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JV
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
DIRECTORATE OF
INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

TO: Pat Buchanan

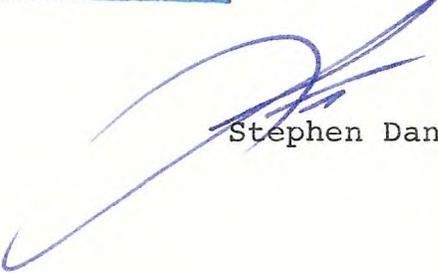
DATE: May 14, 1986

Pat:

I see from the attached Time article
that the "Winds of Freedom" have left
their imprint.

The debate has produced a rather thoughtful essay in that same edition ("Marcos, Baby Doc -- Why Not the Rest"). Despite the Indonesian press setback, I think we've come out all right at this Summit; no Bitburg.

My thanks to you for your enthusiastic support and the good work of Dana Rohrbacher in polishing the prose for public consumption.



Stephen Danzansky

STEPHEN I. DANZANSKY
SENIOR DIRECTOR
PHONE: 395.3622

COVER: The nuclear catastrophe at Chernobyl sets off global shock waves 38

It could take years before the full damage is known, but it is becoming clear that the explosion and fire at a reactor north of Kiev may be the worst disaster in the 32-year history of commercial atomic power. As radiation-laden clouds blow westward, angry Europeans berate the Soviets for failing to alert them earlier. In the U.S., the question: Could it happen here? See **WORLD**.



NATION: In the Far East, the President extols the "winds of freedom" 24

On the road to the Tokyo summit, Reagan promotes democracy during a sometimes stormy stopover in Bali. ▶ As *Challenger's* crew is laid to rest, NASA is rocked by another explosion on launch. ▶ Polls still show "undecided" leading a crowded field for California's Republican Senate nomination. ▶ In Michigan, Bush and Kemp are already scrambling for delegates.



PEOPLE: From Fat Albert to fatherhood, Bill Cosby keeps his wry eye on growing up 70

With his new book a sure best seller, and a new record, "America's Favorite Father" celebrates the foibles and frustrations of parenthood. ▶ Plus the oldest Playmate of the Year and the youngest reigning monarch, the kings of late-night television and the King of K, an Olympic gymnast who flexes her show-biz talent and a Soviet dissident who meets her onscreen mate.



61 World

Blacks stage a general strike in South Africa. ▶ Austrians cast a verdict on the past. ▶ Church and state in Nicaragua.

86 Medicine

National pride, a possible Nobel Prize and millions of dollars are at stake in a scientific rivalry. ▶ Linking strokes and drinking.

72 Economy & Business

Merger mania sweeps Madison Avenue. ▶ New-home sales take off. ▶ Coca-Cola marks its centennial in Classic style.

97 Theater

Jack Lemmon stars in a profound reconception of *Long Day's Journey into Night*. ▶ Also on Broadway: George C. Scott and Debbie Allen.

82 Religion

A jury convicts eight members of the church-sanctuary movement who aided and harbored illegal aliens, but they vow to carry on.

100 Video

A daring electronic whiz called *Captain Midnight* breaks into HBO programming to air dish owners' beefs against cable services.

85 Law

Sandra Day O'Connor continues to surprise court watchers. ▶ Two major rulings expand the rights of black defendants.

103 Essay

Marcos is gone; Baby Doc too. So why not dump all the other dictators? Because democracy is not that easy to transplant.

12 Letters
20 American Scene
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88 Milestones
90 Books
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98 Cinema

Cover:
Photograph
from NBC News



Flanked by the Suhartos, the President and the First Lady are greeted by Balinese dancers upon arriving at Ngurah Rai Airport

DIRCE MALLETT

Nation

TIME/MAY 12, 1986

A Breezy Theme

On the Road to Tokyo, Reagan hails the "winds of freedom" blowing in Asia

Slowly, deliberately, Ronald Reagan made his way westward from Hawaii through Indonesia last week as he headed toward Tokyo for his summit meeting with Western and Japanese leaders. The topics for the Tokyo meeting, which began on Sunday afternoon and was to continue through this Tuesday, were hard and pressing: trade, economic planning, the need to coordinate tough action against terrorism and, in the wake of Chernobyl, international safeguards against nuclear-power catastrophes. But Reagan's three-day stopover on the Indonesian resort island of Bali gave him a chance to highlight more visionary concepts, most notably his belief that the "winds of freedom" are blowing across the Pacific Rim and that democracy

should be encouraged to flower among America's allies.

