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MEMORANDUM

#### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

January 4, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR BOB SIMS

FROM: KENNETH deGRAFFENREID

SUBJECT: Presidential Press Conference

While I do not recommend that the President say anymore than he has on the subject of Soviet influence in the freeze movement, the issue continues to percolate. Attached is one talking point demonstrating that the HPSCI report does indeed support the President's careful and limited statement that there is influence.

Attachment Talking Point

#### Soviet Influence in the Peace Movement

Contrary to initial press accounts the recent House Intelligence Committee report <u>does</u> support your statement concerning Soviet attempts to influence the peace movement. Before the House Committee, FBI Counterintelligence Director O'Malley testified that: "KGB officers have recently instructed their contacts to devote serious attention to the anti-war movement in the United States, especially with respect to coalitions forming among the various factions within the movement. . . . "In addition KGB officers have recently asked their contacts in the peace movement to report on meetings, participate in the planning of demonstrations, and distribute leaflets and other publications. Some KGB officers are also directly involved in efforts to influence the U.S. peace movement."

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MATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

#### ACTION

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January 3, 1982

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE NSC STAFF

FROM: BOB SIMS

SUBJECT: Presidential Press Conference

Attached are talking points prepared for the President, who may have a press conference this week. The talking points are based on inputs from State and Defense and previous guidances cleared by NSC staff.

Please advise me by COB Tuesday, January 4, if you have suggested changes, or if there are issues you think the President will be asked about, which are not included.

\* enlier if possible

Attachment

As stated

cc: John Poindexter Mort Allin

#### ASIA

#### TRAVEL PLANS

- Number of leaders from Asia have visited us and been kind enough to extend invitations to RR.
- Would like at some point to accept, but no specific plans now.

#### JAPAN TARIFF CUTS

- Welcome this constructive step and hope that Japanese will also take some additional action on non-tariff barriers.
- Importance of better trade relationship to be among topics at RR's January 18 meeting with new PM Nakasone.
- (Recognize protectionist pressures in other countries, as well as here, during world-wide recession. But will continue to oppose such steps because they will only hurt all concerned. Pleased Congress agreed with our position against legislated import quotas.)

#### JAPAN DEFENSE BUDGET

\_ Believe PM Nakasone shares with us the need for Japan to improve its self-defense capability to meet Soviet buildup. Welcome his efforts since taking office a few weeks ago.

 Japan -- as does U.S. -- faces economic difficulties in allocating its resources, but PM Nakasone and RR share concern over meeting vital security needs and look forward to working closely with him, beginning at his January 18 visit.

#### PRC/USSR RECONCILIATION

- Not for us to speculate, but would note strong Chinese statements last week (12/27) on Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and her emphasis, similar to ours, that improved relations with Soviets must depend on actions, not words.
- Certainly, as general proposition, U.S. welcomes reduction in regional and global tensions.

#### KOREAN RELEASE OF KIM DAE JUNG -- TRIUMPH FOR "QUIET DIPLOMACY"

- U.S. welcomes President Chun's recent moves to improve harmony and reconciliation.
- Our views were well known, but to discuss publicly what may or may not be part of our "quiet diplomacy" would tend to reduce the effectiveness of such diplomacy in future.

#### MIDEAST

Cn

#### PROPOSED BOEING SALE TO LIBYA

- Due to confidentiality provisions of Export Administration Act, unable to comment on status of export license applications.
- However, because Boeing has confirmed it has applied for a license, can say the application is under interagency review. Will have to await the outcome before saying more.

#### LEBANON: STATUS OF TALKS ON WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN FORCES

- Very pleased that Israel and Lebanon finally began last week (12/28) direct talks with U.S. as active participant.
- Talks aimed at withdrawal agreement, assuring security of Israel's northern border, and consolidation of Lebanese authority over its territory.
- Urge that parties reach successful agreement as soon as possible. Never thought it would be easy, but enough discussions have taken place to allow rapid progress.

