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NUCLEAR WEAPONS FREEZE MOVEMENT: ISSUES FOR NATIONAL DEBATE
IP0195N

Is the American public increasingly against nuclear weapons?

Are U.S. and other world leaders paying too much attention to arms production and too little attention to arms control?

Have the fear and likelihood of a nuclear war increased?

These issues are being debated in local communities and increasingly among U.S. policymakers. The grass-roots movement to "ban the bomb" has already been endorsed by over one million people through local and State referendums. A recent Gallup poll concluded that over 3/4 of Americans favor a 50% reduction in nuclear arsenals by both the Soviet Union and the United States.

The nuclear weapons freeze movement has recently gained the attention of Congress. On March 10, 1982, Senate and House resolutions were introducted which requested the President to negotiate an immediate nuclear weapons freeze with the Soviet Union, followed by major reductions on both sides. Another congressional proposal calls for the President to negotiate with the Soviet Union a long-term, mutual and verifiable nuclear forces freeze, but at equal and sharply reduced force levels.

This Info Pack presents background information on the recent peace crusade and examines both the desirabilities and potential dangers inherent in such proposals to freeze or reduce nuclear weapons. Also included are relevant Reagan Administration responses to these various proposals.

We hope this material will be useful.

Congressional Reference
Division

# REAGAN CALLS FOR A DRAMATIC SLASH IN NUCLEAR ARMS

## BIDS THE RUSSIANS JOIN IN

## Pledge of Ultimate Cutbacks Is Designed to Stem Drive for Freeze in Arsenals

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 31 — President Reagan said tonight that he intended to reduce stores of nuclear weapons dramatically. He called on the Soviet Union to join with the United States in such cuts and "make an important breakthrough for lasting peace on earth."

In a nationally televised news conference from the East Room of the White House, the President sought to counter

*Transcript of news session, page A22.*

pressure from those seeking a freeze in Soviet and American atomic arsenals now by saying that such a move would deprive the Soviet Union of an incentive to negotiate a meaningful reduction. He said the Russians had "a definite margin of superiority" over the United States in nuclear weapons.

He said, however, that in the meantime the Adminstration would press ahead with its program to upgrade the nation's strategic weapons. Mr. Reagan said he was willing to make cuts in the military budget, but none that would harm the arms buildup.

Mr. Reagan's opening statement was prompted by a movement for a nuclear freeze that has gathered wide national backing and the support of some 170 members of Congress. In opposition to the proposal for an early freeze, Senators John W. Warner, Republican of Virginia, and Henry M. Jackson, Democrat of Washington, introduced a proposal, supported by 56 other senators, that would delay a freeze until after the United States had either caught up with what is perceived as a Soviet advantage in nuclear weapons or had reached an agreement from Moscow for the substantial reductions that the President called for again tonight.

**'Important Initiative'**

The President called the Warner-Jackson proposal "an important move in the right direction" and an "important initiative."

In his statement, Mr. Reagan said plans were being completed in Washington for the eventual start of talks with the Soviet Union on reducing strategic arms. In answer to a question, he said he hoped that the talks could start this summer but, alluding to the martial law Government in Poland, he said the timing would depend on "the international situation." Other officials have said the beginning of talks depend on there being no sharp worsening of the situation in Poland.

"I want an agreement on strategic

**Continued on Page A23, Column 1**

SOURCE: The New York Times
April 1, 1982 p.A1,A23

# *Reagan Says He Plans to Reduce Nuclear Arms Stores Dramatically*

**Continued From Page 1**

nuclear weapons that reduces the risk of war, lowers the level of armaments and enhances global security," the President said. "We can accept no less."

On other foreign questions, Mr. Reagan made these points:

¶He praised the wide turnout in the elections last Sunday for a constituent assembly in El Salvador, saying it was inspiring. He noted that he had heard of a woman who insisted on standing in line to vote even after being hit by a ricocheting bullet. But he refused to say what he would do if a right-wing government took power and did away with previous social changes.

¶The United States is continuing to watch developments in Poland. The President revealed no new initiatives and said it was necessary that the Russians understand that "there could be a carrot along with the stick, if they straighten up and fly right."

¶On the Middle East, Mr. Reagan said he hoped that recent clashes in the West Bank between Israelis and Palestinians would not slow progress in the negotiations between Egypt and Israel for Palestinian self-rule in the occupied area. He said he hoped for progress in those talks after Israel turns over the rest of Sinai to Egypt on April 25.

In his opening statement, Mr. Reagan seemed to go out of his way to combat an impression that he was uninterested in arms control and was interested only in building up America's military machine.

He said he had seen the world "plunged blindly into global war" twice in his lifetime. He added, "I share the determination of today's young people that such a tragedy, which would be rendered even more terrible by the monstrous inhumane weapons in the world's nuclear arsenals, must never happen again."

In talking about the Soviet Union, the President also seemed conciliatory in his prepared opening statement that he read rather rapidly.

He said the successful outcome of the United States space shuttle mission this week reminded the world "of the great things the human race can achieve when it harnesses its best minds and efforts to a positive goal."

"Both the United States and the Soviet Union have written proud chapters in the peaceful exploration of outer space," he said, "so I invite the Soviet Union to join with us now to substantially reduce nuclear weapons and make an important breakthrough for lasting peace on earth."

The President's statement contrasted with the sharp attack on the Soviet Union that he made in his first news conference last year, in which he said Soviet leaders had made a virtue out of lying and cheating and could not be trusted.

When asked if his 15 months in office had led him to change his opinion about the Russians, he said, "No, I don't think they've changed their habits."

He said the Russians were experiencing a "desperate situation economically" as a result of the military buildup that "has left them on a very narrow ledge."

He said that as a result economic problems made the the Russians vulnerable to economic sanctions by the West, such as the withholding of credits. He pointed out that this was being urged on the allies by the Administration.

Asked whether a nuclear war would be winnable or "survivable," Mr. Reagan said, "I just have to say that I don't believe there could be any winners." If there was a nuclear war, Mr. Reagan said, "everybody would be a loser."

Mr. Reagan declined to say precisely how the United States would respond if the Russians moved to place nuclear weapons in the Western Hemisphere. Any such move would be "in total violation" of agreements reached in 1962 in the Cuban missile crisis, he said.

Mr. Reagan also said that Cuba and perhaps Nicaragua were the only places where the Russians might put nuclear weapons in this hemisphere.

The President declined to reply in detail to statements about nuclear weapons by Leonid I. Brezhnev, the Soviet leader. Mr. Reagan said the statements were part of a Soviet "propaganda campaign."

Pro and Con

# A Freeze on Nuclear Weapons?

## YES—The arms race "could subject the entire world to holocaust"

**Interview With Senator Mark O. Hatfield**

Republican, Of Oregon

**Q Senator Hatfield, why are you sponsoring a proposal in Congress that calls upon the superpowers to put a freeze on nuclear-weapons construction?**

**A** Because the U.S. has had superiority in nuclear weapons ever since World War II, when the Soviets didn't even have the bomb, and yet it is evident that the more nuclear weapons we build, the more they will build. And the result is less security in the world. Nuclear superiority is not only a meaningless term in the age of multiple overkill, it is a hindrance at the bargaining table.

Now not only do the Soviets have the bomb, but by the end of this century an estimated 60 nations will be capable of building nuclear weapons. We must halt this kind of madness. It could subject the entire world to nuclear holocaust—the end of the planet.

**Q Wouldn't a freeze simply perpetuate the substantial Soviet advantage in medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe?**

**A** First of all, the U.S. has a massive nuclear-weapons capability in Europe. The Soviets have 2,000 missiles, and we have 1,200. The U.S. total includes invulnerable, forward-based submarines, two of which could knock out every major Russian city.

Globally, we have over 9,000 warheads, and the Soviets have 7,000. Furthermore, our warheads are far more accurate. When we look at the nuclear arsenals in their totality, we have a more destructive arsenal than the Soviets.

**Q Could a freeze prevent the building of our B-1 and Stealth bombers and leave the Soviets free to enlarge their air defenses?**

**A** You must remember that there are other parts of our arsenal that will survive an attack and have significant deterrence value. Secondly, we can seek to negotiate a collateral agreement constraining U.S. and Soviet air-defense improvements.

**Q But wouldn't the U.S. bomber force be rendered virtually useless against Russia if our airborne-cruise-missile program were killed by a freeze?**

**A** Absolutely not. First, current war plans call for preattacks on Soviet air defenses that would leave them badly damaged. In addition, our current bomber, the B-52, is now equipped to suppress air defenses. The Air Force is on record saying that the B-52 bomber will have a penetration capability at least until 1990 and perhaps well beyond. Also, it is worth noting that the production of a new Soviet bomber the Pentagon claims is being developed would be prohibited with a freeze.

**Q What about the vulnerability of land-based missiles?**

**A** The Soviet Union's nuclear arsenal is more vulnerable than ours because 70 to 75 percent of it is based on land;

## NO—It "would perpetuate an unstable situation" that increases the risk of war

**Interview With Richard R. Burt**

Director of Politico-Military Affairs, Department of State

**Q Mr. Burt, why is the Reagan administration opposed to a nuclear-weapons freeze?**

**A** *There are two basic reasons:*

The first is that we think it would lock us into some military disadvantages. In Europe, the Soviet Union has a force of 600 intermediate-range missiles with 1,200 warheads. The Soviets thus have a massive capability to target our allies. The U.S. has no equivalent systems. Furthermore, the Soviet Union has developed over the last 15 years a new generation of intercontinental ballistic missiles which threatens a large fraction of our existing land-based missile force. Again, we have no equivalent capability. We cannot allow these disadvantages to continue in perpetuity.

Secondly, the administration believes that we can do better than a freeze.

**Q Better in what way?**

**A** Our objective, both in the current talks in Geneva on intermediate-range nuclear forces and in the forthcoming strategic-arms talks, will be significant reductions in the existing arsenals of both sides. We believe that if both sides' forces are frozen at current levels, the Soviet Union will have no incentives whatsoever to take our proposals for reductions seriously. In fact, the only reason we have negotiations going on now in Geneva on intermediate-range missiles is that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1979 decided to modernize its capabilities in response to the Soviet buildup of intermediate-range nuclear forces.

**Q Looking beyond the situation in Europe, where you say the Soviet Union has a substantial advantage, wouldn't a freeze leave the U.S. with a big edge in strategic warheads all told?**

**A** Well, there are many different ways to measure the overall balance. The fact is that by most measures of strategic nuclear capability the Soviet Union is ahead of the United States right now.

We believe that both the Soviet Union and the United States should reduce the level of nuclear arms they presently possess. So the real question is not how to accomplish a freeze at existing numbers; it is how to achieve limitations at reduced levels. And that's what the Reagan administration wants—agreed limits at reduced levels. We want to negotiate significant reductions, and history has shown that the only way to do that is to give the Soviets incentives for negotiating.

