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17TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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FEBRUARY 7, 1986, FRIDAY, PM CYCLE

LENGTH: 762 words

HEADLINE: SAKHAROV CANNOT GO ABROAD, GORBACHEV SAYS IN INTERVIEW

BYLINE: BY TONY BARBER

DATELINE: MOSCOW, FEB 8

KEYWORD: GORBACHEV

BODY:

SOVIET LEADER MIKHAIL GORBACHEV SAID TODAY EXILED DISSIDENT ANDREI SAKHAROV COULD NOT GO ABROAD BECAUSE HE STILL KNEW STATE SECRETS AND HE DENIED THAT THERE WERE POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE SOVIET UNION.

IN A WIDE-RANGING INTERVIEW WITH L'HUMANITE, ORGAN OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY, GORBACHEV ALSO SAID THE SOVIET UNION WANTED THE WAR IN AFGHANISTAN TO END IN THE NEAR FUTURE AND FOR SOVIET TROOPS TO LEAVE THAT COUNTRY.

THE KREMLIN CHIEF MADE A FRESH ATTACK ON PRESIDENT REAGAN'S "STAR WARS" PLANS FOR A SPACE-BASED MISSILE DEFENCE, SAYING THAT IN IMPLEMENTING THE PROGRAMME THE UNITED STATES WAS SEEKING TO ERASE ALL EXISTING ARMS CONTROL ACCORDS.

THE INTERVIEW WAS PUBLISHED IN ADVANCE IN MOSCOW BY THE OFFICIAL SOVIET NEWS AGENCY TASS.

REFERRING TO SAKHAROV, WHO WAS BANISHED TO THE CLOSED CITY OF GORKY IN JANUARY 1980, GORBACHEV SAID: "ACTIONS PUNISHABLE BY LAW WERE COMMITTED BY HIM ... MEASURES WERE TAKEN WITH REGARD TO HIM IN ACCORDANCE WITH OUR LEGISLATION."

HE ADDED: "HE (SAKHAROV) STILL HAS KNOWLEDGE OF SECRETS OF SPECIAL IMPORTANCE TO THE STATE AND FOR THIS REASON CANNOT GO ABROAD."

SAKHAROV, A RENOWNED PHYSICIST, WORKED SOME YEARS AGO AT THE CENTRE OF THE SOVIET HYDROGEN BOMB PROJECT. GORBACHEV NOTED THAT HIS WIFE, YELENA BONNER, HAD BEEN ALLOWED TO GO ABROAD LATE LAST YEAR TO ITALY AND THE UNITED STATES FOR MEDICAL TREATMENT.

THE KREMLIN LEADER SAID THERE WERE NO POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE SOVIET UNION, ADDING: "WE DO NOT PUT PEOPLE ON TRIAL FOR THEIR CONVICTIONS."

HE SAID ANY STATE NEEDED TO PROTECT ITSELF AGAINST PEOPLE WHO TRIED TO SUBVERT IT, WHO CALLED FOR ITS DESTRUCTION, OR WHO SPIED FOR FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SERVICES.

GORBACHEV SAID: "IN RECENT TIMES, A LITTLE MORE THAN 200 PEOPLE HAVE BEEN SERVING SENTENCES FOR ALL CRIMES OF SUCH A KIND IN THE USSR."

TURNING TO THE POSITION OF SOVIET JEWS, GORBACHEV SAID CHARGES IN THE WEST THAT THEY SUFFERED DISCRIMINATION WERE "PART OF A VOCIFEROUS ANTI-SOVIET

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CAMPAIGN, OF A VERITABLE ACT OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE AGAINST THE USSR". HE SAID SOVIET JEWS WERE FREE AND HAD EQUAL RIGHTS TO THOSE OF OTHER PEOPLE.

ASKED IF THERE WERE GROUNDS TO HOPE FOR AN END TO THE WAR IN AFGHANISTAN IN THE NEAR FUTURE AND THE DEPARTURE OF SOVIET TROOPS, GORBACHEV SAID: "WE WOULD WANT THAT VERY MUCH AND WILL, WITHIN OUR CAPABILITIES, WORK TOWARDS THAT."

BUT HE SAID THE UNITED STATES AND PAKISTAN WERE INTERESTED IN PROLONGING AND EXPANDING THE CONFLICT, WHICH HE SAID HAD BROKEN OUT BECAUSE OF EXTERNAL INTERFERENCE.

"I THINK THAT IF THE SITUATION IN AND AROUND AFGHANISTAN WERE SOBERLY EVALUATED AND, OF COURSE, IF ... THE INTERESTS OF UNIVERSAL PEACE WERE WEIGHED UP, WAYS TO ASSIST THE SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM WOULD BE FOUND," HE SAID.

GORBACHEV SAID "A CERTAIN CHANGE IN THE POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE" HAD FOLLOWED HIS SUMMIT WITH REAGAN LAST NOVEMBER BUT HE RENEWED HIS CRITICISMS OF THE U.S. STRATEGIC DEFENCE INITIATIVE (SDI), OR "STAR WARS".

"IN IMPLEMENTING THE 'STAR WARS' PROGRAMME, WASHINGTON IN FACT DELIBERATELY AIMS TO THWART THE CURRENT TALKS AND ERASE ALL EXISTING ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS," HE SAID.

"IN THIS EVENT, THE USSR AND THE UNITED STATES, THEIR ALLIES, AND THE ENTIRE WORLD WOULD FIND THEMSELVES IN COMING YEARS IN A SITUATION OF A TOTALLY UNCONTROLLED ARMS RACE, STRATEGIC CHAOS, THE MOST DANGEROUS DISRUPTION OF STABILITY, GENERAL UNCERTAINTY AND FEAR," GORBACHEV SAID.

GORBACHEV SAID SDI WOULD CAUSE NUCLEAR WEAPONS TO BECOME EVEN MORE ADVANCED.

"THEY MIGHT BECOME SO SOPHISTICATED THAT DECISION-MAKING WILL HAVE TO BE HANDED OVER TO COMPUTERS," HE SAID. "THE HUMAN RACE WOULD THUS BECOME A HOSTAGE OF MAN AND, THEREFORE, OF TECHNICAL BREAKDOWNS AND FAULTS."

"HOW FAR THIS IS DANGEROUS HAS BEEN SHOWN BY THE RECENT TRAGEDY OF THE AMERICAN SPACECRAFT CHALLENGER, WHICH WAS RELIABLE, TESTED MANY TIMES AND WITHIN THE SCOPE THAT IS ALTOGETHER POSSIBLE AT PRESENT," HE ADDED.

SPEAKING ABOUT SIGNS OF A REVIVAL OF DETENTE AFTER THE GENEVA SUMMIT, GORBACHEV SAID: "HERE, IN MY OPINION, ONE HAS TO BE CAUTIOUS IN ONE'S ASSESSMENTS."

HE SAID CERTAIN INDICATORS WERE APPEARING WHICH HAD REVIVED IN MANY COUNTRIES THE HOPE THAT DETENTE COULD RETURN.

ON DOMESTIC ISSUES, GORBACHEV SAID THERE WERE NO GROUNDS TO FEAR THAT HIS PROGRAMME FOR MODERNIZING THE ECONOMY WOULD CAUSE UNEMPLOYMENT. "IN A PLAN-BASED ECONOMY, SUCH A CONNECTION DOES NOT EXIST," HE SAID.

HE SAID THE SOVIET UNION'S "DIFFICULT HISTORY" HAD PREVENTED IT FROM DEVOTING DUE ATTENTION TO CONSUMER SERVICES, HOUSING AND THE LIKE, BUT ADDED: "WE WILL ACHIEVE SERIOUS PROGRESS IN ALL OF THESE AREAS."

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November 19, 1981, Thursday, AM cycle

SECTION: International News

LENGTH: 910 words

KEYWORD: Nuclear-Reaction

BODY:

President Reagan's nuclear disarmament proposal left East and West sharply divided Thursday, meeting hostility in the Soviet Bloc and support from America's NATO allies.

The Soviet news agency Tass again attacked Mr Reagan's offer to drop the plan to deploy new medium-range missiles in Europe if Moscow would dismantle its warheads aimed at Europe. [REDACTED]

At the same time, it issued a separate, strongly worded commentary which charged that Washington was preparing to start another round of the arms race "and maybe even war."

Tass director Sergei Losev, writing in Izvestia, said Mr Reagan's speech was intended to give uninformed people the idea that the United States [REDACTED] developed a peace initiative."

West German and Italian foreign ministers Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Emilio Colombo, speaking in Strasbourg, France, fully endorsed President Reagan's offer. Mr Genscher said an opportunity had been created for safeguarding peace.

"The Soviet Union should take these proposals seriously and reply in a positive manner," he said.

But in East Berlin, East German leader Erich Honecker condemned the proposals as a smokescreen to disguise American striving for military superiority and to block progress on disarmament.

"It is understabndable that the world press has judged the latest U. S. proposals as pure propaganda...", he said.

Mr Honecker said it was now clear how lightly certain Western military circles were prepared to play with the future of humanity.

Soviet Bloc newspapers spurned the offer as a propaganda maneuver aimed at fooling both allies and adversaries.

They said alarm in West Europe and at home over U.S. militarist goals had forced Mr Reagan to change his tone, but his objective remained to gain military superiority over the Soviet Union.

Czechoslovakia's Rude Pravo said the proposals did not open the road to agreement. "Nothing has changed in the policy of U.S. ruling circles. The prospects of detente are just as remote, if not still more remote, than before," it said.

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The Hungarian official daily Nepszabadsag said Mr Reagan had tried to counter a storm of protest in West Europe over NATO's missile plans and U.S. statements about the possibility of limited nuclear war.

In Bonn, spokesmen for the powerful anti-nuclear "peace movement" in West Germany were skeptical or dismissive, describing the offer as either unrealistic or unfair to Moscow.

It was a view which contrasted sharply with the enthusiastic welcome given there to Mr Reagan's speech yesterday by Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

Mr Schmidt told a meeting of the German Trade Union Federation in Hamburg tonight that Bonn also hoped to act as a kind of go-between when U.S.-Soviet talks on limiting nuclear arms in Europe begin.

He has already said he will act as an interpreter of Western policy during talks next week with Mr Brezhnev.

"We must exercise a great deal of influence on the course of the talks as well to ensure they produce something sensible," Mr Schmidt said.

As a non-nuclear power, West Germany wanted the Soviet nuclear threat against Europe to be reduced to zero, he said. But if the Soviet Union retained its medium range potential, then the West would have to rearm to parity.

Mr Schmidt said Mr Reagan's latest speech meant he would be able to tell President Brezhnev this weekend he was convinced of U.S. willingness to negotiate.

He also believed Mr Brezhnev did not want a war with the West, he said.

In Norway, Prime Minister Kaare Willoch said President Reagan's speech showed the United States was entering disarmament negotiations in Geneva on November 30 with a real will to reduce nuclear arms.

Elsewhere in Scandinavia there was no official reaction and press comment was cautious.

Newspapers in Switzerland, where American-Soviet talks on limiting medium-range missiles start this month, agreed that the offer held no magic formula for progress in disarmament.

Geneva's La Suisse said in an editorial: "Mr Reagan's zero option is no miracle solution. It is really more an attempt to verify the goodwill and sincerity of the two parties."

The proposal earned cautious welcome from the press in Austria and The Netherlands, a NATO member.