- Will help Lebanon talks with Syria and PLO by using our influence with others, though we'll not be directly involved.

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 MNF committed to help Lebanon consolidate its authority.
 Further commitment of U.S. forces would be considered in context of progress on withdrawal of foreign forces.
 Would certainly consult closely with Hill if any change, in size or mission of Marines.

#### OVERALL MIDEAST PEACE PROCESS

- Certainly progress in Lebanon would stimulate progress on overall Mideast peace process, but we're moving ahead on that front as well.
- Very successful meetings with King Hussein continued the momentum. Hope he'll be joining the process following his talks with his Arab colleagues. He and they should have no doubt about the U.S. determination to stand by our September 1 proposals and work hard for progress.
- No specific plans for another visit by King, though certain we'll get together again in the future.

- Even though RR proposal was set forth September 1, it remains "the only game in town" and is at the center of all discussions relating to the Mideast. Remember how difficult and enduring the Mideast situation has been -- we've made some significant progress.
- U.S. position on settlement activity remains firm: Such activities clearly strain the atmosphere and complicate our efforts to expand the peace process. An Israeli moratorium would be an important and dramatic gesture for peace by opening the way for broadened negotiations and thereby furthering Israel's long-term security.
- No formal request from Jordan for new arms sales, but,
   in light of our long-standing security relationship,
   U.S. would certainly review it sympathetically. Those
   possible sales must be considered on their own merits.

#### EAST-WEST

US/USSR RELATIONS (Overall US approach which applies to arms talks as well as other political/economic/security issues)

- Want to emphasize U.S. remains ready and willing to pursue improved relations should positive and meaningful Soviet deeds warrant.
  - In such areas as: Arms talks, Poland, Afghanistan, Cuban proxy activities in Latin America and Africa, military buildup, human rights.
- Continuing our active dialogue in Geneva (INF and START), Vienna (MBFR), Madrid (Conf. on Security and Cooperation in Europe - followup to Helsinki), through our embassies, and in other forums. (Also through correspondence?)
- Hopeful the new Soviet leaders, even though from same ruling group long in power, realize benefits to their people and contribution they can make to world peace by reaching agreements on significant arms reductions to equal and verifiable levels.
- As RR has long stated, ready and willing to consider summit at appropriate time, following adequate preparation and when there are reasonable prospects for successful outcome.
  - Certainly, prospects for a useful meeting would be enhanced by Soviet moves which reflect their interest in an improved relationship.
  - Possible RR and Andropov could have a more informal meeting short of full-fledged panoply and expectations inherent in summit.(?)

(Holding Arms Control Material Til Monday To Allow Update Based on Pravda Edit.)

#### LOWEST EMIGRATION OF SOVIET JEWS SINCE 1970

- Have communicated at every level our deep concern over Soviet constriction of emigration and will continue to try to convince Soviets to ease their restrictive practices.
- Clearly contradictory to Helsinki Final Act (principles of freedom of movement and family reunification).
- Thousands of Soviets who wish to leave but denied that basic right by procedural pretexts on arbitrary decisions:

#### SOVIET HARASSMENT OF MOSCOW AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL'S CHAIRMAN VLADIMOV

- Part of deplorable pattern of official harrassment of Mr./Mrs. Georgiy Vladimov because of his activities on behalf of literary freedom and human rights.
- Yet another sign of heightened repression and further demonstrates Soviet unwillingness to tolerate even the most apolitical criticism of Soviet system.
- Such repression is clearly contrary to humanitarian pledges in Helsinki Final Act and other human rights covenants signed by Soviets.

#### POLAND: SIGNIFICANCE OF MARTIAL LAW SUSPENSION

- Suspension just occurred last week (12/31) so will have to see its practical effects. With allies, will see degree to which recent steps represent restoration of human rights. When evaluation of all factors is completed, will decide on appropriate response.