**Q Would a freeze actually end the nuclear arms race?**

**A** No. First of all, a freeze would be extremely difficult to verify and therefore would not limit the Soviets' ability to increase their nuclear force.

Secondly, even assuming for the moment that one could

## Interview With Senator Hatfield *(continued)*

only 25 percent of our missiles are land based. Any negotiation could include discussion of options such as moving the Minuteman 3 missile from land bases to small, coastal-based submarines—which would reduce fears regarding our vulnerability.

First-strike capability is a purely theoretical notion. Second, knowing that we have such great power to retaliate, why, unless an accident occurred, would the Soviets attempt a first strike? Finally, a freeze would seriously reduce Soviet confidence in a first strike by placing a cap on warheads and halting testing activity which is needed for accuracy.

**Q. Were we to have a freeze, how would Soviet compliance be verified, in light of Russia's past refusal of on-site inspection?**

**A.** The U.S. has an elaborate satellite detection system. We have a multitude of other intelligence-gathering mechanisms. Illegal activity could be detected more easily with a freeze than without a freeze because *any* testing or production activity would suggest a violation. Today we are faced with detecting very subtle deviations and changes in activity, which is far more difficult.

**Q. How do you respond to the contention of administration officials that a freeze would destroy any chance of negotiating an agreement to reduce nuclear arsenals and limit the nuclear-arms race on a broad basis?**

**A.** The logic of that idea escapes me. We have to first create a freeze to get a change of direction. A freeze would not impair our ability to reverse the current upward arms escalation. Instead, it would stop the arms race so that it could be reversed. You can't throw a freight train coming down the track into reverse until you first stop it.

**Q. Another objection being raised is that the movement for a nuclear freeze in this country will impair U.S. defenses by undermining support for the administration's buildup—**

**A.** First, don't forget we also halt the Soviet buildup. There isn't any question that a freeze would challenge the administration's present defense program. The Reagan defense program, compared to the Carter budget, provides for a 49 percent increase in military spending, whereas nondefense programs have diminished by some 12 percent.

It weakens America to commit over 200 billion dollars over the *next six* years to nuclear weaponry at a time when the economy needs capital to modernize its production capability and channel more manpower and womanpower toward scientific and engineering fields so that we can better compete in the international marketplace.

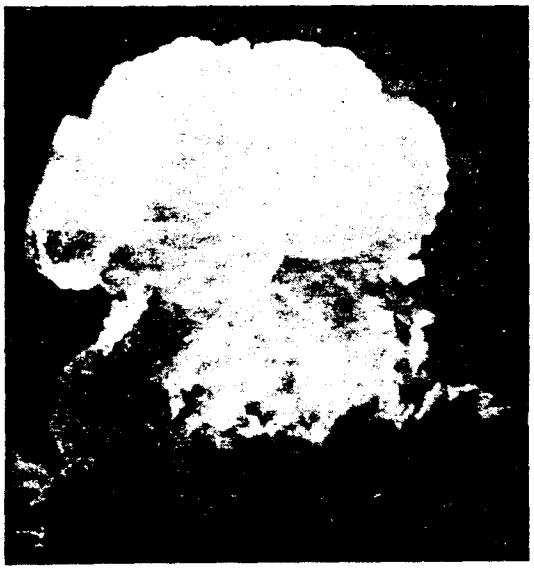
This, too, is a matter of national security.

**Q. Do you see any comparable movement toward a nuclear freeze in the Soviet Union?**

**A.** It is very difficult to assess the mood of the people in a closed society. But Americans who have recently visited the Soviet Union frequently say that the Russian people don't want nuclear war. Eventually, that feeling will have to erupt, even within a closed society.

As for the open societies of the West, oi r allies are attracted to a nuclear freeze. If we back the idea, America's leadership worldwide would be enhanced. □

**Growing fear of nuclear war has sparked widespread debate over limiting the arms race.**



DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

## Interview With Mr. Burt *(continued)*

verify it, such a freeze would perpetuate an unstable nuclear situation, one that would increase the risk of war rather than reduce it.

Finally, such a freeze would leave totally unconstrained many other military developments which could directly threaten the nuclear balance. These include improvements in submarine warfare and air defenses.

**Q. In your view, the kind of freeze being advocated in Congress could not be verified—**

**A.** There are a variety of proposals, but the proposals I have seen call for a freeze in warhead production, testing and deployment. As I noted, it would be very difficult to verify such a freeze. It would require extensive on-site inspections, which the Soviets have traditionally rejected.

**Q. Many people urging a freeze argue that if the arms race continues, it will lead to a nuclear war. How do you answer that?**

**A.** We are concerned, as everyone should be, about the dangers of a nuclear war.

The best ways to minimize the chances of a nuclear war are through the maintenance of a balance of power and the negotiation of significant reductions. We have been able to avoid a nuclear war since the advent of the nuclear age by maintaining an equilibrium in military capabilities, and that is the policy of this administration.

**Q. In light of the growing push for a freeze, is the administration going to move quickly into strategic-arms talks?**

**A.** We have spent several months extensively analyzing our options in the strategic-arms area. Secretary of State Haig said recently that our analysis will be complete in a matter of weeks. We want to approach these talks seriously, with a thoughtful opening position. We should be prepared in the near future for negotiations, international conditions permitting.

**Q. Would a freeze help cut defense spending by large sums and thereby help reduce the deficit, the source of so much concern in this country?**

**A.** Experience has shown that existing arms-control agreements have not resulted in great savings. A freeze at existing levels—levels that most people believe are already too high—would probably not result in real savings. Agreed limits at much reduced levels would possibly save money. And, of course, this is our goal.

**Q. Are you concerned that the growing U.S. peace movement could force the administration into a freeze or some form of unilateral action to curb our nuclear-arms buildup?**

**A.** No. I think most people recognize that, to be effective, any arms-control measure has to limit both the United States and the Soviet Union. I don't think any responsible politician in this country is going to advocate unilateral disarmament.

The proposals for a freeze reflect the genuine concerns of the American people about the arms race. We share those concerns. President Reagan has said that he, as much as anyone, wants to come to grips with this troubling problem. The question is the best way of doing it. It is not the overall objectives of the freeze we oppose; it is the tactics of accomplishing these objectives. □

TIME/MARCH 29, 1982

COVER STORIES

# Thinking About The Unthinkable

## *Rising fears about the dangers of nuclear war*

*"No army can stop an idea whose time has come.*
—Victor Hugo

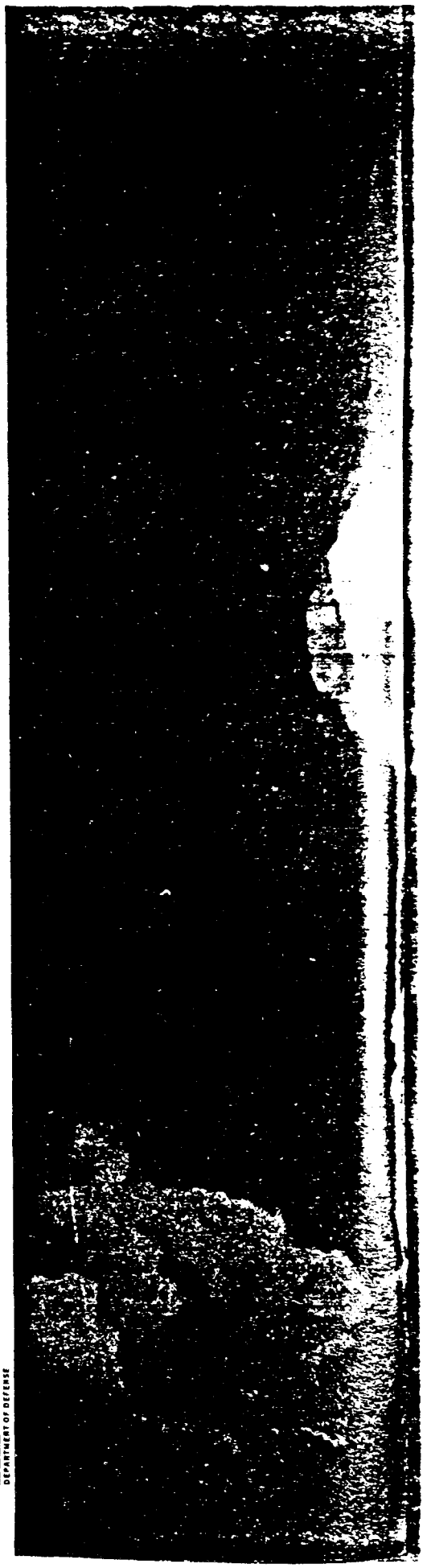
An idea whose moment may have arrived is sweeping the U.S.—for better or for worse. From the halls of Congress to Vermont hamlets to the posh living rooms of Beverly Hills, Americans are not only thinking about the unthinkable, they are opening a national dialogue on ways to control and reduce the awesome and frightening nuclear arsenals of the superpowers. This new awareness of the dangers of nuclear war cuts across traditional political boundaries. Advocates of a bilateral freeze on the development and deployment of nuclear weapons include some peacenik activists who led protests against U.S. involvement in the Viet Nam War a decade ago. But the new movement is far more broadly based; it includes more bishops than Berrigans, doctors and lawyers with impeccable Establishment credentials, archconservatives as well as diehard liberals, and such knowledgeable experts as retired Admiral Noel Gayler, former director of the supersecret National Security Agency, and former SALT II Negotiator Paul Warnke. Says Rabbi Alexander Schindler, head of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations: "Nuclear disarmament is going to become the central moral issue of the '80s, just as Viet Nam was in the '60s."

The central goal of the movement is to educate the public to the true horrors of what war would mean to the U.S. and the world today, and thereby put pressure on a hawkish Administration to negotiate a cutback in nuclear arms with the Soviet Union. Some of that prodding is already coming from Congress. Senators Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts and Mark Hatfield of Oregon two weeks ago introduced a resolution that calls for a freeze on the testing, production and further deployment of nuclear weapons by both the U.S. and the Soviet Union. The nonbinding measure has already attracted the support of 22 Senators and 150 Representatives.

That was not all. Republican Charles McC. Mathias of Maryland last week introduced another Senate resolution calling upon the President to "immediately invite" the Soviets to negotiations on strategic arms and the proliferation of nuclear weapons and technology. Mathias charged that the Administration was guilty of a "grievous failure" for not having initiated such negotiations. "Nothing less than the future of mankind is at stake," he said.

