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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. memo (237903)	from Charles Hill to Robert McFarlane and John S. Herrington; re Presidential Delegation to Commemorate the Liberation of Rome (2 pp.)	5/16/84	B5 wjr/1960/
COLLECTION: WHORM: Subject File			kb
FILE LOCATION: PR014-08 Opinions-Statements-Questionnaires-Articles (237400-242169)			5/14/92

RESTRICTION CODES

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|---|--|
| <p>A. National security classified information.</p> <p>3. Presidential Records Act</p> <p>B1. Release would violate a Federal statute.</p> <p>B2. Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information.</p> <p>B3. Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy.</p> <p>B4. Relating to appointment to Federal office.</p> <p>B5. Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors.</p> | <p>B6. Release could disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency.</p> <p>B7. Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes.</p> <p>B8. Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions.</p> <p>B9. Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells.</p> <p>C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.</p> |
|---|--|

ID # 237478

WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

PRO/4-00

☐ O - OUTGOING☐ H - INTERNAL☐ I - INCOMINGDate Correspondence
Received (YY/MM/DD) 1/1/1

Name of Correspondent: Shium Andrew Chen

☐ MI Mail Report

User Codes: (A) (B) (C)

Subject: Would like the President to make public statement
condemning racism & bigotry across the nation.

ROUTE TO:

ACTION

DISPOSITION

Office/Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
✓ 99 PLK OJE	ORIGINATOR	84.06.18	LK	A	84.08.22
✓ 99 DOJ	Referral Note: D	84.06.21		C	84.07.13
	Referral Note:	1/1			1/1
	Referral Note:	1/1			1/1
	Referral Note:	1/1			1/1
	Referral Note:	1/1			1/1

ACTION CODES:

A - Appropriate Action
C - Comment/Recommendation
D - Draft Response
F - Furnish Fact Sheet
to be used as Enclosure

I - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary
R - Direct Reply w/Copy
S - For Signature
X - Interim Reply

DISPOSITION CODES:

A - Answered
B - Non-Special Referral
C - Completed
S - Suspended

FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:

Type of Response = Initials of Signer
Code = "A"
Completion Date = Date of Outgoing

Comments:

Keep this worksheet attached to the original incoming letter.

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PRESIDENTIAL REPLY

Code	Date	Comment	Form
C	_____	Time: _____	P. _____
DSP	_____	Time: _____	Media: _____

SIGNATURE CODES:

CPn - Presidential Correspondence

- n - 0 - Unknown
- n - 1 - Ronald Wilson Reagan
- n - 2 - Ronald Reagan
- n - 3 - Ron
- n - 4 - Dutch
- n - 5 - Ron Reagan
- n - 6 - Ronald
- n - 7 - Ronnie

CLn - First Lady's Correspondence

- n - 0 - Unknown
- n - 1 - Nancy Reagan
- n - 2 - Nancy
- n - 3 - Mrs. Ronald Reagan

CBn - Presidential & First Lady's Correspondence

- n - 1 - Ronald Reagan - Nancy Reagan
- n - 2 - Ron - Nancy

MEDIA CODES:

- B - Box/package
- C - Copy
- D - Official document
- G - Message
- H - Handcarried
- L - Letter
- M - Mailgram
- O - Memo
- P - Photo
- R - Report
- S - Sealed
- T - Telegram
- V - Telephone
- X - Miscellaneous
- Y - Study

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 22, 1984

Dear Mr. Chen:

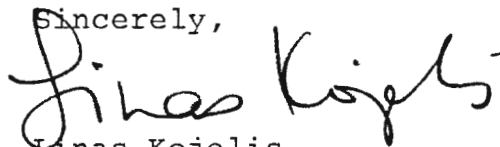
Thank you for your letter of May 23 and please excuse my delay in replying.

First, let me assure you that President Reagan shares with you a strong aversion to racism and bigotry, wherever it may be found. In a White House address to Asian-Americans last February, the President vowed that this Administration "will continue to fight against discrimination, wherever there are any vestiges of it remaining, until we've removed such bigotry from our entire land." The President reaffirmed his stand earlier this month in a specially prepared videotaped message to the Asian Pacific American Chamber of Commerce Convention in Washington, D.C.

Let me also assure you that the President is committed to more than just talk about protecting civil rights for Asian-Americans, he is prepared to act. It is the policy of this Administration to act vigorously to enforce the civil rights laws that make it unlawful to interfere with a person's constitutional and statutory rights. Just recently, the Criminal Section of the Civil Rights Division of the United States Department of Justice successfully prosecuted an individual for violently interfering with a Chinese-American citizen's right to use a public accommodation, resulting in his death. United States v. Ebens and Nitz, Cr. No. 83-CR-60629, (E.D. Michigan). While sentencing has not yet occurred, we believe the prosecution has already had an important impact.

Again, thank you for sharing your comments with me. You can be certain that the President will not pass up any appropriate opportunities to reaffirm his strong stand in support of full protection of civil rights for Asian-Americans.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Linas Kojelis". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Linas" and last name "Kojelis" clearly distinguishable.

Linas Kojelis
Associate Director
Office of Public Liaison

Mr. Shium Andrew Chen
Vice President
Education and Cultural Affairs
Organization of Chinese Americans, Inc.
2025 Eye St., N.W.
Suite 926
Washington, D.C. 20006



U.S. Department of Justice

WBR:LKD:ARH:bbg
DJ 144-16-0

Washington, D.C. 20530

JUL 13 1984

Mr. Linas Kojelis
Associate Director
Office of Public Liaison
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Kojelis:

As requested, enclosed please find a draft reply to correspondence to President Reagan from Mr. Shium Andrew Chen, Vice President, Education and Cultural Affairs, Organization of Chinese Americans, Inc.

Sincerely,

Wm. Bradford Reynolds
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

By:

Linda K. Davis
Chief
Criminal Section

Mr. Shium Andrew Chen, Vice President
Education and Cultural Affairs
Organization of Chinese Americans, Inc.
2025 Eye Street N.W.
Suite 926
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Mr. Chen:

Thank you for your letter of May 23, 1984.

President Reagan shares with you a strong aversion to racism and bigotry, wherever it may be found. It is the policy of this Administration to act vigorously to enforce the civil rights laws that make it unlawful to interfere with a person's constitutional and statutory rights.

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Sincerely,

Linas Kojelis
Associate Director
Office of Public Liaison

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE
REFERRAL

JUNE 21, 1984

TO: DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ACTION REQUESTED:

DRAFT REPLY FOR SIGNATURE OF WHITE HOUSE STAFF MEMBER

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 237478

MEDIA: LETTER, DATED MAY 23, 1984

TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN

FROM: SHIUM ANDREW CHEN
VICE PRESIDENT
EDUCATION AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS
ORGANIZATION OF CHINESE AMERICANS,
INC.
2025 EYE STREET, NW
SUITE 926
WASHINGTON DC 20006

SUBJECT: WOULD LIKE THE PRESIDENT TO MAKE PUBLIC
STATEMENT CONDEMNING RACISM AND BIGOTRY
ACROSS THE NATION

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN
TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE
UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE
(OR DRAFT) TO:
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE

SALLY KELLEY
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

JUN 21 3 04 PM '84
DEPT. OF JUSTICE

JUN 21 2 10 PM '84
NON



ORGANIZATION OF CHINESE AMERICANS, INC.

EMBRACING THE HOPES AND ASPIRATIONS OF CHINESE IN THE UNITED STATES
2025 Eye Street, N.W. • Suite 926 • Washington, D.C. 20006 • (202) 223-5500

304

May 23, 1984

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Robert Wu

VICE PRESIDENT

Hayden Lee (CA)

Public Affairs

Andrew Chen (PA)

Education and

Cultural Affairs

Frank Chin (NY)

Economic Affairs

Angela Yuan (IL)

Chapter Development

Laura Lum (PA)

Administration

TREASURER

James Lee

SECRETARY

Ruth Sing Wong

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Laura Chin

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David Eng

New York City, New York

Kenneth Chu

New York City, New York

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St. Louis, Missouri

Theresa Gee

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California

Alan Cheung

Washington, D.C.

Frank Chin

Westchester, New York

James Chia

Wisconsin

Organization of Chinese American Women (OCAW)

Lily Lee Chen

Monterey Park, California

1984 CONVENTION

Co-Chairs

Robert Ting

Kung-Lee Wang

Mr. Linas Kojelis
Associate Director
Office of Public Liaison
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

237478

Dear Mr. Kojelis:

As one of the participants of the White House Briefing for Asian Americans Educators on April 19, 1984. I would like to express my deep appreciation for an excellent program which was so effectively conducted by you. I also would like to thank you for arranging an autographed President portrait that was sent to my daughter, Andrea. She was overjoyed to receive it and has proudly shared it with her classmates.

While President Reagan has made many great achievements in both international and domestic areas, I am alarmed by the increasing signs of resurgence of racism and bigotry across country. There is no doubt in my mind that President Reagan is a person of compassion and sensitivity. To prevent hatred and prejudice from grasping this nation again, President Reagan has an urgent task to provide a stronger moral leadership in support of human rights and civil justice.

Enclosed is a copy of the cover and an article from the May issue of the National Review. This is just an example of the severity of my concern as stated above. We, the Chinese Americans and the ethnic Americans, would like to see that President Reagan makes a public statement condemning this type of senseless exploitation of minority groups and consequently restoring human decency for all.

Thank you again, I am

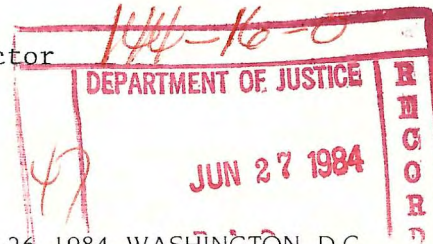
Sincerely yours,

Shium Andrew Chen

Shium Andrew Chen, Vice President
Education and Cultural Affairs

SAC/sel

cc: Mr. Robert Wu, OCA President
Ms. Laura Chin, OCA Executive Director



美華協會

ASIAN WEEK

An English Language Journal for the Asian American Community

National magazine insults Chinese

By Patrick Andersen

Chinese Americans throughout the country decried a racial epithet published on the cover of a politically conservative national magazine this week.

The word "Chink" was used to describe Chinese on the cover of the May 4 issue of *National Review*, a conservative magazine edited by William F. Buckley Jr.

The cover was devoted to advertisement of an article entitled, "The Underhandedness of Affirmative Action," by Henry C. Mansfield Jr.

A sort of checklist runs down the left-hand side of the cover: "one (1) black, one (1) woman, two (2) Jews, one (1) cripple; one (1) Hispanic, one (1) Chink, one (1) Vietnamese, two (2) Indians, one (1) Tiura del Fuegor."

"For you to print such an insulting and degrading racist slang is to offend Chinese Americans and Chinese people everywhere," wrote San

Franciscan Terry Lee, who is a counselor at California State University in Hayward.

"I don't think this was just done tongue-in-cheek," said Robert Wu, national president of the Organization of Chinese Americans, from his office in New York. "I think it betrays a very strong undercurrent of their true feeling, and that they think it is okay to offend Chinese but not Jews, blacks or Hispanics."

Linda Bridges, assistant manager of the *National Review*, said an editorial board usually reviews all material for the magazine's cover before publication. She refused to say whether Buckley was part of the group which approved usage of the offensive word, and refused to identify any of the board's members.

Buckley was unavailable for comment.

"It (the cover) was an attempt to parody (former Interior Secretary) James Watt. We

didn't realize it would be considered offensive," Bridges told *Asian Week*.

Bridges said the editorial board has no plans for issuing an apology for use of the term. "I guess that depends on whether any letters come in complaining about it. I've been told there have been a couple of phone calls so far," she said.

National Review has been publishing since 1955 and claims a circulation of about 100,000.

Tom Wong, press officer for the Chinese Chamber of Commerce in Chicago, ridiculed Bridges' claim that the editorial board of a nationally circulated magazine would not know that the word "Chink" is offensive to Chinese Americans.

"The people of Chicago are aware that you just do not use that word," Wong said.

Rep. Gary Locke of the Washington State House of

Continued on page 25

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Suite 926

Washington, D.C. 20006

Magazine

Continued from page 1

Representatives agreed.

"There is no way any right-minded person - no matter what his political persuasion might be - would not be aware that that term is derogatory," Locke said. "I think this is just indicative of how racist Buckley and other right-wing conservatives like him really are."

"I think it's outrageous and unacceptable, but it's also in line with the overall trend of violence - both physical and verbal - against Asians in this country," said Peter Kiang, program director of the Asian American Resource Workshop in Boston. "The Reagan presidency and the rise of conservatism have made it possible for something like this to be on the cover of a national magazine."

"I think (the magazine) is cowardly. If they're going to use ethnic slurs, why don't they go ahead and use 'Hymie' and 'nigger.' I think they thought they could get away with insulting Chinese but weren't willing to risk it with anyone else," said Wu.

Gloria Hom, a member of the

California Board of Education and a Republican candidate for Supervisor in Santa Clara County, said the *National Review* is "not one of my favorite magazines."

"I'm surprised that in this day and age they would do a thing like this," she said. But Hom was hesitant to make any further comment before reading the magazine herself.

Maeley Tom, chief administrative officer for the state Assembly in Sacramento, said she could not believe a national magazine "or especially Buckley" would be unaware of the offensiveness of the term.

"They probably would have checked with blacks, Hispanics or any of the other groups they mentioned, to find out whether a term would have been offensive. Their carelessness in this case is indicative how they think less of the Chinese," Tom said.

Dr. S.B. Woo, a candidate for Lieutenant Governor in Delaware, called for the magazine to "give the Chinese American community an immediate formal apology."

"I think this is indicative of the disregard for minorities that people like Buckley have," commented Steve Wing, an attorney for the Asian Law Alliance in San Jose. "The portion of the public that they are trying to reach probably would not mind if the magazine didn't publish an apology."

Against Affirmative Action

The article which started the controversy attacked Affirmative Action as a burden on the people of the United States.

"Affirmative Action is settling down in our constitutional polity like a determined guest seeking to establish squatter's rights," Mansfield wrote, setting the tone for the rest of the article.

Henry Der, executive director of Chinese for Affirmative Action, pointed to the cover of the magazine and scoffed at Mansfield's assertion.

"I think their use of that word on the cover of the magazine clearly indicates the strong need for Affirmative Action in this country," Der said.

Republican Daniel Wong, city councilman and former mayor of Cerritos in Southern California, gave a limited defense for Affirmative Action.

"Affirmative Action has its good points and its bad points," Wong said. "It is definitely needed up to a point, but I think that when you pass that point you should stop depending on it."

Wong added that he personally is not too worried about the general use of the term "Chink," and said that he has not had to contend with overt racism since he became a doctor. "But if somebody pointed their finger directly at me and use that term to purposely insult me, I would be quite upset," he said.

