because I don't discuss intelligence matters and that's what I would be getting into. Now --

Q Mr. President, evidence mounts that key weapons in your \$400 billion weapons procurement buildup are in trouble. Navy testers say that the F-18, on which you'd spend \$40 billion is too heavy for its major mission. Your closest military science adviser says your latest basing plan for the MX won't fool the Soviets.

The Pershing missile, on which NATO defense would depend, literally can't get off the ground. The anti-tank weapon the Army wants to buy seems to be ineffective against modern Soviet tanks. The Maverick missile can't find its target.

I wonder whether in light of all these failures you have any reason to wonder whether a \$400 billion arms buildup is money well spent.

THE PRESIDENT: It isn't \$400 billion in any single year that I know of.

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That's exaggerating. I've read also the same articles, also, and having access to information closer to the source, I don't believe those things about the weaponry. Obviously in any new weapon system there are problems and there are bugs that have to be worked out. But I have faith in our technology and the level of that technology, and I know that we have been markedly increasing our defensive capability with what we're doing. And as I say, some of my sources I can't reveal.

Q Mr. President, you may recall last June in Berlin you talked about the danger of accidental nuclear war and put forward the idea that this might be a new initiative that the administration could consider in the arms control field. I wonder whether in your planning for next year you have some arms control initiatives in the works.

THE PRESIDENT: All of these things are in the works, and that's why we have three teams negotiating -- one on the matter of conventional arms, one on the matter of strategic missiles, and the other on the matter of the INF, the zero option that I announced a year ago. But I tell you what I'd rather ask you to do and wait for, is in the very near future I am going to be speaking in a major address on that entire subject. Jerry.

Q Yes, sir. Thank you, Mr. President. You said in September that you could not determine how long American Marines would remain in Lebanon. But since that was six weeks ago, don't you think it's time to give the American public an indication of how long they will be there?

THE PRESIDENT: Jerry, I wish I could. This is one of the reasons why Phil Habib is going back over there, take charge of what's going on. The plan as proposed is one that requires, of course, the ability of the new administration in Lebanon to stabilize and to be able to take charge of its own borders. This calls for, as quickly as possible, also, the removal of all foreign forces from that soil. And that's why our multinational force is there. I can't give you a close-out date on that. But I can tell you that we're trying to push as fast as we can on the two things that must happen. And that is the ability of the Lebanese government to heal the wounds and bring their people together and have control, but also it hinges on getting the three foreign factions -- the PLO, the Syrians, and the Israelis -- out of Lebanon. And we are pushing on that as fast as we can.

Q As a follow-up --

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q If I could follow that, is there any reason to believe the troops might be home for Christmas?

THE PRESIDENT: I just can't speculate on that. I can't tell you. But I do know this. We think our plan is working. Whether it's working as fast as we'd like or not remains to be seen. But I think the important thing is that that force, that multinational force is there in the name of helping bring about peace. And I think the most important thing is to see that that job is done, and I believe they understand that.

Q Mr. President, I'd like to try it again on Israel and possible sanctions. Is it possible

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that the United States might cut back on the aid to Israel in direct proportion to the cost to that country of establishing new settlements on the West Bank, all this as a means of achieving the freeze that you are seeking?

THE PRESIDENT: To answer that question one way or the other, I don't think would be helpful in the situation that we're in today where we have made so much progress with the Arab states, the unusual, the unique thing of the representatives of the Arab League being here to meet with me as they were just some days ago, of the need now for Israel to itself recognize that they too must play a part in making it possible for negotiations, the part that must be played and recognized as one of President Gemayel's problems now is reconciling Muslim groups within his own country. I don't think to start talking about whether I should or should not make threats of some kind or other is going to be fruitful at all.

Q Request here for some factual information. Is it true that the Begin Government now is spending about \$100 million a year to subsidize settlements on the West Bank?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know that figure. I imagine I could find it out very easily.

Q Mr. President, in two weeks the United States will celebrate Thanksgiving. Given the passing of Brezhnev, inevitably there are comparisons between the two systems. Could you take just a minute to tell Americans why at this time they especially should be thankful for their blessings and give a comparison of the two systems?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, because I think the comparison is so obvious and you don't even have to use our own country. Turn to some of the newer and the developing countries, and those that have chosen our way, the free way, free trade, democracy, are so far ahead in standard of living and the happiness of their people than the others that have chosen the other, the controlled, the authoritarian way, and I think here is -- Lincoln said it then and it is truer even today, this is the last best hope of men on earth. We are freer than any other people, we have achieved more than any other people, and if you looked around this room -- I thought the other day, when we had all those representatives from all over the world, all of those representatives in this room, who were here to look at our election, to learn how they could spread the word about that kind of freedom in their own countries and in other countries on the other continents, I thought that we could have a meeting of Americans in this room, and the ethnic heritage of the Americans in this room would be as diverse and there would be as many represented as there were in those hundreds of people who have come from foreign lands here today, and here we all live together proudly as Americans, in spite of that difference in birth. There just isn't any comparison with what we have and what we have to be thankful for. Yes, Ralph?

Q On this Veterans Day, will you tell us if you are going to name Harry Walters as the new Veterans Administrator? Second, if you are, what has delayed the announcement? And third, did your staff mess up in obtaining the necessary Congressional clearance

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on the nomination?

THE PRESIDENT: (Laughter.) I do not think we messed up on anything at all. But I am not prepared to announce who is going to be the designee at this time. That will be announced properly at the proper time.

Now, Ralph, because I did call on you.

Q Thank you, sir.

Mr. President, are you close to an agreement with West European countries on a East-West trade policy that will enable you to lift the sanctions on the Soviet natural gas pipeline?

THE PRESIDENT: We are in negotiations and have been for some time on the East-West matter with our allies. And we are, at last, making what I think is sizable progress. I have nothing to announce as to any definition of that at the moment. But we have made progress. We started this long before there were sanctions. We started at Ottawa last year. We tried again in Europe in the two meetings there -- in the summit meetings. We have continued. We had a team negotiating over there. We finally put the sanctions in effect. But we are discussing that relationship -- or that arrangement with our partners without the sanctions playing any part in it.

Our decision on the sanctions will be based on when we feel they have served their purpose, and when we feel that there could be a better situation without them.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

8:33 P.M. EDT