Reagan's breezy theme had a slightly familiar ring, harking back to Harold Macmillan's 1960 "wind of change" speech in Cape Town, in which the then British Prime Minister predicted the end of the colonial era in Africa. The words served as a reasonably suitable catchphrase for the President's longest journey since he took office (some 22,300 miles through twelve time zones). The trip carried him to a vast region in which one right-wing dictator, Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos, has recently been ousted and in which democratic stirrings have rippled through several other countries. Though a bit of turbulence complicated the trip, Reagan maintained that bracing winds were clearing the Pacific air.

Reagan encountered the first of the rough patches during the weekend he spent in Honolulu resting up in a pre-emptive strike against jet lag. The President placed a prearranged telephone call to Marcos, who has been living in Hawaii since his hasty departure from Manila two months ago. Aware that the call could cause criticism, Reagan had taken care to telephone Corazon Aquino before leaving Washington a couple of days earlier. Some White House aides thought the call to Marcos was an unnecessary exercise, but Reagan still regards the ousted Philippine leader as a longtime U.S. ally who deserves a decent measure of hospitality.

Though the Administration had hoped to downplay the gesture, Marcos aides shrewdly invited a local TV crew to film the start of the conversation. "I'm so

happy that you are calling, Mr. President," declared the beaming Marcos. The exiled leader has been taking an increasingly active role in Philippine politics of late, even to the point of telephoning a speech to a throng of Marcos demonstrators in Manila. In his conversation with Reagan, Marcos attempted to win U.S. approval for a return to the Philippines, a request the President gently but firmly turned aside. Then a weeping Imelda Marcos got on the phone to Nancy Reagan, complaining about the vilification of the Marcoses in the press and her sense of imprisonment in Hawaii. According to some White House aides, the half-hour conversation proved to be unexpectedly discomfiting to the President and even more so to his wife.

Another mini-crisis arose when the Reagan party arrived in Bali. The Indonesian government, despite quiet but vigorous pressure from the traveling White House, refused to admit two Australian journalists who were covering the presidential visit. The same day, Indonesia summarily expelled a New York Times correspondent, Bangkok-based Barbara Crossette. The reasons in both cases apparently stemmed from the government's sensitivity over foreign press accounts of Indonesian

corruption and human rights violations (see box). Deciding that it was best not to provoke a public showdown, the White House said it would pursue the matter.

While Nancy Reagan visited a group of Balinese exhibits within the safe confines of the Nusa Dua Beach Hotel complex and made a game try at Balinese dancing, her husband met with Indonesian President Suharto and the foreign ministers of the six members of the 19-year-old Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)—Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Brunei. Early in his speech, Reagan told an anecdote about two men who are running away from a bear they encountered in a forest. When one man stops to put on his running shoes, the other asks incredulously, "You don't think that by putting on those shoes, you're going to outrun that bear?" To which the second man replies, "I don't have to outrun the bear. I only have to outrun you." As the ministers laughed, Reagan continued, "We won't put on running shoes. Standing together, we can make certain the people of this region remain free and secure."

In subsequent talks, the delegates mainly discussed economic problems. The nations of the ASEAN alliance together rank as the fifth-largest U.S. trading partner, having increased two-way trade from \$967 million in 1967 to \$23.5 billion last year. The Administration is delighted that these free-market nations have far outperformed their Marxist neighbors,



A game novice tries out some new dance steps

but is concerned that since 1983 the bottom has fallen out of practically all the region's export commodities, not the least of which is oil. As a group, the ASEAN delegates called for more American investment. In response, the U.S. asked for an easing of trade restrictions.

While in Bali, Reagan had his first direct contact with a high official of President Corazon Aquino's new Philippine government, spending about 35 minutes with Vice President and Foreign Minister Salvador Laurel. Their encounter apparently produced friction as well as understanding. Laurel's complaint: Washington's fainthearted support of the Aquino



All smiles with Nakasone on Saturday

government was creating "cobwebs of doubt." After the meeting, Secretary of State George Shultz, in one of his splenetic moods, tartly criticized Laurel's demand for increased U.S. aid on top of the additional \$150 million that had been promised a week earlier. Said Shultz: "Vice President Laurel, I must say, gave the impression that his needs were infinite, and we don't have an infinite capacity to provide money." Reagan's phone call to Marcos may have contributed to Laurel's cobwebs of doubt. But the real problem in U.S.-Philippine relations is not Marcos. Rather, it stems from Administration unease over whether the Aquino government can effectively deal with the country's continuing Communist insurgency. At least 500 Filipinos have been killed in guerrilla fighting since Aquino came to power, and U.S. officials believe the number of insurgents may actually have increased to 22,500. While the insurgency has not necessarily grown worse under Aquino, neither has the security situation improved dramatically, as some had expected, with the fall of Marcos.