NATIONAL REVIEW

one (1) black

one (1) woman

two (2) Jews

one (1) cripple

one (1) Hispanic

one (1) Chink

one (1) Vietnamese

two (2) Indians

one (1) Tuna del Fungo

The Underhandedness of Affirmative Action

by Harvey C. Mansfield, Jr.

Reproduced and Distributed by:
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2025 Eye Street N.W.

Suite 976

Washington D.C. 20006

Also in this issue: Ernest van den Haag on the Bouvia Case
F. Reid Buckley on Socialist Spain
A Whittaker Chambers Get-Together



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LETTERS

Straight Cable

Thanks for the excellent nuts-and-bolts article, "Gutter Politics in the Global Village," by Richard Armstrong [April 20], on the political uses of cable TV. *NR*'s theoretical or philosophical articles are always interesting, but it's nice to see something practical too. The article was fair warning to conservative candidates running this year. It would be a shame if conservatives lost by default, through ignorance of modern technology. I for one hope that I can bypass the liberal news media, and get my information on this election straight—on cable.

Catherine Venable Moore
New York, N.Y.

Name-Calling

I expected that my views on reindustrialization [April 6] would be controversial, and I welcome open discussion. It is no surprise that economists disagree, even conservative economists. *NR* has provided a matchless forum for such debates over the years. However, when Milton Friedman refers to "Hawkins and his fellow socialists" I must cry, Foul! This is a mere resort to name-calling and is unworthy of Professor Friedman. It is an attempt to pre-empt debate rather than engage in it.

Socialism is based on two main points: 1) the abolition of private ownership of the means of production, and 2) the redistribution of wealth and power on the basis of equality. I hold neither view. In fact, I consider the second point to be the most foolish and dangerous ever to be raised in political philosophy. I do have a "collectivist" loyalty to the United States, but that is more accurately termed nationalism. It is common for leftists to brand as "fascist" (or "crypto-fascist" in one famous incident) anything with which they disagree, but do those on the Right have to copy such behavior by an indiscriminate hurling of the epithet "socialist" over every point of contention?

Failure to draw proper distinctions destroys the meaning of words, thus making reasoned discussion impossible. Unfortunately, slips like Professor Friedman's are not uncommon. That is one reason why economics continues to be the Achilles heel of conservatism.

William R. Hawkins
Radford, Va.

Be Good, Be Better

In a recent "For the Record" [March 9], in listing mayors who had endorsed Mondale, the writer alluded to Philadelphia Mayor Wilson B. Goode. His correct name is W. Wilson Goode. The W. stands for Willie. The author apparently lapsed into thoughts of the Chuck Berry rock 'n' roll hit of the Fifties, "Johnny B. Good."

Best wishes. Keep 'em flyin'.

Jim Panvard
Upper Darby, Pa.

Coming Up . . .

My compliments to Mr. Williamson for his thoughtful review of my book, *America by the Throat* ["The Right Books," March 9]. In a few words, he gives a fair and surprisingly broad summary of my case against bureaucracy.

My emphasis on the "economic argument" should not be narrowly understood. The profit principle as I defined it spans all human urges to self-betterment: spiritual and aesthetic as well as material. From this impulse we not only bake our bread but erect our cathedrals. It is in this larger sense that our freedom is the contrapositive to bureaucratic coercion, as the organizing principle of society (the focus of the book). There are no other alternatives. It was essential to contrast the two modes in detail. I concluded that either we defend society organized by free choice and contract and informed by moral law, or bureaucracy will ultimately march us into military dictatorship. History appears to offer no escape from this doom.

Mr. Williamson is surely correct that a "rationalistic and positivistic ethos" impels our age into the bureaucratic anthill; and correct again that I did not pursue my quarry that far into the fever swamps. In *America by the Throat*, I undertook nothing so ambitious. However, I believe the time has come for a penetrating look at the "whole picture," and I am at work on a modest contribution to that effort . . .

George Roche
Hillsdale, Mich.

Ripe and Ready

Conservatives continue to write off my state as a lost cause ["Reagan Today," by John McLaughlin, March 9]. I could tear my hair out.

NATIONAL REVIEW



MANSFIELD 26



BUCKLEY 36



VAN DEN HAAG 45



AESCHLIMAN 50

THE COVER

26 The Underhandedness of Affirmative Action

It's an insult to self-government. It amounts to a standing accusation against all white males. It contradicts its own avowed premises. Yet we continue to countenance it.

Harvey C. Mansfield Jr.

ARTICLES & COLUMNS

24 Lebanon and Staying Power

The United States' experience in Lebanon affords a lesson in what power means.

Brian Crozier

34 New York, New York

It's not such a long way from Tel Aviv. As Rainbow Jackson took Harlem by storm, Mondale and Hart were fighting it out over the question, "Where's the embassy?"

Richard Brookhiser

36 How Does It Fare with Felipe?

Spain's new leader is not to be confused with his fellow socialist François Mitterrand. So far, so good.

F. Reid Buckley

41 Warm Friday

Twenty-three years after his death, Whittaker Chambers is awarded the nation's highest civilian medal. His friends in Washington gather to pay homage and to reminisce.

Oliver Bath

45 Force Feeding in Hospitals

We can't prevent able-bodied people from committing suicide. Why, then, prevent a cripple from killing herself?

Ernest van den Haag

48 The Revolt against Our Public Culture

America may not be a Christian nation, but where does it say we have to be heathen?

Michael Novak

BOOKS ARTS & MANNERS

- 50 M. D. Aeschliman reads the diaries of a Polish ex-Communist. . . . Barbara Tuchman has a lot to learn about history, says Charles Burton Marshall. Yet there she goes again, writing the stuff. . . . Joseph Sobran pines over Daniel Patrick Moynihan and what might have been. . . . John Hemingway tells of the white men who have loved Africa, to the delight of Nicholas King. . . . John Simon finds *Splash* very finny but not very funny, and *Entre Nous* isn't finny or funny, just kinky. *Après vous*. . . . Ralph de Toledano enjoys some new Mozart and Verdi recordings. . . . Nika Hazelton recalls great meals. . . . D. Keith Mano studies the art of flirting.

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THE UNDERHANDEDNESS OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION



AFFIRMATIVE ACTION is settling down in our constitutional polity like a determined guest seeking to establish squatter's rights. Though the issue is far from settled, controversy has subsided. The Supreme Court has pronounced indecisively on several occasions and in several voices. The Democratic Party, trying to exist on a faded and confused memory of itself, has lost its early enthusiasm for affirmative action, but remains "committed" to it in the routine sense of that word—stuck with it. And the Reagan Administration, elected in a spirit hostile to affirmative action, has found it necessary, or merely convenient, to tolerate it, even to truckle to it.

Former Interior Secretary James Watt's fatal remark about a coal-leasing board he himself had appointed ("a black, a woman, two Jews, and a cripple") helped to bring the Administration's attitude to public attention. Secretary Watt should have been ashamed of himself, and perhaps under his boastful cynicism he was. But, in the usual manner of shame, he seemed to put the blame on others, on the groups clamoring for such treatment. To supporters of affirmative action, this was "insensitive," and insulting. Secretary Watt should have appointed the same people, minus the Jews, but without saying why. He should have known that to state the true purpose of his appointments was to render them useless for that purpose. He should have known that affirmative action works only when it is concealed and lied about. He should have known that, because everyone knows it; the concealment and the lies are all the more necessary because everyone knows the truth.

Affirmative action is obviously a way of helping people who are considered insufficiently capable of helping themselves. But just as obviously, this fact cannot be admitted. Or, if it is admitted in general—as when Justice Marshall said in the *Bakke* case that "meaningful equality remains a distant dream for the Negro"—it must be denied in all particular cases. The reason for wanting to help people is that we hold them to be equal in some sense, hence deserving of equal treatment, but if we help them, we imply that they are unequal in some sense, hence undeserving of

equal treatment. Government and management must therefore give help through affirmative action while denying that they give it, indeed by denying that they give it, in order not to hurt the pride of the beneficiaries. Their pride, and America's recognition of their pride, is not beside the point: It is the point.

Affirmative action is a question of pride, more than has been realized on either side of the debate. So far, most of the argument has been about its justice. Proponents say that because of past injustices, blacks, women, and others on a lengthening list deserve to get a break—partly for revenge, and partly because their suffering has left them unprepared to take advantage of the opportunities that it is admitted they now have. Opponents have replied that past injustice will not be remedied by new injustice of a similar kind, in which people are treated as representatives of groups rather than as individuals. The justice of affirmative action is affirmed by a majority of intellectuals and denied by a majority of the American people. In such a contest, I have no doubt where my sympathies lie. But the injustice or wrongness of affirmative action does not reach the depth of its evil.

The problem of affirmative action appears less grave than it is because its proponents present it as a matter of mere justice: They merely ask us to live by the principles we profess. They pass over the means to get us to live by our principles, and opponents of affirmative action have been content, for the most part, to dispute them over principles rather than means. But the underhandedness of affirmative action is what is worst in it. Even if justice were secured by such means, the result would not be compatible with the dignity or pride of free citizens. Such means, moreover, whether or not declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, are a threat to constitutional government, which is concerned as much with means as with ends—and the threat is all the greater for not being widely understood.

To understand that threat, let us return to the necessity that affirmative action conceal the help it renders its beneficiaries. As a policy, it cannot claim success, because to announce an "affirmative-action appointment" as such is to insult the recipient by implying that he would not have got it on merit. It is a peculiar policy indeed where the administrator cannot admit he has done nothing, since this is hardly "action," yet cannot boast of doing something, lest his actions insult the beneficiary. Since the benefi-

Mr. Mansfield, a professor of government at Harvard University, is the author of The Spirit of Liberalism and Machiavelli's New Modes and Orders and the editor of the Selected Letters of Edmund Burke, to be published in May by the University of Chicago Press.

aries—the blacks, women, and others protected by affirmative action—cannot admit that they are incapable and undeserving, the only remaining solution, it seems, is to accuse the American people, or what is left of it after the protected groups have been subtracted, of discriminating against their fellow citizens on grounds of race, sex, or national origin. The unprotected must admit their guilt so that the protected do not have to admit their incapacity.

But the unprotected include many white males who favor affirmative action; they cannot be guilty of racism and sexism. White males who oppose affirmative action must be the guilty ones, responsible for all the ills that affirmative action seeks to correct. Not that those guilty white males *do* anything discriminatory; any overt action to discriminate would be illegal without affirmative action. Rather, it is their bad attitudes. Those white males glare balefully at the protected groups, wounding and disabling them with negative vibrations and looking out for any chance to do them in by wishing them ill.

This ludicrous picture of America, according to which opportunities for blacks and women have multiplied while racism and sexism have continued to run rampant, is what supporters and beneficiaries of affirmative action are required to believe. If opportunities were not open, we could not know that affirmative action beyond opening opportunities was needed; but since affirmative action is needed, the same Americans who opened them must secretly desire to close them. At a time when no American can publicly defend segregation, the most powerful Americans are supposed to desire it and to have succeeded in imposing it. Accusing one's fellow citizens of racism and sexism has become so routine, to be sure, that the seriousness of the charge has been forgotten. But to make a serious charge

In reality, prejudice is now at a low point in our history. Most affirmative-action programs do their best to kick in an open door

lightly is so far from an excuse as to be an aggravation. To accuse a group of "institutional racism" reveals a frivolous attitude in the accuser that is worse than the casual malice of which he complains.

None of this is meant to deny that prejudice exists in America. In one way prejudice is much greater than we know: Since we live in a democracy, prejudice exists not only against those held inferior but also against people we suspect of superiority. But affirmative action, under the guise of opposing racism and sexism, inflates those attitudes by imputing them to other citizens as the sole cause of remaining inequalities. Although affirmative action claims to be a temporary policy, it has a vested interest in the continuation of prejudice. "Progress" in race and gender relations is made doubtful because each advance occurs not by the gradual disappearance of prejudice but with a triumph over it. The beneficiaries are encouraged to think that they got jobs or promotions not on merit but as punitive compensation, like the recovery of stolen goods from thieves. This may be cause for satisfaction in the benefi-

ciaries, but it cannot be the occasion for pride. The unprotected Americans—the "guilty" ones—are not ashamed; they are humiliated. They are not asked to live up to their ideals; they are forced to do so because it is assumed that they have not done so and will not do so on their own. This is a recipe for resentment.

To combat the prejudice it inflates, affirmative action has two modes, which Nathan Glazer has distinguished as hard (quotas) and soft (pressure without quotas). These are two modes of the same policy rather than two policies. Affirmative action with quotas will often be opposed because it is too blatant, although the policy as such is by no means so honest that its proponents will admit that merit is no longer the first consideration. Instead, they try to redefine merit: It no longer means the best, or the best available; it is made to mean acceptable, or beyond a certain minimum. Sometimes "merit" is defined as what society needs, and society's needs are more big shots who are blacks and women; ergo, promoting them is promoting merit. They serve as "role models," and the role they model is that of being patronized by white males.

Still, despite these evasions, quotas are too blatant. They have been tagged as "reverse discrimination," not to say racism and sexism. Affirmative action therefore retreats to less obvious methods that, it is hoped, will save face for both employer and employed. For example, in my "place of employment"—Harvard University—affirmative action is said to amount to no more than an earnest attempt to "identify and consider" the protected candidates. Similarly, according to Justice Powell's majority opinion in the *Bakke* case, universities may "consider race" for admissions, but may not "use" it explicitly.

But this soft mode does not persist either. After time has passed, noses are counted, and if too many are found to be of the wrong color or sex, the order comes down to quit stalling, to find one now, lest quotas be imposed. This order comes down but does not go out. Soft and hard modes of affirmative action agree in their lack of candor; they vary only in the degree of pressure, as push differs from shove.

To manage its two modes, to coordinate the uses of insinuation and threat, affirmative action has its very own bureaucracy. Affirmative-action officers are to be found in the employ of almost every large company and university. They are paid by the employer but they do not work for him. They work toward the achievement of affirmative action, no matter what that does to their employer, because their job is to see that their employer abides by federal regulations. Their job is not like that of a lawyer, who might advise his employer on how to stay within the law while keeping his best interests in view; nor is it like that of a policeman, who enforces the law impartially and is paid by the government. Like everything else about affirmative action, its officers are in between. Their job is neither to advise nor to enforce, but to exert pressure.

It goes without saying that affirmative-action officers must be members of protected groups. No white male could be trusted to have the necessary impartiality for that position, not even if he were a proponent of affirmative action. He might wish to do his best, but some tincture of bias would surely inhibit him in the pursuit of justice. Besides, an unsuitable affirmative-action officer could not provide the necessary support and reassurance to the blacks and wom-

who are his protégés. They might get the wrong idea that white males are not prejudiced against them.