#### AFGHANISTAN

- First, important to note worldwide condemnation of Soviet invasion and calls by UN and Islamic Conference for Soviets to withdraw allowing Afghanistan to again be an independent, non-aligned country. 105,000 Soviets now there.
- So far no significant signs of Soviet desire for progress, but remain hopeful.
- U.S. has provided considerable help to Afghan refugees and actively supported Afghan cause in world opinion.
- Afghan freedom fighters doing quite well with arms they pick up from Soviets and Afghan army defectors. (No comment beyond that on sources of support.)

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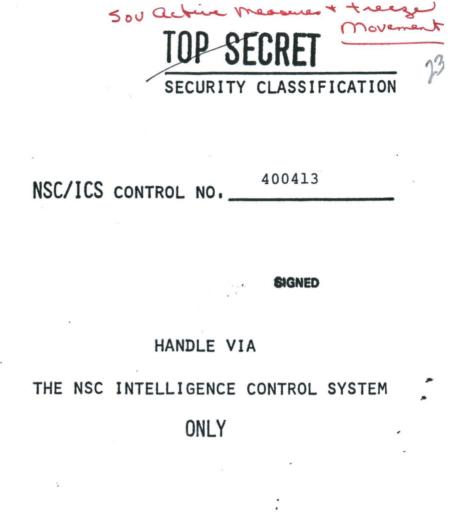
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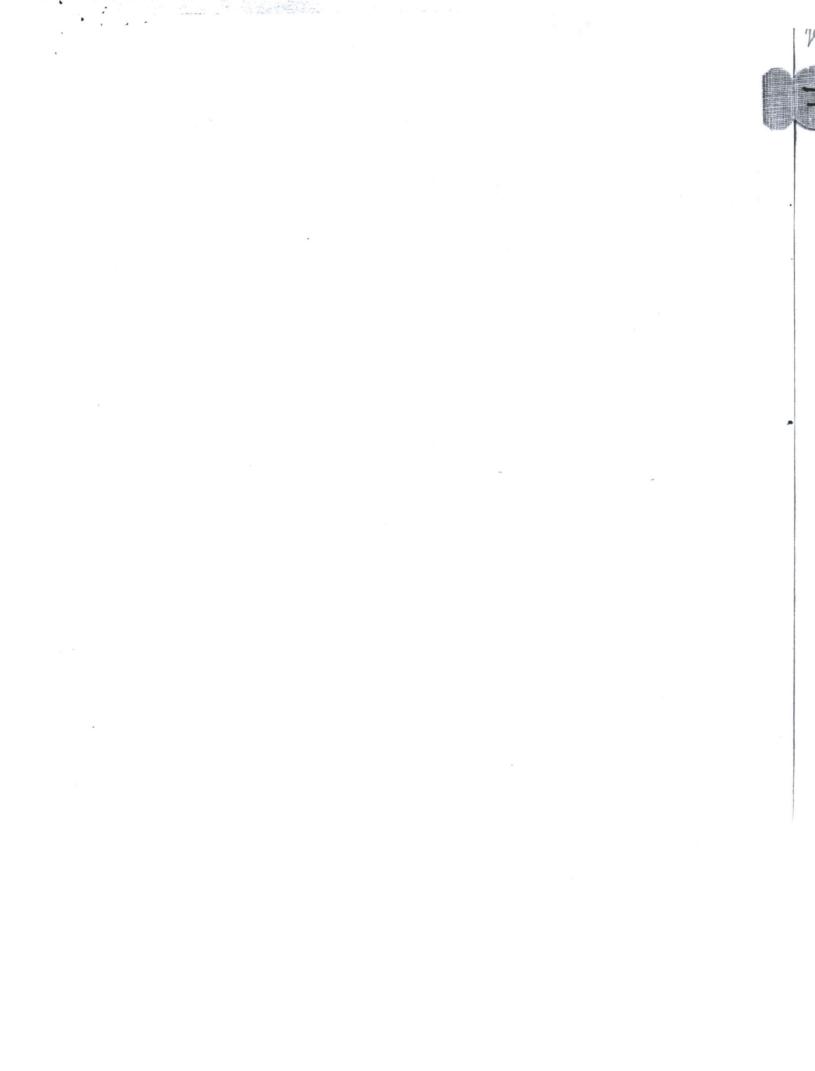


