

Ronald Reagan Presidential Library Digital Library Collections

This is a PDF of a folder from our textual collections.

Collection: Executive Secretariat, NSC: Subject File: Records,
1981-1985

Folder Title: Foreign Policy Debate – 10/21/1984
(2 of 4)

Box: 37

To see more digitized collections visit:

<https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/digitized-textual-material>

To see all Ronald Reagan Presidential Library Inventories, visit:

<https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/white-house-inventories>

Contact a reference archivist at: **reagan.library@nara.gov**

Citation Guidelines: <https://reaganlibrary.gov/archives/research-support/citation-guide>

National Archives Catalogue: <https://catalog.archives.gov/>

Last Updated: 09/13/2024

GEORGIE ANNE GEYER

SS33

Turkic tribes spicing Chinese border stew

OURUMCHI, China only 500 miles from this exotic frontier town of China's "wild west" lies China's 1,400-mile border with its hated neighbor, the Soviet Union. But one thinks of other things first in this fascinating city of more than 1 million.

My guide had warned me of one curiosity. "You'll see," she said. "The people out there are white." I scoffed. This was Central Asia I was going to; this was Chinese Turkistan.

The first woman we met — of the predominant Uygur tribe — was tall and handsome, with pitch-black hair and bewilderingly Aryan features. And so it was with all the tribespeople I met in this human sea of mingling tribes.

I found out that the Uygurs (pronounced "Wee-weres") were one of many Turkic tribes who migrated here because of Turkish conquests in the Middle Ages. They are one of the "purest" white races in the world, of the group anthropologists call "Alpine."

My second surprise was the charm of this melange of an unknown city. Gray czarist Russian buildings vie with brightly painted mosques for attention. New and stolid Chinese construction is everywhere. The Uygur, Kazakh, Kirghiz, and Mongol tribesmen haul their bumper crops into the old city, hawking them on the streets. The women of most of the tribes revel in the brightest of colors and the most un-Chinese of flirtatious movements.

The denizens of this odd, remarkably free, and romantic border province are the result of hundreds of years of migrations, uprootings, wars, and accommodations. And they are held within the Chinese realm today by special privileges.

These tribespeople alone can get permission (from both sides) to cross into the Soviet Union to visit their kinfolk. They alone do not have to adhere to stringent Chinese rules of one child per family. There is dancing here — unlike in some other parts of still puritanical China — and laughing and high spirits.

The Han Chinese people sent here even before the Chinese Revolution in 1949 to tie this crucial border province to China (and not to Russia) have settled down and control the key security organs. But the tribespeople control the "autonomous region." Somehow, it all works pretty well.

Chinese historians here like to forward the theory that Xinjiang has always been Chinese. "Archaeological findings show that Xinjiang had historic ties with central China as early as the New Stone Age," Xue Tungzheng, a prominent historian at the Academy of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, told me. "This clarifies assertions outside that Xinjiang was East Turkistan or that Xinjiang was a new frontier. There is no basis for that. What's more," he said, "many cities in the south were from very early times under direct leadership of the Han Dynasty. From the second century B.C. on, Han cities have been discovered here, together with tiles with beautiful designs."

The birthright of this complicated and extremely attractive part of the world — with its great snow-covered Tien Shan mountain range, its sudden and sparkling oases, and its high and rich farming plateaus — is uncertain. But what is certain is that, in contrast to the oppression they unleashed in other parts of the country, the Chinese communist regime did a pretty reasonable job here.

By treating the tribespeople as special and letting them enjoy life, the Chinese have indeed cemented a formidable human buffer zone against the Soviet divisions that are always waiting on the Russian side of the Xinjiang border — and against the recent move of Russian SS-20 missiles far east of the Urals, threatening all of Asia.

"The major policy has been to give more improvement to the relatively backward nationalities to allow them to catch up with the advanced ones," said a Mr. Bahai (who uses only this name), a tall and imposing Uygur who is head of the Department of Nationalities Affairs under the Nationalities Commission.

"In education, the minorities are backward, so we spend more money on them, with 13 universities and colleges in the Xinjiang region. Of 16,000 students, more than 9,000 are from the minorities, including 1,500 Chinese Moslems," he said. "Even the Communist Party cadres now count 50 percent as minorities."

Historically, the Chinese idea has been to accept any person of another race or culture as equal if he became "Chinese" or Sincized. But the final irony in this fascinating saga is the fact that these Turkic tribespeople, who so much more resemble the peoples of the periphery of Europe than of China, cling tenaciously to what they consider their own superior historic culture.

Georgie Anne Geyer is a nationally syndicated columnist.

GEORGIE ANNE GEYER

Ancient walls have their counterparts in today's world

THE GREAT WALL, China looking over the Great Wall of China, which snakes like a sinuous dragon over the low mountains that stretch from here for thousands of miles into inner Asia, one's first thought is that even this superhuman enterprise did not keep the Mongol hordes from ancient Cathay.