Vienna's Die Presse said: "The change in Reagan's attitude was necessary but it came rather late and it is doubtful that this offer can improve things, which have gone from bad to worse within a short period."

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Outside Europe, Japanese Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki and Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser welcomed President Reagan's proposal.

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and opposition leader Michael Foot also welcomed Mr Reagan's proposal.

Mrs Thatcher told Parliament she hoped the Soviet Union would respond to the initiative.

"May I formally welcome the great initiative of President Reagan in proposing not merely a limitation of nuclear armaments but an actual reduction of nuclear armaments and a reduction in conventional forces as well," she said.

"I believe he has seized the initiative. I hope he will find a response from the Soviet Union."

Mr Foot, whose opposition Labor Party is committed to unilateral nuclear disarmament, said he, too, welcomed Mr Reagan's statement. He said it offered more hope than previous U.S. statements about the likelihood of a limited nuclear war in Europe.

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November 19, 1981, Thursday, Final Edition

SECTION: First Section; A1

LENGTH: 830 words

HEADLINE: EUROPE;

Leaders Welcome Proposals But Others Voice Suspicions;
Western European Leaders Praise Reagan Weapons Proposal

BYLINE: By Bradley Graham, Washington Post Foreign Service

DATELINE: BONN, Nov. 18, 1981

KEYWORD: EUROPE

BODY:

West European officials today warmly welcomed President Reagan's proposals for nuclear arms reductions as a fulfillment of European wishes and a solid confirmation of the president's interest in arms control.

But leaders of the European protest against the stationing of new U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe gave a mixed reaction to the president's speech, with some tending to discount its importance while remaining suspicious of U.S. negotiating intentions.

West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, meeting in Bonn for bilateral consultations and facing growing domestic opposition to nuclear weapon modernization plans, used a joint press conference to applaud the content and tone of Reagan's speech -- particularly his offer to cancel the new U.S. missile deployment if the Soviet Union dismantles its new SS20s and older SS4s and SS5s.

The timing of the president's message, delivered several days before a visit by Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev here, effectively strengthens Schmidt's hands for the summit meeting.

The anti-missile movement and an extensive Soviet media campaign have helped to place the Reagan administration and its NATO allies in a public role of intransigence against a peace-making Brezhnev. Now, the West German leader will be in a good position to promote the U.S. initiative with the Soviet leader and, as Schmidt told reporters, "to answer his questions" about Reagan's offers.

Schmidt, whose government pressed the United States to include the so-called "zero option" in the starting package for the upcoming U.S.-Soviet negotiations, said the speech gave him "a very firm basis" from which to approach Brezhnev, who arrives in Bonn Sunday for several rounds of talks with top Bonn officials.

Thatcher called Reagan's speech "a most important initiative" that would "receive a warm welcome not only in political circles but in the hearts and minds of people across Europe." The British leader said she now hoped for "a positive response" from the Soviet Union, but cautioned that the negotiations

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ahead would not be easy. "We recognize there is a long way to go," she said.

Reagan's message was also welcomed by the foreign ministers of Italy, the Netherlands and Belgium, whose countries had endorsed the zero option.

In contrast with the satisfaction West European governments found in Reagan's initiative, however, the president's message gained mixed reactions from leaders of Europe's anti-missile protest groups, and in some cases was viewed with open suspicion.

"We expected such a move in the field of negotiations," said William Bartels, international secretary for the Dutch Interchurch Peace Council, which is helping to plan a major demonstration in Amsterdam this weekend. "Of course, we will be glad if the negotiations turn out successful. But we are afraid there is too much manipulation of terms like the 'zero option' at this stage."

Bartels said he doubted the Soviets would accept the U.S. terms for canceling the new NATO program since the Soviets -- somewhat justifiably, he said -- see the new U.S. missiles as upsetting the current balance of East-West nuclear forces more than the new SS20s. He added, however, that "the aim of arms reductions is something we all applaud."

In London, opposition Labor Party leader Michael Foot, a frequent advocate of disarmament, said Reagan's proposal created "a real chance of success" for U.S.-Soviet negotiations, Washington Post correspondent Leonard Downie Jr. reported.

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, however, said that while it "welcomes" Reagan's announcement, "we are wary, and we will stick to our demands" of removing missiles based in Europe. The group accused Reagan of leaving out of the U.S. position nuclear weapons already based in Europe.

Despite the protest leaders' qualms, it was apparent that Reagan's clear and broad enunciations of his administration's policy on several points of main interest to West Europeans was a morale boost for the beleaguered governments on this side of the Atlantic. They sounded grateful.

"I would like to express my deep appreciation and my satisfaction about the speech of President Reagan," Schmidt said in English, adding that it showed Reagan to be "a man who deep in his heart is searching for peace and is willing to negotiate." Schmidt noted this is how he had been trying to portray the American president to West Germans and others since Reagan's election.

While it is good domestic politics for Schmidt to have openly claimed credit, as he did on German television last night, for helping to shape the U.S. negotiating position, it now becomes good alliance politics for him to avoid any hint of independent maneuvering as he appeals to the Soviets to be flexible.

Bonn officials say they intend to keep in close touch with U.S. officials during the Brezhnev visit, and have arranged daily briefings for the Americans.

GRAPHIC: Picture, President Reagan, during his first major foreign policy speech, refers to map showing Soviet Union's missiles targeted on Western Europe. By Frank Johnston -- The Washington Post

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November 19, 1981, Thursday, Final Edition

SECTION: First Section; A1

LENGTH: 820 words

HEADLINE: MOSCOW;

Tass Dismisses U.S. Proposal As Pre-Geneva 'Propaganda';
Soviets Find Reagan's Figures On Forces 'Absolutely Fantastic'

BYLINE: By Dusko Doder, Washington Post Foreign Service

DATELINE: MOSCOW, Nov. 18, 1981

KEYWORD: MOSCOW

BODY:

The Soviet Union tonight dismissed President Reagan's proposal on reducing nuclear forces in Europe as a "propaganda ploy designed to stalemate" the forthcoming Geneva talks on medium-range missiles.

In a quick rejoinder to Reagan's address earlier today, the official news agency Tass described as "absolutely fantastic" his figures on East-West military forces in Europe.

Tass also repeated the long-standing Soviet position that no positive results could be expected from the Nov. 30 Geneva talks if the United States refuses to negotiate on its forward-based systems -- that is, aircraft in Europe capable of carrying nuclear weapons -- and the British and French nuclear forces.

The Soviets already had ruled out the so-called "zero option" embraced today by Reagan. It calls for the Soviets to remove recently stationed SS20 medium-range rockets targeted on Western Europe in exchange for the United States canceling deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles there.

This type of proposal is addressed in Moscow as posturing. Tass linked it to what it termed "extraordinary measures to provide propaganda backing" for Reagan's speech and to bring "maximum pressure on public opinion, primarily in Western Europe where the antiwar movement is gaining momentum." It noted that the U.S. government "paid for live transmission" of the speech to Western Europe.

But the tone of Soviet comments was cautious, perhaps reflecting an intention to cast doubts on what is seen here as a U.S. attempt to rally wavering West Europeans behind Reagan's defense policies.

Diplomats here said the Reagan speech was timed to precede Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev's scheduled visit this weekend to West Germany. In an interview with the West German weekly Der Spiegel two weeks ago, Brezhnev sought to exploit West European reservations about a new generation of medium-range missiles by insisting that the scheduled deployment would not produce military gains but would increase military and political risks.

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Tass focused almost exclusively on the president's proposals dealing with medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe, ignoring other parts of his speech.

A main objective of Soviet policy has been to generate opposition in Western Europe to the scheduled deployment of new U.S. rockets, thus affecting the nuclear link between America and the rest of the NATO alliance.

Tass and a commentary due to appear in Friday's issue of the journal *New Times* both assert that Reagan's proposals suggest that the United States would like to see a breakdown of the Geneva talks "that could be used as an excuse for the continuation of the arms race."

"This is forcefully corroborated by the fact that the Americans actually declare in advance that their forward-based systems and the nuclear weapons of their NATO allies are not to be discussed at the Geneva talks," Tass said.

It summed up Reagan's proposal as "the elimination of the Soviet Union's existing defense potential in Europe while the American forward-based systems and the submarine-based missile complexes and nuclear bombers of Britain and France will be preserved."

The commentary restated figures given earlier by Brezhnev, who asserted that "rough parity" prevailed in Europe, with NATO having 986 medium-range nuclear delivery systems to 975 such systems in the Soviet Union.

Reagan's assertion of Soviet superiority in medium-range nuclear systems was described in these terms by Tass: "He cited absolutely fantastic figures showing the alignment of forces to be about six to one, contrary to incontrovertible facts that corroborate the existence of rough parity."

Tass said NATO's weapons of this kind include 700 U.S. aircraft, Britain's 64 ballistic missiles and 55 bombers, and France's 98 missiles and 46 bombers.

The agency described Reagan's speech as "unrealistic" and "intended for propaganda purposes." But the Soviets clearly welcome the Geneva talks, apparently on the assumption that as long as these negotiations are under way it would be difficult for the United States actually to deploy the 572 Pershing II and cruise missiles as scheduled in 1983.

Earlier today, U.S. Ambassador Arthur Hartmann visited Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko to provide him with details of Reagan's speech along with his letter to Brezhnev.

A U.S. Embassy spokesman said Hartmann and Gromyko spent more than one hour discussing "substantive" issues. He declined to elaborate.

Brezhnev in his interview with *Der Spiegel* also exploited Reagan's public discussion of a possible limited nuclear war, statements that senior diplomats here say have caused considerable discomfort to several NATO governments. Reagan's speech today was seen as his answer to that Brezhnev approach to Western Europe.

What all of this boils down to, according to some diplomats, is that the Geneva talks are likely to be complicated and long.

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The Associated Press

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November 18, 1981, Wednesday, AM cycle

SECTION: International News

LENGTH: 830 words

HEADLINE: Chief European Correspondent

BYLINE: By DAVID MASON

DATELINE: LONDON

KEYWORD: Foreign Reaction

BODY:

Leaders of Western Europe, where the nuclear arms buildup has touched off massive street demonstrations, strongly supported President Reagan's proposal Wednesday for mutual cutbacks of U.S. and Soviet missiles in Europe.

But some nuclear arms specialists foresaw long and difficult negotiations. And one European peace group faulted Reagan for not going further, while another dismissed his offer as "propaganda."

The Soviet Union rejected in advance Reagan's "zero option" proposal _ that the Soviets dismantle the medium-range missiles they have aimed at Western Europe, in return for cancellation of NATO plans to base 572 new U.S. missiles in Britain, West Germany, Italy, the Netherlands and Belgium.

The Soviets maintain such a trade-off would leave the European military balance in the West's favor. Moscow's official Tass news agency Wednesday denounced the Reagan speech as a "propagandistic" effort to stem the growing anti-nuclear movement in Western Europe while achieving U.S. military superiority "through the back door."

U.S.-Soviet talks on the limitation of nuclear arms in Europe are scheduled to begin Nov. 30 in Geneva, Switzerland.

Meeting Wednesday in Bonn, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of West Germany and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain welcomed Reagan's proposal, which was made in a Washington speech.

"This is a most important initiative and I believe that it will receive a very warm welcome of not only political circles, but in the hearts and minds of people across Europe," Mrs. Thatcher told reporters after her talks with Schmidt.

"We sincerely hope that this initiative will receive a positive response from the Soviet Union."