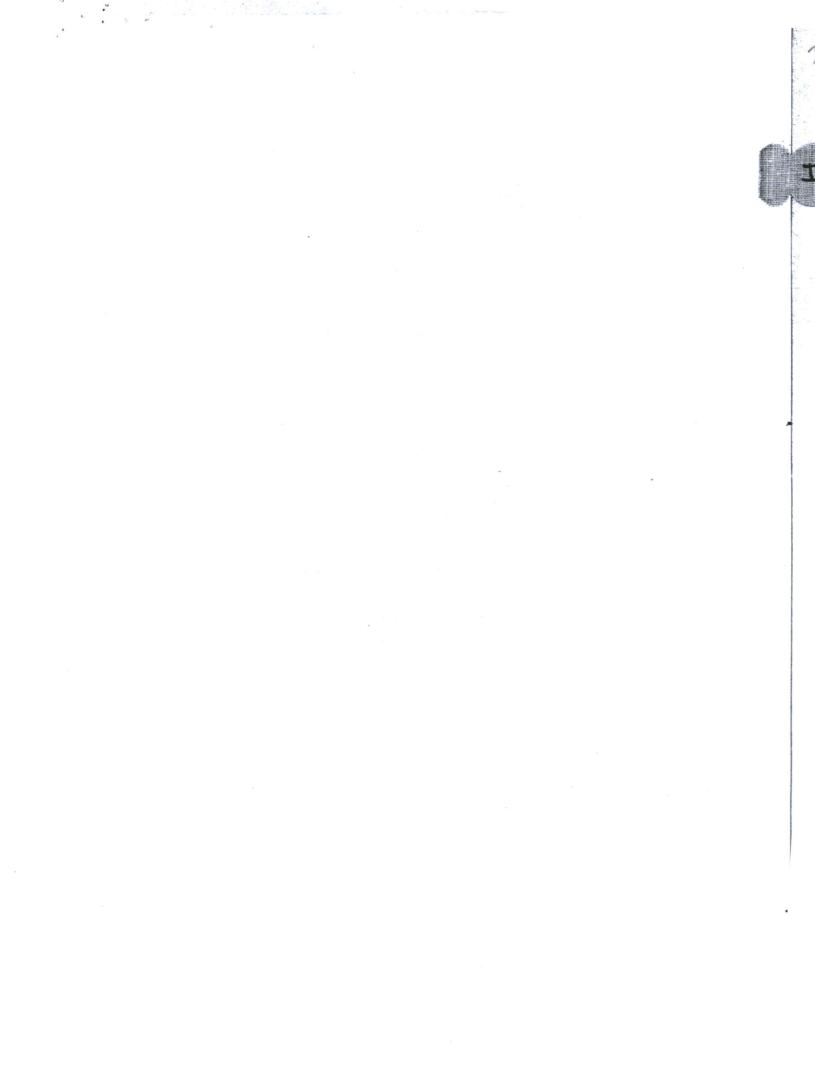
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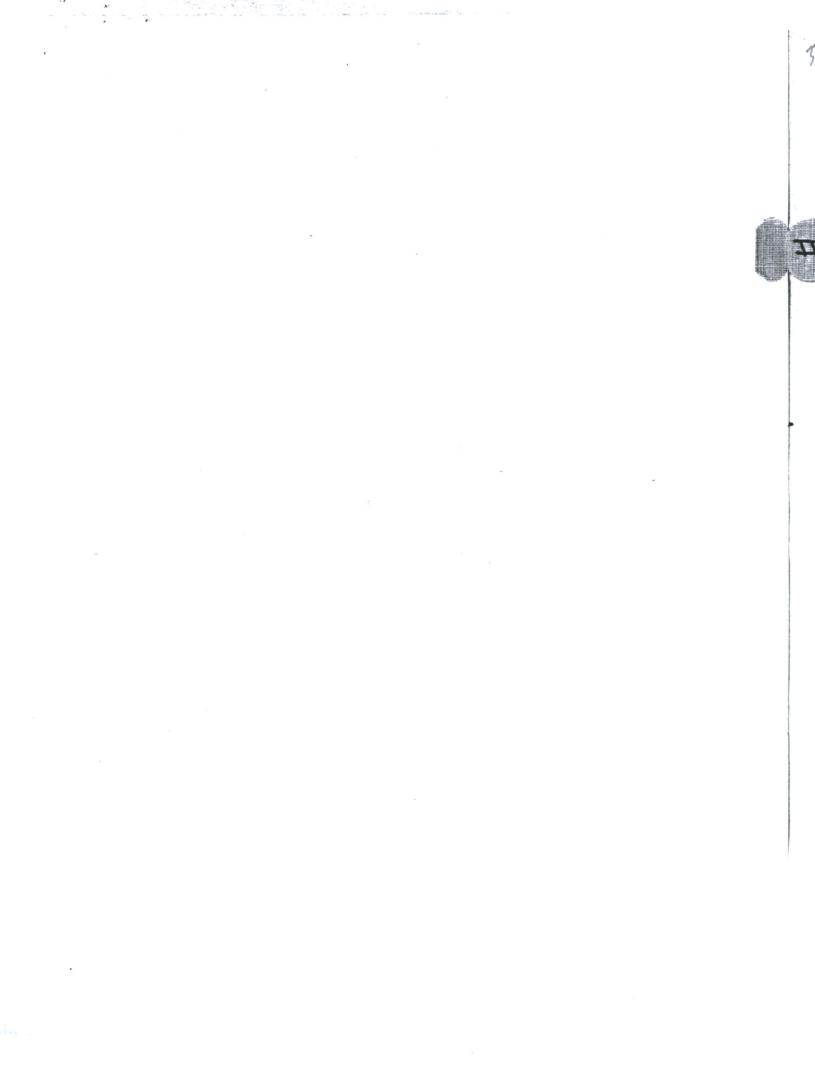
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When the House Select Committee on Intelligence recently released FBI and CIA testimony on "active measures" by the Soviets to influence public policy in the West, Rep. Edward P. Boland fixed the press and popular reaction with a press release saying "The bottom line is that hearings provide no evidence that the Soviets direct, manage or manipulate the nuclear freeze movement." We have now read the actual 337-page report, and suggest that Rep. Boland might want to try the same exercise him-