One's second thought tends to be, "Thank God, this could never happen again." Today, one would have to add, "Oh, yeah?"

The incredible fact is that, far from being things of the ancient past that we Westerners go to wonder at, walls are making a foreign-policy comeback. Everywhere you look in the world, there are mammoth new walls — walls of brick, walls of hardened sand, walls of barbed wire, with self-starting machine guns.

The beginner's glossary of walls in our "modern" world:

- India is building a 1,200-mile wall between the eastern Indian state of Assam and horribly overpopulated Moslem Bangladesh to the south. This is clearly a wall designed to keep the increasingly desperate Bangladeshis out of Indian space. It was decided upon after the terrible pogroms against Bangladeshi refugees in Assam two years ago.

- Morocco has built, with hardly anybody realizing it, a wall 6 to 12 feet high of baked sand that stretches more than 800 miles in an arc from near the Algerian border to the Atlantic. Walls have also been built around Dakhla, the only population center in the south.

These walls, which are heavily fortified and have electronic sensors, are credited with having been instrumental in ending the long and bitter war between Morocco and the Polisario Liberation Front, which has its headquarters in neighboring Algeria and is dedicated to "liberating" the Western Sahara claimed by Morocco.

- Few people seem to realize that not only is there a high brick wall between East and West Berlin, which brutally keeps East Germans in, there is also a wall more than 1,000 miles long that runs the entire border from the Baltic Sea to the borders of Czechoslovakia, dividing East and West Germany.

I flew over this wall several years ago in a helicopter and found it to be one of the true "horror wonders" of the modern world. First, there is

the barbed-wire fence. At that time, it had just been equipped with self-starting machine guns, which would shoot whenever someone touched the fence. Then there were wide plowed areas, filled with mines. These were followed by paths patrolled by soldiers with dogs. Behind them there were still more fences and 40 miles of "secure" villages where only the select of the communist state could live.

- Even China, whose seventh-century B.C. Great Wall is the only man-made wonder you can see from the moon (if you happen to be on the moon), has new walls. Around the new "free" enterprise

*Do walls ever work?
Do they keep some
people in and others
out?*

zones along the coast, which are supposed to open China to the West, there are walls to seal off the zones from the rest of China!

Do walls ever work? Do they keep some people in and others out? What do they say to an interdependent world?

The Great Wall of China certainly did not keep people out. Originally built to keep the Chinese states from warring among themselves, later it was built in its entirety to keep out the Mongols — that ferocious force that destroyed the civilizations of the known world. Eventually the Mongols swarmed over and through the Great Wall.

What is even more remarkable is that today, when so many in the world think only of nuclear war, the world in many places is returning to its ancient past. Consider, for instance, all the return-to-the-past religious revolutions (the Ayatollah Khomeini, the various Islamic fundamentalists). Ancient kinds of wars are still being fought, while we in the West wring our hands over the possibility of nuclear war.

It reminds me that we are still dealing with problems on a classic historical scale and not just on the extraordinary scale so many Americans think of. If we adjusted our policies more to the scale of walls and to the real little people who build them, we would be dealing with a far more realistic world.

Georgie Anne Geyer is a nationally syndicated columnist.

GEORGIE ANNE GEYER

0170

3470

Polarization threatens to pull U.S. into morass of 'irregular' war

The age of "rent-a-guerrilla" and "warfare by private enterprise" is upon us. If we had been watching more diligently, we could have seen it coming in at least two phases during the beginning of the Reagan administration.

Early on, the president and his men used covert activity in Nicaragua — the famous or infamous Contras — in clearly overt ways. What before would have been a futile exercise in secrecy, the administration now was doing openly.

Second, when the Congress threatened to, and then did, cut off aid to the anti-Marxist contras, everybody should have listened more closely when the president said — with what I thought was a notable confidence at the time — that other ways, then, would be found to support them.

Now it's upon us. The deaths of

Georgie Anne Geyer is a nationally syndicated columnist.

two Americans fighting with the Contras last week got a lot of press. Yet that event was actually of little importance. Individual human beings have persisted in going off — out of idealism or out of personal craziness — all through history to fight other people's wars. Other revelations, though, are of singular consequence.

Basically, three major events have been revealed. The Contras revealed, and the administration confirmed, that American individuals, foundations, and companies in the last few months have been filling in Congress's gap by giving substantial funds — \$1.5 million a month was the figure mentioned by the Contras themselves — to the Contras. An American mercenary group, the Civilian Military Assistance under former Marine Thomas V. Posey, was enlisting American individuals to fight with the Contras. Also, foreign countries — Israel, Nationalist China, Argentina, Guatemala, and Venezuela

But the United States has also, for the first time on any real scale, entered this "irregular" and increasingly anarchistic world. And that is a fact of incalculable consequence.

were tallied — were helping the contras directly and indirectly, despite the countries' denials.