All the bluster against discrimination conceals the fact that the civil-rights movement has lost its high idealism and has descended to a mundane concern for jobs and honors. The result is demeaning, but worldly ambition can keep its aura of heroism if it can be said to struggle against racism and sexism. That struggle not only justifies appointments not based on merit but also dignifies the self-interest of those who accept them. In reality, prejudice is now at a low point in our history. Most affirmative-action programs do their best to kick in an open door at which personnel officers, suppressing their supposedly wicked hatred for the blacks and women they have bent every effort to enlist, stand ready with effusive greetings and all-consuming grins. Where hostility is met, it is more often resentment at affirmative action than prejudice against the protected groups as such. And when it is hard to find a job, as it frequently is, the reason is usually not prejudice but the scarcity of jobs. Tokenism, in fact, is an understandable, even a reasonable defense against routine accusations of discrimination. One insincerity creates another—and deserves another.

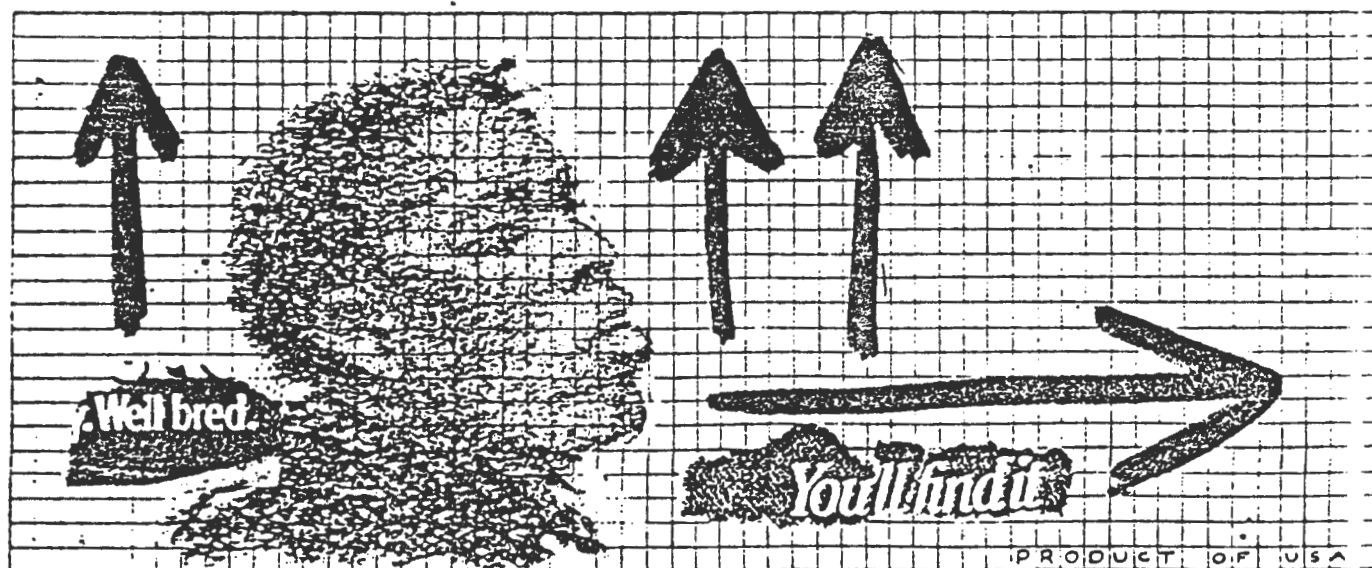
As befits its underhanded nature, affirmative action has an underhanded history. Although it is now a centerpiece of government policy, affirmative action never made its way through the legislative process with public notice and debate. As is well known, Hubert Humphrey and other managers of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 expressly denied that quotas or preferential treatment were required by Title VII of that act, and they put that denial into the language of Title VII. "Affirmative action" began as an undefined, apparently innocuous, phrase in an executive order with no direct reference to any duly passed law, and it just grew, with the eager cooperation and inventiveness of the courts. Even now it has no fixed meaning, and, as I have said, its proponents find it convenient to avoid fixing one, adopting hard or soft meanings depending on whether affirmative action is on the attack or the defensive.

While the meaning of affirmative action was being arbitrarily expanded, its protection was arbitrarily extended. Whereas the Civil Rights Act of 1964 represented a national consensus, the culmination of a grand struggle by

and for blacks, other groups have since taken advantage of the consensus on blacks to include themselves among the formerly oppressed and the currently bewildered. The women's movement, in particular, has taken a free ride on the injustices done to blacks. It provides no forthright argument that a society in which women stay at home is inferior to one in which they take paid jobs outside the home. Instead, the movement concentrates on "raising consciousness," which consists of showing women and men how they have always assumed women should be as they always have been. But slaves who can gain freedom merely by raising consciousness were never slaves. Men have in fact meekly surrendered, or eagerly offered, their privileges—only to be told that this is not enough. Men are still guilty, guilty, a thousand times guilty of sexism. Thus, affirmative action is both expiation of male guilt and a newfangled gallantry that many women deign to accept—they do not wish to push revolution too far. Women recognize that moderation is the way to have the best of both worlds. Let us hope they do not get the contrary: failing to keep the traditional courtesies they continue sexistically to prize while failing to gain, or savor when gained, an equal or greater-than-equal share (why not play to win?) of the top honors of this world. At the moment it is hard to think why they should not expect the worst of both worlds.

With such a dubious history, affirmative action has not been presented by its proponents as the fundamental change that it is. President Johnson spoke of the need for "equality of result" as something beyond "equality of opportunity," but the new equality was to be the result of living up to established principles. It was not a challenge to equality of opportunity but an improvement needed, it was said, because people do not have equal opportunities if they cannot take advantage of them equally because of a disadvantaged background.

"Background" is the key to the innovation made by affirmative action. One's background is the sum of one's nature, including both individual and human nature, and nurture, including both individual upbringing and the habits inherited from the history of a group. Equality of opportunity presupposes that nature is more powerful than nurture, that we have a fixed human nature, enabling an in-



dividual to overcome an upbringing of poverty and a history of deprivation. All the individual needs is an opportunity; his nature permits him to make a "fresh start."

Thomas Jefferson went so far as to conceive of a natural aristocracy to be elicited in the American republic through tests of merit. This reliance on nature has seemed too confining to more recent liberal reformers, many of them influenced by Marxism. They have concentrated on its limitations, particularly its self-interest, the selfishness of the old Adam. They have attacked the notion of a fixed human nature as reflecting a belief in original sin, which is bad because it is conservatism. Yet certain historically minded conservatives, with an exaggerated devotion to tradition, have joined these liberals in attacking the notion of a fixed human nature.

For both of these parties, history has proved to be a trap. The conservatives now have to admit that Communist revolution has an increasing share of contemporary history; so if man is history, our history is carrying us into revolution. The liberals, while meaning to extend reform by denying the limitations set by human nature, have in effect limited reform by calling into question our capacity to take advantage of it. Most liberals seem not to appreciate fully that affirmative action does not add to previous reform but criticizes it, and that the reform being criticized is liberal reform. They are used to thinking of progress in reform, by which one reform, inadequate or incomplete by itself, suggests another. With the advent of affirmative action, however, previous reform is declared ineffectual, not merely inadequate, and progress itself becomes dubious.

Those who favor affirmative action do not profess that they are abandoning equal opportunity; on the contrary, they promise to make opportunities really equal for the

What begins as an attempt to infuse our lives with morality ends as indifference to the means so long as the end is achieved

first time. They say that the natural endowments of the disadvantaged cannot overcome their histories right now, but at some time in the future, when those disadvantaged histories have been overcome by affirmative action, merit can once again be our standard and quotas be discarded. Affirmative action is thus professedly not an abandonment but a temporary postponement of equal opportunity. To say otherwise would be to admit that races and genders are permanently unequal.

But how long will it take to equalize the histories of blacks and women? At Harvard, the official policy is to continue affirmative action "until we have demonstrated to our own collective satisfaction that hiring decisions are absolutely color-blind and sex-neutral." *Absolutely* is a word not often heard at Harvard, where many people commonly say they do not believe in "absolutes." But the extremism of this absolute, which is necessary to the idea of affirmative action, has to be savored to be appreciated. It is not enough for us to decide, as best we can, on the basis of merit; each of us must be blind to his own color, neutral

as to his sex. None of us can be trusted to decide on merit until each of us has repressed in himself any qualities that might possibly cause him not to decide on merit.

How is this marvelous repression to be achieved? Well, precisely by feeding the pride of race and sex in blacks and women and guilt of the same in white males. One state of mind—being absolutely color-blind and sex-neutral—is to be achieved by practicing its contrary. This is what is meant when we are asked to live up to our principles, to "close the gap between reality and ideals" (as the Harvard policy puts it). Since the goal is absolute, the policy adopted to get there will take a very long time to succeed, if it can ever succeed. And since the means used by the policy contradict the goals, even progress is unlikely. Affirmative action begins with the assertion that despite civil-rights legislation, prejudice continues and has got worse; then it concludes that despite the strength of prejudice, prejudice can and ought to be abolished; and last, it decides that abolition of prejudice can be accomplished by inflating it.

Some might think that the cure for the underhandedness of affirmative action is "open government," a policy of keeping nothing secret from the people. Not in the least! Open government was the means selected by the late, lamentable Carter Administration "to make government as good as the American people." It is also the operative ideal of the media, and it has a respectable source in the political philosophy of Kant. Open government, it is said, will make government more moral by making it more visible. This is just what affirmative action claims to do when it attempts to bring to light the informal truth behind a formal commitment to equal opportunity. It is no accident that affirmative action was most emphatically affirmed in the Administration that was devoted to open government.

Under affirmative action the same thing happens as under open government generally. A visible action that is at first taken as a *sign* of morality becomes a morality *itself*. A visible affirmative action taken to overcome racism, such as appointing a black to office, instead of being understood as a sign that racism is gone, is mistaken for a blow at racism. Attention is thus shifted from motive to result ("equality of result"), and it is wrongly concluded that we can destroy racism by appointing blacks—only the result matters, not the means. What begins as an attempt to infuse our public and private lives with morality ends as indifference to the means so long as the end is achieved; it ends as indifference to morality. The gap between reality and our ideals is not closed; it is merely papered over—with bureaucratic forms, in which empty accusations are answered by insincere protestations. The perfect example of this immoral moralism is the "consent decree"—an oxymoron if there ever was one—describing the treatment of a defendant who does not admit he is guilty but agrees under compulsion to act as if he were.

It would go too far to say that, in the matter of affirmative action, government by consent decree is replacing government by consent. But we have perhaps plumbed the depth of the harm done by affirmative action when we understand how it negates the principle of government by consent. The right to consent to government is often presented as a matter of justice, and rightly, because it is justice to count each person as one. But the right to consent is also a matter of dignity, because each person must

count for something in order to be counted as one. It is the right to be treated as a person worthy of being taken seriously, as a rational creature capable of choice, who deserves to be persuaded and not taken for granted.

One cannot presume, therefore, how the right to consent will be exercised. One cannot suppose, for example, that blacks, because they are blacks, must want this and not want that. Of course, it is not always practicable to take a vote. It may be defensible to presume tacit consent in a situation from which one draws benefits, but consent that is presumed because of one's social and economic characteristics is an outrage. Whereas the first presumption declares what you have apparently consented to, leaving intact your right to withdraw consent, the second says what you *would* consent to, thus making actual consent unnecessary and bothersome. It is hardly surprising, and not reprehensible, that blacks should vote for blacks, but for them to do so automatically is no merit and deserves no praise. For the government to presume, as a matter of law, that blacks will do so is no mere prediction of how they will vote but an unthinking usurpation of their right of consent.

In the recent extension of the Voting Rights Act (1982), Congress flirted with the idea of affirmative-action consent that would have given protected groups the representation it presumed they would and should vote for. According to this bright idea, the government should no longer confine itself to guaranteeing the right to vote, but should now look to see how that right is exercised, in case voting by one method or another should deprive a minority of its

fair share of representation, *as calculated without reference to elections*. This was an attempt at mandated racist voting, and it was narrowly and only partially defeated.

It is not enough to describe our problem as a gap between reality and our ideals. Such a description overlooks the right to consent, which is the key to all our other rights. Our problem is in one way greater than a gap between reality and our ideals, and in another way more honorable. It is a gap within our ideals, a gap arising from the right of consent and reflecting the reality that free men are not free of prejudice.

Since this is so, and is likely to remain so, do we want to conclude that freedom should be withheld until all prejudice has been abolished? That is the totalitarian way—which says, in contradiction of itself, that men are worthy of freedom but not of gaining it on their own. But then, if we avoid this contradiction and allow that people should have “freedom now,” and not have to wait until government has declared them worthy of it, we must respect their right of consent. We must respect that right even in those who are prejudiced (and of course in those we merely disagree with). To do so is not merely a practical necessity—as if we were merely recognizing the gap between reality and our ideals—but a moral imperative derived from our central ideal, the right of consent.

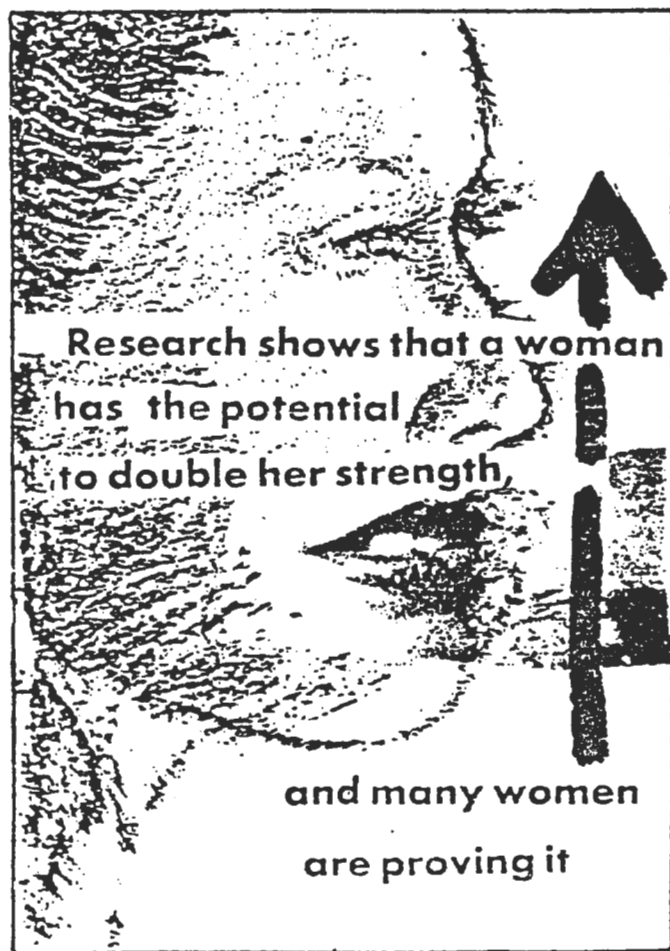
Living together in freedom requires more than justice. For after justice has been exacted, people are not always in a mood to live together. To put ourselves in the right mood for free society we must recognize the dignity of other citizens. We must treat them, to repeat, as worthy of being persuaded. This morality of consent requires us to consent, for the sake of our morality, to a gap between reality and our ideals. It also provides a necessary check on our moralism, when we try to rush into reform too confident that those who are opposed are merely prejudiced. Moralism gives morality a bad name and makes free citizens angry and impatient with one another.