Underlying Reagan's meetings with ASEAN ministers and his rhetoric about the winds of freedom were tough questions about human rights and democratic reforms

among America's allies in the region. Despite Reagan's grand pronouncements, the Administration takes a pragmatic view concerning the internal affairs of its Third World allies, encouraging reforms where practical while pressing the view that economic growth and the strengthening of a middle class will lead to a growing commitment to democracy (see ESSAY). What is unusual at the moment is the range of Asian nations, apart from the Philippines, where signs of democratic unrest are being seen. For example:

► In South Korea, after months of opposition political activity, President Chun Doo Hwan said last week that he would conditionally agree to opposition demands that the constitution be changed before his term expires in 1988. Among the proposed changes: the adoption of direct, popular presidential elections.

► In Taiwan a growing movement of government opponents commonly known as *tangwai* (outside the party) looms as an unofficial challenger to the ruling Kuomintang. The government of President Chiang Ching-kuo, 85, considers the country to be in a state of emergency and will not give the dissidents official status as a political party. The news last week that a pacemaker had been implanted in Chiang's chest is bound to encourage those impatient for change.

► In Singapore the remarkable 21-year rule of Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew, 63, is winding down. Lee has talked about retiring in 1988, or perhaps taking over as

President. Reluctant to surrender power to the younger leaders he himself has picked, Lee boasts, "The master controls are still with me." But probably not for long.

► In Pakistan a democratic change of power may be in the making. Opposition Politician Benazir Bhutto, 32, returned from exile last month to confront the country's military ruler, President Mohammed Zia ul-Haq. Nine years ago, Zia seized power from Benazir's father, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, and two years later allowed Bhutto to be executed following his conviction on charges of conspiracy to murder an opposition politician. Benazir quickly demonstrated that she possesses her father's courage and political flair, as well as his headstrong nature. Pakistanis rallied to her by the hundreds of thousands. The next move, in a country whose nearly 40-year political history has been a tug-of-war between the generals and the politicians, is likely to be an effort by Benazir, through strikes and mass demonstrations, to step up the pressure on Zia to call elections.



With Philippine Vice President Laurel in Bali

► In Thailand, after his coalition government was defeated on a crucial parliamentary vote in a domestic political fight, Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanonda dissolved the National Assembly and called elections for July.

On Friday, while Mrs. Reagan made brief ceremonial visits to Malaysia and Thailand, the President flew north to the Tokyo summit. A few days earlier, Japa-

nese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone had called on his countrymen to "pause and reflect on your own life-style" as a preliminary step toward restructuring the economy away from its dependence on exports. That was good news to the Reagan Administration, which last week reported that the March U.S. trade deficit had widened by \$2 billion, to \$14.5 billion, with the deficit in trade with Japan setting an all-time one-month record of \$5.5 billion. In Tokyo on Saturday, Reagan called on Nakasone, and the two discussed ways of resolving the imbalance.

In assessing the trip thus far, the President's imagemakers were well aware that, instead of worldwide headlines heralding Reagan's efforts and Asia's commitment to free trade and economic growth, the only real news from Bali had concerned Administration reaction to the Soviet nuclear disaster. But they were also aware that his discussions at the summit, with or without headlines, could affect the nature of international trade for years to come.

—By William E. Smith. Reported by Sandra Burton and Barrett Seaman/Bali

Indonesia's Delicate Balance

When President Reagan landed in hot, humid Bali last week, those oft-mentioned "winds of freedom" were not blowing. Moments after Reagan's party touched down at Ngurah Rai Airport, Indonesian officials met the White House press plane and escorted two reporters from the Australian Broadcasting Corp. to the terminal, where they were forced to wait for the next outbound plane. The journalists were denied entry under a ban triggered by an article in a Sydney newspaper that charged members of Indonesian President Suharto's family and some of his associates with pocketing billions of dollars through shady business deals. The piece compared Suharto and his wife Madame Tien to Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos, dubbing Indonesia's First Lady "Madame Tien Per Cent." That same day New York Times Correspondent Barbara Crossette was expelled, possibly in response to a Times story by Executive Editor A.M. Rosenthal classifying Suharto as a "tyrant."