Consider, first, some telling figures. At last count, in 1984, there were 40 wars going on across the globe, involving 45 different "nations." Most of those wars involve movements, guerrillas, what were called in American Civil War times "irregular" forces.

Indeed, if we pause to look at the world since World War II, we would see that of the 80 wars that began after 1945, only 28 took the form of fighting between the regular armed forces of two or more states. Forty-six consisted of civil wars, insurgencies and guerrilla con-

tests. (The remaining six were riots and coups d'etat.)

We all know the Soviet Union sponsors many of these irregular forces in the guise of international terrorist forces and that it sent approximately \$100 million in military aid to Nicaragua in 1983. But the United States has also, for the first time on any real scale, entered this "irregular" and increasingly anarchistic world. And that is a fact of incalculable consequence.

This has come about not by accident. Since Vietnam, the polarized and purist American left has tried, in effect, to stop the United States from acting at all. But this attempt

at self-paralysis is impossible in any nation. People, particularly those of the "patriotic" polarized right, find ways to act. By then, unfortunately, the ways are not always all that desirable.

The purist and utopian Americans who have brought us to this point do not seem to realize what this means. When you have an "irregular" world, you have a world in which none of the restraints of civilized society hold; in which there is no final authority or controlled behavior but many authorities in a world in which "anything goes;" in which the international rules — say, against torture and against maltreatment of prisoners — no longer pertain, because you are not appealing even to the relative coherence of government.

Ironically, by morally tying ourselves into knots, we have led to a potential resolution that could have the most immoral consequences.

The central lesson of all this is

that the center is not holding, not even in the United States. That is why the fanatics on both ends of the political spectrum — the far right wanting to save the country and the far left wanting to save the world from our country — can play these dark and dangerous games.

It is certainly not too late. But these truly extraordinary revelations of the last two weeks ought to suggest to Americans that, unless we pull ourselves together in a rational center and in some semblance of a unified outlook toward the outer world, we will become more and more like the countries we are struggling against.

News comes from Thailand that some guerrilla groups there fighting inside Cambodia have hit upon a new twist. There, groups have organized by which you can sponsor a guerrilla. You can pay for his or her food, shoes, clothes, and guns for a month.

Rent-a-contra, anyone? To each his own war?

GEORGIE ANNE GEYER

3511

Two years ago, when I extensively toured the Eastern European satellites of Russia, one could sense and feel the deep changes coming about there — but one could not yet actually see them.

• East Germany, the hardest-line of them all, was in the midst of an impassioned struggle between the Lutheran Evangelical Church and the government over the issues of peace. I knew something was changing when I watched "Dallas" in East Berlin.

• In Hungary, you never heard the word "communism." Hungary had liberalized so much that it had, quietly and patiently over a period of 15 years, become a country almost interchangeable with Western Europe.

• Romania has always had its own spirit. Its present "communist" government is in exactly the same style as the old Romanian monarchy.

• Poland was truly extraordinary, not only because of the formation of Solidarity, but because its "martial law" government had kept a Soviet invasion force out for the first time since World War II in an Eastern European crisis of this sort.

Today, you can actually see the changes. Indeed, the astonishing events of the last two weeks, with Eastern bloc leader after Eastern bloc leader forced by a nervous Moscow to cancel state visits to the West, illustrate clearly the failing

Georgie Anne Geyer is a nationally syndicated columnist.

Discernable changes in the East European bloc

hand of Soviet control — and of Soviet ideology — over these countries. Historically, they have faced to the West — and today they are again facing to the West and beginning to reclaim their original national character, which was always there.

Many analysts of the area have in these last weeks averred that these surface signs are not all that important, that the bloc goes on as before. I do not for a moment believe that to be true. While the changes most certainly are slow ones, they are of such consequence that it is difficult to overestimate them.

Actually, the changes on this Eastern European periphery of the Soviet Union stem back to the fact that, after World War II, Soviet communist ideology was not willingly adopted by these countries; it was imposed upon the Eastern European states by a victorious Red army.

The Soviet ideology, with its basically Oriental authoritarianism that went back to the early tsarist times, was natural for Russia. It was unnatural for Eastern Europe, and it was adopted there only because cynical men who aspired to power grasped it as the only way to attain power. It is, ironically, those

The astonishing events of the last two weeks, with Eastern bloc leader after Eastern bloc leader forced by a nervous Moscow to cancel state visits to the West, illustrate clearly the failing hand of Soviet control over these countries.

same leaders who today are attempting, in this new period, to open their countries to the West and to assert greater independence.