The resolutions on Capitol Hill are the small tip of a very large iceberg. In part, the Senators who favor the motions are responding to an unprecedented flood of teach-ins, referendums, legislative proposals, letter-writing campaigns, petitions, and books addressing the peril of nuclear war. The groups involved in the movement include such longtime disarmament organizations as SANE and the Union of Concerned Scientists. But with them are a host of fledgling organizations: Physicians for Social Responsibility, International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, the Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control, the Business Alert to Nuclear War, Artists for Survival. The St. Louis–based National Clearinghouse for the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, founded last December, estimates that 20,000 volunteers are now involved in the crusade nationwide.

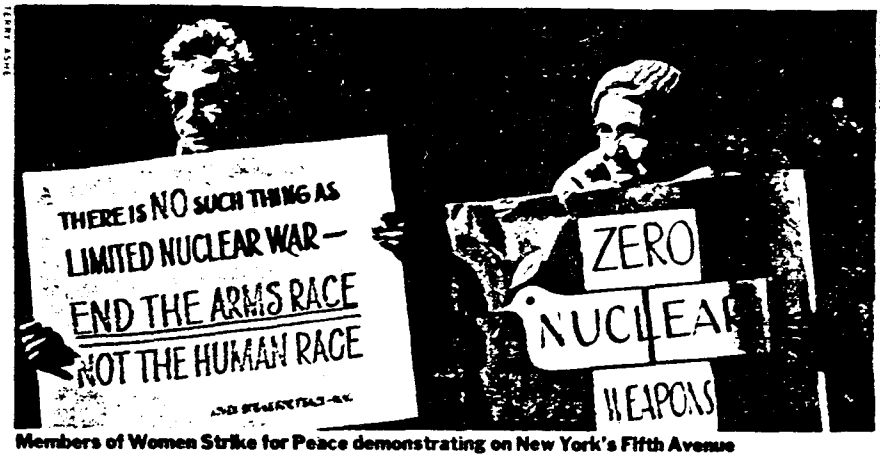
Although its hard-cover publication by Alfred A. Knopf will not occur until April, one of the most talked-about books of the year is Jonathan Schell's *The Fate of the World*. First published in *The New Yorker* last month, it is an impassioned argument that nuclear weapons have made war obsolete and world government imperative. Astonishingly, some 40 new books on nuclear issues are scheduled to be published before the end of this year; Pocket Books is rushing into bookstores with 100,000 copies of *Nuclear War: What's in It for You?*, a paperback primer on the subject, written by Roger Molander, founder of



DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

**Fireball of an H-bomb explosion rises over Bikini Atoll after a 1956 test blast**


Roger Molander of Ground Zero




Members of Women Strike for Peace demonstrating on New York's Fifth Avenue

Ground Zero, a nuclear-education group.

The main reason for the growth of the movement is increasing concern that political leaders of both superpowers—especially since the shelving of the SALT II treaty in 1980 and the failure to resume talks since then—have moved, with mutual belligerence, toward a direct confrontation that could trigger a nuclear war. Those worries were, in a sense, symbolized by a rhetorical exchange between Ronald Reagan and Leonid Brezhnev last week that probably did more to augment superpower tensions than to ease them. Speaking to the 17th Congress of Soviet Trade Unions, the medal-bedecked Soviet leader announced that Moscow was immediately suspending its deployment of new SS-20 nuclear missiles west of the Urals and targeted at Western Europe. The freeze would last until an arms agreement was reached with the U.S., or until the North Atlantic Treaty Organization began deploying 572 new Pershing II and cruise missiles in Europe, which is now scheduled to take place in late 1983. Brezhnev also declared that the Soviet Union would later this year unilaterally dismantle "a certain number" of its medium-range missiles already in place.

Washington swiftly rejected Brezhnev's proposals. "A freeze simply isn't good enough because it doesn't go far enough," said President Reagan in a speech to the Oklahoma state legislature. Instead, Reagan reminded Brezhnev of his "zero option" proposal made last November, in which the U.S. would forgo placing its new Pershing II and cruise missiles on European soil if Moscow would scrap its arsenal of SS-20 missiles.

Concerned that Moscow might nonetheless score a propaganda coup with its proposals, the White House released a detailed analysis intended to show that the Brezhnev plan would only harden an already overwhelming Soviet edge in nuclear weaponry in Europe. The Soviet Union, for example, now has 300 SS-20 missiles in place and capable of being targeted on Western Europe—up from 100 in 1979—while NATO currently has no land-based missiles that can hit the Soviet Union. "What [Brezhnev] is talking about," charged White House Counsellor Edwin Meese, "is a situation where, two-thirds of the way through a football game, one side is ahead 50 to 0, and they want to freeze the score for the rest of the game." Both Reagan and Meese were somewhat overstating the case, since NATO does have aircraft- and submarine-based missiles that partly offset the Soviet advantages.

There was something else to Brezhnev's proposal: a vague but ominous warning to the U.S. that seemed to harken back to the days of an earlier showdown between the countries, the 1962 Cuban missile crisis. If the NATO allies did indeed station the new missiles on European soil next year, said the Soviet leader, "there would arise a real additional threat to our country and its allies." Warned Brezhnev: "This would compel us to take retaliatory steps that would put the other side, including the United States itself, its own territory, in an analogous position. This should not be forgotten."

It is precisely that kind of scare talk, whether emanating from the Kremlin or from the White House, that is galvanizing the nuclear-freeze advocates. For all the obvious reasons, they are uneasy about the military intentions of the Soviet Union. Unfairly or not, the Reagan Administration is also blamed for fueling the current jitters with loose talk—from the President on down—about the prospect of fighting a "limited nuclear war." Many Americans—including some with considerable expertise in the area—fear that their leaders are more comfortable than ever before with the thought of using nuclear weapons. "There is great concern that there are no serious efforts for arms control," says Thomas Halsted, 48, director of the Boston-based Physicians for Social Responsibility. "Instead, the Reagan Administration gives us pronouncements that nuclear weapons are usable and that nuclear wars are winnable." Adds Dr. Stephen Klineberg, professor of sociology at Rice University in Houston: "Reagan has terrified not only the Russians, but the Americans too."

Most of the groups lobbying against the spread of nuclear weapons embrace the belief that, as a first step, the U.S. should negotiate a bilateral nuclear-weapons freeze with the Soviet Union. The current proposal was written in 1979 by Randall Forsberg, 37, a former editor for the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, who was then studying for a doctorate in military policy and arms control at M.I.T. "My objective was to come up with a goal in arms control that would have great appeal," she explains. "It had to be simple, effective and bilateral in order to involve people."

Forsberg's freeze proposal was first published in April 1980, in a booklet titled *Call to Halt the Nuclear Arms Race*, but it attracted scant attention. Only after November 1980, when voters in three state senate districts in Massachusetts approved a freeze resolution by 59% to 41%, did the proposal begin to draw wide support. "What that told us," says Randy Kehler, a former schoolteacher and antiwar activist, "was that Ronald Reagan's election was not necessarily synonymous with support of the nuclear-arms race." At last count, freeze resolutions had been passed in 257 town meetings in New England, 31 city councils, and six state legislatures.

Perhaps the most significant local freeze campaign involves the so-called California initiative, which would require the state's Governor, reflecting the will of the people, to advise the President that he should propose to the Soviet Union an immediate halt to the "testing, production and further deployment of nuclear weapons . . . in a way that can be verified by both sides." The brainchild of Liberal Activist Harold Willens, board chairman of the Los Angeles-based Factory Equip-

ment Corp., the initiative has been endorsed by Governor Jerry Brown. Backers have gathered more than 600,000 signatures, nearly twice as many as are necessary to have the initiative placed on the November ballot. "We feel that we're on the cutting edge of a new phenomenon," says Willens. "It's going to be very hard for the opposition to sweep us into the corner as a fringe group." Indeed, early estimates are that the referendum measure could pass with 65% of the vote.

There is considerable diversity in the goals and activities of the various antinuclear groups. The Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control, for example, was founded a year ago by Alan Sherr, 34, a Boston attorney. "I felt then as I do now that there has got to be a popular initiative on this issue or else no one will really make the difference," says Sherr, who considers himself a political moderate. Since the alliance opened its Boston headquarters, membership has grown from 200 to 700, and there are chapters in three other cities. Sherr has intentionally shied away from endorsing any specific proposal for a nuclear-weapons freeze, and instead is concentrating the alliance's efforts on educating other lawyers about the perils of nuclear war. Thus, the alliance is sponsoring symposiums throughout the country and plans to seek a resolution of support from the American Bar Association.


In Boulder, Colo., the three county commissioners voted earlier this month to revoke their endorsement of a nuclear-disaster evacuation plan proposed for their city by the Federal Emergency Management Agency, which administers the nation's civil defense programs. The switch came after more than 1,000 residents crammed into a downtown theater and listened as speakers denounced the plans as "a grave joke" and "an illusion." Said Betsy Moen, professor of sociology at the University of Colorado: "The plan doesn't even mention radiation. Once a bomb is launched, it will be an all-out war and no community in the U.S. will be exempt."

In Chicago, some 350 professors from 42 colleges and universities have banded together since January to form CAFF: Chicago Area Faculty for a Freeze. "This is a first for me," said Bruce Winstein, a University of Chicago physicist who joined the group. "I've never gotten involved before, but finally I can see where I can make a difference." In South Dakota, which has 150 missile sites and an imposing military payroll, eight city councils have so far passed their own nuclear-freeze resolutions. "South Dakota is the last place people think something like this would be going on," says Tim Langley, director of the South Dakota Peace and Justice Center. "But the sense has grown here that we are entering a new phase of the arms race, that we are getting ready to fight a nuclear war." In St. Paul, Minn., Bonnie Iverson, 37, a mother of two, is busy collecting signatures for her state's freeze resolution. "I get nervous about going door to door," she confides, "but it's a cause I believe in. It's the notion of what would happen to the land and all life. If nuclear war happens, I hope the bomb hits right here because I don't want to live to see it."

The strength of the antinuclear sentiment is especially surprising in the South, considering the region's traditional conservatism and its dependence on the military for its livelihood. In at least six of the region's states, the largest single employer is the Department of Defense. The board of supervisors in Loudoun County, Va., adopted a nuclear-freeze resolution last week, and Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young has signed his city's petition. Physicians for Social Responsibility has 16 chapters in the South; last year there were none. Says South Carolina Lieutenant Governor Nancy Stevenson, whose state is home to a Poseidon missile factory and the nation's only weapons-grade plutonium plant: "These installations have been here for years, but I do think our people are now uncomfortably aware that South Carolina plays a far greater role than we would wish in nuclear matters." Even more remarkable has been the reception given to four saffron-clad Buddhist monks from Japan, who are trudging along highways in the South chanting prayers of peace. The monks believe that the ground they cross will be protected from nuclear war; they began their pilgrimage from New Orleans last January and hope to reach New York City by June. "We have been met with great interest," said Jinju Moorishita last week, after being greeted by 150 well-wishers who walked to the outskirts of Athens, Ga., in a gesture of welcome. "People do not ignore us."