As the expulsions illustrated, there is a delicate balance between freedom and authoritarianism in Indonesia. For two decades President Suharto, 64, has struggled to maintain stability in his strategically located republic. The archipelago's 13,677 islands sprawl 3,200 miles across some of the world's busiest East-West sea-lanes. With 173 million citizens, 87% of them Muslims, Indonesia is the world's fifth most populous nation. Though non-aligned, it has been friendly toward the U.S. and vice versa.

After more than three centuries of Dutch colonial rule, Indonesia declared its independence in 1945. For the next 20 years, the nation was governed by its first President, the mercurial, left-leaning Sukarno. After a bloody, abortive Communist coup in 1965, Sukarno's power waned, and he was eased out of office two years later by Suharto, an army general. The conservative, strongly anti-Communist Suharto earned a reputation as "the fa-

ther of development," resurrecting a faltering economy with the aid of the 1970s oil boom. The son of a farmer, Suharto helped increase agricultural production, finally enabling the nation to become self-sufficient in rice.

After the attempted coup, 500,000 or more suspected Communists, most of them of Chinese descent, were killed, and an additional 1.5 million Communist sympathizers were jailed or interned on remote islands. In the mid-1970s, Suharto's regime invaded and ultimately annexed the former Portuguese colony of East Timor; the struggle led to the death of 100,000 Timorese.

Last year the parliament passed legislation requiring virtually all social and political organizations to adopt a secular state ideology known as Pancasila, a set of five principles calling for belief in one God, justice, national unity, democracy and humanitarianism. The law was designed to muffle nearly all dissent in the country and was of a piece with the regime's press censorship and powerful military. It sought to curb the growth of Islamic fundamentalism. After an anti-government riot inspired by Muslim protesters in 1984 and a subsequent rash of political bombings, a number of prominent Suharto opponents, including a former Cabinet member, were imprisoned.

Suharto is currently trying to sustain economic progress in the face of collapsing oil prices. From 1971 to 1981, Indone-

nesia enjoyed an annual 7.6% growth in gross domestic product, but GDP growth dropped to 2.7% in 1982 and is expected to be flat this year. The President has tried to make up for the shortfall with budget cuts, hikes in the price of fuel, and a push for nonoil exports. Suharto fears that the economic downturn could aggravate existing racial and religious tensions, and the U.S. shares that concern. Despite its reservations about human rights violations and corruption in Indonesia's government-run businesses, Washington remains supportive of Suharto. In 1984 the U.S. provided Indonesia with \$164 million in economic and military aid.



Suharto: mixing freedom and authoritarianism

Marcos, Baby Doc—Why Not the Rest?

The falls of Ferdinand Marcos and "Baby Doc" Duvalier have inspired a flurry of agitation with the simple theme, Let's do the same elsewhere, everywhere. The hit-wish list is breathtakingly long, including South Korea, Indonesia, Pakistan and many others. Just pull the plug of U.S. support for all these nasty dictators, so goes the argument, and democracy will flourish.

This represents a naive view of democracy, of the extent of U.S. power and of the nature of different regimes too easily swept up under the label "right-wing dictatorships" (or, with special enthusiasm, "tyrannies").

Some critics blame the U.S. for the existence of just about all the world's non-Communist dictatorships. While it is true that many of these receive U.S. support, the forces that lead to dictatorship are usually beyond American control. Take Haiti. It may be possible to bring about a lessening of corruption and brutality. But no amount of American intervention will soon turn that country into a democracy, since politically it is starting from scratch, with a literacy rate of 30% and an annual per capita income of \$280.

Take the Philippines. It is widely suggested that Marcos was an archvillain from the start and that only U.S. support kept him in power. The fact is that despite deep and beneficial American influence, Philippine society has always had difficulty in sustaining democracy. When Marcos declared martial law, the country was in violent turmoil. For years his regime was quite tolerable because it provided stability, and supporting Marcos was a sound U.S. policy—up to a point. Exactly when that point was reached is hard to determine. It can be argued that the U.S. should have pulled back from Marcos well before the assassination of Benigno Aquino. Maybe. But such decisions are not simple, at least for people with responsibilities in the real world.