The Associated Press, November 18, 1981

Schmidt said he was "deeply satisfied."

"I think it (the Reagan position) considers in a particularly careful manner the strategic, political and psychological situation in Europe," he said.

The left wing of Schmidt's Social Democratic Party has opposed German participation in the planned missile deployment, and some 240,000 West Germans rallied in Bonn in mid-October to protest the nuclear arms buildup.

Joseph Luns, secretary general of NATO, called Reagan's proposal a "historic initiative ... which opens the way to truly significant arms control progress, particularly in Europe."

The foreign ministers of Italy, the Netherlands and Belgium all welcomed Reagan's move and said the zero option has been sought by their countries. The Dutch government has not yet officially agreed to the stationing of 48 cruise missiles in Holland.

At the United Nations, spokesman Rudolf Stajduhar said: "The statement by President Reagan on important questions of arms control and reduction, as well as recent remarks by President Brezhnev, indicate a shared concern at the highest level which, I hope, will lead to positive results in the forthcoming negotiations on these vital matters."

In Tokyo, Japanese Foreign Minister Sunao Sonoda commended Reagan's "positive posture" toward peace.

"I expect that this proposal will serve to halt the recent trend of an arms race and contribute to the realization of international peace and security," Sonoda said in a statement. "I expect the Soviet Union to respond to this American proposal and to start negotiations as soon as possible."

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, a rapidly growing British peace group, also welcomed Reagan's statements but insisted that the zero option must be "absolute zero," saying other nuclear systems, such as those in submarines and fighter-bombers, should be included in the Geneva talks.

The Soviets also have demanded that the United States include these "forward-based systems" in the negotiations.

The leader of the Dutch Inter-Church Peace Council, Mient Jan Faber, called Reagan's speech "propaganda."

"Since Reagan is asking everything from the Soviet Union and knows it will be unacceptable to them, the announcement will not help NATO or Europe. It's not a real negotiating effort," he said.

Doubts that there will be early progress in the Geneva talks came from several specialists.

Rolf Bjornerstedt, chairman of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute and one of the world's leading disarmament experts, said in Geneva that it will take "a long, long time" to negotiate Reagan's proposals.

The Associated Press, November 18, 1981

Col. Jonathan Alford of the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies, an independent arms research organization, said that "as a declared opening position in a complex negotiation, (Reagan's proposal) might not be too bad on the Western 'wish list.' "

He said, however, that long negotiations were ahead and the zero option is probably not a "likely outcome."

Professor Laurence Martin, vice chancellor of the University of Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, England, and a specialist in nuclear strategy, said he saw Reagan's proposal as an "opening bid" but he doubted whether the Soviets would "throw away their brand new SS-20 missiles."

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The Associated Press

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November 18, 1981, Wednesday, AM cycle

SECTION: Washington Dateline

LENGTH: 830 words

HEADLINE: Bipartisan Praise for Reagan's Address

BYLINE: By BARTON REPPERT, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD: Reagan-Congress Reaction

BODY:

President Reagan's proposal for a sweeping cutback in nuclear and conventional arms in Europe evoked strong praise Wednesday from Democratic as well as Republican leaders on Capitol Hill.

Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker, R-Tenn., called the president's address at the National Press Club "a historic speech. I fully support his proposal and I think it will have a profound effect on foreign policy, not only of the United States but of the world."

Baker's Democratic counterpart, Sen. Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia, commended Reagan for "taking the leadership in the effort to bring about disarmament _ not on a unilateral basis, as he emphasized, but meaningful disarmament."

House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill, D-Mass., said Reagan's proposal amounts to "a sincere offer to begin reversing the momentum of the nuclear buildup. ... He has my support and I am certain the support of my colleagues in Congress in his negotiations with the Soviet Union."

In his first major foreign policy speech, the president said he is prepared to cancel deployment of Pershing II and ground-launched cruise missiles in Western Europe if the Soviets dismantle their SS-20, SS-4 and SS-5 medium-range missiles.

Reagan also urged Kremlin cooperation on cutting levels of conventional forces in Europe and said he has told Soviet President Leonid I. Brezhnev that the United States will seek to negotiate "substantial reductions" in strategic nuclear arms.

Sen. John Tower, R-Tex., chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, said the president's message "will assure Western Europeans of our sincerity in our quest for arms reductions in Western Europe."

The Associated Press, November 18, 1981

"Most importantly, it tends to knock the props out from under the so-called peace advocates in Western Europe who have been following a line favorable to the Soviet Union," Tower said.

Sen. Charles M. Percy, R-Ill., chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, described as "good news indeed" Reagan's announcement about upcoming preliminary discussions with Moscow on strategic weapons.

"While we must not underestimate the difficulty of the negotiations that lie ahead, I fully expect that the president will achieve an agreement with the Soviet Union that will, for the first time in the nuclear age, provide for genuine reductions in the awesome strategic weaponry deployed by both sides," Percy said.

Sen. Jake Garn, R-Utah, one of the Reagan administration's close political allies in the Senate, called the Reagan proposal "an opportunity for the Soviets to put up or shut up."

"The major fault in the SALT II treaty was it legalized the biggest arms race in the history of this world," Garn said. "President Reagan has a much more realistic approach."

In the House, Majority Leader Jim Wright, D-Tex., termed Reagan's arms control plan "a useful and bold initiative" deserving broad bipartisan support.

Chairman Clement J. Zablocki, D-Wis., of the House Foreign Affairs Committee said he "wholeheartedly welcomes" the commitment to arms reductions.

"At long last, the president's goal of seeking elimination of or deep reductions in theater nuclear missile systems helps to dispel the growing perception among our European allies that the United States had only a passing interest in arms control," he said.

But Zablocki added that "commendable though the president's proposal is, it is only one element in what should be _ indeed, must be _ an integrated policy of arms control."

Sen. Gary Hart, D-Colo., commented that "it's a good proposal and I'm glad he put it forward."

However, Hart noted that "there is a credibility problem" because some European allies _ particularly the Dutch and Belgians _ have balked at agreeing to base new U.S. missiles on their soil. For this reason, he said, the Soviets may not believe they faced a missile threat from the West anyway.

Sen. Alan Cranston of California, the assistant Democratic leader, said Reagan has "made an excellent, bold proposal that should create a foundation for serious negotiations with the Soviet Union."

Cranston said he doubts the Soviets will accept Reagan's "zero-option" offer or that the administration would accept an initial Soviet proposal, "but it's a start."

Sen. Joseph R. Biden Jr., D-Del., said "I think the president's proposal is very positive but I think it is designed to correct a problem he by and large

The Associated Press, November 18, 1981

created."

Biden said he believes the president's talk of limited nuclear war in Europe had threatened to end European cooperation on placing missiles in Europe and give the Soviets leverage "to politically blow NATO apart."

Sen. Paul Tsongas, D-Mass., said, "I think reality has finally won out and I think it will serve the president well."

Asked if Reagan's proposal might take an election issue away from Democrats, Tsongas said, "Well, I never really looked forward to the idea of the dramatic political advantage we would have by World War III."

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The Xinhua General Overseas News Service

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NOVEMBER 20, 1981, FRIDAY

LENGTH: 260 words

HEADLINE: weinberger stresses "position of strength" in talks with ussr

DATELINE: washington, november 19; Item No: 112005

BODY:

defense secretary caspar weinberger said today that the united states has to enter into strategic arms reduction talks with the soviet union from a "position of strength".

speaking on a cbs program, weinberger said that president reagan's proposal to negotiate mutual arms reduction in europe does not mean that the united states will relent in its effort to "rearm america".

the president "still feels . . . that you have to enter negotiations from basically a position of strength," weinberger said, "it is essential that america get in a position of strength so that we can negotiate peace."

meanwhile, the state department today described a tass reaction to the u.s. zero option proposal as "unfortunate and regrettably inaccurate."

a tass statement yesterday dismissed president reagan's proposal as not serious and insisted that a balance exists between the forces of the united states and the soviet union in europe.

the state department spokesman said the president's proposal is a clear statement of the u.s. commitment to "serious negotiations," and that "we do not feel a balance exists" in the forces of the two countries in europe.

he charged that when the soviet union enumerated their own medium range nuclear systems they excluded several types that are in fact comparable to the u.s. types that they designated as medium range. he especially stressed the imbalance in long-range missile systems deployed as the "most destabilizing and threatening element of the nuclear imbalance" between the two countries.

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November 22, 1981, Sunday, AM cycle

SECTION: International News

LENGTH: 1500 words

BYLINE: By John Morrison

DATELINE: BONN

KEYWORD: Brezhnev

BODY:

As tens of thousands of Afghans and West Germans demonstrated in Bonn, a smiling Leonid Brezhnev arrived today on his first trip to the West since Soviet troops poured into Afghanistan in December, 1979.

The Soviet president and Communist Party leader stepped out of his Aeroflot Ilyushin-62 plane at Cologne-Bonn Airport and walked slowly but steadily, his back erect, down the steps on the arm of his aide-de-camp, Major General A. Ryabenko.

A small military guard of honor saluted at the foot of the steps, where Chancellor Helmut Schmidt greeted Mr Brezhnev, but the welcome was otherwise low-key.

Hours earlier, tens of thousands of Afghan and West German demonstrators gathered in Bonn to demand a Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan and an end to Moscow's nuclear arms program.

The two leaders drove under heavy police escort in a black limousine to Gymnich Castle, 30 miles from Bonn, where the Kremlin chief will be staying during his three-day visit.

Mr Brezhnev will receive a more formal welcome tomorrow outside the chancellor's office before they begin talks expected to center on the forthcoming U.S.-Soviet Geneva negotiations on curbing nuclear arms in Europe.

The low-key airport reception was in line with what Bonn considers suitable for a "working visit."

Mr Schmidt is expected to push President Reagan's proposals for the withdrawal of all land-based medium-range missiles from Europe, which Moscow has sharply rejected.

Mr Brezhnev is likely to urge Bonn not to go ahead with North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) plans to station new U.S. medium-range missiles on West German soil as of 1983.

Several thousand supporters of the Moscow-line West German Communist Party (DKP), many carrying portraits of Mr Brezhnev with the slogan "Nothing is more important than peace," rallied at the airport to welcome him.

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Their demonstration was in marked contrast with a protest rally of 50,000 people in central Bonn, called by liberal and young conservative West German politicians, where demonstrators chanted "Russians out of Afghanistan, hands off Poland!" Afghan refugees and militant ecologists marched elsewhere in Bonn.

At the airport, Soviet Embassy staff waving small red flags cheered the 74-year-old leader and their children presented him with bouquets of red carnations.

Mr Brezhnev's program will include long rest periods to take account of his age and state of health.

He will pay a courtesy call on West German President Karl Carstens on Tuesday.

At the moated, medieval Gymnich Castle, Mr Brezhnev and Mr Schmidt exchanged pleasantries as they posed for photographers, flanked by their foreign ministers.

Veteran Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko and First Deputy Premier Ivan Archipov, a foreign trade specialist, were accompanying Mr Brezhnev on his visit.

Security was exceptionally tight. Police helicopters tailed the 50-car motorcade, which included a Soviet-built Zil limousine full of communications equipment and a mobile German resuscitation unit. Frogmen scoured the moat last Friday.

Before returning to Bonn after the brief meeting, Mr Schmidt told a television reporter there was "real pleasure on both sides at seeing each other again."