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This denies what no one, not even the freeze movement's most severe critic, has alleged. The concern, rather, has been that the freeze theme parallels Communist propaganda efforts, that Communists are active in the Western European peace movement and the related U.S. freeze movement, and that the sincere protesters who undeniably provide most of the power behind the movements are recklessly cavalier about Communist connections. The same Mr. O'Malley had some other interesting things to say in this regard.

For example, "The U.S. Peace Qouncil and the World Peace Council, as well as CPUSA members, were actively involved in the planning and implementation of the June 12 demonstration." By way of definition, he added that the U.S. Peace Council is an affiliate of the World Peace Council, which he further described as "the largest and most active Soviet international front organization."

"In the last few years, the Communist Party Soviet Union instructed the CPUSA to place high priority on issues of arms control and disarmament and the peace movement," Mr. O'Malley continued. "The Soviets have used the Communist Party, U.S.A. to mount campaigns against the neutron bomb, NATO theater nuclear force modernization and administration defense policies. Furthermore, the Soviets have requested the CPUSA to reinforce and mobilize the peace movement in this country."

According to an FBI report, the World Peace Council "was deeply engaged, almost to the exclusion of other projects," in preparations for the U.N.'s Second Special Session on Disarmament last spring. Meanwhile, the FBI added that the U.S. Peace Council was involved in organizing the 500,000-person rally, and that the U.S. Communist Party "was a member of the June 12 coalition, which was responsible for actually coordinating and planning the rally."

The FBI's position is, then, that the Communist Party and Communist fronts were indeed active in the demonstration, but not crucial to its success. The logical question is whether Communist participation mattered, and on this the FBI also has an opinion. In participating in planning the demonstration, "The USPC reportedly attempted to channel the theme of the protest away from the Soviet Union and against the U.S."