When Corazon Aquino emerged from practically nowhere as a political Joan of Arc and replaced Marcos, most Americans rightly cheered this as a success for democracy. Yet she soon found it necessary to dissolve the National Assembly and the existing constitution amid promises that new and improved models of both would be supplied within a year. If some right-wing general or politician had done this, there would have been screams of protest everywhere. As it is, Aquino's pledge of her democratic good intentions is taken at face value, and it should be. But her intentions are not the issue; her skill and strength are. The Philippines is such a faction-ridden, contentious country that the return to, or advance toward, democracy is likely to be slow and halting at best. At worst, the end could be another dictatorship.

All this underlines the fact that democracy is a complex, subtle system that requires a certain history and certain cultural conditions to function.

The mere mention of history and cultural conditions is regarded by many critics as arrogant, elitist and racist. "What makes you think," say those critics, "that only advanced and educated people are capable of democracy? The poor and the ig-

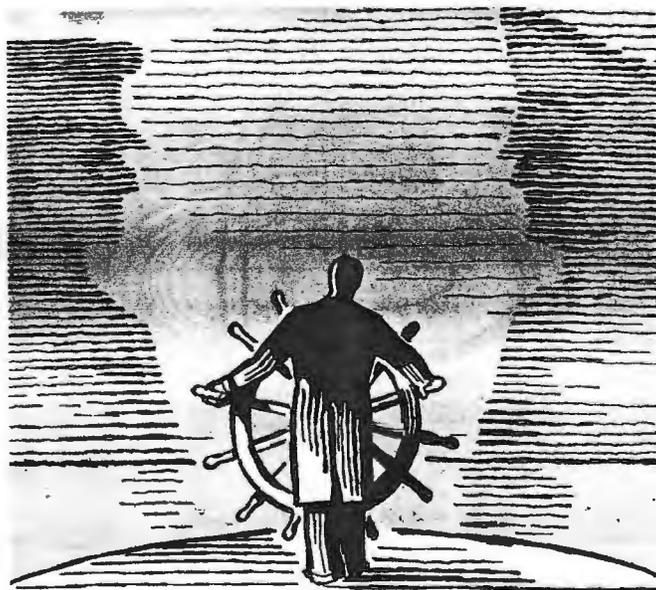
norant also yearn for freedom, and why should we assume that they are not capable of free government?"

This emotional argument ignores the evidence and misses the point. Unfortunately, democracy is a minority taste. The Founding Fathers in their Enlightenment glow certainly considered liberty a universal principle. They also considered the emerging U.S. as a model of liberty for the rest of the world. But they had no illusions about how easy it might be to establish democratic governments elsewhere. Jefferson questioned whether democracy could flourish in all circumstances, suggesting that it might be effective only at certain times and places where conditions allowed. Today in most parts of the world it does not exist or is not understood. It is difficult to achieve in tribal, rigidly hi-

erarchical or other traditional societies. It requires a sophisticated calculus of tolerance: the notion that if I take away my neighbor's freedom for some immediate gain today, he may take away mine tomorrow. It requires an ability to compromise, to restrain religious and racial passions. It requires a highly unusual view of authority, which in many places is seen as necessary for order and national survival, for national morale and even pride. In a democracy, authority is something to be suspected and checked unless it serves people rather than only those in power. Finally, democracy requires elites willing to give up power once they have gained it. In fact, elites often use these cultural difficulties as an excuse *not* to give up power.

Despite all these obstacles, democracy has maintained itself, however fitfully, in all sorts of cultures: in countries as poor and chaotic as India (though oddly enough not in Pakistan, which received the same political stamp from British rule); in a macho nation with deep economic disparities like Venezuela (while in the past eluding many countries in the same area); in a small, underdeveloped country like Botswana (while much of the region lives under one-party rule). But to assume that we can bring democracy to other lands by throwing a switch or withdrawing support from a dictator evokes the image of the divine-right monarch ready to "give" a constitution to his people. Democracy can be helped and nurtured, but it cannot be given. It was imposed on Japan and to a lesser extent on West Germany by American occupation forces, but that happened in the exceptional and transforming circumstance of crushing defeat. Democracy must grow organically, in its own soil. Rebellion against arbitrary rule is relatively easy, but it is extremely difficult to organize a free society. Freedom, as logicians might say, is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for democracy.