He said they had already begun discussing world affairs "with disarmament as the central theme" during the 30-minute drive from the airport.

In deference to the West German soccer team, which was crushing Bulgaria 4-0 in a World Cup match at the time, the arrival was not broadcast live on West German television.

About 5,000 Afghans, many in turbans and waving green Islamic banners, marched through the diplomatic suburb of Bad Godesberg before Mr Brezhnev's arrival, chanting "Death to Brezhnev!" and "Russians out of Afghanistan!"

At the rally attended by 50,000 people, exiled Soviet dissident Vladimir Bukovsky told the throng: "Whatever Soviet propaganda says, we know where the real danger to peace comes from. We know who built the Berlin Wall."

The turnout was a fraction of the 250,000 mustered by West Germany's "Peace Movement" last month to protest plans by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to deploy new U.S. medium-range missiles in West Germany. A similar rally in Amsterdam yesterday drew 350,000 supporters.

Mr Brezhnev, who will be 75 next month, was arriving only a week before the Soviet Union and the United States start talks in Geneva aimed at curbing the nuclear arms race in Europe.

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As he was preparing to leave Moscow this afternoon, the Communist Party newspaper Pravda said that relations between Bonn and Moscow were crucial to peace in Europe.

Other Soviet newspapers carried lengthy reports on the visit, focusing on opposition in West Germany to install new U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe if Washington and Moscow could not agree on limiting them.

In statements just prior to Mr Brezhnev's visit, Mr Schmidt said he would act as "interpreter" of the West's standpoint on the nuclear arms issue and seek to bring about a summit meeting between Mr Brezhnev and President Reagan.

The chancellor, who has condemned the build-up of Soviet SS-20 medium-range missiles, said he would tell Mr Brezhnev that NATO deployment of 572 cruise and Pershing-2 missiles was inevitable if the arms talks did not produce results. Installation of the NATO missiles is due to begin in late 1983.

The Soviet-West German talks, starting tomorrow and spread over two days, follow sharp criticism from Moscow of Mr Reagan's call for an arms reduction "zero option" at Geneva.

The idea, backed by West Germany, involves scrapping all Soviet medium-range missiles in return for cancellation of the NATO program. The Soviet news agency Tass said yesterday it was a "mockery of common sense" which would sabotage the talks.

As more than 5,000 police went on full alert to protect Mr Brezhnev, the Soviet president and Communist Party chief, a half-dozen separate demonstrations were held in Bonn.

About 12,000 supporters of the "Greens" ecologist movement demonstrated for a nuclear-free zone in Europe while 4,000 pro-Soviet Marxists marched in West Bonn chanting "What Hitler did not achieve, Schmidt is doing with NATO power."

Mr Bukovsky told the main rally: "World peace cannot be bought at the price of freedom." He won wild applause when he shouted: "Hands off Afghanistan, hands off Poland!"

The 5,000 Afghan demonstrators came from all over West Germany and Western Europe to demand withdrawal of the Soviet troops who poured into their country in December, 1979.

Their march through the elegant diplomatic residential suburb was largely ignored by local residents, but occasionally applauded by Germans on Sunday morning strolls.

Mr Brezhnev's main aim during his visit was expected to be to persuade West German public opinion that Moscow's intentions were peaceful, and encourage opposition to the deployment of the new U.S. missiles here. Moscow has paid close attention to the massive protests in West Germany and other NATO countries against deployment of the missiles.

With the Geneva talks so close, West German sources did not expect any surprise new concessions from the Soviet leader.

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But they said Mr Brezhnev could use a speech at an official banquet tomorrow night to appeal over Mr Schmidt's head to West German public opinion. They said he might announce that Moscow would unilaterally halt any further deployment of its triple-warhead SS-20s once the Geneva talks start.

Mr Schmidt, who has said Moscow could not hope to drive a wedge between Bonn and its NATO allies, talked by telephone with Mr Reagan yesterday to discuss the Brezhnev visit.

Government sources said he spoke with Mr Reagan from his Hamburg home. A senior Foreign Ministry official, Berndt von Staden, is due to fly to Washington on Wednesday to brief the Reagan administration on the outcome of the talks.

As Soviet-U.S. relations have declined, Bonn has grown in importance for the Kremlin as a partner for political dialogue.

"In the present complicated international situation, the significance of this visit goes beyond the bilateral relations between West Germany and the Soviet Union," Pravda said today.

The Soviet press has played up the opportunity for West German firms to trade with the Soviet Union. Moscow and the West German energy firm Ruhrgas on Friday signed an agreement for a huge East-West gas deal, despite strong U.S. opposition.

West Germany is the Soviet Union's biggest Western trading partner and Moscow has hinted it would like to cement political relations further through major economic projects in the 1980s.

The program for Mr Brezhnev's Bonn visit includes long rest periods to take account of his age and state of health. Three rounds of talks with Mr Schmidt are scheduled, but only one private meeting instead of the four that Bonn first wanted.

Mr Brezhnev will spend most of his stay under heavy guard at Gymnich Castle, 30 miles from Bonn.

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November 22, 1981, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: Outlook; Topic A; C8

LENGTH: 790 words

HEADLINE: The Zero-Option Speech;
A Chord That Will Not Be Stilled

BYLINE: David S. Broder

BODY:

Jimmy Carter arrived at the White House knowing it, and was unable to do anything about it. Other presidents before him grasped it at some point during their terms. Last week, the realization came to Ronald Reagan, and he acted on it -- to what end we do not yet know.

The "it" being referred to is the understanding of the extraordinary importance of arms control in this, the fourth decade of the nuclear age.

Eisenhower's "open skies" proposal, Kennedy's test-ban treaty, Johnson's abortive "spirit of Glassboro," Nixon's SALT I treaty, Ford's Vladivostok agreement, Carter's failed try for SALT II -- the history of the modern presidency is studded with efforts to apply rational limits to the insanity of the nuclear-arms race.

There is something in the subject itself -- the primal fear of radiation and incineration, the dream of nuclear power being harnessed to the peaceful uses of mankind -- that makes ordinary speakers eloquent and superior speakers sublime. So it was Wednesday with President Reagan at the National Press Club.

Watching him, one knew all the reasons for skepticism. The talk was designed to calm European anti-nuclear demonstrations and to help West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt withstand the wave of propaganda surrounding the visit to Bonn by Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev. Even the mid-morning delivery time was dictated by the desire to beam the message to the broadest European audience, watching the evening newscasts seven hours ahead of us.

The specifics of the Reagan proposal came as no surprise. The offer to withhold emplacement of a new generation of American nuclear weapons in Europe in return for the dismantling of the Soviet missiles now threatening Europe has been resisted by many in his own administration and was foredoomed to immediate rejection by the Russians.

Those facts -- well-publicized before the speech -- somehow did not dim its impact. His words touched chords that could not -- and should not -- be stilled by the interposition of such calculated qualifiers.

"There is no reason," the president said, "why people in any part of the world should have to live in permanent fear of war or its specter. I believe the time has come for all nations to act in a responsible spirit. . . . I believe the time is right to move forward on arms control. . . ."

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The people of this nation and the world desperately want to believe what the president said, that "nothing will have a higher priority" than the goal of nuclear disarmament. That human impulse imposes itself on presidents, whatever their other commitments, and becomes even more the central theme of their efforts as they look to history for their final vindication.

It is that impulse that makes even cynics become believers on the issue of arms control. In that context, it was significant, I think, that President Reagan closed his speech with a quotation from John F. Kennedy. He chose a passage from the ninth month of the Kennedy administration, a speech to the United Nations delivered in the bleak period of verbal confrontation with Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev and the threat of armed conflict over Berlin.

There was both pessimism and cynicism in the air when Kennedy spoke. As his aide and biographer, Theodore C. Sorensen, has written, Kennedy's "initial interest in disarmament was largely for propaganda reasons -- a desire to influence neutral and world opinion. He told his disarmament planners, as they were preparing for the spring 1962 Geneva disarmament conference that he wanted them to meet the sweeping, oversimplified Soviet proposals with counter-proposals that 'were not so complex and cautious as to lack all force and appeal.'"

"But," Sorensen writes, "he increasingly recognized that there was no ultimate security in armaments, that tensions and danger were rising even as our nuclear stockpiles rose. Gradually and still skeptically he began to believe that disarmament was really achievable . . . and that his administration's own plan . . . was a good beginning toward a goal as he did not expect to achieve in his political lifetime."

It took almost two more years before Kennedy was ready to outline in his American University speech the proposal for moving from "a strategy for annihilation toward a strategy for peace" that produced the nuclear test-ban treaty just weeks before his death. Today, 18 years after he left the White House for the last time, he is remembered as much for that speech and that treaty as for any of his other accomplishments.

Peace is the dream of all mankind. That is the realization that now spurs Ronald Reagan and that could crown his presidency -- if he and we are lucky.

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November 20, 1981, Friday, Final Edition

SECTION: First Section; A24

LENGTH: 810 words

HEADLINE: During Cold War, U.S. Did as It Pleased With A-Arms in Europ

BYLINE: Walter Pincus

KEYWORD: GINNY

BODY:

From the first introduction of American atomic bombs and nuclear artillery almost 25 years ago, deployment and retirement of such weapons have been almost entirely a Washington-run exercise. In fact, for the first 10 years that these weapons were in Europe, American officials did not even inform the host governments how many were there.

It was also left to the Americans to lay down the policies as to why weapons would be deployed.

When the first U.S. atomic artillery, missiles and atomic bombs were sent to Europe in the mid-1950s, leaders on both sides of the Atlantic openly predicted that the first invading Soviet troops would be met with a nuclear response. There were no public protests in Europe, which was then enveloped in the cold war.

But, as The New York Times reported in December 1954 following a NATO Council meeting, no one had figured out exactly how to make the response: "The United States is ready to consult its allies and listen to their suggestions, but sees no way now to set up any machinery for determining when atomic weapons shall be used."

From the first major deployments in 1954 through the next six years, thousands of nuclear weapons were brought by the American military into Europe. Plans for thousands more were on the drawing board.

The Soviets responded with their own. Hundreds of intermediate-range (1,000- to 2,000-miles) liquid fueled SS4s and SS5s began to be deployed in the late 1950s in western Russia, each with a warhead capable of delivering an H-bomb with power up to one megaton on NATO countries. A megaton is equivalent to 1 million tons of TNT.

In the early 1960s, the United States put its own intermediate-range missiles into Europe: 50 Thors in England and 25 Jupiters each in Italy and Turkey.

Seven years after the initial major deployments, when then-defense secretary Robert S. McNamara ordered a study of the European stockpile, questions finally began to be asked.

"Why do we have so many nuclear weapons in Europe?" McNamara's assistant, Alain K. Enthoven, who supervised the study, rhetorically asked a

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congressional committee some years after completing it.

"There is absolutely no logical reason . . . "Beyond the limited demonstrative use of a few weapons, there is no such thing as a tactical nuclear war in the sense of sustained purposive military operations. Studies showed that the first spasm of destruction would destroy airfields (usually near cities), headquarters and troop concentrations. General breakdown and paralysis would ensue."

Although NATO called the Thor and Jupiter deployment a response to the Soviet SS4s, Moscow saw it differently. The West European-based missiles gave the Americans an advantage because their rockets could hit Moscow, while the SS4s could reach only London -- not Washington.