Religious leaders and groups have played an increasingly important role in the movement. At least 70 Roman Catholic bishops (of the 368 in the U.S.) have spoken out against the arms race or in favor of a nuclear freeze, and the hierarchy's umbrella organization, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, plans to vote on a major statement about nuclear war at its annual meeting in November. Bishop Leroy Matthiesen of Amarillo, Texas, has even urged Catholics working at a nearby nuclear-weapons assembly plant to consider switching jobs, and has set up a $10,000 fund to help workers who quit the plant for moral reasons.

Protestant churches have been equally outspoken. The National Council of Churches, which represents 40 million Protestants, supports a bilateral nuclear freeze. The 1.6 million-member Ameri-



**Coffin-shaped sign amid crowd listening to Dr. Helen Caldicott of Physicians for Social Responsibility, at San Francisco's Grace Cathedral**

*Educating the public to the true horrors of what nuclear war would mean to the U.S. and the world.*

can Baptist Churches declared in December that "the presence of nuclear weapons and the willingness to use them is a direct affront to our Christian beliefs and commitments." Even members of the evangelical movement, which has been generally noted for its political conservatism, have raised their voices against the arms buildup. Says the Rev. Kim Crutchfield of the Chapel Hill Harvester Church, a Pentecostal church in Atlanta: "We are not talking about Russians or Chinese or Americans, but people, God's children. It is right that Christians be concerned with nuclear war, because nuclear war threatens God's kingdom on earth."

Two organizations—and their leaders—exemplify the passions and concerns of the nuclear-freeze movement:

▸ Ground Zero was founded in late 1980 by Roger Molander, 40, who served as a nuclear-strategy specialist on the National Security Council from 1974 to 1981. He was closely involved with U.S. policy formation during the SALT negotiations. Ground Zero has a paid staff of ten at its Washington headquarters and 400 volunteers in 140 cities across the nation. The organization is strictly educational and takes no position on any disarmament proposals. As its founder puts it, the purpose of Ground Zero is "to pose the straightforward questions across the country as to precisely what is the reality and what are the dangers of a nuclear war." Molander hopes that Ground Zero Week (April 18-25) will be for the nuclear movement what Earth Day was for the cause of environmentalism—the catalytic launching of a mass effort to engage the nation in discussions on the threat of nuclear war. Although the focus of the week will be on seminars and lectures, the group is also mailing out kits to local coordinators with directions on where to place Ground Zero markers and details of the effects of a 1-megaton bomb dropped on their city or town.

Molander believes that the Reagan Administration has fanned fears of a nuclear war, but he is careful not to link his group with any partisan movement. Says Molander: "What we seek is a public active enough in the dialogue about nuclear war that they will feel compelled to work with the Government in coming up with solutions, whether it be disarmament, a freeze or some other option. The ball is rolling, and we want to give it momentum."

▸ Physicians for Social Responsibility was a moribund organization devoted to detailing the medical consequences of nuclear war when Helen Caldicott, 43, then a pediatrician at Children's Hospital Medical Center in Boston, took over as president in 1979. A zealous opponent of all things nuclear, Caldicott took her message all over the country, and her hellfire oratory soon attracted a following. Since then, membership in P.S.R. has grown from ten doctors to 11,000, and the Boston-based organization now boasts a 22-member staff, 85 chapters in 45 states and a $600,000 annual budget.

P.S.R. may be the most effective group in the antinuclear movement. "Our credibility is as a scientific, single-issue organization," says Director Thomas Halsted. "Our issue is nuclear war and its medical consequences. That's it." In an ongoing series of symposiums across the country, members lecture about the horrific consequences of a 20-megaton bomb explosion, from the moment of impact to the long-term effects of radiation sickness. "As soon as you dwell on the effects of a nuclear bomb," says Halsted, "the coffee cups stop rattling."

P.S.R. backs a bilateral nuclear freeze, but Caldicott sees that proposal as only a first step. "No one has the absolute answer," she admits, "but the issue of nuclear war will reach a critical mass, and from that will emerge a solution. We must continue stirring the pot, for the issue is survival."

Advocates of a bilateral nuclear-weapons freeze contend that the plan makes sense, since both the U.S. and the Soviet Union already have large enough arsenals to annihilate each other's populations many times over. Supporters also reject the charge made by hawkish critics that the movement is ultimately a pacifist one that plays into the hands of the Soviets. They point out that the freeze proposal calls for verification. Critics, however, respond by claiming that a freeze on "testing, production and further deployment" of nuclear weapons cannot be verified without on-site inspection, which Moscow has always resisted. Beyond that, a President pushed into negotiations with Moscow by the force of a populist movement, even in the name of a morally just cause, would be at an enormous disadvantage in trying to deal with leaders of a totalitarian society who knew in advance the limits of his maneuverability.

It is too early to assess the domestic political impact of the antinuclear sentiment. Although impressive in size, the movement is still rather amorphous and politically unorganized. Democrats are pinning much of the blame on Reagan for the growing fears of nuclear war, and White House aides admit that indiscreet statements by the President and some of his key aides may have contributed to the anxiety. But Administration officials offer no apologies for their talk of a defense buildup, and do not plan to retreat. Says one White House adviser: "One of the prices you pay for raising the specter of Soviet nuclear superiority is that you make people face up to the nature of the dangers we are facing."

TASS

**Brezhnev addressing trade union members at the Kremlin last week**

*A vague threat that harkened back to the 1962 Cuban missile crisis.*

Both Democrats and Republicans agree that the antinuclear sentiment is growing as a political issue. In Washington, at least, it is not yet seen as a truly pivotal issue, like the state of the economy, for this fall's election. "It is more like the environmental movement of the 1970s than the antiwar movement of the 1960s," says Robert Neuman, director of communications for the Democratic National Committee. "It is confrontational, and will probably not become a Democratic or Republican issue." Says Republican Political Consultant David Keene: "It's like motherhood and apple pie. Who's going to be *in favor* of nuclear war?"

Some political observers believe that Reagan could defuse the movement—or co-opt it—by sitting down to negotiate with the Soviets. Some supporters of the initiative secretly hope that will happen. Only a proven anti-Communist like Richard Nixon could have opened the door to mainland China in the early 1970s without causing a divisive national debate. Similarly, the argument goes, only a President as strong on national defense as Reagan could bargain with the Kremlin on nuclear arms in the early 1980s. That, indeed, may be the idea whose time has come. —***By James Kelly. Reported by Benjamin W. Cate/Los Angeles and B.J. Phillips/Atlanta, with other bureaus.***

# For and Against a Freeze

## *Voices from a citizens' chorus on a complex issue*

*Why has the nuclear-freeze movement emerged at this moment of American history? How seriously should it be taken?* TIME *asked a sampling of influential citizens who are deeply engaged in the nuclear debate to comment on the issues involved. Their responses:*

**ALAN CRANSTON, Democratic Senator from California and presidential aspirant:** The peace movement in Europe has spread across the ocean, and back into Eastern Europe, I might add. Another factor is that Ronald Reagan frightens people. The rhetoric has alarmed people. The calls for huge increases in defense spending make us wonder. So have the absurd statements by Administration officials that a nuclear war can be survived, if one has a shovel and can dig a hole fast enough. It's a form of sickness not to face up to and deal with the situation. But people are beginning to emerge from that sickness and come to grips with it.

It's a terrible thing to think about. It's very tough, but it has to be dealt with. It will have to come by an act of leadership from both the U.S. and U.S.S.R., a willingness to engage in negotiations like there have never been before. We have to cut out the diplomatic dance. This madness can only be broken by leaders of the U.S. and U.S.S.R. sitting down and agreeing that this must stop.

We cannot let infinite detail get in the way, as in other arms talks. There should be no agenda worked out by staff in advance. We should just sit down and talk about it. The Soviets don't want to be blown up in a nuclear war; they know the danger. We'll never know if nuclear weapons have been eliminated. The threat will be with mankind forever. [But without action], sooner or later a nuclear war will happen. Possibly all life will end. If that's possible, we have to act on the assumption that it's true. We have to avoid ever finding out.

**EDWARD TELLER, "father" of the hydrogen bomb and a Reagan Administration science adviser:** I hope [the nuclear-freeze movement] will not become an important force. I hope more sense will prevail. If the nuclear freeze goes through, this country won't exist in 1990. The Soviet Union is a country that has had totalitarian rule for many hundreds of years, and what a relatively small ruling class there might do can be very different from what a democratic country can decide to do. The rulers in the Kremlin are as eager as Hitler was to get power over the whole world. But unlike Hitler they are not gamblers. If we can put up a missile defense that makes their attack dubious, chances are they will never try the attack. We can avoid a third world war, but only if strength is in the hands of those who want peace more than they want power.

Our policy of [military] secrecy is very badly overdone. It makes the public discussion irrational, because it wipes out the difference between people who know what they are talking about and those who do not. Those who do know are not allowed to say what they know. Therefore, the whole discussion is made on an uninformed basis. By practicing secrecy we are doing nothing except impeding our collaboration with our allies and keeping the American people in ignorance.

**JOHN QUINN, Roman Catholic Archbishop of San Francisco:** Any weapon that can bring about irreversible ecological damage to large portions of the earth, untold genetic damage for countless generations to come, and that can destroy in the most horrifying manner massive noncombatant populations is a colossal evil and totally immoral. The very real possibility of the destruction of all life on our planet is above all a religious and moral issue.

At the same time, the billions of dollars which are being spent on these arms each year by a growing number of nations is an appalling form of theft, when so many of the world's dispossessed are being deprived of the possibilities of a minimal human existence in a world of abundance. It is the very dismissal of these moral considerations that now threatens to project us into an abyss of fantasy, in which a nuclear war is thought of as possible and even survivable.

**MICHAEL NOVAK, Roman Catholic philosopher and neoconservative social critic:** The point of deterrence is to deter. Weapons do not fire themselves. Where the will is lacking, deterrence is absent. To deter nuclear disaster and the spread of totalitarian power is not a pleasant business. It is not a form of cheap grace. It demands of us extremes of self-discipline and self-sacrifice. National security is not separable from the defense of free institutions, built at the cost of so much intellectual diligence, sweat and blood.

Those who choose deterrence do not choose less than the highest human values; they choose the only state of development within which human beings would freely choose to live. It is not "better to be dead than Red"; it is better to be neither. As the history of our time amply demonstrates, some who choose the latter have not avoided the former. Avoidance of both sickening alternatives is the moral good which deterrence, and deterrence alone, effects.