Ever since the end of World War II, a classic problem has been debated and redebated: the alleged conflict between American security interests and American idealism. In one view, America's strategic position in its global conflict with Communism, which is the greatest threat to democracy, must be the first consideration. In the other view, the moral values that America stands for are more important, and ultimately more powerful po-



Essay

litically. Much of the argument, however, is artificial. The Carter Administration tried for a while to put idealism first, by cutting aid to repressive regimes, but soon had to make exceptions for countries strategically necessary to the U.S. Conversely, the Reagan Administration came in with a policy of more or less indiscriminate support for anti-Communist regimes but soon learned that anti-Communist militancy and rhetoric were not enough by themselves to make a country a reliable U.S. ally.

In fact, the idealistic approach and the security approach often converge. When a regime becomes so unpopular that it no longer has the support of its own people, it has obviously lost its usefulness as an anti-Communist force, however solid its anti-Communist convictions. The Reagan Administration first learned that lesson in El Salvador when it realized that a regime dominated by the loudest and fiercest anti-Communists—but hated for its death squads and reactionary economic policies—was not America's best bet. The U.S. rightly decided to back instead a left-of-center politician, José Napoleón Duarte, who may seem like a dangerous socialist to conservatives but who is in fact a committed democrat with a popular following.

The lesson was even plainer in the Philippines, where Marcos had become so unpopular that his continuance in office would have helped the Communist insurgents and endangered U.S. bases—another situation where idealism and realism successfully coincided.

But obviously the reverse is not necessarily true: while repression can strengthen Communism, removing repression does not automatically weaken Communism or other totalitarian forces. The Kennedy Administration decided that the Diem regime in Viet Nam no longer deserved U.S. support, among other reasons because its oppressiveness made it unpopular and therefore ineffectual. But the governments we put in place after we eliminated Diem were not necessarily any better in the long run. The Carter Administration made a similar decision about Somoza in Nicaragua, and yet again the Sandinistas are hardly an improvement, as most Nicaraguans know only too well today. The withdrawal of U.S. support from the Shah of Iran clearly came much too late, but it is far from certain that an earlier move would have enabled the U.S. to control or influence the fanatical anti-Western passions of Islamic fundamentalism.

The decision about just when and how to withdraw support from a dictatorship is excruciatingly difficult. There are no rules, no laws; choices must be made case by case with subtlety, sophistication and patience. Differences of degree as well as kind must be recognized. It is not enough to put governments into two files, democratic and undemocratic. There are regimes that are improving and regimes that are deteriorating. There are sound and unsound democracies, tolerable and intolerable dictatorships, more or less repression. Even "corruption," so offensive to most Americans, comes in different degrees and must be judged—and fought—in a local context and in the light of local mores. It is the precarious business of statesmanship to recognize these differences and not be deceived by labels. The government of Mexico, readily classified as a democracy, is in certain respects just as harsh and repressive as many regimes classified as dictatorships. The simple litmus test for freedom and civil rights applicable in advanced societies (although they are often violated there as well) cannot be used, for instance, in a country like Turkey, which for decades was ravaged by civil strife and terror. The executive editor of the *New York Times*, A.M. Rosenthal, asked unhappily in a recent magazine article: "Do we really only have [a] choice between the lesser of evils?" In many cases and in

much of the world, that is indeed the only choice we have. To recognize this is not to abandon or betray American ideals but only to see that these ideals require the support of practical and feasible policy.

Americans sometimes think that it is enough to express disapproval of a regime and to withdraw economic support. Both gestures make us feel better, but they do not necessarily work. What Americans are much less inclined to do is provide the difficult and costly positive actions needed to promote democracy: careful involvement with local opposition groups, behind-the-scenes diplomatic maneuvers and, occasionally, military pressure. The U.S. has sometimes tried to encourage and work with prodemocratic political organizations, open or covert, in other countries, but it has not been particularly successful or skillful in this effort. We must understand that the most important task usually does not end but only begins with the overthrow of a dictator. In the wake of the Falklands defeat, Argentina got rid of its ruling generals, and as far as many Americans were concerned, that was it. But helping Argentina's fragile democracy survive is infinitely more difficult and demands far more skill—and more money. It is easy enough

to cheer the new regime because it upholds civil liberties and human rights, but it is far harder to help its struggling economy—and part of that help should include recognition that the debt burden borne by Latin America must somehow be eased if it is not to lead to political explosions.