In the still clouded talks that surrounded the 1962 Cuban missile crisis when Moscow attempted to put its own intermediate-range missiles in Cuba, a previously made decision to remove the Thors and Jupiters from Europe became entangled with the Soviet pullback from deploying theirs 90 miles south of Florida.

Some American officials involved say that the late Robert F. Kennedy had spoken to Moscow's ambassador, Anatoliy Dobrynin, about such an exchange -- similar, with the superpower positions reversed, to the "zero option" embraced by President Reagan Wednesday at the urging of West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt as part of the current negotiating salvos.

With the removal of the American intermediate-range missiles, NATO again had to face the fact that the Soviet SS4 and SS5 force represented an overwhelming nuclear land-based missile force in Europe.

The Kennedy administration then allocated submarine-launched Poseidon missiles to NATO and established forward-based, nuclear-armed fighter-bombers throughout Western Europe.

The first of what would become 180 Pershing mobile missiles, with a range of 400 miles, were put into West Germany beginning in 1962, and into the intermediate-range missile gap moved the French. Their independent nuclear force consisting of 18 missiles with a range of 1,600 miles, which began to be deployed in 1971, seemed enough at the time. It was not until 1979 that NATO decided to deploy a new set of medium-range missiles, and touched off the controversy that Reagan sought to calm with his speech this week.

Asked in 1974 what weapons were needed in Western Europe, Enthoven said he would cut the existing force down to 1,000 warheads, and divide them among Pershing, Lance and artillery, removing all the rest.

"In the long run," he said, "a force of mobile surface-to-surface missiles, similar to that of the Soviets, makes the most sense."

That recommendation was pretty close to the Pershing-cruise deployment agreed by NATO and pushed by Schmidt.

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SECTION: First Section; A1

LENGTH: 2950 words

HEADLINE: Allies Seeking Greater Role In Nuclear Weapons Policy;
Despite Reagan's Missile Offer, Other Nuclear Plans Trouble Allies

SERIES: The War Game: A EUROPEAN OPTION: Last of a Series

BYLINE: By Walter Pincus, Washington Post Foreign Service; This series of articles is based on reporting by The Washington Post's London correspondent, Leonard Downie Jr., by Bonn correspondent Bradley Graham and by Walter Pincus of The Post's National staff. The series was assembled by Jim Hoagland, assistant managing editor for foreign news.

KEYWORD: NATO

BODY:

When President Reagan embraced the idea of a missile trade-off in Europe with the Russians Wednesday, he consciously gave his European partners in NATO a major victory in their campaign to gain a larger role in determining policy on nuclear weapons for the alliance.

The president may not have been aware, however, that he also was setting the stage for a new and severe conflict within NATO.

It is a conflict about leadership in the alliance that pits the United States, which traditionally has had its way on nuclear weapons policy in Europe during NATO's 31-year history, against the Europeans, who now want to move on to a key debate about the very future of battlefield weapons in their continent.

A move away from American domination of NATO nuclear policy has become necessary, one British defense official argued in an interview in London last month, "because the political futures of our governments have been hanging recently on offhand statements made by American political and military men."

Reagan reassured those governments and handed them ammunition to use against Europe's growing disarmament campaigns by his endorsement Wednesday of their "zero option" negotiating posture, which his secretary of state had derided publicly in Europe only two months ago as "ludicrous." Getting the president's endorsement was the last element of a skillful orchestration by Europe of American decision-making on the NATO plan to deploy 572 Pershing II and cruise missiles in Western Europe.

Once deployed, the Pershing and cruise missiles will quickly become the anchor of NATO's deterrent nuclear force, according to European defense and political officials interviewed in Rome, London, Bonn, The Hague and Washington. They believe that a Euromissile force of even a few hundred warheads capable of hitting Moscow will represent a nuclear threat of more significance to the Soviets than the entire stockpile of 6,000 U.S. warheads now in Europe.

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Arrival of these medium-range missiles will embolden the Europeans who would like to "clean out" the antiquated American short-range nuclear battlefield weapons before they become easy targets for the antinuclear protest movement.

"The next major debate within NATO is what place American nuclear weapons will have on Europe's battlefields," another British official said.

The forum for such a debate exists: the NATO subcommittee called the High-Level Group, which already has begun a review of the nuclear systems now in Europe and their need in the future given the proposal to introduce U.S. Pershing II and cruise missiles.

This review, known as the Shift Study, was requested by the Dutch government in 1979 as a quid-pro-quo that would enable The Hague to gain public support for introduction of cruise missiles. In return, the Dutch agreed to vote for Euromissile deployment.

For American officials, however, the Shift Study is an exercise with a limited goal -- picking out the 572 older warheads that the incoming new missiles would replace. Moreover, Pentagon planners, immune to the pressures of the hundreds of thousands of antinuclear marchers in Europe, continue working industriously on programs for more battlefield nuclear weapons and greater ease in using them in the Army's "integrated battlefield" doctrine, which enables NATO troops to switch back and forth between conventional and nuclear weapons on the battlefield.

This new American emphasis runs counter to the pressures developing on European officials, who say they are looking at the Shift Study as the device to review the need for nuclear short-range artillery, missiles and mines in the European stockpile.

Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle is the current chairman of the High-Level Group, which is made up of top-level representatives from NATO country defense ministries and military staffs.

Members of the High-Level Group said they believe Perle will push on with the Shift Study now that the group's basic work leading to the adoption of the "zero option" negotiating position has been done.

The public protests against deployment of the new missiles has been accompanied by a sudden perception by Western Europeans that their countries are housing nuclear arsenals designed to be used on their own lands. Earlier this year, West Germany's largest magazine, Stern, published a map showing the locations throughout the country of American nuclear weapons and warhead stockpiles. It reportedly sold a record 19 million copies and the map became a popular wall poster.

Similar maps were then put together by newspapers and magazines in Britain, Greece, Italy and the Netherlands.

If the U.S.-Soviet talks on limiting medium-range missiles, which begin Nov. 30 in Geneva, drag on in the coming months, the peace marchers in West European countries are expected to turn their attention to the U.S. battlefield nuclear weapons, which are not the subject of any arms control talks.

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A handful of key officials in NATO countries interviewed abroad emphasized the reinforcing nature of the Shift Study and the missile deployment. They argued that some major, well-publicized steps to cut that stockpile of battlefield warheads would help create the right political atmosphere to guarantee that the NATO missile deployment takes place as scheduled, beginning in December 1983.

NEUTRON WEAPONS

The Reagan administration's abruptly announced decision in August that it would manufacture and stockpile enhanced radiation warheads -- popularly known as neutron weapons -- is cited by Europeans as an example of American "mismanagement" of its policy on nuclear weapons intended for use in Europe that needs to be halted.

"Can you imagine that the Pentagon is threatening the deployment of a serious system the Pershing/cruise missiles to go ahead with this artillery shell that nobody knows how to use?" a British defense official asked in disbelief as he weighed the political costs of the neutron announcement against the Euromissile plan.

Although the Europeans have told Washington both publicly and privately that they see no possibility that eight-inch neutron artillery shells can be deployed in Europe, the Reagan administration is following through on its decision to build and assemble the controversial weapons.

In a concession to European sensitivities, however, the Reagan administration is stockpiling the shells in the United States and describes them as for use only by American forces. And although the Carter administration originally said that the neutron shells were to be designed specifically to meet the threat of Soviet tanks in Europe, Pentagon officials now say they are being produced for use anywhere in the world.

A second weapon, the 155mm nuclear artillery shell, is also being designed as a replacement for a 20-year-old warhead that is in the hands of American and NATO troops. It, too, was originally planned to be a neutron weapon. But designers were not able to reduce the neutron explosive charge -- which resembles a miniature hydrogen bomb -- enough to fit into the small artillery shell jacket.

The Pentagon is going ahead with a new 155mm nuclear shell with an explosive power that may be up to twice the size in the current one, which is less than one kiloton yield. The Pentagon has informally briefed European defense officials on this shell, which is years away from deployment, and the response has been ambiguous at best, according to NATO sources in The Hague.

WAR PLANNING

The real picture of the American desire to go on planning for a European nuclear war was given Sept. 15 by Deputy Under Secretary of Defense James P. Wade and Maj. Gen. Niles J. Fulwyler, director of the U.S. Army's nuclear and chemical directorate, during a closed hearing of the House Appropriations subcommittee on defense.

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"A war-fighting capability is a fundamental and integral part of deterrence," Wade said, according to a declassified text of the hearing. "We don't want to fight a nuclear war or a conventional one either, but we must be prepared to do so if such a battle is to be deterred . . ."

Wade then went on to describe the Corps Support Weapons System, a new concept that "we envision . . . will be deployed later in the decade as a replacement for the current Lance 56-mile-range missile." The system would provide a "mobile Army surface-to-surface fire support system," which could deliver "nuclear, chemical and highly advanced conventional warheads on selected targets."

Wade also said the United States was looking into a new, nuclear antisubmarine weapon and was going ahead with development of a new ship-to-air nuclear missile, the SM2, which was specifically designed to meet the Soviet "Backfire-delivered cruise missile."

An American submarine-launched cruise missile, Wade said, was "nearing the end of its development." The option of deploying a sub-carried nuclear version in the European theater was still being studied in the Pentagon, in addition to the land-based Pershing II and cruise systems, whose deployment NATO had already approved.

Public discussion in Europe of such strategy would add enormous weight to the burden that West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and his counterparts in Belgium, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, and to a lesser extent Britain and Italy have to bear in getting their publics to support the Euromissile deployment.

The complicated and now apparently successful battle the Europeans have fought in getting American acceptance of the negotiating proposal that the Pershing and cruise deployment be cancelled in return for the Soviets dismantling their SS20s, SS4s and SS5s targeted on Western Europe -- the "zero option" -- is perhaps the clearest instance so far of the growing European determination to get more control over atomic affairs.

ALLIES' STRATEGY

Their strategy was based in part on their certitude that the Soviets will not accept the zero option. Schmidt in particular wants the missiles deployed, both to counter the ever increasing number of highly accurate SS20s the Russians are putting within striking range of West Germany and also to link the American nuclear deterrent even more tightly to West Germany's fate in the event of East-West war. If the Russians were to accept Reagan's version of the "zero option," the most chagrined leader in the world would probably be Schmidt.

But he has made it clear from the beginning of the missile deployment debate that such public gestures toward arms control were an absolutely necessary component of the missile package. That message was apparently hammered home to Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. on Sept. 13 by West German officials after he dismissed the notion of a zero option during a West German television interview. The following day, Haig pronounced the idea worthy of study.

British and other European sources now credit Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and Perle, however, with coming back from a swing to NATO capitals last month and converting Reagan to that approach.

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NATO'S HALF TIME

Reagan's announcement comes at a symbolic half time for NATO, for it is two years since the deployment decision was made at a Brussels meeting and it is two years before the first missiles are scheduled to go on the ground.

As word of the new deployment idea became public in early 1979, the NATO governments were put under political fire. The first shots came from the Soviets, who immediately saw in the new systems a critical threat. In turn, groups of antinuclear, pacifist and procommunist activists joined in the antideployment effort.

The Netherlands, which had led the fight against the neutron weapons, became a center of opposition. Its government came up with the idea of trying to work out a substitute -- they would accept the new systems, whose warheads would land in the distant Soviet Union, in return for NATO taking out some of the short-range battlefield nuclear weapons already stored on Dutch soil. This was the origin of the Shift Study to determine just which of NATO's stockpiled warheads could be replaced with the arrival of the new longer-range systems.