The bishops [who favor a nuclear freeze] use the freedom purchased for them by the strategy of deterrence they decry to look down upon those who keep them free. I call them the "war bishops" because their views are more likely to lead to war than the alternative.

**CYRUS VANCE, former Secretary of State:** I urge a rapid resumption of SALT II negotiations and a serious effort at a successful conclusion. I think it is realistic to expect the Soviets to agree to further reductions beyond the SALT II figures [on strategic launchers] plus accepting other cosmetic changes. It is important to recognize that there will be pressures on both sides not to continue the tacit observance of SALT II. For example, Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev's latest statement suggests to me that they will create a new [missile] system, perhaps putting a third stage on the intermediate-range SS-20, converting it into an intercontinental missile, which is prohibited by SALT. There will be parallel pressures on the U.S. to break out of the SALT constraints.

Second, we should pursue Theater Nuclear Force talks in parallel with the effort to push ahead with START [Strategic Arms Reduction Talks]. Third, we should look seriously for progress in the negotiations on equalizing conventional forces in Europe. I think some sort of breakthrough would then be possible on battlefield nuclear weapons in Europe. If the Soviets would agree to equal conventional force levels with NATO, the battlefield weapons could be withdrawn, particularly from the forward areas where the threat of their being overrun represents one of the major threats of early use of nuclear weapons.

**MARVIN GOLDBERGER, atomic scientist and president of the California Institute of Technology:** In the fall of 1981 I was on a committee to select prospective Rhodes scholars from all over California. Cecil Rhodes asked that people be chosen who could "contribute to the world's fight." I asked all these 16 exceptional young men and women what they considered to be the central problem in "the world's fight." Every single one answered that the issue was how to reduce the danger of nuclear war.

I can find much to argue about in any of the various bilateral nuclear freeze proposals now under discussion. But that's not what is truly important. The freeze initiatives are an attempt by the people of this country to do something, to get the attention of our leaders, to say that we must put an end to this madness that has been going on for the past 35 years. No one suggests that a freeze is an end in itself. It is a beginning that must be followed immediately by an orderly, thoughtful, realistic and verifiable reduction in nuclear arms, and a renewed dedication to the prevention of a further spread of nuclear weapons.

**JEROME WIESNER, engineer and former president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology:** There has been for a long time deep-seated fear of nuclear war, but only since those in power have begun to talk openly about the prospects of fighting and winning a nuclear war have people recognized the danger. When the leaders of the Government say they are prepared to fight a nuclear war and it really isn't going to be all that painful, the public response is not all that surprising. In a sense this Administration has been more honest with us than its predecessors.

The nuclear-freeze proposal is a good start, for it would be a major change in the direction the world is going. It is a very important first step, and a perfectly safe one. The freeze would not eliminate nuclear weapons, but it would stop increasingly dangerous new technology. The current deterrent forces on both sides are sufficiently secure so that either the President or Mr. Brezhnev could declare a unilateral freeze and challenge the other to join.

**SIMON RAMO, co-founder of TRW Inc. (a major electronics and aerospace firm), chief scientist for the ICBM program in the 1950s and consultant on strategic policy for seven Administrations:** The nuclear-arms race has become far more expensive, useless and perilous than either the U.S. or the Soviet Union can continue to countenance. Neither nation can hope now to gain any military advantage or add to its security by using or threatening to use nuclear bombs. Massive retaliation must be expected by any would-be first striker who is not insane. Not even a surprise attack could be successful. Such an operation cannot be rehearsed even once. A 1% imperfection in performance, a level which experienced weapons engineers would call absurdly optimistic, would be intolerable to the attacker.

Thus deliberately starting a nuclear war with the goal of winning is an idea whose time, if it ever came, has passed. The more perilous possibility is a crisis provoked by the temporary irrationality of leadership, a result of panic, misinformation or misunderstanding. Both sides should recognize that the only reason left for a nuclear capability is to deter the other side from ever using it. It would be an act of world leadership for both superpowers to admit that fact and take necessary steps toward nuclear-arms reduction.

**JOSEPH NYE, Harvard University professor and former Deputy Under Secretary of State for nonproliferation policy:** A sensible nuclear policy has to make clear to people that the weapons are usable enough to be credible and deter the Soviets, but are not so usable that they are actually used. We have a very narrow box in which to work. If the Reagan Administration had taken arms control more seriously sooner, that would have helped to reassure the public that there was an intention to manage this narrow space between these two extremes.

I personally do not think the [nuclear] freeze is the right idea. The type of weapon is more important than the number of weapons when you are concerned with crisis stability. We should not get ourselves in a position where we are left with some weapons that are destabilizing and prohibited from moving in the direction of weapons that might be stabilizing.

The escapism of the right is to treat nuclear weapons just like other weapons in warfare; the escapism of the left is to treat them as though you could make them all go away. If you don't believe either of those is realistic, then you have to continually think how to make sure that you preserve a careful management of nuclear weapons. ■

# On the March—U.S. Version of Peace Crusade

**This time it's the middle class, not college radicals, leading an antiwar movement. Though quieter than European protesters, activists in rising numbers alarm officials worried about a Soviet edge in nuclear arms.**

Even as President Reagan presses the largest peacetime military buildup in the nation's history, a peace movement demanding a first-step global freeze on nuclear arms is quietly picking up support across the U.S.

Still a faint echo of the much louder antinuclear outcry that has shaken Western Europe—but potentially more far-reaching—the American campaign is starting to draw attention in Washington. Government officials warn that it might undermine the nation's efforts to keep the Soviet Union from gaining superiority in strategic weapons.

At the same time, the movement is mustering important political support. On March 10, Senators Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Mark Hatfield (R-Oreg.) led 139 members of Congress in aligning themselves with the drive to halt the nuclear-arms race. The lawmakers announced that they would seek a resolution of both houses asking Reagan to negotiate an atomic-weapons freeze with the Soviets. Three days before, former Vice President Walter F. Mondale gave his support to the freeze initiative.

Barely a year after the U.S. ban-the-bomb drive formally began, more than a million Americans have endorsed its aims with their signatures or votes in state referendum or resolution campaigns, and the support is expected to pass the 1.5-million mark by June.

Still in its formative stage, the peace crusade remains largely uncoordinated; it includes more than 75 groups with varying aims. Yet the movement's backers claim a far broader and more influential following than the largely young and defiantly anti-establishment activists who spearheaded the opposition to the Vietnam War. Dedicated recruits to the new peace movement include substantial numbers of the middle-aged and the elderly, blue-collar workers and professionals as well as homemakers. The most significant enthusiasts: A broad spectrum of clergy of all faiths.

Signals of the newly emerging pacifism across America—

- The Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign—based in St. Louis and working to ban testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons by the U.S. and Russia—has 20,000 volunteers working in 149 offices in 47 states. Moves are afoot to put statewide nuclear-freeze referendums on the ballot in California, Michigan, New Jersey, Montana and Delaware. Resolutions of support have passed legislatures in Oregon, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maine and Vermont.
- In a series of mid-March town meetings in New Hampshire, 33 of 44 participating communities voted for a nuclear-arms freeze. Earlier, 161 of 192 Vermont towns did so.
- The Fellowship of Reconciliation, a 66-year-old interfaith pacifist group, has more than doubled its 1970s membership and on request from local churches has distributed some 500,000 brochures on peacemaking.
- The National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, known as SANE, which has been working for a quarter century to halt the arms race, reports that its paid membership has jumped 88 percent in the last year to 16,000.
- Ground Zero, an organization dedicated to informing the public on dangers of nuclear arms, is publishing 200,000 copies of a paperback book—*Nuclear War: What's in It for You?*—and planning a nationwide Ground Zero Week in April featuring community discussions and other events.

## "Latent Fear of Nuclear War"

Cited by organizers as evidence of the emerging mood is a recent Gallup Poll that shows 72 percent of Americans questioned favored a U.S.-Soviet pact not to build any more nuclear weapons. Says George Gallup, Jr.: "The latent fear of nuclear war among the American public should not be minimized. It is clearly something to reckon with."

While some leaders of the new pacifists are veteran antiwar protesters, the bulk appear to be ordinary people convinced that the nuclear-arms race has careened out of control and is leading to the mutual destruction of both the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

Opponents of the movement, both inside and outside government, argue that the protesters at best are naïve about the Kremlin's intentions and at worst could derail an American military buildup that is essential for the nation's world position if not for its very survival.

Latest estimates show that the U.S. leads in nuclear warheads with 9,208 to Russia's 7,000, but Russia is well ahead in delivery systems, 2,498 to 1,944, and in missile payload, 11.75 million pounds to 3.385 million pounds.

Americans in increasing numbers are not only signing petitions for peace groups but also helping to finance them. The Fund for Peace reports a 25 percent increase in contributions over last year, for an operating budget of 1.9 million dollars.

A crucial early test of the crusade's strength is under way in California, where a coalition of activists is seeking a statewide referendum on a nuclear-arms freeze by both superpowers. The California drive in three months has reached its initial goal of collecting 500,000 signatures to assure getting the issue on the No-

**Recruits to the new American peace drive stretch from clergy members to professionals to children.**

vember ballot. Backers hope success in California will, like the state's Proposition 13 tax-limitation referendum in 1978, spark a citizens' movement that will sweep the country.

Business executives, musicians, women's groups and even children are involved in the drive against atomic weapons. The Rev. William Sloane Coffin, Jr., of New York's Riverside Church, a leading figure in the anti-nuclear-arms campaign and a veteran of the Vietnam protests, notes the sharp differences in membership of the two movements: "The white collar seems to have taken over where the blue jeans left off. Now, it is doctors, scientists and lawyers on center stage instead of people from campuses and the arts."

A 20-year-old group called Physicians for Social Responsibility is drawing upon its 10,000 members in 40 states to conduct a series of symposiums on the medical consequences of nuclear war. The Union of Concerned Scientists sent members to 150 college campuses late in 1981 to conduct teach-ins on the danger of atomic arms.

Most of today's job-oriented students have not yet shown the same zeal for banning the bomb that their predecessors did for stopping the Vietnam War. But a new group called United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War will stage a nationwide convocation on some 200 campuses on April 22, as Congress debates the Reagan budget that calls for a drastic cutback in student-loan programs and record levels of military spending.

Participants in the new peace movement have a wide variety of goals, ranging from opposition to local nuclear testing or weapons installations in certain Western states to doing away with all the world's atomic arsenals. Some old-line pacifist organizations insist on banishing even conventional weapons or, in the words of one analyst, "turning every last sword into a plowshare."

Most activists, however, favor a U.S.-Soviet nuclear freeze as a practical first goal. As Dorothy Eldridge, head of New Jersey's SANE group, explains it, this stance "provides the average citizen with a common-sense handle on a complex, deeply threatening problem. By comparison, the pros and cons of SALT II were so technical and confusing that the mass of citizens could only shrug and leave it to the experts, who got us into our present fix."