Properly understood, the right to consent neither prevents us from resorting to compulsion when necessary nor disables us from attempting reform when desirable. In this proper understanding, consent has its forms and procedures whose observance makes it necessary to persuade one's fellow citizens. Consent must be registered in legal elections to offices in bodies established by law so that it is clear who are the winners and losers. The point is to leave the majority capable of action after the minority has been heard. A person's right to consent is not violated when he has been outvoted, and his dignity has not been denied when he has been outargued. The forms and procedures of a free government give definition to the dignity of free citizens. It knows when it can act, and we know when we have been consulted.

All these forms and procedures, together with the spirit in which they are practiced, have been called constitutionalism. They ensure respect for the means by which the right of consent is exercised, and thereby they secure respect for the right of consent. They *constitute* a free society; without such forms a society might be tempted to believe that freedom is doing as one pleases, or doing what one thinks is required by justice.

Affirmative action has no regard for the forms and procedures that serve as protection of the right of consent. It

(Continues on page 61)



major for 16 years) to the Supreme Allied Command. He wasn't infallible, and Ambrose scores his several strategic failings—particularly his patience with Montgomery, who not only failed to secure Antwerp but squandered men and matériel in the disastrous Market Garden operation. Too, the author is appalled that Ike refused to beat the Russians to Berlin. But he hastens to add that no other Allied commander would have been so well suited for the role of winning the war while keeping everyone happy. The ease with which he achieved his and the nation's objectives, however, had made him the indispensable man. Hence his retirement plans were delayed for another 16 years as he served his nation in a variety of offices, culminating in two terms in the Presidency.

ALAN L. MILLER

The Collected Stories of Colette, edited by Robert Phelps (Farrar, 605 pp., \$19.95)

ROBERT PHELPS, who edited an influential anthology of Colette's autobiographical writings called *Earthly Paradise*, is still at it; the latest product of his industry is a collection of one hundred pieces of "short fiction" by Colette. (Colette's "fiction" is very hard to categorize, and Mr. Phelps goes so far as to divide it into four overlapping genres: autobiographical sketches, chroniques, "lyrical meditations whose mode is not narrative," and short stories proper.) Thirty-one of these stories appear in English for the first time; 29 are newly translated by various hands. Mr. Phelps's selection is sensible and his introduction—though too short—is astute. Colette has never been properly appreciated in the United States; *The Collected Stories of Colette* is a good way to get acquainted with the uniquely personal style of the author whom Glenway Wescott once called "a kind of female Montaigne."

TERRY TEACHOUT

MANSFIELD

(Continued from page 32)

has no patience with them when they seem to get in the way of justice, and no compunction about multiplying them when they are thought to advance justice. Any old procedure may be altered, any new procedure may be added; all that matters is the result. Thus,

our government becomes ever more intrusive even as it increasingly shirks the task of persuasion.

Those who agree with some, or most, or all of what I have said against affirmative action may still think that something needs to be done, and I believe they are right. In the first place, the case of blacks should be separated from those of all the rest. They are the only ones who were brought to America against their will and then enslaved. True, they were later freed; but still they were held down as second-class citizens. How can they be made into first-class citizens? But is it not evident that this question should be rephrased as, How can they make themselves into first-class citizens? To which the immediate answer must be, Not by affirmative action: not by receiving justice from others so much as by claiming their own places in the name of pride.

Blacks should look more at what they contribute to America, less at what they want from it. Their wants make them dependent and force them to accentuate the negative, so that they humiliate themselves in the very act of demanding their due. They should consider what they have done in America and whether this is worthy of being continued. They should transform their predilections into conscious deliberation, and consider what they can and should do with their lives, given their choices and the range of opportunities America provides.

To claim 11 per cent of every activity on the principle of affirmative action is to say that blacks make no contribution of their own and that America would have lost nothing distinctive if it had sent all its freed slaves back to Africa. But blacks have one sure contribution to make, a valuable addition to their other valuable contributions to our culture. They have been the victims of democratic injustice and have seen freedom from underneath, and in consequence they know what most other Americans can hardly imagine, that democratic majorities can do terrible wrong. This is valuable information for a free people.

In considering what they can do, and want to do, the primary responsibility should be on blacks themselves. The policy I suggest is as far from "benign neglect" as from intrusive interference. It is that blacks should be asked to affirm their own actions.

CLASSIC MOVIE STARS and heads of state

... European royalty and oil sheiks do not use aerosol spray cans, wicks, etc. that can be purchased in every supermarket. How do the super rich reflect their personalities and individualities in their mansions after they have filled them with custom made furniture and museum quality paintings? They have been using our product of unsurpassed quality and accuracy of scent. This air freshener, home deodorizer and background fragrance also adds quiet elegance to corporate offices on the upper floors of Fortune 500 headquarters buildings. Until now, our product has appeared only in the most overpriced gift shops and boutiques in America and Europe. Yet it is more economical to use than spray cans. Our old-money rich customers appreciate this feature because they are egregiously thrifty. 27 different refreshing flavors carefully handcrafted in the USA. Enjoyment unconditionally guaranteed. Certified members of NSMA. Virtually a different flavor for every day of the month. The complete Yvon Châtel Collection, including all 27 scents, beautifully and elegantly packaged. \$3.00 includes postage and handling. Check, M.O., Mastercard & Visa accepted. Texas residents add tax. A portion of any flavor is enough to scent a standard 40 x 80 living room or small 40 foot yacht. Great for traveling. Makes your drab 8 room hotel suite a home away from home. Refresh your private 707 jet. Great for eliminating day old champagne odors. Long lasting. Lasts all the way from Aspen to the Cote d'Azur. Also sent to peasants if they will respond on high quality stationery. Fragrant Harvest Company, 9001 Northgate, Suite 257, Austin, TX 78758

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 20, 1984

MR. PRESIDENT:

At Senior Staff this morning,
we agreed it would be
desirable for you to stop
on your way to the helicopter
to highlight the attached
statement on the economic
figures.

Dick

Richard G. Darman

The President has seen _____

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BEC04

WWS

6/20/84

GOOD MORNING. THE COMMERCE DEPARTMENT HAS JUST RELEASED A REVISED FIGURE INDICATING OUR ECONOMY GREW BY 9.7 PERCENT IN THE FIRST QUARTER WITH INFLATION AT ONLY 3.9 PERCENT. AND THE FLASH ESTIMATE FOR THE SECOND QUARTER INDICATES REAL GROWTH AT 5.7 PERCENT AND INFLATION OF ONLY 2.8 PERCENT.

THIS IS REMARKABLE NEWS THAT SHOULD GIVE US CONFIDENCE WE ARE SETTLING INTO A PATTERN OF STRONG AND STEADY ECONOMIC GROWTH WITHOUT RENEWED INFLATION.

The President has seen _____

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

May 28, 1984

237903

PR014-08

CD075

FG006-12

LDJ

MEMORANDUM FOR DODIE LIVINGSTON

FROM: ROBERT M. KIMMITT ^{Boh}

SUBJECT: Rome Liberation Day Message

The NSC staff has reviewed and concurs with the draft Presidential statement, as modified, commemorating the 40th Anniversary of the liberation of Rome

Attachment
Tab A - Draft Statement

NSC # 8404284

Draft Statement from the President

I am proud to extend, through the distinguished American delegation, my very warmest wishes to all Italians who are today commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the liberation of their historic capital city. I salute the President of Italy, himself a valiant partisan in the struggle for Italian liberty, and all of his ministers, who symbolize the fruits of a long and costly effort to restore free government and an open democratic society to the great Italian nation.

We also honor the memory of General Mark Clark, under whose command the First Special Service Force, composed ~~equally~~ of American and Canadian soldiers, was the spearhead of the Allied army that entered Rome in June 1944. In his own account of the enthusiasm and excitement of that day, General Clark has told how he first arrived in St. Peter's Square. There he met an American priest who indicated the route to the Capitoline Hill. A young boy on a bicycle ^{then} ~~led the jeep bearing~~ ^(General Clark's) General Clark to the Town Hall, where ~~he pounded on the big door, which was locked, before he~~ ^(the General) was received as the liberator of Rome.

So I wish to add my voice to yours in marking this joyous anniversary for all Romans and for all Italians. My fellow countrymen and I join you in spirit today in celebrating the abiding friendship between our two peoples and the free

(over the last four decades.) ~~post-war period over the last four decades~~
alliance which has bound us together ~~in the intervening years~~

[since 1944.] Italy and the United States are together striving

to preserve our hard-won liberty and the free, open, fair and prosperous societies that our democratic systems have made

possible. I am particularly happy on this day to renew my

dedication, on behalf of the American people, to the continuing

success of this sacred endeavor of our two great nations.

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ACTION

May 28, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT

FROM:

TYRUS W. COBB *the*

SUBJECT:

Rome Liberation Day Message

Attached at Tab I is a memo from you to Dodie Livingston forwarding a modified draft Presidential statement commemorating the 40th Anniversary of the liberation of Rome.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the Tab I memo to Dodie.

Approve *K*Disapprove

Attachment

Tab I - Memo to Livingston

Tab A - Incoming Correspondence

4284

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



May 25, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB KIMMITT
FROM: DODIE LIVINGSTON
SUBJECT: Rome Liberation Day Message

We have been asked to provide a Presidential message for a ceremony celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the liberation of Rome on June 2.

I am forwarding the package and would appreciate your advice.

As you will notice, the package is a little confusing and inconclusive as to the Presidential delegation and all. It came to us through Joe Selgado and John Herrington in Presidential Personnel.

We are happy to help in any way you feel appropriate.

World War II buffs unite!



S/G# 8414245
8414246
United States Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520
May 16, 1984
237903

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. MCFARLANE
AND MR. JOHN S. HERRINGTON
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Presidential Delegation to Commemorate the
Liberation of Rome, June 2, 1984

Veterans of the First Special Service Force have been planning to commemorate their spearhead role in the liberation of Rome with the installation of a special plaque at the site of their entry into the city on the 40th anniversary of that event. Recently the Italian Government decided to convert this event into an important political ceremony that will involve both President Pertini and Prime Minister Craxi.

Ambassador Rabb has pointed out the potential symbolic importance of this event for Italo-American relations. He has suggested we use this occasion to emphasize the role of U.S. forces in the liberation of Italy and to recall for new generations of Italians the historic connection between the U.S. and the rebirth of Italian democracy.

Ambassador Rabb has recommended that the President name an official delegation that will represent him at the ceremonies, to be held in Rome on June 2. The Department strongly endorses this recommendation, with the suggestion that the delegation be kept small and that it be drawn largely from those with a close connection either to the Italian campaign or to Italy.

We consider the following to be appropriate members of a Presidential delegation. All of them have already indicated an intention to attend the ceremonies:

Ambassador Maxwell Rabb

General John W. Vessey, Jr., Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who received his battlefield commission in the Italian campaign

Secretary of the Army John Marsh

Lieutenant General David E. Grange, Jr., Chairman, Office for Coordination of Army Historical Observances, who served in the Italian campaign

4/MikTang
1-Due

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115

UNCLASSIFIED

- 2-

Ambassador at Large Vernon Walters, who was aide to General Mark Clark during the liberation of Rome

We suggest that this core group be supplemented, if possible, by a number of other prominent officials, including members of Congress. In this regard, seven members of Congress served in the Italian campaign. (A list is attached). All have been contacted previously by Ambassador Rabb and declined to attend. We believe some might reconsider if approached to serve on a Presidential delegation.

As possibilities for a chairman of delegation who would be most effective politically in Italy, we particularly recommend Senator Dole, Representative Fascell, or Senator D'Amato (not an Italian campaign veteran, but an Italo-American political figure who is extremely well known in Italy). We suggest that a senior official, able to speak for the President, seek a commitment from one of these three to serve as chairman.

We suggest that the delegation carry with it a statement from the President which could be read at the principal ceremony. A draft is attached for approval.

The Department of Defense concurs in the above recommendations.



Charles Hill
Executive Secretary

Attachments:

1. List of Members of Congress
2. Draft Statement from the President

UNCLASSIFIED

Members of Congress who Served in the Italian Campaign

Senator Dole

Senator Bentsen

Senator Inouye

Senator Matsunaga

Representative Kazen

Representative Horton

Representative Fascell

National Security Council
The White House

1187

System #

F

Package #

4284

84 MAY 28 P 2: 02

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Dep. Exec. Sec'y			
Bob Kimmitt	1	1C	
John Poindexter			
Tom Shull			
Wilma Hall			
Bud McFarlane			
Bob Kimmitt			
NSC Secretariat	2		D
Situation Room			

I = Information

A = Action

R = Retain

D = Dispatch

N = No further Action

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: (Date/Time)

RECEIVED 25 MAY 84 18

TO KIMMITT FROM LIVINGSTON, D DOCDATE 25 MAY 84
COBB 28 MAY 84
KIMMITT 28 MAY 84

KEYWORDS: ITALY

PUBLIC STATEMENTS

SUBJECT. DRAFT PRES MSG / ROME LIBERATION DAY

ACTION. MEMO KIMMITT TO LIVINGSTON DUE: 29 MAY 84 STATUS C FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

COBB

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MATLOCK

COMMENTS

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NSCIFID

(MD HW)

ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

C 5/28 Kimmitt 3rd memo

CO-

DISPATCH 4.W. 5/28

W/ATTCH

FILE

(C)

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ACTION

May 23, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: STEVEN E. STEINER *Steve*SUBJECT: Presidential Statement on MBFR Resumption

As I mentioned at the staff meeting this morning, the resumption of MBFR tomorrow gives us another good opportunity to stress once again the Western interest in moving forward in arms control. In specific MBFR terms, this also gives us a chance to stress the responsibility of the East -- now that they have had a break between rounds -- to respond constructively to the new Western initiative.

Bob Sims believes we should release this late today, embargoed until tomorrow morning, so that we can maximize the play in Europe. This is an excellent idea, as these statements have been helping us there. Our last CDE statement, for example, was referred to extensively in a German government statement and quoted both publicly and privately by Genscher.

I have cleared this with the Presidential Speechwriters.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the MBFR statement at Tab I and authorize its release today.