Any eye-witness to the march past the U.N. must have been struck, as we certainly were, that there weren't any signs, banners or chants against, say, the Soviet occupation of Afghani-stan or the use of "yellow rain." The U.S. administration, though, was certainly given a lot of grief. There is reason to suspect, in short, that Communist efforts within the freeze movement have been successful in shifting attention away from the Soviet Union's massive military buildup and toward the Reagan administration's defense programs. Perhaps this does not meet Rep. Boland's definition of "ma-nipulating" the freeze movement, but it certainly meets ours.

Indeed, Rep. Boland's hear-no-evil, see-no-evil attitude perfectly exemplifies what we find objectionable about the leaders of the freeze movement. By now the Europeans, who have watched their own peace movement longer than we have watched the freeze, have lost any such naivete. Both Denmark and Norway, for example, have expelled Soviet diplomats for trying to influence their peace movements. West German groups have fought Communist takeovers. And Bruno Kreisky, chancellor of neutralist Austria, says "the Soviets have spent millions on the peace campaign."

None of this means for a moment that the great bulk of the freeze movement is anything but sincere, or that the movement would not exist without Communist initiative. But there is a Communist Party and there are Communist fronts even in the U.S., and they are promoting not peace but Soviet interests. The American labor movement learned long ago that it had to purge Communists to protect its own interests, and American liberals originally formed the Americans for Democratic Action for the same reasons. It is anything but demagogic to ask the peace/freeze movement to do the same thing today; indeed, any political movement that does not throws a dark shadow over the cause it hopes to advance.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL Monday, December 20, 1982

## 'Peace, Comrade'

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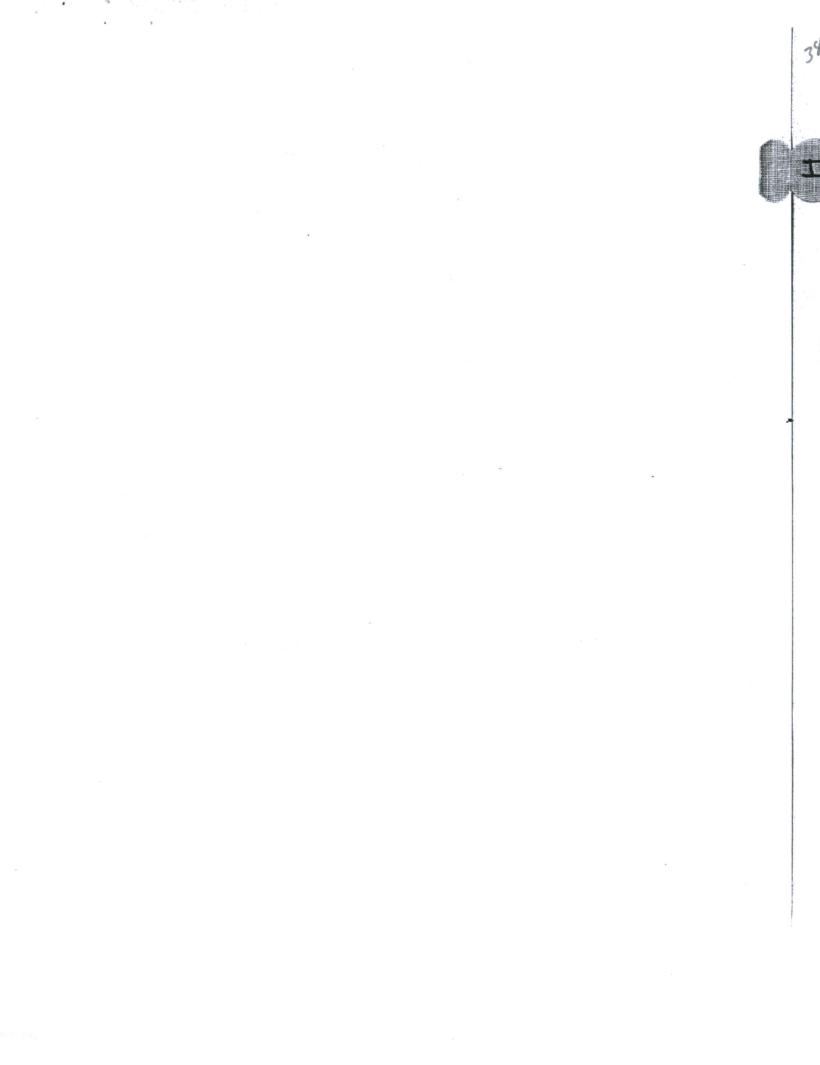