## Laying the Foundations

The American peace movement is a subdued one compared with the strident street marches and rallies in Europe. For the most part, the U.S. crusade has emphasized quiet discussions, showings of antinuclear films and prayer. Organizers term this period the "consciousness raising" phase—one they hope will lay the foundation for later efforts to influence policy by demonstrating popular strength.

Already, however, signs of a more dramatic and muscular approach are emerging in the form of scattered direct challenges to authorities. In Seattle, Catholic Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen announced that he would withhold half of the tax on his 1981 personal income as a protest against the U.S. nuclear buildup, calling it "a grave moral evil." He urged other Catholics to do likewise.

Bishop Leroy T. Matthiesen of Amarillo, Tex., exhorted Catholic workers in a nearby nuclear-weapons plant to "seek new jobs or something that they could do which would contribute to life rather than destroy it." To assist workers who quit, an order of Catholic priests in St. Paul, Minn., sent the bishop $10,000.

In Livermore, Calif., in early February, police arrested 170 members of a peace group for trying to block the gates at a government atomic laboratory. Those jailed included Daniel Ellsberg, who was instrumental a decade ago in releasing the Pentagon Papers on the U.S. role in Vietnam.

Some pacifists call such gestures "premature" and "potentially harmful." Others welcome tough challenges to the authorities as a headline-grabbing way of awakening public concern and gaining new supporters.

**In town meetings, a heavy majority of communities in Vermont and New Hampshire endorsed the nuclear-freeze proposal.**

## Behind the Latest Drive

What is fueling this new American peace crusade? Is the movement controlled by European activists, groups sympathetic to Communism, or former Vietnam War protesters?

There is no evidence that the recent growth was generated simply by a few score former Vietnam activists in staff positions. Nor are there any signs that pro-Communist sympathizers exert any significant influence. One delegation of 15 American activists has visited Europe to talk with organizers of antinuclear activity there—some of the Americans even marching in at least one large demonstration—but its members insist that no help was sought or given.

The key force behind the American antiwar crusade consists of leaders of most of the nation's churches.

At a meeting in Washington in late 1981, an appeal for nuclear disarmament by Archbishop John R. Roach of St. Paul–Minneapolis, elected leader of U.S. Catholic bishops, drew strong support from among the 263 bishops attending, 69 of whom have specifically endorsed the nuclear-freeze proposal. The United Methodist bishops have called the threat of nuclear holocaust "the most crucial issue facing the people of the world today" and pledged to help build a U.S. groundswell for peace on the European model. Many Presbyterian and Lutheran leaders have stepped up their antiwar activity, while the governing synod of the United Church of Christ has thrown its backing to "unilateral initiative by the United States" if that is necessary to begin the process of nuclear disarmament.

Three historic "peace churches"—Mennonites, Society of Friends (Quakers) and the Church of the Brethren—have challenged their members to renew their commitments with radical acts including civil disobedience.

Evangelist Billy Graham said recently in an interview: "I am not a pacifist and I don't believe in unilateral disarmament, but I do believe in [eliminating] nuclear weapons. As long as any of these weapons exist, there is a danger."

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, national interreligious-affairs director of the American Jewish Committee, joined with five prominent members of the Episcopalian clergy in pledging to help organize "millions of co-religionists" into a massive force to help avoid nuclear disaster.

In the face of this ecclesiastical militancy, Michael Novak, scholar in religion and public policy at the conservatively

oriented American Enterprise Institute, has warned Catholics against following the pleas of the "peace bishops," saying: "These clergymen appear unaware that Russia has been pushing a tremendous atomic-weapons buildup over recent years, while the U.S. was tapering off. To call a halt now would leave us at a serious disadvantage in numbers of military aircraft and with no antiballistic-missile system such as the Soviets possess."

### A Test of Strength

Late this spring, the fledgling American peace movement is scheduled to spread its wings in what backers hope will be a major demonstration of power. The target: A special United Nations session on disarmament opening in New York on June 7. A week before, on May 28-31, the churches will test their strength as peace services are conducted in some 3,000 churches and synagogues. Then groups from as many as 30 states are to head for Manhattan by chartered bus and plane to join delegations from Western Europe and Japan at a World Peace Day on June 12. Organizers hope the turnout will top 200,000.

The major factor in triggering the country's new outburst of pacifism has been the breakdown of U.S.-Soviet efforts to control strategic weapons, starting in 1979 with the Senate's failure to ratify the Salt II treaty.

Compounding this concern, peace campaigners say, are the stance and policies of the Reagan administration—the harsh anti-Soviet rhetoric, the coolness toward strategic-arms-control negotiations with Russia and the flurry of high-level talk last year of fighting a limited nuclear war in Europe.

Explains David Brunell, head of the anti-nuclear-arms campaign of the Union of Concerned Scientists: "To many of us, the arms race between the U.S. and Russia is like two kids standing up to their knees in a room full of gasoline. One has 10 matches, the other eight. Neither kid says he will feel safe unless he has more matches; yet each has many more than he needs to blow the place up. That's why people don't feel more secure with more missiles."

Such talk brings quick retorts from American officials. Secretary of State Alexander Haig told a Senate subcommittee on March 10 in relation to proposals for a nuclear-arms freeze: "This is not only a bad defense policy, but it is a bad arms-control policy as well. The effect of a U.S. acceptance could be devastating." He said the freeze proposal would hinder current U.S.-Soviet talks in Geneva on limiting nuclear missiles in Europe.

GEORGE BIRCH

**Harold Willens holds California petition for nuclear-weapons moratorium.**

Peace spokesmen say they believe Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev was sincere in suggesting to an Australian disarmament group in February that there be a bilateral moratorium on nuclear weapons. They say he has three good reasons: Almost all the nuclear weapons outside Russia are aimed at the Soviet Union; the arms race is a massive drain on the Russian economy, and a freeze would halt the escalation into counterforce weapons—an area where the U.S. is said to be several years ahead.

Most pacifists stress that they see the freeze only as a first step toward mutual arms cutbacks. They add that they would insist on satellite surveillance and other verification of Soviet weapons reductions. "There is a calculated risk involved," admits Randy Kehler, coordinator for the national freeze campaign, "but we think a start must be made soon and somewhere."

Critics of the Kremlin voice a sharply different view. Says Gerald Steibel, director of national security at the National Strategy Information Center, a private group promoting a stronger U.S. defense: "A joint nuclear-freeze agreement between the U.S. and Russia at the present levels would give the Soviets an overwhelming advantage in Europe. It would leave our Western allies there vulnerable not only to nuclear and conventional attack but to nuclear blackmail."

What are the prospects that the American peace movement will gain enough mass support to influence national policy? Analysts concede that the crusade is growing steadily but note that it is still fragmented and has the potential for blowing apart over differences in goals and tactics.

Says one organizer: "There's no question we are gathering steam. But I don't think we are going to know enough about whether we have something really big going here—something capable of moving Washington and Moscow—until we see what happens in the months just ahead." □

*By DAVID B. RICHARDSON*

## Why Join the Peace Movement?

*Some typical supporters of the drive to freeze nuclear arms talk about why they joined the campaign:*

**Dana Lindley, 33, Indianola, Iowa, homemaker:** "My commitment began when my church asked me to head a committee to find ways of working for peace. The more I read and studied, the more I was convinced this was not just another routine activity. I became terrified at the immensity and horror of the nuclear-arms danger. Suddenly, doing what I could to avoid a nuclear war began to supersede all social and housewifely things."

**Dick Peterson, 45, Lincoln, Nebr., lawyer:** "I am a lifelong Republican and not normally a person who goes in for causes. But soon after Reagan came into office, I became alarmed at this administration's bellicose posture and massive escalation of arms spending."

**Harold Willens, 66, Los Angeles business executive:** "My generation remembers the atomic horrors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The way things are going, we think it's high time to blow the whistle before we're all blown to hell."

**Dick Riley, 61, Des Moines, Iowa, retired Navy captain:** "I saw enough war to give me a bellyful. I don't want my grandchildren to go to war, or any other individual on this earth. I strongly believe a nuclear deterrent is a 'must' until we can make our adversaries agree to jointly disarm. But no form of arms control is realistic that allows others to expand their nuclear weaponry."

**Nan Rodney, 44, Springfield, Va., homemaker:** "The first thing I think about when the neighborhood civil-defense siren goes off in a test every month is my kids. Now, I am working almost full time to try to prevent a real doomsday from ever happening."

Analysis

# What's Next for the Nuclear-Freeze Movement

**The antinuclear crusade has come a long way fast. Ahead is the tough part: Turning a controversial idea into U.S. policy.**

An American peace movement that has captured the world's attention now faces a test of whether it can bring to bear enough pressure on Washington to accept a U.S.-Soviet freeze on nuclear arms.

The way the nationwide peace crusade caught fire already is credited with helping persuade the Reagan administration to soften its harsh anti-Soviet rhetoric and to open arms-control talks June 29 with Russia.

The question now: Will the freeze campaign be a major force in future U.S. policymaking, or will it quickly fade as have so many such movements in the past?

Even before President Reagan's June 17 appearance in a peacemaker's role at the special United Nations session on disarmament, U.S. nuclear activists demonstrated their strength by staging in New York their first massive rally.

**Soaring start.** There is no denying that the rise of the freeze campaign has been spectacular. In only 15 months, campaigners have obtained nearly 2 million signatures on antinuclear-arms petitions, while recruiting volunteers to gather still more grass-roots support across 48 states.

Reflecting the movement's rising influence, 125 city councils have passed resolutions endorsing the freeze, along with one or both houses of 12 state legislatures. Similar endorsements have come from some 200 members of Congress, often under strong home-district pressures.

Yet the future of the crusade is clouded with doubts and difficulties. In its first congressional test on June 9, the Republican-controlled Senate Foreign Relations Committee rejected a freeze resolution on a near party-line vote, 10 to 6.

Much depends on how Americans resolve an ambivalence in their minds between fear of nuclear holocaust and danger to national security.

A recent *New York Times*/CBS News Poll showed 72 percent of Americans favor a U.S.-Soviet nuclear freeze, but only 30 percent want a freeze if it might leave the Soviet Union with somewhat more strength.

Administration officials believe Reagan has deepened such reservations, even if he has not defused the movement, with his warning that a freeze would lock in Soviet superiority—a point disputed by nuclear-arms experts in the movement.

Still, some Republican leaders admit uneasiness about the possible impact of the freeze campaign on a number of 1982 congressional elections. The freeze will be on the ballot as a referendum in at least five states, including such key ones as California, Michigan and New Jersey, with another five possibly to follow suit. The worry among GOP professionals: A heavy profreeze vote could carry over into at least a few close congressional contests where candidates take strong positions on the issue.