The Americans also came up with the idea of adding a reduction of 1,000 warheads already in the stockpile to the deployment package as a sweetener for the Dutch and others who had to have something to offer their antinuclear constituencies.

But the major part of the package originated with the West Germans. It was the idea that while NATO awaited deployment of the new missiles, it would offer to negotiate their numbers with the Soviet Union in return for some limits on the SS20s, SS4s and SS5s.

"The Pershings," an adviser to Schmidt said recently, "was a certain stick and with negotiations we tried to do the carrot."

The so-called two-track notion had its effect on stretching out from December 1983 through 1988 the deployment of the systems. The hope within NATO was that somewhere before the deployment of all the planned 572 missiles -- perhaps around 300 -- some agreement could be reached with the Soviets.

The British accepted 160 cruise missiles, but did it in two batches. The first 96 would begin coming in December 1983 as the first deployments; but the final 64, scheduled to be placed at a second base, would not begin to arrive until the very end of the deployment near 1988 -- the obvious hope being that the British might not have to take the second group.

The West Germans are in the same game. They will take the 108 Pershing IIs as an early deployment in 1984, but their planned 96 cruise missiles are not scheduled to arrive until after similar missiles go into Italy, Belgium and possibly the Netherlands.

As the alliance headed toward a December 1979 decision date, Schmidt made one final gesture to his critics, asking the High-Level Group to take another look at the less provocative submarine-launched cruise missiles option. It was quickly turned down, but not before causing anger and tension in Washington toward the West German chancellor.

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Other European political imperatives were also at work. The Italian government, embarrassed by being left out of the four-power summit meeting in Guadeloupe in January 1979 and deeply concerned about emerging indications that France and Britain were close to reviving the idea of a "directorate" within the Common Market that would also exclude Italy, chose the missile issue as their way back into the ranks of acknowledged leadership.

Acting, in the thought of one Italian official at least, in a way to show NATO that Italy would not agree to be downgraded to the status of a Portugal or a Norway, the Italians assured Schmidt in October that they would accept the missiles.

The Dutch, despite U.S. agreement to the "shift study," delayed a final decision until December 1981 -- a date that already has been postponed again amidst clear indications that no Hague government may be able to get approval for the 48 missiles earmarked for the Netherlands. Belgium, too, has postponed a final decision on its 48 missiles..

The Dutch and Belgians will be closely watching the next key decision date for the missile deployment -- the April 1982 national party conference of Schmidt's Social Democratic Party in West Germany. Schmidt has indicated that he would quit if the party does not endorse his two-track policy on the missiles.

West German officials delightedly point out that the prospect of the missile deployment taking place on schedule has already brought the Russians to the negotiating table on theater weapons.

SOVIET REJECTION

In October 1979, Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev said that if the deployment decision was taken, the Soviets would never negotiate with NATO on the SS20s. But if NATO turned down the new missiles, the Soviets would freeze the SS20s at their 1979 level.

In July, 1980, Schmidt went to Moscow, and the Soviets began to suggest that they were prepared to negotiate on theater nuclear forces and in October 1980, Soviet and American delegations sat down for one month of talks on limiting theater nuclear weapons.

Schmidt is now apparently embarked on an even more audacious gambit, even though his spokesmen continue to insist that West Germany does not want to be a mediator between the two superpowers. He will discuss the issues with Brezhnev in Bonn beginning Sunday, and he will then see Reagan in Washington on Jan. 5.

It is far from clear at this point where the European bid for management of theater nuclear weapons will go next. But there is a mood among some Europeans now to turn to a new look in the NATO nuclear deterrent, one based more on a French-style, force de frappe, made up of about 1,000, rather than 6,000, U.S. nuclear warheads from artillery through longer-range Euromissiles.

The fewer numbers, European sources insist, would mean that the NATO force would act more as a trigger for the American strategic ICBM force, and less as a weapons base designed to fight a full-scale nuclear war limited to Europe.

(c) 1981 The Washington Post, November 20, 1981

In a recent analysis published by the International Institute for Strategic Studies, Gregory Treverton, the institute's deputy director, and former member of the Carter administration's National Security Council staff, argued, "It is hard to conceive of why NATO should have anywhere near the number of short-range and battlefield nuclear systems it now possesses."

But, Treverton went on to acknowledge that nuclear weapons have traditionally been used to make up for imbalance of NATO conventional forces against the Warsaw Pact and "it will be difficult to wean some parts of the NATO military establishment -- notably the American Army -- away from them."

GRAPHIC: Picture 1, This launcher can hold four cruise missiles, which are to be deployed in Europe. General Dynamics; Picture 2, A US defense Department illustration shows the deployment of the Soviet SS20. UPI

7
Franklin D. Roosevelt USC

OUTLINE FOR DECEMBER 3rd REMARKS TO SEMINAR ON U.S.-SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES

-- President kicks off the seminar, in which nine U.S. organizations concerned with human rights are represented. Will be an interaction with five Administration officials. Asks them for ideas and suggestions, and suggests they take up questions on problems and policies with panel.

-- Human rights always at the cornerstone of US foreign policy. Still is. Looking forward to signing historic INF Treaty with Gorbachev next week, but human rights concerns still part and parcel four-part agenda.

-- Human rights is one area where there has been ^{very modest} progress. Soviets used to refuse to discuss hr, saying we were interfering in their internal affairs. Before Geneva Summit in 1985, Gorbachev told a French newsman there were "no political prisoners in the USSR." Soviet attitudes -- at least in public -- have changed since then. They now accept human rights as integral component of our bilateral discussions, and participate in regular mtgs with U.S. counterparts. They even have presented own hr agenda (they call them 'humanitarian' issues), and presented list of alleged U.S. violations. Most of these are things like "unemployment," "drugs," "homelessness," -- economic and social issues we are most willing to discuss. We discuss them among ourselves of course all the time -- and try to find solutions.

-- Getting Sovs even to discuss HR assumes their acknowledgement of the problem. But their hr problem is classic situation of deprivation or repression of fundamental rights by what is still a one-party system. Our rights ensured by Constitution -- rule of law. Their constitution also specifies basic rights, but exercise of them is subject to the whims of the state. In the USSR, the Party still determines when the exercise of hr is in its interests, and when it is not.

-- For most of past two years, the CPSU apparently decided that a limited loosening of controls on freedom of expression and conscience could help stimulate enthusiasm for reform program -- perestroika. We have welcomed encouraging signs -- higher emigration rates for Jews, Armenians, and Germans (mention Ida Nudel if she is there); reunification of more divided families and a number of divided spouses; toleration of certain unofficial public demonstrations and publications, and release of more than 200 political prisoners from the Gulag.

-- When a kid begins to walk, its even more disappointing when he reverts to a crawl. Thus, recent slowdown in hr progress and seeming slowdown in toleration of dissent is unfortunate (President should lowkey this, but make the point): Evidence: Thousands of police and militia prevent demonstration of Latvia Freedom Day in Riga Nov. 18th (Baltic demonstrations on June 14th (Soviet occupation 1940) and August 23rd (Hitler-Stalin Pact anniversary) were not put down. Recent Jewish refuseniks demonstration in Moscow broken up and participants intimidated; despite an Amnesty decree in connection with 70th anniversary of Bolshevik Revolution (Nov. 7th), only a trickle of political and religious prisoners released since last spring; Soviet head of Council on Religious Affairs (Kharchev) told Sen. Lugar in August that all prisoners of faith would be freed by November -- has not happened (cite 6,000 names, including Cardinal Bernardin, on petition asking freedom for imprisoned Lithuanian Catholic priests, Fathers Svarinskas and Tamkevicius; four divided

spouses have been released or promised release -- but four others refused --why?; cancer victims like Benjamin Charny, a 17-year refusenik, have not received permission to go abroad for medical treatment; dissidents who publish journal "Glasnost" have been threatened and intimidated. We hope this trend does not add up to falling back to a crawl -- let's keep walking forward.

-- We'll keep up our hr dialogue and expand it. When Gorbo gets here, he'll see our country and see democracy in action for himself. I'll welcome him and hope that the fact we've reached agreement on INF is harbinger of cooperation to come -- in human rights, too.

(Rohrabacher/ARD)
December 1, 1987
7:30 p.m.

Card
RR

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: HUMAN RIGHTS EVENT
THURSDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1987

Thank you. I appreciate all of you being here. You represent groups that have a keen interest in the discussions that will be taking place during the upcoming visit of General Secretary Gorbachev. I'm happy to have this opportunity to confirm to you that, although we are making a serious effort to improve relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, we will not do it by compromising our national interests or diminishing our commitment to the universality of human rights.

Our dedication to liberty and justice for all is not negotiable, not to this generation, not to any generation of Americans. This year we celebrate the 200th anniversary of the signing of our Constitution, which, of course, contains not just an organizational structure for the Federal Government, but also the Bill of Rights. The structure divides power so that no person or group can be so powerful that they can trample on the rights of the people. And I think it is interesting to note that the reason the Bill of Rights was added to the document was that some believed that the Constitution might not have been ratified otherwise. Such was our forefathers' devotion to liberty.

The United States declared its independence with a document that proclaimed rights to be inalienable gifts from God, not just to those who could make it to our shores but to all people, everywhere. Ben Franklin, the grand old man of the Revolution, once said, "God, grant that not only the love of liberty, but a

thorough knowledge of the rights of man may pervade all the nations of the Earth, so that a philosopher may set his foot anywhere on its surface and say, 'This is my country'."

Well, 200 years later, liberty has not spread as wide as Franklin would have wished but, consistent with his vision, is a spirit of solidarity that exists between the free peoples of the world. We see the violation of anyone's human rights, acts of repression or brutality, as attacks on civilization itself. The United States, as the most powerful of the free nations, is looked to for leadership by those who live in freedom and as a mighty source of hope to those who languish under tyranny. This is a weighty responsibility that no American, especially a President, can take lightly.

In my upcoming meetings, I know that sitting next to me are unseen guests, men and women whose only hope is that they are not forgotten here in the West: Dissidents who are inhumanely committed to mental institutions, often subdued with mind-altering drugs; Soviet Jews, Armenians, Germans, and others who have applied to emigrate and have endured incredible hardships as a result; divided families and spouses who are cruelly separated from their loved ones. These people are not now, nor will they ever be, forgotten by our Administration.

Well, let me assure you and, through you, all those whose cause you champion: We care deeply about the well being of these unseen guests and their presence will be felt throughout my summit discussions. The goal of this visit, and any subsequent visits, is not simply arms reduction. Certainly that is one

priority, yet it remains on par with solving certain bilateral issues, ending regional conflicts, and, of course, improving human rights.

There has been much talk about a new openness and progress on human rights, which reminds me of a story I recently heard. It concerns a man who lost his parrot and went to the K.G.B. to report his missing bird. The K.G.B. asked him why he came to them. Why didn't he just report it to the local authorities. The man replied, "I just want you to know I don't agree with a thing that parrot has to say."

Seriously though, much has been said about glasnost and reforms in the Soviet Union. There does seem to have been modest progress. Soviet officials not that long ago refused to discuss human rights, claiming it was their internal affairs. General Secretary Gorbachev even told a French newsman ~~before~~ ^{shortly after} the Geneva Summit that there were "no political prisoners in the ~~U.S.S.R.~~ ^{Soviet Union}". Today our discussions on this issue are wide-ranging and human rights is accepted as an integral component of our bilateral discussions.