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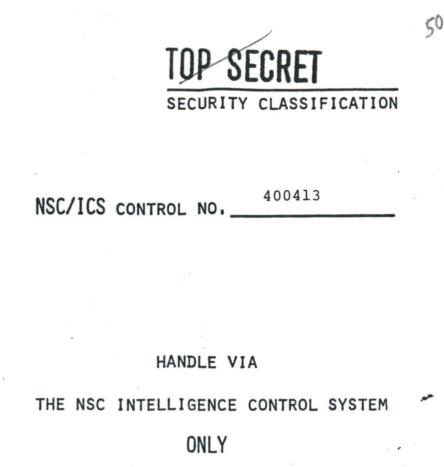
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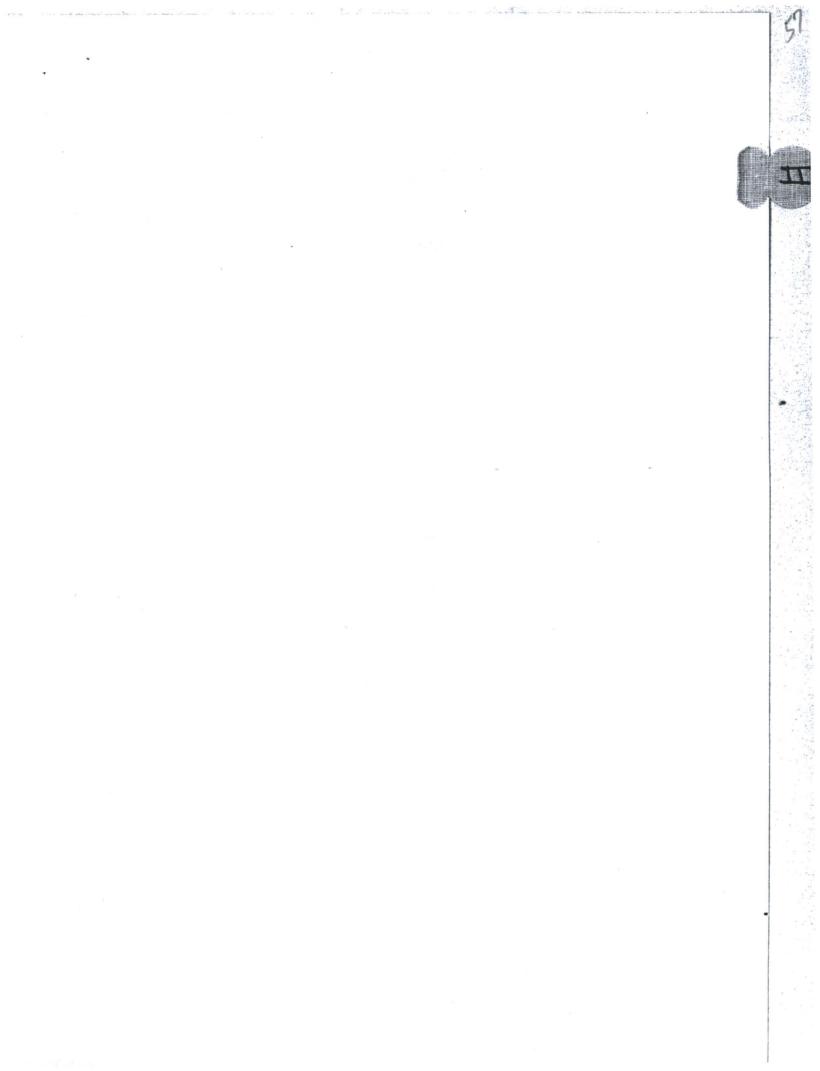