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"Well, it got his attention."

Despite Reagan's decision to start arms-control talks with the Russians, Democrats predict that this will make little immediate difference to voters. Says one party staffer: "Reagan faces a credibility gap in his sudden switch to peacemaker from fire-breathing hawk. Many feel he is still set on winning an arms race." On this issue, some Democrats already are eying the 1984 presidential campaign.

Two leading Democratic presidential aspirants—Edward Kennedy and Walter Mondale—have endorsed the freeze. A Democratic pollster, Patrick H. Caddell, says the concept has caused "a firestorm that goes beyond comprehension."

For freeze-campaign leaders, however, endorsements by prominent Democrats are a mixed blessing. Activists insist that theirs is a nonpartisan issue and claim many Republicans in their ranks. They worry that other Republicans may stop joining or drop out if the campaign begins to seem a straight partisan issue.

**Link to economy.** In an effort to maintain momentum, organizers plan to broaden their approach. Top priority: Link the freeze to key U.S. economic issues by offering it as a means of cutting arms spending, thereby helping to relieve unemployment, inflation and high interest rates and to soften trims in student loans and social programs.

Even so, the campaign's main strength remains its focus on the simply grasped—some critics say "simplistic"—concept of a freeze on all atomic weapons as the best means of avoiding nuclear war.

Unlike European antinuclear protests that center on the U.S. Pershing 2 missiles, the American crusade singles out no specific nuclear hardware. It calls instead for a blanket moratorium to halt the arms race. Regardless of who has the edge now, its arms-control experts insist, the U.S. and Russia both have enough atomic weapons to finish each other off.

"By 1984," predicts Randy Kehler, national coordinator of the freeze campaign, "so many Americans will be behind a freeze that the level of support today may look like first base." That could be optimistic, but many analysts agree that the antinuclear outcry that has risen nearly overnight from little more than a whisper seems likely to persist as a strong voice on the American scene.

*By DAVID B. RICHARDSON*

# Reagan Urges One-Third Cut in Missile Forces

PRESIDENT REAGAN
... calls for "dismantling of nuclear menace"

## Asks for Talks by End of June

By Lou Cannon
Washington Post Staff Writer

EUREKA, Ill., May 9—President Reagan, calling for "dismantling of the nuclear menace," today proposed reducing by one-third the strategic missile arsenals of the United States and the Soviet Union.

Speaking at the commencement ceremony of Eureka College, from which he was graduated 50 years ago, Reagan unveiled a two-phase plan of nuclear arms reductions and urged the Soviets to join in discussions on them by the end of June.

"I believe that the West can fashion a realistic, durable policy that will protect our interests and keep the peace, not just for this generation, but for your children and grandchildren," Reagan said to a burst of applause.

The first phase of the president's proposal would reduce ballistic missile warheads to "equal ceilings at least a third below current levels," with no more than half of these missiles based on land. This would cut the roughly equivalent level of warheads on both sides from 7,500 to 5,000. A prime goal is reduction of "the most destabilizing nuclear systems," a reference to the powerful and accurate Soviet SS18 and SS19 missiles.

A second phase, on which the president provided no details, looks to an equal ceiling on all strategic nuclear forces, with the apparent but unspecified goals of preventing either superpower from launching a successful first nuclear strike against the other.

"In both phases, we shall insist on verification procedures to ensure compliance with the agreement," Reagan said.

[In Moscow, in an apparent attempt to take the edge off Reagan's arms control initiative, Defense Minister Dmitri F. Ustinov said in a sharply worded article in Pravda that "The Soviet Union will not allow the existing balance of forces to be disrupted."]

See PRESIDENT, A11, Col. 1



Source: Washington Post, May 10, 1982. P. A1, A10, A11.

# Reagan Unveils 2-Phase Plan To Cut Back Missile Arsenals

**PRESIDENT, From A1**

Speaking to an audience of more than 2,000 packed into a sweltering, metal-roofed gymnasium, the president jokingly remarked that "it isn't true that I just came back to clean out my gym locker." Reagan wore the red robes of the honorary doctorate he received when he addressed the commencement class of 1957, 25 years after he graduated, and he quipped: "Mind if I try for the 75th?"

In his speech, Reagan said he was willing to negotiate in good faith on Soviet counterproposals. A senior administration official said today that he expects the Russians to counter with some proposal to reduce the number of bombers, in which the United States has a definite edge. The official said the United States is prepared to negotiate on this issue.

Reagan also hinted that he was willing to accept Soviet President Leonid I. Brezhnev's proposal for a fall summit meeting.

"I have already expressed my own desire to meet with President Brezhnev in New York next month," Reagan said. "If this cannot be done I would hope we could arrange a future meeting where positive results can be anticipated. And when we sit down, I will tell President Brezhnev that the United States is ready to build a new understanding based upon the principles I have outlined today."

Brezhnev, who is 75 and ailing, has rejected a June meeting, calling instead for a "well prepared summit" in October. Administration officials said last week that the president was prepared to accept such an offer, adding that Brezhnev's health appeared to be the main obstacle to such a meeting.

Until today, the 71-year-old Reagan has declined to make any reference to the health of the Soviet president. But in his speech to the Eureka graduating class Reagan made an oblique mention of Brezhnev's condition, saying that "both the current and the new Soviet leadership should realize [that] aggressive policies will meet a firm western response."

While Reagan was calling for "a new start toward a more peaceful, more secure world," he repeated many of his favorite accusations against the Soviet Union, which he referred to as "a huge empire ruled by an elite that holds all power and privilege" and fears that this power is slipping from its grasp.

"The Soviet empire is faltering because rigid, centralized control has destroyed incentives for innovation, efficiency and individual achievement," Reagan said. "Spiritually, there is a sense of malaise and resentment."

The president said that despite its social and economic problems, "the Soviet dictatorship has forged the largest armed force in the world." He repeated his longstanding view that a military balance is needed to counter this force but also said that the West would respond with expanded trade and other forms of cooperation if the Soviet Union embarked on peaceful policies.

Reagan called attention to the situation in Poland, where he said the Soviet Union has "refused to allow the people of Poland to decide their own fate, just as it refused to allow the people of Hungary to decide theirs in 1956 or the people of Czechoslovakia in 1968."

If martial law is lifted, political prisoners released and a dialogue restored with the Solidarity Union, Reagan said the United States was prepared to join in a program of economic support for Poland.

But the speech bristled with skepticism about Soviet intentions.

"Unfortunately, for some time suspicions have grown that the Soviet Union has not been living up to its obligations under existing arms control treaties," Reagan said. "There is conclusive evidence the Soviet Union has provided toxins to the Laotians and Vietnamese for use against defenseless villagers in Southeast Asia. And the Soviets themselves are employing chemical weapons on the freedom fighters in Afghanistan."

The timing of today's speech was dictated in part by the president's desire to demonstrate in advance of his European trip next month that he is serious about discussions with the Soviet Union that would lead to reduction of nuclear weapons and also to take the initiative on the arms control issue away from advocates of an immediate nuclear weapons "freeze" at present levels.

The president offered no prospect for quick or easy success.

"The monumental task of reducing and reshaping our strategic forces to enhance stability will take many years of concentrated effort," Reagan said. "But I believe that it will be possible to reduce the risk of war by removing the instabilities that now exist and by dismantling the nuclear menace."

Administration officials said they hope the discussions will proceed at a brisker pace than the negotiations that led to the SALT I treaty signed in 1972 or the SALT II treaty, which was withdrawn by President Carter in 1979 after it became clear that the Senate would not ratify it. The negotiations leading to that ultimately unsuccessful effort took seven years.

Reagan said that he had written to Brezhnev outlining his proposal and directed Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. to approach the Soviet government proposing initiation of the strategic arms reduction talks (START) "at the earliest opportunity."

"We will negotiate seriously, in good faith, and carefully consider all proposals made by the Soviet Union," Reagan said. "If they approach these negotiations in the same spirit, I am confident that together we can achieve an agreement of enduring value that reduces the number of nuclear weapons, halts the growth in strategic forces, and opens the way to even more far-reaching steps in the future."

Reagan's return to the small liberal arts college from which he graduated in 1932 was a sentimental occasion. He has come back to Eureka—as movie actor, governor of California and political candidate—many times since he left Illinois. During a speech at Eureka in October, 1980, Reagan referred to the years he had spent at the college as the happiest of his life.

Often, Reagan has said that those who share the memories of a small college enjoy a richer tradition than many graduates of larger, better-known universities.

"If it is true that tradition is the glue holding civilization together, then Eureka has made its contribution to that effort," Reagan said. "Yes, it is a small college in a small community; it is no impersonal, assembly-line diploma mill. As the years pass . . . you'll find the four years you have spent here living in your memory as a rich and important part of your life."

After his speech, Reagan went by helicopter to Peoria, where he attended a reunion of the Eureka class of '32, shaking hands with each of the 37 fellow alumnae who attended and their spouses. One former classmate, Karl Meyer, who roomed in the same fraternity house with Reagan, said he was "honest, poor, a helluva nice guy."

# Plan Could Help Ease War Fears

By Michael Getler
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Reagan's dramatic new proposals yesterday for big reductions in Soviet and American nuclear missiles could, if accepted by Moscow, go a long way to reducing the fear of nuclear war.

If the president succeeds in getting the Soviets to reduce their stockpile of big land-based missiles that threaten this country's

*News Analysis*

force of smaller missiles, then Americans can breathe easier. The temptation of either side to strike first would be greatly reduced and maybe eliminated because neither side—after reductions—would have an obvious advantage.

So in one sense, the plan is a would-be step to nuclear de-escalation.

But it will almost certainly not be an end to what most people would call "the arms race." The new proposals probably will still mean footing the bill for expensive new MX, Trident II and cruise missiles as well as new B1 and Stealth bombers.

For example, administration officials say the United States will propose that each side gradually reduce to about 850 the total of missiles based in underground silos and on missile-firing submarines. Such a reduction would be gradual, taking perhaps five or 10 years. The United States now has roughly 1,700 such missiles and the Soviets 2,400.

But the officials also say privately that those future 850 U.S. missiles could well be 200 big new MX missiles and 650 of the new Trident II missiles. These could replace the existing 1,000 Minuteman land-based ICBMs and hundreds of the current Poseidon undersea missiles.

Similarly, while the United States is pre-

See ARMS, A10, Col. 1

ARMS, From A1

pared to discuss bombers and cruise missiles in the new talks with Moscow, these weapons will come under ceilings rather than be eliminated. Thus, the new B1 and Stealth bombers are still viewed as necessary replacements for the old and existing B52s.