Approve PCM Disapprove _____

SES { Bob Sims, Walt Raymond, Karna Small, Sven Kraemer and Don Mahle concur.

Attachment

Tab I MBFR Statement

NSC # 8404171

238278

PR014-08

ND018

FG006-12

4171 add on

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dick,

The attached is
approved by Bud
for immediate release
(embargoed until
tomorrow morning).

Thanks.

Tom

Presidential Statement on MBFR

Today in Vienna, negotiators from East and West resume the talks on Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions, or MBFR. The purpose of these talks, in which 18 NATO and Warsaw Pact nations are participating, is to reach an agreement to reduce conventional forces in Central Europe.

On April 19, near the end of the last round, the West presented a major new initiative aimed at moving these negotiations forward. The new Western proposal seeks to overcome the longstanding disagreement over the number of Warsaw Pact soldiers in Central Europe. Our proposal will permit the two sides to focus initial attention on counting just their most highly structured and visible forces, since this is the area where East and West are already closest to agreement.

The timing of this offer gave the Warsaw Pact the opportunity to study it in their capitals during the break between rounds. We therefore hope that the Soviet Union and its allies are prepared now to respond constructively to our initiative and to move the negotiations forward. By reaching agreement on lower, equal and verifiable levels of conventional forces in Central Europe, we will be able to enhance the security of both sides and to strengthen peace and stability in Europe. The force reductions themselves and the associated verification measures called for in the Western proposal would enhance mutual confidence between East and West.

The MBFR negotiations resume at the same time that another part of the East-West security dialogue, the Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe (known as CDE), is continuing in Stockholm. There, too, the West presented a package of proposals that would enhance confidence and trust among the 35 participating countries. And in both Stockholm and Vienna, the West is fully prepared to discuss any serious counterproposals from other participants.

The West is doing its part to achieve progress in other areas of arms control as well. In the same week that we made the new MBFR proposal, Vice President Bush presented to the 40-nation Conference on Disarmament in Geneva a comprehensive U.S. proposal for a global ban on chemical weapons. This proposal will again be under discussion when the Conference on Disarmament reconvenes in June.

We are just as prepared to move forward in negotiating reductions in nuclear forces. But the Soviet Union still refuses to return to the START and INF negotiations which it left last fall. I repeat what I have said on many occasions: we are prepared to resume those negotiations at any time and without preconditions. We again invite the Soviet Union to return to the negotiating table to resume the serious work of reducing nuclear arsenals and the risks of nuclear war.

National Security Council
The White House

System #

I

Package #

4171

1176

8 MAY 23 A 9:49

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Dep. Exec. Sec'y	1	☒	
Bob Kimmitt	2	K	
John Poindexter			
Tom Shull			
Wilma Hall			
Bud McFarlane	3	M	A
Bob Kimmitt	4		
NSC Secretariat	5	(B) 23 D	
Situation Room			

I = Information

A = Action

R = Retain

D = Dispatch

N = No further Action

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: ASAP

(Date/Time)

Will pass to Danman once you clear.

84 MAY 23 All: 13

NSC/S PROFILE

UNCLASSIFIED

ID 8404171

RECEIVED 23 MAY 84 12

TO MCFARLANE FROM STEINER

DOCDATE 23 MAY 84

KEYWORDS. PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

MBFR

EUROPE WEST

PUBLIC STATEMENTS

SUBJECT. PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT ON MBFR RESUMPTION

ACTION. FOR DECISION

DUE. 23 MAY 84 STATUS X FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

MCFARLANE

SIMS, B

RAYMOND

SMALL

KRAEMER

MAHLE, D

COMMENTS

REF# LOG NSCIFID (EF)

ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

— MAY 23 1984 MCFarlane Approved
C MAY 23 1984 Shull SSGd memo

SS ✓

DISPATCHED MAY 23 1984

(B)

W/ATTCH FILE

(54)

(C)

238455

PRD14-08

BED03.04

PRD05.02

AR

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 14, 1984

Hollywood talent agent Maxwell Arnow died Wednesday, June 6 and was buried Friday, it was reported today. He was 81 years old. Reports suggest the President knew him and we have been asked for a reaction from the President.

M.W.

Mark Weinberg

I was shocked and saddened to hear of Max Arnows death. He was the man, as casting director of Warner Bros., who gave me a screen test and signed me to a contract that ran for thirteen years. He was known throughout the industry as a man whose word was his bond. I was proud to have his friendship.

RR

HANDWRITING FILE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO: Biff Henley

FROM: KATHY OSBORNE
Personal Secretary
to the President

DATE: 6-18-84

Please file in RR's
personal handwriting file.
I have given copies to
Mark Weinberg.

Thanks.

238455
P. 2, 4, 10

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

President's response regarding Maxwell Arnow's death:

"I was shocked and saddened to hear of Max Arnow's death. He was the man, as casting director of Warner Brothers, who gave me a screen test and signed me to a contract that ran for thirteen years. He was known throughout the industry as a man whose word was his bond. I was proud to have his friendship."

Biff 11/20/87
- this one
is personal
handwriting

238456

PRO14-08

PRO01

RED15

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PU

RED23

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

JWS

June 13, 1984

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: KATHY OSBORNE

SUBJECT: OLYMPIC GAMES

Media Relations had an inquiry from Runner's World magazine -- they are doing a special article next month on "What The Olympics Means To Me." They are asking this of several prominent people.

Would you like to respond to this for print in the magazine?

I don't know whether every one who participates in sports has day dreams of the Olympics but I did. I was a high school quarter miler and member of our 880 relay team. Then in college I came to the moment when a choice had to be made between running and swimming & the latter was my choice. My day dreams were first that are never taken so seriously that I felt any pain I would feel pain - great pain if ever the games were discontinued. They were born in a time & place where war was constant. They were designed to help bring peace. They are needed as much now as they ever were. They are an inspiration to millions of people in all the world.

HANDWRITING FILE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO: Biff Henley

FROM: KATHY OSBORNE
Personal Secretary
to the President

DATE: 6-18-84

Please file in RR's
personal handwriting file.
I have given copies to
Mark Weinberg.

Thanks.

4560

PR014-08

IV084

STD42

LB Union

RMD33-02

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H0064

JV

June 26, 1984

Dear Dr. Adams:

Thank you for inviting me to participate in the First Baptist Church's hour of silent prayer this Independence Day. - I am a strong believer in intercessory prayer and the five things I consider most in need of remembrance are as follows:

1. Almost 12 years ago, a decision was made in the highest court of this land which has cost, and continues to cost, the lives of 1.5 million unborn children each year. We must pray for a stop to the evil of abortion. As Christians, we cannot refuse to reach out to these innocent victims and to their mothers, who need our friendship and support. No cause is more deserving of our prayers and our concern.

2. This nation has strayed far from the values which helped to found it and make it grow to greatness. The family is the building block of any civilized society, and I see mighty efforts today to undermine and destroy its vitality. Our prayers are needed to help restore family values to their rightful place in society. Sadly, we can look about in our own communities and see the terrible by-products of the denigration of the family unit -- broken homes, drugs, child abuse, pornography and a host of other problems.

3. I do not believe that either of the above problems would be prevalent in our society if we had not lost sight of the place of religion in our daily lives. As a Christian, I believe that Christ must have a place in every phase of our lives and our dealings with our fellowmen. He must be part of everything we do -- not just an hour of devotions on Sunday. In the Bible we have a clear blueprint for our lives which was intended to be our guide and our goal. We are asked to keep His Sabbath holy, but that does not exclude the rest of the week. I urge your congregation to join me in praying that Christ will influence every aspect of our personal lives.

4. Our Founding Fathers were men of great purpose and they made enormous sacrifices to reach their goals. We traditionally celebrate their victory on July 4, which we call "Independence Day." We are commemorating our freedom from tyranny and our birth as a new nation. America has grown into the most powerful and generous country on earth. But, along the way, we have often lost that special spirit which inspired our forefathers. Too many Americans have forgotten that the words "government of the people," in the Gettysburg Address, are followed by the completing phrases "by the people, for the people." We must never let government become so intrusive as to become tyrannical. We must realize that every time we allow the government to do something for us, we give up just a little of our freedom to make decisions for ourselves. Our history is replete with examples of heroes who died rather than give up one iota of liberty. I have enormous faith that the American people are striving to recapture our spirit of independence. This cause well deserves our prayers, for it is essential to the good of our nation.

5. Perhaps by now, some of you are wondering when I will mention peace. I have been mentioning peace all along -- the peace of our conscience, the peace of our homes, the peace we make with God, and the peace which comes from dignity and a sense of self-worth. Neither last nor least is the peace which we desire among peoples and nations. I pray that someday everyone on earth shall live in peace and freedom. I do not believe that we as Christians can be satisfied with the absence of war and call it true peace unless our brothers and sisters all over the world share in the freedom which has been our birthright.

Thank you and your congregation for asking me to join with you in petitioning God for these vital needs. Nancy and I are cheered by nothing so much as the knowledge that we are lifted up in prayer by our fellow Americans. It gives us comfort and hope. Thank you again, happy Independence Day, and may God bless and keep you.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN A

✓
The Reverend M. L. Adams, D.D.
First Baptist Church
Post Office Box 687
Union City, Tennessee 38261

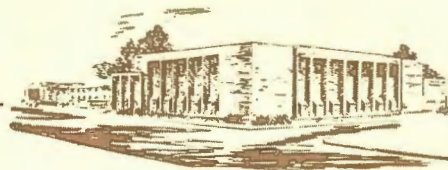
RR:KCS:CAD:sew 6PMNC

5
Reg. reply by 6/15

First Baptist Church

P. O. BOX 687 - UNION CITY, TENNESSEE 38261

DR. M. L. ADAMS
Pastor



May 29, 1984

KB
Dear Mr. Reagan,

On July 4, 1984 our church will be conducting a unique prayer time. We are planning about an hour of silent prayer for the specific needs of our nation. I am writing to you to discover some of the things which you consider to be of significance. Please help us to direct our prayer time. I would like you to list the five things which you consider to be most needful for the prayer life and civic life of our nation. Please be as specific as possible.

Our church will be made aware of the needs which you have expressed and they will spend time on July 4, praying for these needs. It would be helpful if you could return your responses by June 15. Thank you for your valuable time.

Sincerely,

Dr. M. L. Adams

Dr. M. L. Adams

MLA:ac

240069

ID #

PRO14-08

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

☐ O - OUTGOING☐ H - INTERNAL☒ I - INCOMINGDate Correspondence
Received (YY/MM/DD)

84 1061 29

Name of Correspondent: ☒ Mr. ☒ Mrs. ☒ Miss

Ida Honorof

☐ MI Mail Report

User Codes: (A) _____

(B) _____

(C) _____

Subject:

Writes re: the book "~~re: the~~ "Modern meat".Urges the immediate ban of all subtherapeutic
uses especially of antibiotics

ROUTE TO:

ACTION

DISPOSITION

Office/Agency	(Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
	CoKell	ORIGINATOR	84 10 71 03		C	84 10 71 20
99	USA	Referral Note: R	84 10 706		A	84 10 71 18
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ACTION CODES:

A - Appropriate Action
C - Comment/Recommendation
D - Draft Response
F - Furnish Fact Sheet
to be used as Enclosure

I - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary
R - Direct Reply w/Copy
S - For Signature
X - Interim Reply

DISPOSITION CODES:

A - Answered
B - Non-Special Referral
C - Completed
S - Suspended

FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:

Type of Response = Initials of Signer
Code = "A"
Completion Date = Date of Outgoing

Comments:

Keep this worksheet attached to the original incoming letter.

Send all routing updates to Central Reference (Room 75, OEOB).

Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files.

Refer questions about the correspondence tracking system to Central Reference, ext. 2590.

RECORDS MANAGEMENT ONLY

CLASSIFICATION SECTION

No. of Additional Correspondents: _____ Media: L Individual Codes: 4800 _____

Prime Subject Code: PR 014-08 Secondary Subject Codes: AB 001 _____
CM 003-06 _____
PU _____

PRESIDENTIAL REPLY

Code	Date	Comment	Form
C	_____	Time: _____	P- _____
DSP	_____	Time: _____	Media: _____

SIGNATURE CODES:

CPn - Presidential Correspondence

- n - 0 - Unknown
- n - 1 - Ronald Wilson Reagan
- n - 2 - Ronald Reagan
- n - 3 - Ron
- n - 4 - Dutch
- n - 5 - Ron Reagan
- n - 6 - Ronald
- n - 7 - Ronnie

CLn - First Lady's Correspondence

- n - 0 - Unknown
- n - 1 - Nancy Reagan
- n - 2 - Nancy
- n - 3 - Mrs. Ronald Reagan

CBn - Presidential & First Lady's Correspondence

- n - 1 - Ronald Reagan - Nancy Reagan
- n - 2 - Ron - Nancy

MEDIA CODES:

- B - Box/package
- C - Copy
- D - Official document
- G - Message
- H - Handcarried
- L - Letter
- M - Mailgram
- O - Memo
- P - Photo
- R - Report
- S - Sealed
- T - Telegram
- V - Telephone
- X - Miscellaneous
- Y - Study



United States
Department of
Agriculture

Food Safety
and Inspection
Service

Washington, D.C.
20250

JUL 18 1984

Ms. Ida Honorof
Consumer Awareness
2901 Los Flores Boulevard
Lynwood, CA 90263

Dear Ms. Honorof:

President Reagan has asked us to respond to your June 24 letter to him about the book "Modern Meat" and requesting a ban on subtherapeutic uses of antibiotics.

The Food Safety and Inspection Service (FSIS) of the Department of Agriculture (USDA) is responsible for ensuring that meat and poultry products are safe, wholesome, and accurately labeled. FSIS enforces the Federal Meat Inspection Act, the Poultry Products Inspection Act, and the regulations that implement the Acts. The Food and Drug Administration (FDA) of the Department of Health and Human Services has jurisdiction over most other foods, and also approves the use of veterinary drugs, including hormones. Enclosed for your information are some materials about FSIS that may be of interest to you.

Producers are allowed to use approved drugs in livestock and poultry raising. FSIS, however, closely monitors meat and poultry products for residues of chemicals and drugs. We conduct the National Residue Program to prevent the marketing of animals containing illegal drug and chemical residues. FDA and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) set "tolerance" levels of residues--based on the amount that is considered safe in food consumed by humans--and prohibit the use of substances that present dangers to human health. FDA is responsible for evaluating the safety of animal drugs; EPA evaluates the safety of pesticides and industrial chemicals. FDA also has established withdrawal periods for drugs used in the therapeutic and subtherapeutic treatment of animals. (A withdrawal period is the amount of time necessary to reduce drug residues to below tolerance levels before slaughter.)