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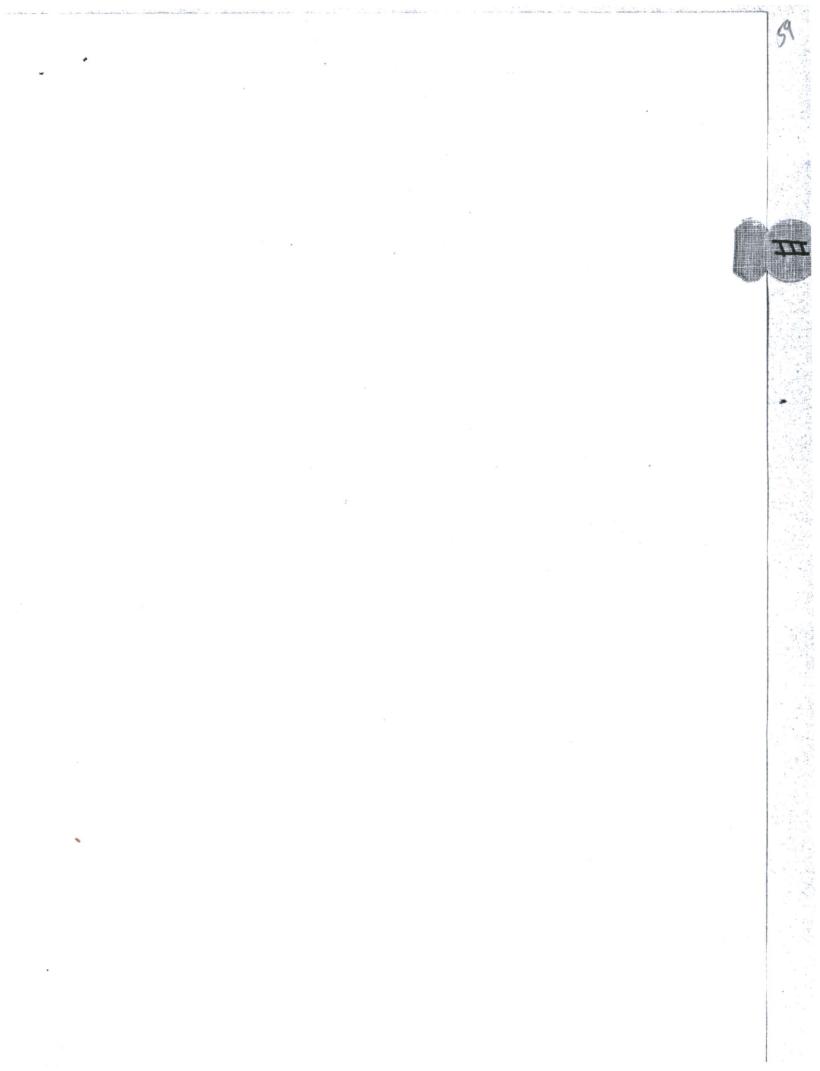
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