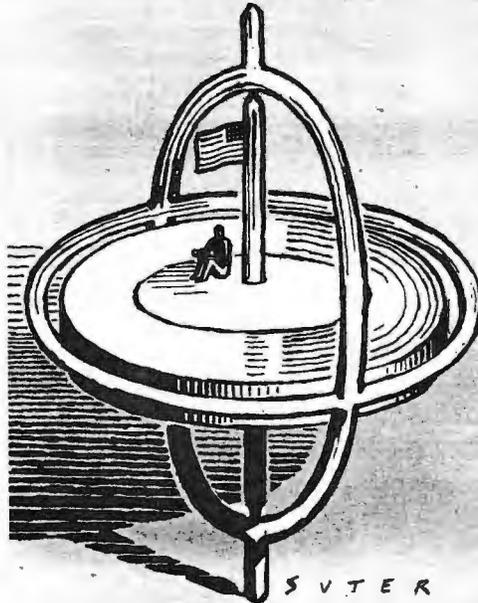
It is very healthy for dictatorial regimes today to know that U.S. support is not automatic and cannot be taken for granted. Jeane Kirkpatrick, former U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., made a famous and sound distinction between totalitarian (generally Communist) regimes, which are almost impossible to overthrow or alter, and merely authoritarian regimes, which are subject to change. That really supports the argument that the U.S. should do its best to bring about change in such regimes, which are usually in the American camp, but it must be done carefully and discriminately. Washington, for instance, should press hard for reform of a needlessly repressive government in Chile, a country with strong democratic traditions. The U.S. must proceed more

cautiously in South Korea. There a more open government is also needed, including freer political activity and direct presidential elections, but the menacing proximity of the fanatically Stalinist regime in North Korea makes liberalization a much more difficult and dangerous proposition. In Pakistan, too, President Zia ul-Haq should be prodded to continue his gingerly return to democracy, although the move is precarious given the country's strong political passions and the Soviet occupation of neighboring Afghanistan.

Indonesia, which created a stir last week during President Reagan's visit by foolishly cracking down on foreign journalists who had criticized the regime, certainly should improve its record on human rights and corruption. But given the serious threat of Islamic fundamentalism, the Suharto government most of the time has been relatively restrained and successful, especially in raising the country's living standards.

America cannot ostracize or destabilize all "right-wing" dictatorships no matter what. In a recent, much remarked statement to Congress, Ronald Reagan said that the U.S. opposes "tyranny in whatever form, whether of the left or of the right." But democratic change, he went on, must be encouraged in "careful ways that respect other countries' traditions and political realities." Ignoring those realities trivializes democracy and represents an intellectual insult to people around the world who seriously strive for it.

—By Henry Grunwald



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

3248

416064

April 22, 1986

F0006-10

FG006-12

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR RODNEY MCDANIEL

FROM: JAMES M. RENTSCHLER

SUBJECT: Tokyo Summit Public Diplomacy:
Issues/Events Matrix

Your memo to Fortier/Thomas (Tab I) provides a handy matrix (Tab A) relating issues to events along the public diplomacy continuum. At a glance you can see that each of its positive "news pegs" is meant to take our themes forward and address the potential negative fall-out we'll be encountering along the way. This is not meant to substitute for or duplicate the "positives" or "negatives" lists, it is just a handy pocket guide to them.

Recommendation:

That you sign the memorandum to Fortier/Thomas at Tab I.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments:

Tab I Memo to Fortier/Thomas

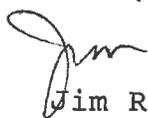
Tab A Matrix

NSC # 8603248

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Memo To: Mr. Buchanan

Pat, an advance copy of our handy
matrix relating issues to events.



Jim Rentschler
x7218

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR DONALD R. FORTIER
DENNIS THOMAS

FROM: RODNEY MCDANIEL

SUBJECT: Tokyo Summit Public Diplomacy:
Issues/Events Matrix

The material at Tab A provides a handy matrix relating issues to events along the public diplomacy continuum.

The matrix allows you to see at a glance what each public statement does to promote our themes, and counter the potential negative fall-out.