In other words, although no details were discussed about what the United States might give up in the negotiations, the administration believes that if America is to have smaller forces, they must be thoroughly modernized so that they continue to deter attack and are able to retaliate with confidence if necessary.

Reagan alluded to this in his speech when he talked of "the monumental task of reducing and reshaping our strategic forces to enhance stability . . . ."

In briefing reporters yesterday on the president's proposals, officials said the idea was to keep them clear and understandable so they can "command public support." That will not be easy because the subject is extremely complex and because Soviet and American missile forces have big differences.

In general terms, what the president is proposing is a plan that stresses eventual equality in striking power and seeks, above all, to reduce or remove the big Soviet lead over the United States in very large land-based missiles.

Of the roughly 2,400 Soviet missiles, 1,400 are land-based. This includes 308 of the huge SS18s, each of which carries 10 atomic warheads. The United States has nothing to match this weapon. There are also 450 four-warhead SS17 and six-warhead SS19 missiles.

The 1,700 U.S. missiles include the land-based Minutemen and 52 older Titan missiles already scheduled for retirement. The rest are on submarines. Many U.S. specialists say the American missile force is less of a threat to Moscow's missiles than the Soviet force poses to this country.

Officials say that each side now has roughly 7,500 individual warheads on land and sea missile forces. Until now, a figure of roughly 9,000 warheads for the United States and between 7,000 and 8,000 for Moscow has been used in official statements. The difference, officials say, is that the 7,500 figure does not include bombs carried on long-range bombers of both sides. The initial thrust of the U.S. proposal is to focus on the most destabilizing weapons, meaning Soviet land-based missiles, which are most accurate and therefore the gravest threat to knock out the Minuteman in a first strike.

The president proposes reductions to an equal ceiling "at least a third below current levels" of warheads. In effect, this means a cutback from 7,500 to around 5,000 warheads on all missiles on both sides.

Most importantly, however, Reagan then asks that "no more than half of those warheads be land-based." This means roughly 2,500 warheads on land-based missiles. This is crucial because the Soviets have 72 percent of their 7,500 or so warheads on land-based missiles—more than 3,000 of them on the 308 SS18s—while the United States has only 22 percent of its nuclear punch based on land with the rest on submarines and bombers.

Essentially, the administration is trying to force the Soviets away from continuing its emphasis on those threatening land-based systems. The idea is that Moscow would have to pay a very high price, within the overall allowed ceilings, to keep many land-based missiles as opposed to submarine-based missiles. This would also complicate any plans for a surprise attack.

Because submarine missiles are less accurate and therefore less threatening, and also because they are less vulnerable and therefore do not have to be fired quickly, they are generally not viewed as ones putting a hair-trigger on nuclear war. The new U.S. Trident II and Soviet Typhoon missiles now in development, however, will have greater accuracy and thus could also treaten to knock out missile silos.

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Aside from warheads, the president has also called for "significant reductions in missiles themselves," which officials privately say means an eventual ceiling of about 850 land- and sea-based missiles for both sides. This obviously will require far greater Soviet than American cutbacks.

These missiles and warhead cuts are meant to be part of what the president called "the first phase" of the strategic arms reductions talks, or START.

Reagan made no public mention of bombers, an area in which the United States has sizable advantages. These weapons, and cruise missiles that fly like jet planes, are also considered less threatening because they take hours to reach their targets and are therefore unlikely to be used in a surprise first strike.

Under questioning, briefing officials said Washington "was prepared to deal with bombers throughout both phases" of the START talks, since Moscow obviously will raise the issue. They said cruise missiles would also be dealt with but declined to say how or when.

Because Russian land-based missiles are so much bigger than their American counterparts, the Soviets also have a roughly 3-to-1 advantage in so-called "throw-weight," meaning the lifting power for hurling either big warheads or lots of them at targets. Therefore, the president said, in the second phase of START he also wants to equalize throw-weight, bringing both sides below current American levels.

Because equalizing throw-weight would mean forcing the biggest possible reductions on Moscow rather than the United States, some Pentagon officials argued strongly that this should be the paramount consideration. State Department officials, with support from the Joint Chiefs of Staff, are said to have argued privately that such an initial focus would make the proposal seem implausible to friend and foe alike.

Yesterday, however, officials stressed that no one's arguments were ignored and that cutting missiles and warheads is one way of cutting throw-weight.

And what about the Russians? The Soviets undoubtedly will reject the initial U.S. offering and argue that the United States seeks to protect its bomber and cruise missile edge and deploy the new MX and Trident while the Soviets are asked to give up the relatively new force of land-based ICBMs that have carried them to such prominence in global power politics. The Soviets will also probably see the proposals as an American effort to push the strategic competition to submarines, where U.S. technology also has an edge.

The administration, to the chagrin of critics, has taken well over a year to come up with this proposal but has made its general views known from the start. Officials said yesterday the plan "won't come as a major surprise" to Moscow and they expect talks to begin late next month.

The Soviets, as viewed from here, have serious economic problems, coming changes in leadership, problems in Poland and elsewhere. This could make talks to try to at least calm down the nuclear threat seem appealing. When asked what the United States would give the Soviets, officials do not mention MX or B1. Rather, they say, "an incentive to reduce the risk of nuclear war."

# Soviets Hit U.S. Plan On Arms

## But Kremlin Hints Proposal Could Be A Basis for Talks

By Dusko Doder
Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW, May 10—The Soviet Union received President Reagan's strategic arms control proposals today with skepticism, but indicated broadly that it was prepared to consider them as a basis for resuming talks with the United States on reducing nuclear arsenals.

The government news agency Tass carried a preliminary list of Soviet reservations using largely critical remarks by various American figures. It said Reagan's speech appeared to demonstrate that he was not interested in "mutually acceptable decisions" but was rather "indicative of the United States attempts to secure for itself unilateral military advantages."

But shortly afterward, the government news agency Novosti distributed to Western reporters the text of a commentary that restated similar suspicions but said "the very fact of American readiness to come back to the negotiating table can be welcomed, for it is better late than never."

"As for the Soviet side, it is always [ready] for talks," it added.

Soviet sources familiar with Kremlin strategic policies said Reagan's proposals were scrutinized carefully. Moscow's response, they said, could come only after the Soviets receive "detailed explanations" of the proposals.

The sources also emphasized that "some fundamental things" from the 1979 Soviet-American strategic arms limitation treaty "would have to be retained" in the new round of talks.

It appeared doubtful that preparations could be completed by late June, when Reagan proposed that the talks open, although the Kremlin clearly would like to resume the strategic dialogue with the United States soon.

See MOSCOW, A16, Col. 1

The Soviet Union was expected to advance its own package of proposals for forthcoming talks.

The first Soviet reports of Reagan's speech came 24 hours after he delivered it yesterday, proposing a two-step plan in which both sides initially would reduce by one-third their arsenals of nuclear warheads on land- and sea-based intercontinental ballistic missiles.

The Soviets were briefed on the new proposals on Saturday, when U.S. Charge d'Affaires Warren Zimmermann called on the Soviet Foreign Ministry to deliver an outline of Reagan's speech and the president's message to Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev.

Ostensibly quoting American critics of Reagan's plan, Tass gave a list of Soviet concerns saying the president's proposals aimed "at making the Soviet Union give up more than the United States."

The Tass report, from Washington, quoted several American politicians, weapons experts and press commentaries as being critical of the president's proposals. It quoted former secretary of state Edmund Muskie as saying the proposals were aimed at undermining disarmament, while the United States was attempting to achieve superiority over the Soviets.

Tass also quoted Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.), who criticized the fact that the Reagan plan would enable the United States to continue its rearmament program.

Moscow's concerns about the plan included its exclusion of long-range bombers and intermediate-range cruise missiles. Tass said this gave "far too little evidence" that Reagan was serious about curbing the arms race since the programs such as those developing the MX, Trident and cruise missiles and the B1 bomber would continue.

Yet the core of the president's plan—the proposed reduction by one-third in the number of warheads on both sides—appeared to be the principal concern because it seemed to suggest an entirely new focus to strategic arms control.

In previous negotiations, the two sides focused on the number of launchers, or large missiles, whose numbers could be monitored by the so-called national technical means, or spy satellites and other sophisticated electronic spying. Warheads in previous agreements were covered by set sublimits.

In the preliminary analysis here, Reagan's plan to make the warhead the basic unit of counting the strategic balance would imply on-site inspection, something Moscow has been reluctant to accept. It was pointed out, however, that Brezhnev stated publicly that he was prepared to accept some form of weapons inspection other than those provided by "national technical means." It was unclear how the verification of warheads could be accomplished, but some U.S. sources suggested a form of international supervision.

Reagan's proposal also provided that not more than half the retained warheads be land-based. The Soviets, who in contrast with the Americans, rely heavily on large, land-based missiles, see in this costs far greater for the Soviet Union than for the United States.



Source: Washington Post, May 11, 1982 p. A1. A16.

Neither Tass nor Novosti gave detailed accounts of Reagan's proposals. Both charged that they did not meet the basic Soviet requirement that any Soviet-American st ategic arms agreements should observe "the principle of equality and equal security."

"What also makes one wary is the opinion voiced by political analysts to the effect that underlying the president's need for an impressive speech were tactical motives of current policy rather than principles of peace considerations," Novosti commentator Gennady Gerasimov said.

He suggested that Reagan's proposals were aimed at offsetting the antinuclear movement in Western Europe, where Reagan will be visiting soon.

According to diplomatic observers, Reagan's straightforward and simple formula could prove an effective way to disarm antinuclear groups in the West.

Soviet sources said privately that the plan may have a "psychological effect" in the struggle for popular opinion. It makes it almost impossible for Moscow to reject it outright.

As one source put it, the issue of arms control "is far more complex than the number of warheads." Another source described the latest U.S. proposals as a "new zero option," a reference to the president's speech last November in which he proposed the abolition of all new intermediate-range missiles in Europe.

That proposal led to the current Soviet-American talks in Geneva. According to the Soviets, the Geneva talks have not moved off dead center as a result of U.S. "intransigence." Under Reagan's proposal, the United States would not deploy 572 new medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe next year if the Soviet Union dismantled all its medium-range missiles aimed at Western Europe.

Soviet sources also showed serious skepticism toward some American assessments suggesting that the new Reagan plan marked a shift in his dealings with the Soviet Union. According to this view, "great dangers" may be hidden behind the president's conciliatory stance, and a careful study of his proposals was required before Moscow could take a definitive position.

"The president's so-called initiative," Tass said, "in no measure affects the whole complex of strategic nuclear weapons, but draws only one narrow aspect from it."

Despite all reservations, Novosti noted that "the president expressed himself for dialogue . . . . The Soviet side expressed itself for dialogue with the new U.S. administration in February of 1981, a month after he assumed office."