Once EPA and FDA have established tolerance levels for specific substances, FSIS randomly samples livestock and poultry at slaughter and tests for these residues. This monitoring program shows the extent to which controls over drugs, pesticides, and industrial chemicals have been successful. When problems are identified, FDA or EPA is notified, the circumstances are investigated, and additional animals potentially exposed must be tested before release of their products into commerce. Under the Federal meat and poultry inspection acts, any raw meat or poultry shown to contain residues above the established tolerance levels is considered adulterated and must be condemned.

Recently, we have expanded the scope of the residue program to emphasize producer education and prevention through a new approach known as the Residue Avoidance Program. To complement the producer education program, we intend to add new compounds to those already surveyed in the residue monitoring program to increase the information available to industry and Government agencies on potential problem areas.

Hormones approved for use to promote growth in meat and poultry production fall into two categories. In the first group are synthetic steroids, which are chemically equivalent to naturally occurring sex hormones. The commercial names of approved estradiols are Synovex S (used in steers); Synovex H (used in heifers); Compadose (used in heifers); and Esmopal (used seldom, if at all, in domestic chickens).

In the second group are synthetically prepared drugs that are chemically different from estrogens, but have activity that resembles estrogens. The commercial names of drugs in this class are Ralgro (zeranol, used in beef cattle and feeder lambs); and MGA (melengestrol acetate, used in beef heifers). Another synthetic drug, diethylstilbestrol (DES), has been banned for use in livestock since 1979 and in poultry since 1959. In the United States, all of these compounds, except DES, are available in commercial form at feed and supply stores.

To address your request for a ban on subtherapeutic uses of antibiotics, we have referred your letter to the FDA because that Agency is responsible for approving the use of animal drugs. If you want to write directly, the address is Bureau of Veterinary Medicine, FDA, HFV-200, 5600 Fishers Lane, Rockville, MD 20857.

We hope this information is helpful. If you have any questions, please let us know.

Sincerely,

/s/ Ronald E. Engel

Ronald E. Engel
Deputy Administrator
for Science

Enclosures

cc:

Agency Liaison, The White House

240069

3729 Cahuenga Boulevard West, North Hollywood California 91604 213/877-2711
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90.7FM

37
WSDA

04 J01244
AGENCY FILE
CORR. & REC.
meetings

June 24, 1984

President Ronald Reagan
White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

24 JUL 6 8:54

I have just finished reading Orville Schell's book
"Modern Meat" and I would recommend it highly to you.

I will be reviewing the book on my radio show "Con-
sumer Awareness" which is aired on the 2nd and 4th
Monday of each month at 5PM, and which reaches from
Santa Barbara to San Diego.

Inasmuch as I understand that you are very selective
in the meat you eat--it must be free of all antibiotics
and growth hormones--I would appreciate a statement
from you asking for the immediate ban of all subthera-
peutic uses especially of antibiotics.

As the President of our Great Country, I think it
would be exemplary for you to deal with the problem so
that not only you are protected, but so are the over
200 million persons who eat animal protein that contains
"superbugs" which are potentially harmful.

Please let me hear from you. "Modern Meat" is published
by Random House (N.Y. 10022) and if you write to them
I imagine they will send you a complimentary copy, in
case you haven't already received it.

Sincerely

Ida Honorof
Ida Honorof - "Consumer Awareness"
2901 Los Flores Bl., Lynwood, CA 90262

PS: Please respond with a statement asking for the
ban of all subtherapeutic uses of antibiotics.

T H E W H I T E H O U S E O F F I C E

REFERRAL

JULY 6, 1984

TO: DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

ACTION REQUESTED:

DIRECT REPLY, FURNISH INFO COPY

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 240069

MEDIA: LETTER, DATED JUNE 24, 1984

TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN

FROM: MS. IDA HONOROF
CONSUMER AWARENESS
KPFK 90.7 FM
2901 LOS FLORES BOULEVARD
LYNWOOD CA 90262

SUBJECT: WRITES REGARDING THE BOOK "MODERN MEAT" -
URGES THE IMMEDIATE BAN OF ALL SUBTHERAPEUTIC
USES ESPECIALLY OF ANTIBIOTICS

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN
TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE
UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE
(OR DRAFT) TO:
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE

SALLY KELLEY
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

Dg

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
July 2, 1984

240176FD
1110
PR014-08
SP
HE006-01

MEMORANDUM FOR WHITE HOUSE LIBRARY

FROM: CARLTON TURNER

SUBJECT: Statements By The President

LDJ

My office is preparing an index of statements by the President regarding the drug abuse program. Attached is the list of speeches/statements we have compiled.

Please furnish copies of the speeches/statements indicated with an "X." In addition, if you know of any other occasion in which the President mentioned drug abuse or drug trafficking please note and furnish a copy.

Thanks for your help.

NEED	DATE/EVENT
1	<u>March 6, 1981 - The President's News Conference.</u> Establishes priority and philosophy of drug abuse program; roles of supply and demand reduction.
X 2	<u>April 8, 1981 - Proclamation by the President on Victims Rights Week (4831).</u>
X 3	<u>September 28, 1981 - Remarks of the President to the International Association of Chiefs of Police.</u> Outlines six steps federal government can take against crime and major points of strategy against drug abuse and drug trafficking; includes policy concerning use of herbicides in eradication efforts and military assistance in detecting drug traffic.
X 4	<u>January 26, 1982 - State of the Union Address by the President.</u>
X 5	<u>January 27, 1982 - Remarks of the President to the Association of Independent Television Stations, Q & A's at White House Briefing.</u> Crime initiatives and evidence.
6	<u>January 28, 1982 - Statement by the President.</u> Establishes South Florida Task Force.
X 7	<u>February 26, 1982 - Remarks by the President to the Conservative Political Action Conference.</u>
X 8	<u>April 14, 1982 - Remarks of the President on National Safety Belt Campaign & Creation of Drunk Driving Commission.</u> Toll of drug driving and importance of grassroots action.
X 9	<u>April 14, 1982 - Proclamation by the President for Crime Victims Week, 1982.</u>
X 10	<u>April 16, 1982 - Remarks by the President at a luncheon for Editors and Broadcasters of Southeastern States.</u>
X 11	<u>April 23, 1982 - Remarks of the President at the Signing Ceremony for Victims of Crime Executive Order #12360.</u>
X 12	<u>April 23, 1982 - Victims of Crime Executive Order #12360.</u>
13	<u>June 24, 1982 - Remarks of the President Regarding the Drug Abuse Program.</u> Establishes philosophy and direction of 1982 Federal Strategy for Prevention of Drug Abuse and Drug Trafficking.
14	<u>August 20, 1982 - Letter by the President.</u> Prefaces 1982 Federal Strategy.

<u>NEED</u>	<u>DATE/EVENT</u>
15	<u>September 11, 1982 - Radio Address of the President to the Nation. War on crime and legislative initiatives to strengthen criminal justice system.</u>
16	<u>September 13, 1982 - Remarks of the President on the Omnibus Crime Bill. Legislative initiatives to strengthen the criminal justice system.</u>
17	<u>October 2, 1982 - Radio Address of the President and the First Lady to the Nation. The 1982 Federal Strategy for Prevention of Drug Abuse and Drug Trafficking is announced.</u>
18	<u>October 14, 1983 - Remarks of the President from the Great Hall of Justice on Crime. Announces 8-point program to combat drug trafficking and organized crime.</u>
19	<u>November 17, 1982 - Remarks of the President to Miami Citizens Against Crime and South Florida Task Force. Citizen involvement and initiatives against crime and the drug traffic.</u>
X 20	<u>November 17, 1982 - Remarks of the President to U.S. Coast Guard Base Personnel and Dependents. Impact of South Florida Task Force.</u>
X 21	<u>December 13, 1982 - Remarks of the President at the National Drunk and Drugged Driving Week Event. Effectiveness of citizen action.</u>
X 22	<u>December 13, 1982 - National Drunk and Drugged Driving Awareness Week Proclamation by the President. The seriousness of the problem, especially during Holiday season.</u>
X 23	<u>January 1, 1983 - Radio Address of the President to the Nation. Private initiative and drunk driving.</u>
24	<u>January 14, 1983 - Memorandum of Disapproval. Outlines reasons for veto of "mini-crime bill" (H.R. 3963).</u>
X 25	<u>January 25, 1983 - State of the Union Address by the President.</u>
26	<u>January 31, 1983 - Remarks of the President to the National Religious Broadcasters.</u>
X 27	<u>February 25, 1983 - Remarks of the President at a Q & A Session with High School Students.</u>
X 28	<u>March 16, 1983 - Message to the Congress upon Transmitting the Comprehensive Crime Control Act of 1983.</u>

<u>NEED</u>	<u>DATE/EVENT</u>
X 29	<u>March 23, 1983 - Announcement by the President of the Creation of the National Narcotics Border Interdiction System.</u>
30	<u>April 5, 1983 - Statement by the President. The seriousness of drunk driving and alcohol abuse.</u>
X 31	<u>April 29, 1983 - Remarks of the President to the Cenikor Foundation in Houston.</u>
X 32	<u>May 12, 1983 - Remarks of the President Following Meeting with Prime Minister George Cadle Price of Belize.</u>
X 33	<u>May 6, 1983 - Remarks of the President to the National Rifle Association.</u>
X 34	<u>May 20, 1983 - Remarks of the President at Cuban Day Independence.</u>
X 35	<u>July 26, 1983 - Remarks of the President at the FBI Day Speech.</u>
X 36	<u>July 28, 1983 - Remarks of the President at a White House Reception for the National Council of Negro Women.</u>
X 37	<u>October 20, 1983 - Remarks of the President following meeting with Prime Minister Bettino Craxi of Italy.</u>
38	<u>November 1, 1983 - Remarks of the President at a Signing Ceremony for National Drug Abuse Education Week.</u>
39	<u>November 1, 1983 - Proclamation by the President for National Drug Abuse Education Week.</u>
40	<u>December 3, 1983 - Radio Address to the Nation by the President. The need for strengthening families to reduce the whole range of social problems.</u>
41	<u>December 8, 1983 - Remarks of the President to the National Forum on Excellence in Education. Drugs and alcohol deter from excellence in education.</u>
42	<u>December 13, 1983 - Remarks of the President in Ceremony for Drunk & Drugged Driving Awareness Week. Presentation of the Final Report on Drunk Driving Commission by Governor Volpe.</u>
43	<u>December 13, 1983 - Proclamation by the President for National Drunk and Drugged Driving Awareness Week, 1983.</u>
44	<u>December 17, 1983 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation. Alcohol related accidents and fatalities.</u>

<u>NEED</u>	<u>DATE/EVENT</u>
45	<u>December 28, 1983 - Letter from the President to All Federal Employees. Safety on the highways, especially during holiday season.</u>
X 46	<u>January 25, 1984 - State of the Union Address by the President.</u>
47	<u>January 30, 1984 - Remarks of the President to the National Religious Broadcasters Convention.</u>
48	<u>March 12, 1984 - Remarks of the President to Elected Republican Women Officials.</u>
49	<u>March 19, 1984 - White House Office of Policy Information Selected Quotations Regarding Drug Abuse. Presidential statements on all aspects of the drug program.</u>
50	<u>March 26, 1984 - White House Office of Policy Information Issue Alert #22. Drug abuse in America - Presidential statements and actions.</u>
51	<u>June 20, 1984 - Remarks of the President at River Dell High School (River Dell, NJ). Drunk/drugged driving and alcohol awareness.</u>
52	<u>June 20, 1984 - Remarks of the President to the 44th Annual Informative Conference of the National Sheriff's Association. Crime and drug law enforcement initiatives with emphasis on drug trafficking.</u>
53	<u>July 1, 1984 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation. The economy and drugs.</u>

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JV

July 6, 1984

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To the Members of the Ranger Battalions Association
of World War II:

I want to thank editor Ray Alm for asking me to contribute
a few words to The Ranger for its "D-Day + Forty" issue.

Neither 40 years nor, I think, 40 centuries could dim what you Rangers accomplished at Pointe du Hoc on June 6, 1944, for that was the day the Rangers "led the way" for the Free World in one of the most difficult missions of the Allied invasion of Normandy. You charged onto shore, up those unforgiving cliffs, through the enemy and on to liberation and peace for a captive Europe and a shaken humanity. You and your fallen comrades taught the world the terrible price of liberty, a price you paid willingly. Though 225 of you started out, only ninety were still able to bear arms two days later.

I stood at Pointe du Hoc on June 6 and asked the veterans assembled there, what inspired you and all the men of the armies that landed at Normandy? We know the answer: faith and belief, loyalty and love. The world will never forget your valor and sacrifice on that day 40 years ago when you carried freedom onto a continent, and made it stick.

From the bottom of my heart, thank you -- and God bless you.

RONALD REAGAN

Sent flat to:

Members of the Ranger Battalions
Association of World War II
c/o Mr. Raymond F. Alm
The Ranger
10321 South 51st Court
Oak Lawn, Illinois 60453

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DRAFT/Date June 19, 1984

RR / DE / /
(Drafter) (Rev. I) (Rev. II)

AVH/ /

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Association of World War II:

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Though 225 of you started out, only ^{ninety}~~one~~ were still able to
bear arms two days later.

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS:

Enclosures:

Other:

(for their summer issue)
(deadline not specified)

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SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS:

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Enclosures:

Other:

AVH / _____ / _____

Dear _____

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send flat to:

Members of the Ranger Battalions
Association of World War II
c/o Mr. Raymond F. Alm
The Ranger
10321 South 51st Court
Oak Lawn, Illinois 60453

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 6-19-84
To: Ben Elliott

Any problem
with this?

Anne OLC -
Sorry didn't see I called
Anne

ANNE HIGGINS
Special Assistant to the
President and Director
of Correspondence
Room 94, x7610

13/84

Msge for Summer issue

CAMPAIGNS ★

Algiers - Tunisian
Sicily - Naples
Foggia - Rome
Arno - Normandy
Northern France
Rhineland - Central
Europe - Ardennes
Alsace - New Guinea
Luzon

INVASIONS

North Africa
Salerno Beachhead
Sicily Landings
Anzio Beachhead
Normandy
Beachhead
Philippine Landings
Arsew - Oran
El Guettar
Gela - Licata
Pursuit to Messina
Salerno
Chiunzi Pass



**BATTALIONS ASSOCIATION
WORLD WAR II**

BATTLES ★

Venafro - San Pietro
Cisterna
Point Du Hoc
Vermilliers - Brest
La Coquet Peninsular
Huertgen Forest
Castle Hill '400'
Saar, Roer & Rhine
Rivers
Battle of the Bulge
Leyte Landings

RAIDS ★

Dieppe
Sened Station
Cabanatuan
Aparri
Carbruan Hills
Homohon

President Romald Reagan
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20000

Dear Mr. President:

Watching the heartwarming and very moving scenes of D-DAY + FORTY was something I will remember with great pride. I was a Ranger in B-Company, 2nd Ranger Bn. on Omaha Beach on D-DAY, 1944. I was a S/Sgt of a 60 mm mortar section, and was there when the "Rangers Lead The Way" order was given by General Cota, as evidenced by the enclosed reprint of the June issue of Reader's Digest on pages 6 and 7.