In the last 2 years we've witnessed a loosening of the grip. Over 200 political prisoners have been released from the Gulag. There is a higher rate of emigration. Some long-divided families have been reunited. There has even been a relaxing of some of the controls on freedom of expression. Earlier this year, for example, there were demonstrations in the Baltic nations on the anniversaries of the Hitler-Stalin Pact and the day marking the

beginning of the Soviet occupation in 1940. The fact that these protests were permitted at all was heartening.

The free people of the West are watching to see if the emigration doors, now cracked, continue to open. And inside we wait and pray for believers -- people of every creed. Prisoners of faith have not been released and clearly religious freedom is still an aspiration yet to be achieved.

There is no doubt that some progress has been made in human rights in the Soviet Union. Yet how can we ignore that, on this day, as we speak, 13 political prisoners are dying in special regimen Camp 36-1, which is one of the most brutal in the Gulag system. Ten prisoners have already died there, 4 of them Helsinki monitors. We cannot pretend that this does not exist, that these prisoners of Perm Camp 36-1 are of no consequence. They are important to us because of what they symbolize and because they are human beings and we are outraged at the way they are being treated.

George Bernard Shaw, the acerbic Celt, once wrote, "The worst sin towards our fellow creatures is not to hate them, but to be indifferent to them: that's the essence of inhumanity." Today, we are pleased with any releases, any unification of separated families, any lessening of the iron grip on the freedoms of expression and religion. But we will not be indifferent to those who are left behind and we will not be lulled into ignoring the fact that the apparatus of state repression remains intact in the Soviet Union. The real joy will come, and trust between East and West will flourish, not only

when prisoners are released, but when the instruments of repression are dismantled and repressive laws and practices are abolished.

Early in this century President Teddy Roosevelt said, "...for the world has set its face hopefully toward our democracy; and, O my fellow citizens, each one of you carries on your shoulders not only the burden of doing well for the sake of your own country, but the burden of doing well and seeing that this nation does well for the sake of mankind...."

So it's not just up to any one Government official. It is up to all of us. I'd like to thank each of you for participating in this discussion and exchange of ideas with members of the Administration in preparation for the upcoming summit. We need your involvement, your continued support, and your stalwart commitment to our country's ideals. Thank you for all you are doing. God bless you.

And now, I'd like to turn over this meeting to Deputy Secretary of State, Whitehead.

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Secretary Gorbachev even told a French newsman before the Geneva
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*Our hope is for loosening the
grip and the right to free*

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/30/87 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 p.m. Tuesday 12/01

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: HUMAN RIGHTS EVENT

(11/30 7:30 p.m. draft)

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REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Tony Dolan by 2:00 p.m. on Tuesday, December 1st, with an info copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

see edit, / RB
deletions
changes

→ there is general interest in using language that is not over-stated for these upcoming days.

Rhett Dawson
Ext. 2702

(Rohrabacher/ARD)
November 30, 1987
7:30 P.M.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: HUMAN RIGHTS EVENT
THURSDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1987

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The United States declared its independence with a document that proclaimed rights to be inalienable gifts from God, not just to those who could make it to our shores but to all people, everywhere. Ben Franklin, the grand old man of the Revolution, once said, "God, grant that not only the love of liberty, but a thorough knowledge of the rights of man may pervade all the

nations of the Earth, so that a philosopher may set his foot anywhere on its surface and say: This is my country!"

Well, 200 years later, liberty has not spread as wide as Franklin would have wished but, consistent with his vision, is a spirit of solidarity that exists between the free peoples of the world. We see the violation of anyone's human rights, acts of repression or brutality, as attacks on civilization itself. The United States, as the most powerful of the free nations, is looked to for leadership by those who live in freedom and as a mighty source of hope to those who languish under tyranny. This is weighty responsibility that no American, especially a President, can take lightly.

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committed to mental institutions, often subdued with mind-altering drugs; Soviet Jews, Armenians, Germans, and others who have applied to emigrate and have endured incredible hardships as a result; divided families and spouses who are cruelly separated from their loved ones. These people are not

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day marking the beginning of the Soviet occupation in 1940. The fact that these protests were permitted at all was heartening.

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However, in recent months there is evidence of Soviet backsliding in the area of human rights. On November 18th thousands of police and militia prevented a demonstration on Latvian freedom day in Riga. Similarly, a recent demonstration by Jewish refusniks was broken up in Moscow. Despite an amnesty decree in connection with the 70th anniversary of the Bolshevik overthrow of the Krensky regime, only a trickle of political and religious leaders have been released since the Spring. The Soviet council on Religious Affairs told Senator Lugar in August that all prisoners of faith would be freed by November. We're still waiting. In fact, I recently received a petition signed by 6,000 people asking for the freedom of imprisoned Lithuanian priests, Fathers Svarisnska and Tamevicius. Clearly they, and other religious figures, are still victims, still prisoners of conscience.

It remains a perplexing situation. Four divided spouses were released, or promised release, nevertheless four others were refused. Why? Cancer victims like Benjamin Charny, a 17-year refusenik, have not received permission to go abroad for medical treatment. Why? Even the dissidents who publish a journal called "Glasnost" have been threatened and intimidated.

There is no doubt that some progress has been made in human rights in the Soviet Union, especially earlier in the year. Yet how can we ignore that, on this day, as we speak, 13 political prisoners are dying in special regimen camp 36-1, which is one of

the most brutal in the Gulag system. Already 10 prisoners have died there, four of them Helsinki monitors. We cannot pretend that this does not exist, that these prisoners of camp 36-1 are of no consequence. They are important to us because of what they symbolize and because they are human beings and we are outraged at the way they are being treated.

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Early in this century President Teddy Roosevelt said, "...for the world has set its face hopefully toward our democracy; and, O my fellow citizens, each one of you carries on your shoulders not only the burden of doing well for the sake of your own country, but the burden of doing well and seeing that this nation does well for the sake of mankind..."

So it's not just up to any one Government official. It is up to all of us. I'd like to thank each of you for participating in this discussion and exchange of ideas with members of the

Administration in preparation for the upcoming summit. We need your involvement, your continued support, and your stalwart commitment to our country's ideals. Thank you for all you are doing. God bless you.

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OXFORD HISTORY
OF THE
AMERICAN PEOPLE

Volume One, *Prehistory to 1789*

SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON



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world when statesmen consciously took control of historic destinies: Periclean Athens, Rome under Augustus, and the founding of your American republic.¹

4. *The Ratification Contest*

The Convention, anticipating that the influence of many state politicians would be Antifederalist, provided for ratification of the Constitution by popularly elected conventions in each state. Suspecting that Rhode Island, at least, would prove recalcitrant, it declared that the Constitution would go into effect as soon as nine states ratified. The convention method had the further advantage that judges, ministers, and others ineligible to state legislatures, could be elected to a convention. The nine-state provision was, of course, mildly revolutionary. But the Congress of the Confederation, still sitting in New York to carry on federal government until relieved, formally submitted the new constitution to the states and politely faded out before the first presidential inauguration.

In the contest for ratification the Federalists (as the supporters of the new government called themselves) had the assets of youth, intelligence, something positive to offer, and the support of Washington and Franklin. Everyone knew that the General favored the Constitution, and the Philosopher promptly made it clear that he did too. This was unexpected, since Franklin believed in unicameral constitutions like that of Pennsylvania. But on the last day of the Convention he made his famous harmony speech, saying, "The older I grow, the more apt I am to doubt my own judgment." Not only was he astonished that a constitution the result of so many compromises could be as good as this one but, he predicted, "It will astonish our enemies, who are waiting with confidence to hear that our councils are confounded. . . . Thus I consent, Sir, to this Constitution *because I expect no better, and because I am not sure that it is not the best.*" He hoped that every member who disliked the Constitution would do the same, and keep his mouth shut.

Nevertheless, only thirty-nine of the fifty-five delegates signed the Constitution. A few non-signers, such as Martin, Yates, and Lansing, were completely opposed to it. Mason, Randolph, and Gerry abstained largely from wounded vanity, since their pet projects were not adopted. All delegates who opposed, except Randolph, who saw the light, worked hard against the Constitution. This Federalist-Antifederalist contest

¹ Lucien Price, ed., *The Dialogues of Alfred North Whitehead* (Reprinted by permission of Atlantic-Little, Brown & Co., 1954), p. 203.

was largely personal; it was not a class, a sectional, or an economic cleavage. Some of the wealthiest men in the country were Antis. George Mason, who looked down his nose on Washington as an "upstart surveyor," and James Winthrop, scion of New England's most aristocratic family, wrote pamphlets against the Constitution. Delegates to the Virginia ratifying convention from the old tidewater region were mostly Antifederalist; those from the recently settled valley, Federalist. And so it went, all over the country. The only generalization that can stand the test of fact is that the cleavage was one of age against youth. Old political war horses such as Gadsden and Willie Jones of the Carolinas, Henry and the Lees of Virginia, Martin of Maryland, George Bryan of Pennsylvania, George Clinton of New York, and (for a time) Samuel Adams and John Hancock of Massachusetts, were Antifederalist; but the warmest advocates of the Constitution were eager young men such as Madison, Morris, and McHenry, all within a year of thirty-five, Rufus King and Hamilton who were thirty-two, and Charles Pinckney who was twenty-nine.

Antifederalists appealed to Tom Paine's sentiment, "That government is best which governs least." They viewed with alarm the omission of annual elections and rotation in office. And there is little doubt that the Antifederalists would have won a Gallup poll. Elderly radicals such as General James Warren and his gifted wife Mercy, who believed that the states were the true guardians of "Republican Virtue," predicted that the new Constitution would encourage vice and speculation, and that under it America would soon go the way of imperial Rome. This prediction is repeated every four years.

The Federalists were the realists. They had learned from experience that the natural rights philosophy, taken straight, would go to the nation's head and make it totter, or fall. Had not half the commonwealth of Massachusetts gone on a terrific binge? Federalists believed that the slogans of 1776 were outmoded; that America needed more national power, that the immediate peril was not tyranny but dissolution, that certain political powers such as foreign affairs, war, and commerce were national by nature, that the right to tax was essential to any government, and that powers wrested from king and parliament should not be divided among thirteen states.

Supporters of the Constitution promptly opened a campaign of education through pamphlets and newspaper articles. Most famous and effective were the essays that appeared in a New York newspaper, written by Madison, Hamilton, and John Jay over the common signature "Publius," later republished under the title *The Federalist*. Numerous editions of this collection

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have been published in many languages, and it has been a mine of arguments as to the nature of the Constitution and what the founding fathers thought of it. Important as these essays were, the knowledge that Washington and Franklin were in favor of the new Constitution probably did more to affect public opinion than all the pamphlets and oratory.

Even so, the struggle for ratification was tough. Only in a few small states was there no contest, since their leaders knew that with an equal vote in the Senate and two extra votes for presidential electors they were getting more than their share of power. Delaware ratified unanimously in December 1787. Pennsylvania, second state in population, was second to ratify since the Federalist policy there was to rush things through before the Antis could organize. Next came Massachusetts, where the situation was critical, since a rebellion had just been suppressed. Shortly after the ratifying convention met on 9 January 1788, a straw vote polled 192 members against the Constitution and 144 in favor. John Hancock, elected president of the convention, refused to take his seat, pleading "indisposition" until the three leading Federalists promised to support him for Vice President if the Constitution were ratified—a promise that they never fulfilled. Samuel Adams, so far Anti, was reached through a backfire kindled by the Federalists among his old cronies, the shipwrights of Boston. After leading merchants had promised to build new ships when and if the Constitution was ratified, these and other artisans passed strong Federalist resolutions, and Sam listened to *vox pop*.