Attachment

Tab A Matrix

MATRIX OF ISSUES BY EVENTS

<u>THEMES (T)</u>	<u>NEGATIVES (N)</u>	<u>POLLING DATA (PO)</u> in Summit countries	<u>POSITIVE NEWS PEGS</u>
1. Winds of Freedom	1. Libya	1. Unemployment major economic concern	1. <u>Scene setting speech:</u> -covers all themes (T) -addresses negatives of general nature (N) -addresses issues of concern to Summit publics (PO)
2. Common interests - Atlantic & Pacific	2. Trade crunch with Europe	2. Most favor protectionism; trade restrictions	
3. Recommitment to Democracy	3. Trade crunch with Japan	3. Want US/USSR Summit but expectations are low	2. <u>Presidential Departure Remarks</u> T 1,5,6 N 14,31 PO 6
4. U.S. Reasonable partner in search for peace.	4. Trade crunch with Canada	4. US/USSR agreement on arms reductions more important than test ban	3. <u>Radio Address April 26</u>
5. ASEAN - contributes to regional security, economic progress, political freedom.	5. Family quarrels	5. Combatting terrorism most important subject for US/USSR to next to arms control	4. <u>Shultz/Baker TV</u> T 2,3,4,5,6 N 1,2,3,32 PO 1,2,6
6. <u>Summit</u> : free markets trade, investments, nations; U.S. sets example.	6. Congressional actions	6. Divided on whether US econ policies help or hurt other countries	5. <u>Mtg with Hawaii Governor</u> T 2,4 N 5,10
7. Bilaterals: -E-W issues -Combat terrorism -Combat drug traffic -U.S. committed to progress in US/USSR relationship	7. Stockman		6. <u>Guam arrival remarks</u> T 1,2,3 N 11
	8. Nakasone basking		7. <u>Bali arrival remarks</u> T 2 N 14,16
	9. Marcos		8. <u>Shultz briefing in ASEAN</u> T 2,5 N 10,19,20,21,22
	10/16. Boredom - (Hawaii, Bali)		
	11. Guam dependency		
	12. The Bomb		
	13. Solidarity with Libya		
8. Gorbachev II -Realism -Reduction/elimination nuclear & conventional weapons -Respect for human rights	14. Democracy/oligarchy in Indonesia		
	15. Human Rights/Indonesia		

-Reduce use &
threat of force
-Build trust

- 17. Muzzling the press
- 18. GSP
- 19. North/South
- 20. Vietnam
- 21. Boat People
- 22. Intellectual property
- 23. Space Shuttle
- 24. Nuclear Free Zones
- 25. Protest Demonstrations
- 26. Dissent on Arms Control
- 27/28. Terrorism
-Libya action
- 29. Japanese security
- 30. Korea
- 31/32. Japanese/US Trade Issues
-US deficit growing
-MOSS talks

- 9. President's ASEAN Remarks
T 1,2,3,4,5
N 9,12,16,20,21
- 10. Laurel bilateral
T 1,3,4,5
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- 11. Indonesian Toast
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- 12. Radio Address May 3
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- 13. Nakasone bilateral
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- 14. Asian American Chamber of Commerce
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- 15. Economic Summit
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- 16. Thatcher bilateral
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33.AIDS

34.Whales

17.Shultz/Baker TV

T 6,7,8

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18.Joint Summit Statement

T 1,8

N 5

PO 1,2,6

19.Mulroney/EC bilaterals

T 2,6,7,8

N 2,4,5,31

PO 1,2,6

20.Predeparture Press
Conference/Arrival

T covers all themes

N addresses all
negatives

PO addresses issues
and concerns to
Summit publics

MATRIX OF ISSUES BY EVENTS

<u>THEMES (T)</u>	<u>NEGATIVES (N)</u>	<u>POLLING DATA (PO)</u> <u>in Summit countries</u>	<u>POSITIVE NEWS PEGS</u>
1. Winds of Freedom	1. Libya	1. Unemployment major economic concern	1. <u>Scene setting speech:</u> -covers all themes (T) -addresses negatives of general nature (N) -addresses issues of concern to Summit publics (PO)
2. Common interests - Atlantic & Pacific	2. Trade crunch with Europe	2. Most favor protectionism; trade restrictions	2. <u>Presidential Departure Remarks</u> T 1,5,6 N 14,31 PO 6
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WASHINGTON

May 13, 1986

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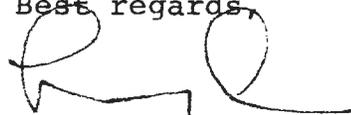
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Dear Mr. Hatano:

It was a pleasure to see you when we were in Tokyo for the Economic Summit. I appreciate your cooperation and assistance in the press arrangements there. And thank you so much for the wonderful gift you gave me for my children.

I want you to always visit me at the White House when you come to Washington, and I hope our paths cross again soon and often.

Best regards,



Larry Speakes
Deputy Press Secretary
to the President

Mr. Yoshio Hatano
Director General
Bureau of Culture and Information
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
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Chioda-ku
Tokyo, Japan 100