I am also the Editor of "THE RANGER", the official newspaper of the Ranger Battalions Association of World War II. Our summer issue will be coming out shortly, featuring articles, pictures, etc. based on D-DAY + FORTY. Our paper is sent to Rangers throughout the United States and foreign countries, as well as the British Commandos in Canada and England with whom we hold a close bond. They are also mailed to the Ranger training schools, military museums, West Point, and many other departments.

There were a great number of Rangers who could not make the trip back to Normandy due to health, finances or other reasons, but they were there in spirit and prayers. This coming issue of "THE RANGER" will be their link with their comrades-in-arms.

We would be very proud and honored, Mr. President, if you, as Commander-in-Chief of all U.S. military forces, would be willing to share a few words with us for the coming issue, possibly of your feelings as you stood on Pointe Du Hoc and Omaha Beach and saw for yourself what our brave American youth went through to help keep the world free. We commend you, Mr. President, for your continued efforts to do the same.

President Ronald Reagan

Thank you for your kind consideration, and remember that the Rangers of yesterday, today and the future, have been and will always be loyal and ready to serve their country if and whenever needed.

Respectfully yours,

Raymond F. Alm

RAYMOND F. ALM
Editor, "The Ranger"
10321 S. 51st Court
Oak Lawn, Ill. 60453



RAYMOND F. ALM
Editor of The Ranger

10321 South 51st Court
Oak Lawn, Illinois 60453

(312) 424-2762

Name	Date
Charles	8/10/8

Thank you for your kind consideration. and remember that the Rangers of yesterday, today and the future, have been and will always be loyal and ready to serve their country if and whenever needed.

Respectfully yours,

Raymond F. Allen

RAYMOND F. ALLEN
Editor, "The Ranger"
10321 S. 21st Court
Oak Lawn, Ill. 60453



**"Every man who set foot
on Omaha Beach that day was a hero"**

—Lt. Gen. Omar N. Bradley

Invasion Commander, U.S. ground forces, June 6, 1944

These words of Omar Bradley's are simple yet eloquent testimony to the remarkable page of history that Americans (and their Allies) helped to write forty years ago. The passage of four decades has not dimmed the splendor of their heroism on D-Day.

The June issue of Reader's Digest will carry this article to remind millions of the selfless acts of courage performed on June 6, 1944. This special reprint is given to you as a remembrance of that day. Please accept it with our warm compliments, and our deep gratitude.

Sincerely,

Kenneth O. Gilmore
Editor-in-Chief

The Legacy of D-Day

BY LAWRENCE ELLIOTT

I WENT BACK to Normandy last November, the 40th winter since the landings, and I took my little boy. As we walked the lonely beach I held on to his hand, for he was my connection to present reality. The guns up in those gray bluffs are harmless now, or gone, and most of the bunkers torn open by

the naval bombardment of D-Day are overgrown. But I could see how they commanded that dark crescent of shore, still called by the wartime code name, Omaha Beach. And sometimes the sounds of the surf and the relentless Channel wind turned into the bedlam of machine guns and shellfire, and in the shadows cast by clouds I saw the ghosts of American fighting men splashing ashore.

"How many soldiers landed here that day?" Nicholas asked.

"At Omaha, thirty-five thousand. But there were four other beaches under attack, and paratroopers, too, up there behind the cliffs. Altogether, the Allies—GIs, British and Canadians—put about a hundred and fifty thousand troops ashore that first day."

I went on, telling Nicholas how the fate of the free world hung on what happened here, and how thousands of good men never left this strip of sand. I wanted him to understand, but he was only nine years old. When we came to the rusting hulk of a landing craft, he skipped away to play.

Whenever I remember D-Day, I feel again the aching sense of loss not to have had an active part in it. I was a 20-year-old infantry lieutenant, training in Hawaii for combat in the Pacific. On D-Day, our chaplain told us an Allied expeditionary force—a huge army supported by thousands of ships and planes—had gone ashore in France. It could be the beginning

of the end, he said, and we must pray for our comrades-in-arms.

I imagined that vast armada crossing the English Channel, and I felt proud of my country, proud of her Allies. On this day, all Americans knew we were doing what was right and necessary. And it is one of the hallmarks of what went wrong in the years to come that we have never felt the same way about anything again.

THE FIRST American foot soldiers to reach the British Isles in preparation for the invasion arrived early in 1942, just 50 days after the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor. Britain had never seen the likes of these breezy, long-legged Yanks, eventually to be 1.5 million strong. They came with swarms of planes, parked their Sherman tanks in rows ten miles long, and stockpiled six million tons of bombs, guns and ammunition—threatening, the British said, to sink their island. GIs were everywhere, jitterbugging to "In the Mood" and politely inquiring whether there was a trapeze act at Piccadilly Circus. Few could resist their ingenuous high spirits.

To the husky, well-fed GIs, the British looked threadbare, worn out by war—which, for them, had begun in 1939. The Americans gave away whatever they had: Hershey bars, cigarettes, oranges. But perceptive GIs saw that the local people gave back even more than they received, that every door in every village was open to American

servicemen and, as one put it, "You could always get a bean sandwich and a cup of tea."

And then, all at once, the Yanks were gone, riding off in winding convoys of 2½-ton trucks to camouflaged harbors and hidden airstrips. The streets fell silent, and in the pubs people sipped their beer and hardly spoke.

At 9:45 Sunday night, June 4, 1944, Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, the Supreme Allied Commander, was briefed on the possibility of a 36-hour break in the worst gales to sweep the English Channel in 20 years. It would be a month before the moon would again be high enough for the paratroopers, at the same time as the dawn tide was expected to be low enough to expose "Rommel's asparagus"—the mined stakes and obstructions implanted along the Normandy coast between high and low water. "Okay," Ike told his staff. "Let's go."

On the evening of the 5th, Eisenhower was driven out to the airfield where the 101st Airborne Division was loading up. Along with the U.S. 82nd and the British 6th, it was going in behind the German lines by parachute and glider starting at D-minus-8 hours. The mission of some 20,000 men: to seize the key bridges and roads that would assure the seaborne troops an exit from the beaches.

The men were on the tarmac when Ike appeared. He chatted with Kansan friendliness: "What is

your job, soldier? Where is your home?" And, heartfelt, "Good luck to you tonight, soldier." Then the big C-47s roared into the darkness. The Supreme Commander had tears in his eyes.

Pfc. William H. Tucker, a 20-year-old light-machine-gunner in the 82nd, faced his biggest combat jump. His plane was at 500 feet when the command came to "Hook up!" And then Tucker was standing on the edge of bottomless night, jumping into a crisscross of tracer bullets.

Tucker's regiment, the 505th, was the only one to come down anywhere near its drop zone. High winds, cloud banks and jittery pilots combined to scatter most jumpers miles from their objectives. They groped toward one another in the dark, clicking their dime-store cricket snappers, and listening anxiously for an answering *click-click*.

Brig. Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, commanding the 101st, having finally collected a general, three colonels, some other senior ranks and a sprinkling of riflemen, set out to take a vital causeway. "Never," he muttered as the ragtag band marched off, "have so few been commanded by so many."

At Sainte-Mère-Eglise, a town astride the key crossroads behind Utah Beach, paratroopers were coming down like confetti. German soldiers sprayed the sky with rifle and machine-gun fire, and killed the luckless jumpers who

Right: U.S. troops establishing a beachhead, D-Day



Background: Holding their rifles over their heads, U.S. troops splash toward the invasion beaches



had landed in trees and dangled there helplessly. But the Germans could not hold out. Bill Tucker, with others of the 82nd, fought his way into Sainte-Mère-Eglise. At 4:30 a.m., the American flag was flying outside the town hall; Sainte-Mère-Eglise had become the first town in France to be liberated.

FOR THOSE landing by sea, the battle had not yet begun. Aboard the transports, 130,000 Allied soldiers, jammed bulkhead to bulkhead,

passed the long night waiting. Toward morning the Channel grew choppy, and men who came topside in a misery of seasickness gaped at the dark shapes of ships, 5000 of them: battleships, destroyers, transports—the greatest fleet ever assembled. “It looked,” said one Canadian, “as if you could walk across the Channel and not get your feet wet.” Shortly before 6 a.m. rolling thunder from the battleships shook the earth and sea.

In Trévières, four miles from the

beach, a young barber named Pierre Havel, seeing red flashes in the sky, knew his prayers had been answered. Havel, seething under German rule, had for some time been sending information to the Allies. He heard things in his barbershop—where certain artillery bunkers were located, which German regiments were nearby. Periodically he wrote information out on a scrap of paper, fixed it to a homing pigeon—parachuted to him by Allied planes—and, from a se-

cluded wood, released it to fly home to England. On D-Day, though Allied bombs destroyed much of Trévières, including Havel’s home and barbershop, there wasn’t a happier man in France.

With the Allied navy still pounding inland targets and the landing craft going for shore, an astounding air umbrella flew overhead—more than ten thousand planes wing tip to wing tip. But 329 bombardiers, unable to see through a haze of cloud and gun smoke,

afraid of hitting their own men, delayed the drop—and dumped 13,000 bombs as far as three miles behind the beach. They hardly dented the enemy's defense.

Assault boats foundered. Many, trying to snake through a tangle of obstacles and the geysers thrown up by artillery fire, dropped their ramps hundreds of yards offshore, forcing the heavily laden infantrymen to step armpit-deep into the hard surf. Then the German machine guns opened up. Some men were cut down before they ever cleared the boats, others as they struggled to keep on their feet in cross-currents. Survivors stumbled past the dead and dying.

THOSE who made it to shore pressed their noses against the sand and sought invisibility. But somehow they found the courage to stand up and push off. "Come on you dumb bastards!" yelled a buck sergeant. "Don't you want to see France before you die?"

There were astonishing acts of bravery that nerved the men to charge the machine guns that had pinned them to the beach. S/Sgt. Raymond F. Alm, a 60-mm.-mortar section leader in the 2nd Ranger Battalion, tells of a big man, brandishing a .45 pistol, striding through the chaos of smoke and small-arms fire and rallying men crouched behind smashed vehicles and abandoned gear. He was Brig. Gen. Norman D. Cota, the 29th Division chief of staff. "Rangers!

Lead the way!" Cota commanded. Alm and his men got to their feet and began moving off the beach, up into the bluffs.

Now the entire Allied assault wave was going forward. On Friday, D-plus-3, in the Canadian zone, a stretcher bearer named Gilbert D. Boxall was killed in action. When his mates recovered his body, they found five dried shell dressings on it: Boxall had been wounded five different times, and each time he had put a bandage on his new wound and gone back to aid others.

Who can speak more eloquently of D-Day now—of valor, of the willingness of men to die for one another in a just cause—than Gil Boxall, silenced forever on June 9, 1944, at the age of 21?

THE town of Tessy-sur-Vire, 28 miles from the beaches, was liberated August 1. When an American officer knocked on Pierre Noël's door and asked permission to set up camp in a wood the Germans had used as an ammunition dump, Noël laughed harshly. "Why do you ask? What would you do if I refused?"

The American's eyes widened. "What do you think we'd do?" he said in amazement. "We'd go somewhere else."

As the words sank in, Noël found himself overcome. His country had been through four long and degrading years: defeat, betrayal, vassalage, deprivation. Now, in

that one electrifying instant, it came to him: the nightmare was over.

TODAY, the American military cemetery overlooking Omaha is green and beautiful, but the brooding memories of the invasion are ineradicable. They are inscribed in the 9079 names of those who were buried under flawless rows of marble crosses and Stars of David, on a memorial with the names of the 1557 missing, and in the 307 graves of men whose names are known only to God. Nearly all, plus 14,000 other soldiers whose bodies were sent home, died between D-Day and the Allied breakout from Normandy on August 1.

That cemetery is a hymn to America. It memorializes the triumph of decency over evil, liberty over tyranny—the communion of the Western democracies when they were pushed to the wall. It is stark testimony to the desperate price we once paid for an intangible called freedom.

But the years pass. Europeans with personal recollections of how the Americans sent the best of their young men are passing from center stage. Successor generations, having come of age in a world where affluence, freedom and peace were taken for granted, have no emotional commitment to D-Day. Their faith in the United States and the Western alliance cannot be pre-

sumed. And, sadly, there are West Europeans who today regard America as a greater danger than the Soviet Union to world peace.

But you would have to walk a long way around the coast of Normandy to find anyone with that



The American cemetery at Omaha Beach

opinion. Pierre Havel, now a round, gray-haired man who drives a taxi, scoffs. "Who can believe that? Would the Russians let us live in peace if not for the Americans?"

Ray Alm came back to Omaha Beach in 1972 with his son, a Vietnam veteran. Together they hiked to the top of Pointe du Hoc, where 225 U.S. Rangers had scaled a sheer 100-foot cliff in the face of desperate resistance. Suddenly Alm was aware of others. Although it was raining, 50 people of nearby villages, having heard that a D-Day Ranger was visiting, had come to pay respects. One woman said she wanted to thank him, for all of them. Ray Alm's eyes glistened.

And, last November, my son and

I climbed up the stone steps from Omaha and walked through the cemetery. In the distance a man stood by a grave, sobbing.

"The D-Day vets take it hard," says Joseph P. Rivers, U.S. superintendent of the Normandy battlefield and cemetery. "They know the price of that strip of beach."

So do many Europeans. It was their land that was devastated, and they who buried women and children as well as soldiers. Last year 1.5 million visitors came to the invasion sites. What does it mean?

Rivers sees a direct connection to the turbulent uncertainty of our times. He believes people come seeking reassurance, as though the silent dead—their last link to a moment in history when men laid down their lives for clear values—had the answers. And here they see what the liberation of Europe cost Americans. They wonder if they would come again. . . .

Today, confronted with another tyranny, the West seems unable to find the resolve that united the free world on that June morning 40 years ago. Last year, when NATO responded to the Soviet military buildup by bolstering its nuclear arsenal, bitter anti-American demonstrations rocked Europe. One could feel their fears, yet know that those who put the United States and the Soviet Union on the same moral plane are ignorant of history.

I HAVE COME to the Normandy beaches often, sometimes at critical

points in my life. After my marriage broke up, I lived in Paris for a while. My daughter visited me and I took her to Normandy. I don't know why—D-Day was as remote to her as Bunker Hill.

She was 18 that year, a lovely girl with pale-brown hair, and a moody outlook brought on by the breakup of the family. She was no longer sure she wanted to go to college; there were long silences between us. Standing at the edge of the bluff overlooking the beach, I remarked that the soldiers who came to France that other summer hadn't been much older than she was.