The most important strategy by the Bay State Federalists was to propose a bill of rights to supplement the Constitution.

This had not been provided by the Federal Convention, partly because the Constitution set forth limited and specific powers for which no bill of rights was logically necessary; but mostly because members were worn out and wanted to go home when they got around to the subject. Lack of a bill of rights, however, was a strong Antifederalist talking point. So the Massachusetts Federalists agreed to support a set of amendments, to be recommended to the states, and Hancock presented these as a bill of rights. That settled it; the Massachusetts convention ratified on 6 February 1788, 187 for to 168 against.

The Maryland convention, also proposing a bill of rights, ratified on 28 April by an emphatic vote; partly, it seems, because the members grew weary of listening to Luther Martin's three-hour Antifederalist speeches. South Carolina came next. Charles Pinckney made strong arguments in favor of union, which he lived long enough to repudiate; and on 23 May his state ratified the Constitution by a strong majority. New Hamp-

shire had the honor of being the ninth state, whose ratification put the Constitution into force.

But four states, with about 40 per cent of the population, were still undecided. In Virginia, the most important, there took place a bitterly contested struggle. On the Federalist side were Washington, Madison, Colonel Henry Lee, John Marshall, and Edmund Randolph, who had been converted. Antifederalist leaders were Mason, Richard Henry Lee, and Patrick Henry, who disliked the entire Constitution. It was too consolidated. It "squints toward monarchy." The President will "make one push for the American throne." Congress, with power of taxation, will "clutch the purse with one hand and wave the sword with the other." The time-honored system of requisitions would be abolished. "Never will I give up that darling word requisitions!" These withering blasts of oratory were patiently met with unanswerable logic by Madison and Edmund Pendleton, and the objections were disposed of, point by point. John Marshall, thirty-two years old in 1788, defended the federal judiciary which he was later to adorn. Someone brought in a "red herring" proposal to ratify on condition that a bill of rights be adopted; it was voted down, and the convention ratified unconditionally on 25 June by the close vote of 89 to 79.

Immediately before this vote was taken, Patrick Henry, seeing that his cause was lost, set a fine example of the good loser: "I will be a peaceable citizen. My head, and my heart, shall be at liberty to retrieve the loss of liberty, and remove the defects of the system in a constitutional way." Antifederalist leaders without exception followed his example. There was no attempt to sabotage the new government, or to set up a "Confederation in Exile" in Providence or Quebec.

Three states were still outside. In New York, as Washington remarked, there was "more wickedness than ignorance" in Antifederalism. Governor Clinton opposed the Constitution, as did most of the big landowners, who feared heavier taxation if the state lost her right to levy customs duties. John Jay and Hamilton led the Federalist forces in the state convention with great skill, and the convention ratified by a vote of 30 to 27. Willie Jones, who dominated the North Carolina convention, prevented a vote at the first session, but it met again in November 1789 and decided to go along. Rhode Island, still controlled by the debtor element, called no convention until 1790, and then came in.

The Confederation Congress declared the new Constitution duly ratified, arranged for the first presidential and congressional elections, and appointed 4 March 1789 for the first

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presidential term to begin. But this had to be postponed. The new House of Representatives, which had no quorum until 1 April, counted the electoral ballots on the 6th. It took another week for Washington to learn officially that he had been chosen. The old Congress selected New York as the first capital of the new government.

Thus ended happily the most active and tumultuous quarter-century in the entire history of the United States. It was a period of little social change, but of a violent war and a turnover from a dependent colonial status to that of an independent federal union. The Federal Constitution was the capital

ODE ON SCIENCE



achievement of this creative period; a work of genius, since it set up what every earlier political scientist had thought impossible, a sovereign union of sovereign states. This reconciling of unity with diversity, this practical application of the federal principle, is undoubtedly the most original contribution of the United States to the history and technique of human liberty.

But, would the Constitution work? Nobody then knew the answer. This question was a major challenge to the age that was waiting before.

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Document No. 498254

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/30/87 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 p.m. Tuesday 12/01

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: HUMAN RIGHTS EVENT

(11/30 7:30 p.m. draft)

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REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Tony Dolan, by 2:00 p.m. on Tuesday, December 1st, with an info copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

The structural guarantees of freedom are at least as important as the Bill of Rights (for example the Soviet constitution has a bill of rights as strongly worded as ours, but it is useless in a regime that concentrates all power into the hands of the communist party). See suggested edit for language on the importance of U.S. structural provisions.

Rhett Dawson
Ext. 2702
Rdw

(Rohrabacher/ARD)
November 30, 1987
7:30 P.M.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: HUMAN RIGHTS EVENT
THURSDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1987

Thank you. I appreciate all of you being here. You represent groups that have a keen interest in the discussions that will be taking place during the upcoming visit of General Secretary Gorbachev. I'm happy to have this opportunity to confirm to you that although we are making a serious effort to improve relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, we will not do it by compromising our national interests or diminishing our commitment to the universality of human rights.

Our dedication to liberty and justice for all is not negotiable, not to this generation, not to any generation of Americans. This year we celebrate the 200th anniversary of our Constitution, which, of course, contains not just an organizational structure for the Federal Government, but also the

Bill of Rights. I think it is interesting to note that the reason the Bill of Rights was added to the document was that it was believed that the Constitution might not have been ratified otherwise. Such was the devotion to liberty among our forefathers and mothers.

The United States declared its independence with a document that proclaimed rights to be inalienable gifts from God, not just to those who could make it to our shores but to all people, everywhere. Ben Franklin, the grand old man of the Revolution, once said, "God, grant that not only the love of liberty, but a thorough knowledge of the rights of man may pervade all the

The structure divides power so that no person or group can be so powerful that they can ignore the human rights. The Bill of Rights sets limits on all of the branches of government.

Both are vitally important to protect the freedoms we have come to cherish.

nations of the Earth, so that a philosopher may set his foot anywhere on its surface and say: This is my country!"

Well, 200 years later, liberty has not spread as wide as Franklin would have wished but, consistent with his vision, is a spirit of solidarity that exists between the free peoples of the world. We see the violation of anyone's human rights, acts of repression or brutality, as attacks on civilization itself. The United States, as the most powerful of the free nations, is looked to for leadership by those who live in freedom and as a mighty source of hope to those who languish under tyranny. This is weighty responsibility that no American, especially a President, can take lightly.

In my upcoming meetings, I know that sitting next to me are unseen guests, men and women whose only hope is that they are not forgotten here in the West: Dissidents who are inhumanly committed to mental institutions, often subdued with mind-altering drugs; Soviet Jews, Armenians, Germans, and others who have applied to emigrate and have endured incredible hardships as a result; divided families and spouses who are cruelly separated from their loved ones. These people are not now, nor will they ever be, forgotten by our Administration.

Well, let me assure you and, through you, all those whose cause you champion: We care deeply about the well being of these unseen guests and their presence will be felt throughout my summit discussions. The goal of this visit, and any subsequent visits, is not simply arms reduction. Certainly that is one priority, yet it remains on par with solving certain bilateral

issues, ending regional conflicts, and, of course, improving human rights.

And while there has been much talk about a new openness and progress on human rights, the Soviet people still joke about the repression that permeates their country. One story I recently heard concerns a man who lost his parrot and went to the K.G.B. to report his missing bird. The K.G.B. asked him why he came to them. Why didn't he just report it to the local authorities. The man replied, "I just want you to know I don't agree with a thing that parrot has to say."

Seriously though, much has been said about Glasnost and reforms in the Soviet Union. There does seem to have been modest progress. Soviet officials not that long ago refused to discuss human rights, claiming it was their internal affairs. General Secretary Gorbachev even told a French newsman before the Geneva Summit that there were "no political prisoners in the U.S.S.R." Today our discussions on this issue are wide-ranging and human rights is accepted as an integral component of our bilateral discussions.

In the last two years we've witnessed a loosening of the grip. Over 200 political prisoners have been released from the Gulag. There is a higher rate of emigration. Some long-divided families have been reunited. There has even been a relaxing of some of the controls on freedom of expression. Earlier this year, for example, there were demonstrations in the Baltic countries on the anniversaries of the Hitler-Stalin Pact and the

day marking the beginning of the Soviet occupation in 1940. The fact that these protests were permitted at all was heartening.

However, in recent months there is evidence of Soviet backsliding in the area of human rights. On November 18th thousands of police and militia prevented a demonstration on Latvian freedom day in Riga. Similarly, a recent demonstration by Jewish refusniks was broken up in Moscow. Despite an amnesty decree in connection with the 70th anniversary of the Bolshevik overthrow of the Krensky regime, only a trickle of political and religious leaders have been released since the Spring. The Soviet council on Religious Affairs told Senator Lugar in August that all prisoners of faith would be freed by November. We're still waiting. In fact, I recently received a petition signed by 6,000 people asking for the freedom of imprisoned Lithuanian priests, Fathers Svarisnska and Tamevicius. Clearly they, and other religious figures, are still victims, still prisoners of conscience.

It remains a perplexing situation. Four divided spouses were released, or promised release, nevertheless four others were refused. Why? Cancer victims like Benjamin Charny, a 17-year refusenik, have not received permission to go abroad for medical treatment. Why? Even the dissidents who publish a journal called "Glasnost" have been threatened and intimidated.

There is no doubt that some progress has been made in human rights in the Soviet Union, especially earlier in the year. Yet how can we ignore that, on this day, as we speak, 13 political prisoners are dying in special regimen camp 36-1, which is one of

the most brutal in the Gulag system. Already 10 prisoners have died there, four of them Helsinki monitors. We cannot pretend that this does not exist, that these prisoners of camp 36-1 are of no consequence. They are important to us because of what they symbolize and because they are human beings and we are outraged at the way they are being treated.

George Bernard Shaw, the ultimate Irish playwright, once wrote, "The worst sin towards our fellow creatures is not to hate them, but to be indifferent to them: That's the essence of inhumanity." Today, we are pleased with any releases, any unification of separated families, any lessening of the iron grip on the freedoms of expression and religion. But we will not be indifferent to those who are left behind and we will not be lulled into ignoring the fact that the apparatus of state repression remains intact in the Soviet Union. The real joy will come, and trust between East and West will flourish, not when prisoners are released, but when the Gulag is dismantled and the organs of repression abolished.

Early in this century President Teddy Roosevelt said, "...for the world has set its face hopefully toward our democracy; and, O my fellow citizens, each one of you carries on your shoulders not only the burden of doing well for the sake of your own country, but the burden of doing well and seeing that this nation does well for the sake of mankind..."

So it's not just up to any one Government official. It is up to all of us. I'd like to thank each of you for participating in this discussion and exchange of ideas with members of the

Administration in preparation for the upcoming summit. We need your involvement, your continued support, and your stalwart commitment to our country's ideals. Thank you for all you are doing. God bless you.

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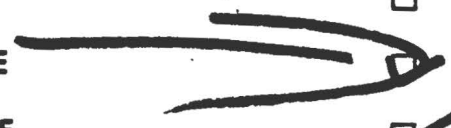
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RESPONSE:

NOTE: see corrections on page 4

Rhett Dawson
Ext. 2702

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