"They were lucky," she said. "They had no decisions to make. Somebody else told them exactly what to do."

"Yes," I said. "Perhaps things were simpler. But remember: a lot of those young men never went home. They died here so your generation would be free to make its own decisions."

She looked at me; then her eyes filled with tears. I took her in my arms and knew the crisis was past. We were in touch again.

Two years later, in July 1969, I remarried, and my wife and I drove through Normandy. The countryside glowed with luxuriant good health; it was hard even to imagine the ruin of 25 summers before.

"What are you thinking about?" my wife asked.

"I was thinking that if I ever have a son I will bring him here," I said.

REPRINTED FROM THE JUNE 1984 ISSUE OF READER'S DIGEST

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EF
July 12, 1984

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The U.S. Presidential Trade Mission to the People's Republic of China is an expression of the high importance we place on continuing and improving commercial relations between our two great nations. This year marks the bicentennial of commerce and trade between our people, and it is therefore appropriate that we exert special efforts to promote expanded cooperation. Commerce brings about the exchange of products and technology, and contributes to the mutual understanding that is the foundation of our expanding relationship.

The United States is fortunate to be able to send to China a distinguished delegation representing one of America's most vibrant industries. Aerospace is a high priority sector for China and one in which the United States is the world leader. American aircraft, avionics and air traffic control systems are already in use in China. A number of U.S. firms, including several participating in this mission, are involved in co-production arrangements with China's aerospace industry. This is only the beginning.

As I mentioned during my recent meetings in Beijing, the course of world events and our shared vision of a modern and independent China will serve to strengthen the relationship between our two nations. The natural potential of our economic relations must be systematically nurtured. I believe this Presidential Trade Mission will result in positive steps toward this goal.

RONALD REAGAN ^A

RR/DOC/RDC/CAD/AVH/ech-7pmn

Call Marci Anderson - x2800
for pickup on Thursday (7/12/84)

240859CA

Returned to Beijing

by
Dodie Wilson

RR/DOC/RDC/00/01

CALL MARCI ANDERSON, X2800,
For pickup on Thurs, 7/12/84

importance

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As I mentioned during my recent meetings in Beijing, the course of world events and our shared vision of a modern and independent China will serve to strengthen the relationship between our two nations. The natural potential of our economic relations must be systematically nurtured. ~~This~~ Presidential Trade Mission will ~~hopefully~~ result in positive steps toward this goal. *I believe this*

Ronald Reagan

MFStanley/shl/6-22-84/revised 6-27-84/Wang #236

MEMORANDUM
TO :
FROM :
SUBJECT :
Presidential Message for
a Dept. of Commerce
brochure

NSC has approved.

Need today, please.

Thank you -

Marci Anderson
Cabinet Affairs
XZ800 m.129

**MEMORANDUM
OF CALL**

Previous editions usable

TO:

☐ YOU WERE CALLED BY— ☐ YOU WERE VISITED BY—

OF (Organization)

☐ PLEASE PHONE ► ☐ FTS ☐ AUTOVON

☐ WILL CALL AGAIN ☐ IS WAITING TO SEE YOU

☐ RETURNED YOUR CALL ☐ WISHES AN APPOINTMENT

MESSAGE

RECEIVED BY	DATE	TIME

63-110 NSN 7540-00-634-4018 STANDARD FORM 63 (Rev. 8-81)
Prescribed by GSA
* GPO : 1983 O - 381-529 (314) FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

by
Dodie Livingston

The U.S. Presidential Trade Mission to the People's Republic of China is an expression of the high regard we place on the continuing and improving commercial relations between our two great nations. This year marks the bicentennial of commerce and trade between our people, and it is therefore appropriate that we ~~should~~ exert special efforts to promote expanded cooperation ~~in this area~~. Commerce brings about ~~not only~~ the exchange of products and technology, ~~but also~~ ^{and} contributes to the understanding and friendship that is the foundation of our expanding relationship.

The United States is fortunate to be able to send to China a distinguished delegation representing one of America's most vibrant industries. Aerospace is a high priority sector for China and one in which the United States is the world leader. American aircraft, avionics and air traffic control systems are already in use in China. A number of U.S. firms, including several participating in this mission, are involved in co-production arrangements with China's aerospace industry. This is only the beginning.

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Ronald Reagan

L. Watson 8-8-88

Rosie-2224

(Dr. Seeger-6173)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

240859CA

PR014-08

TA006

00034-02

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Suspense

CABINET AFFAIRS STAFFING MEMORANDUM

Date: July 2, 1984 Number: 186903CA Due By: 5 pm, Thursday July 5

Subject: Statement re Trade Mission to China for inclusion in a DOC Brochure

ALL CABINET MEMBERS	Action	FYI		Action	FYI
Vice President	☐	☐	CEA	☐	☐
State	☐	☐	CEQ	☐	☐
Treasury	☐	☐	OSTP	☐	☐
Defense	☐	☐		☐	☐
Attorney General	☐	☐		☐	☐
Interior	☐	☐		☐	☐
Agriculture	☐	☐	Baker	☐	☐
Commerce	☐	☐	Deaver	☐	☐
Labor	☐	☐	Darman (For WH Staffing)	☐	☐
HHS	☐	☐	Jenkins	☐	☐
HUD	☐	☐	Mc Farlane	☒	☐
Transportation	☐	☐	Svahn	☐	☐
Energy	☐	☐		☐	☐
Education	☐	☐		☐	☐
Counsellor	☐	☐		☐	☐
OMB	☐	☐		☐	☐
CIA	☐	☐		☐	☐
UN	☐	☐		☐	☐
USTR	☐	☐		☐	☐
GSA	☐	☐	CCCT/Gunn	☐	☐
EPA	☐	☐	CCEA/Porter	☐	☐
OPM	☐	☐	CCFA/	☐	☐
VA	☐	☐	CCHR/Simmons	☐	☐
SBA	☐	☐	CCLP/Uhlmann	☐	☐
			CCMA/Bledsoe	☐	☐
			CCNRE/	☐	☐

REMARKS:

The attached has been provided by Commerce for review and clearance. They intend to include a statement in a brochure in conjunction with the Trade Mission to China. Clearance is requested by no later than 5 p.m., Thursday, July 5.

RETURN TO:

☒ Craig L. Fuller
Assistant to the President
for Cabinet Affairs
456-2823

☐ Katherine Anderson ☐ Don Clarey
☐ Tom Gibson ☐ Larry Herbolsheimer
Associate Director
Office of Cabinet Affairs
456-2800

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Ronald Reagan

Statement re Trade Mission to China for inclusion in a Dept. of Commerce brochure.

over
7.9

240859 CA

PR 014-08

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I believe
Ronald Reagan

RECEIVED 19 APR 84 12

TO KIMMITT

FROM FULLER, C

DOCDATE 18 APR 84

STANLEY, M

18 APR 84

FULLER, C

02 JUL 84

KEYWORDS: CHINA TRIP

INTL TRADE

SPEECHES

SUBJECT. COMMERCE SPEECH INSERT RE US SPECIAL TRADE MISSION FOR PRES BEIJING
SPEECH

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR KIMMITT

DUE: 03 JUL 84 STATUS S FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

SIGUR

LAUX

SMALL

MCMINN

KIMMITT

SHULL

COMMENTS

REF#

LOG 8402678

8403036

NSCIFID

(HW *JA*)

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
—	7/2	Reopened/Recd Fuller's memo	2X, KS, MC, RLC	
S. Guiz	3	7/2 Memo Kimmitt to Fuller	7/3	
Secretariat	7/9	Action completed by phone	- no further action	

DISPATCH

W/ATTCH FILE *Wt* (C) *JA*

241658

4670

PY

PR 014-08

PW

PR 005-01

July 13, 1984

Dear Mr. Daigle:

I am happy to enclose Mrs. Reagan's written answers to the questions you submitted during our visit to San Francisco last week.

Would you please be so kind as to send me a copy of California magazine upon publication of the story?

Mrs. Reagan appreciates this opportunity to comment on her visit to Longfellow School and her meeting with the Oakland Parents in Action.

Sincerely,

Sheila Tate
Press Secretary
to Mrs. Reagan

Mr. Vernon Daigle
3755 Divisadero, #304
San Francisco, CA 94123

OK See me
first
Friday
Monday

For California Magazine

1) HOW DID YOU FIRST BECOME AWARE OF
OAKLAND PARENTS IN ACTION?

highly recommended by NFP

2) THIS IS A LOW-INCOME, INNER-CITY SCHOOL. HOW
DOES IT COMPARE WITH OTHER SCHOOLS YOU'VE
VISITED; IN TERMS OF ENTHUSIASM? ^(SP) It was
great. Income level ^{+ geography} ~~has~~ ^{have} nothing to do with this problem.

3) DO YOU PLAN ANY FOLLOW-UP TO TODAY'S
VISIT? I am expecting to continue visiting with
parents and kids, in classrooms, homes, ^{rehabilitation} ~~treatment~~ ^{centers}.
4) WHAT ARE YOUR REACTIONS TO TODAY'S VISIT.
AND TO THE WORK OF O.P.A.

wonderful - & they're doing all the things
I believe ~~will~~ to be effective -- learning about
NOTE: drug / educating themselves + their children

I'm DOING AN ARTICLE ON OPA AS A
FOLLOW-UP ON A STORY I WROTE FOR THE S.F.
EXAMINER. YOUR COOPERATION WILL DO MUCH TO
HELP BRING PUBLIC ATTENTION TO THEIR CAUSE.

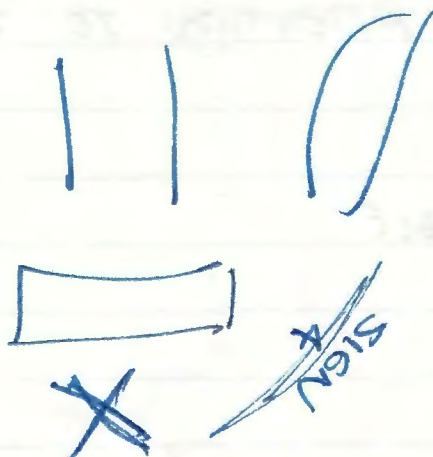
THANK YOU

VERNON L. DAIGLE

(415) 346-3420

5) DID you learn anything today?

sharing / networking / coming together at
the community level to fight this
problem-x



EF

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PR014-08
IT086
WED03
F0006

U.S. STATEMENT AT THE UNDP GOVERNING COUNCIL

31st Session, Geneva, Switzerland

June 25, 1984

THE UN FUND FOR POPULATION ACTIVITIES

Truncated Draft 6/21/84

President Reagan has set forth the dimensions of our shared concern in his statement to the International Conference on Population -- as he said:

World leaders have come to recognize that the historically unprecedented growth of population now occurring in many countries affects economic and social development and presents a unique set of challenges and opportunities. It is for these reasons that the United States provides bilateral and multilateral assistance in population programs.

Nations have their differences with respect to these matters; as do organized groups within our nations; as do religious groups speaking, in many cases, for world-wide constituencies; as do individuals in our societies. While we have a large area of shared concern, this condition may suggest that all governments and international organizations should respect the judgments of individuals and families, everywhere, in so intimate and personal a matter.

Still, separate governments, and the UNFPA as well, can properly advance toward certain goals respecting family planning, in support of which the United States can join on these principles:

- Coerce no parent, or would-be parent, to abandon their own private plans and convictions in matters of human reproduction. Treat both sociology and demographics, in the end, as exercises in description -- an analysis of the residual product of aggregated private actions.

- Recognize, in the same vein, the essential futility of seeking to advance economic welfare by imposing devices of central command and control.

- Provide, above all, information, on which families can rely to implement their own choices.

- Do not apologize for the view that, just as every nation ultimately bears responsibility for the burdens and restrictions it places on its citizens, each family properly bears responsibility for the choices it makes -- if it makes them after being informed.

- Allow materials, and accompanying information, to be distributed by effective, anonymous, and non-coercive means, viz., through commercial promotion and distribution.

- Consider that the most effective governmental contribution to family planning -- the dissemination of information and affordable materials -- might be toleration (and subsidization, if chosen) of private and commercial distribution.

- Recognize that economic development, clearly best promoted by proven free-market institutions, provides the climate in which families will become both better educated and less inclined, arguably, to over-populate in search of old age support.

- Respect the social institutions, the cultural mores, and the religious convictions of all nations.

As we tolerate and support the institutions that others have developed, we ask for the understanding of others that our nation, in seeking to contribute to the solution of "population problems," will not act in a manner contrary to the dictates of our national conscience.

It is the public policy of the United States, declared by our elected representatives, to generally refrain from tax-supported subsidization of abortion. This is a question as to which we do understand that women and men of conscience and sincerity can differ (and not along lines of gender). We implore understanding, accordingly, for our view that funds identified as having been contributed by the United States to support the worthy activities of concerned international organizations not be dedicated to the termination of fetal life as a technique of family planning.

If the UNFPA can give appropriate assurances that this is its practice, the United States can continue to extend its financial support. We desire neither to mislead nor to equivocate. It should be understood that our determination to follow our conscience is as clear and strong as is our respect for the moral judgments and social solutions that others adopt -- as they too seek to enhance the quality of life, for themselves, and for all of humankind.

President Reagan, in that same statement, gave a summary of our views that captures the broad scope of our intended support, our statement of conscience, and our genuine interest in the welfare of all:

Recognizing the seriousness of environmental and economic problems and their relationship to social realities, the United States places a priority upon technological advancement and economic expansion which hold out the hope of prosperity and stability for a rapidly changing world.

... We believe population programs can and must be truly voluntary, cognizant of the rights and responsibilities of individuals and families, and respectful of religious and cultural values. When they are, such programs can make an important contribution to economic and social development, to the health of mothers and children, and to the stability of the family and of society.

... Together we must strive for a world in which children are happy and healthy. They must have the opportunity to develop to their full mental and physical potential and, as young adults, be able to find productive work and to enjoy a decent and dignified existence.

We will strive, we will work, we will extend our aid. We too are of the Family of Man, and seek but to enhance our common humanity.

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Draft 6/21/84 *note page 2*

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- Recognize, in the same vein, the essential futility of seeking to advance economic welfare by imposing devices of central command and control. Dismantle, accordingly, existing economic disincentives imposed by governments, which have contributed, in many nations:

- to the decay of domestic agriculture,

- to the over-concentration of a possibly otherwise sustainable population in just a few cities,

- to an unwarranted subsidization of influential importers and privileged economic elites,

- to a disruptive control of foreign exchange rates, which control often denies to domestic producers the means they desperately need if they are to flourish,

- to a pervasive stifling of private economic incentives and responsibilities, and

- to a deadening of the sense that the quality of life for one's own family can be improved -- by application of diligence and initiative, and the private exercise of prudent choice.

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