Many of today's changes stem directly from the Ford administration's ostensible recognition of Soviet control of East Europe in the Helsinki Accords of 1975. What that historic watershed did was seemingly recognize the borders but, in reality, under the guise of

that "security" for the paranoid Russians, open the countries under the new human and cultural exchanges of detente.

Moscow, believing its borders now were secured, did not respond in its usual violent manner.

Meanwhile — glacially, but surely — even the frozen center of the Soviet empire, the "Third Rome" of Moscow, also was changing. Moscow had certainly not given up its desire to communize the world; there is such a basic struggle between communism and capitalism that one would have to be blind (and many are) not to see it.

But Moscow's deliberate and well-thought-out tactic after World War II was to spread communism to the former colonies of the great powers — never to move obviously but always incrementally. By the time a country went "communist," it was simply too late for the West to react. Meanwhile, Eastern Europe was to be kept as the stable barrier and border against the free viruses of Western Europe.

Only now we can clearly see that it hasn't quite happened that way. There are changes within the Soviet Union (not to speak of the extraordinary changes within China) that are so deep, if slow, that

one can begin to see the configurations of an entirely new world within what was once a monolithic ideological, political, and economic bloc.

For Russia, too, faces an irresolvable conundrum. It cannot progress further unless, like China, it builds a free incentive into its frozen system. But if it does that, it loses its communist soul. Unlike the Eastern Europeans, the Russians do mostly believe in their ideology.

The danger to the West is that, since the Russians' military strength, unlike its economic strength, is so great, the temptation might well be to use that military strength to remain a superpower in the 1980s.

But there is at least one more curious fact. As Henry Kissinger cogently pointed out this week, the Soviets have not used their power to expand anywhere (even though the earlier Afghan occupation continues), during and despite the blazing rhetoric of the Reagan administration. It cannot be dismissed that they might exactly understand a hard-liner like President Reagan and that they might well respond on the deeper levels to the limits that he clumsily sets.

Meanwhile, the Eastern European saga unweaves itself in ever more fascinating forms. To dismiss the signal events of the last few weeks as simply another phase in Soviet-American relations is to miss the whole point. Eastern Europe, like so many parts of the world, is returning to its historic self in this age that rapidly is progressing beyond artificially imposed ideologies.

GEORGIE ANNE GEYER

The cruel hoax of liberation theology

Christianity and Marxism can't lie down like the lion and lamb . . .

Pope John Paul's now-heightening struggle with Latin America's "liberation theology" could be seen clearly in embryo one July day in 1965 in a small study in Bogota.

"I consider the work of a priest is to take a person to God," the youthful and eloquent Rev. Camilo Torres was saying. "I consider there are circumstances that do not permit a man to offer himself to God. A priest must fight those circumstances, and for me they are political."

"The grave problem is political, because the fundamental decisions have to be political decisions, and these decisions are now produced by the minorities and not the majorities. Because of this the majority must produce pressure groups; it must take political power."

Camilo, became a legend after that. He was so handsome, so brilliant, so charismatic that women swooned in sheer piety. But this Colombian priest, with his radiant smile and his ideological theological training at the avant garde Belgian University of Louvain, did not just form pressure groups. Within months, he had gone to the mountains with a Colombian Marxist guerrilla group — and he was killed there in a battle with the Colombian military.

What started in those years with that man — hero to many, fool or brave to others — now has come full circle. Pope John Paul II has published a major and highly critical Vatican document on the Latin American theology of liberation. Liberationist Latin priests have been called to the Vatican to be assessed. What exactly is all this?

Liberation theology grew in the '60s and flowered in the '70s out of the liberalization within the Catholic Church and out of the desperation within many priests and nuns over injustice and hopelessness in Latin America. In their despair, they turned to theories close to Marxist analysis, believing they could embrace Marxism economically while remaining Christians spiritually.

Part of liberationist thought was called "dependency theory." The Rev. Brian Hehir, the brilliant analyst of the American Catholic hierarchy, described it to me thusly: "If the dependency theory has validity, you are saying that people who have been shaped for centuries by forces beyond their control have to take control of their own destiny — or diversify the dependency."

Part of the search was seeking the kingdom of God on earth, so much so that many Christians began looking at Marxist Nicaragua as the "mediation of the kingdom of God on earth." Part of it was believing that systems, like individual human beings, can sin. But most of all, two phrases describe what liberationist theology purports to be.

The first phrase always goes something like: "Comrade, there is no road. You find the road in struggling." What this really means is: "Nothing in history applies to us. We have the original revolution. We

can deal with the Marxists, if nobody else could."

The second phrase, about Marxism, is always, "It's scientific." What this really says is that, flying in the face of all history, liberationists have found not a tentative answer to man's misery but a scientific method, a perfect answer, something that is true of necessity.

Marxism becomes perfect in economics; the Gospel remains perfect in the realm of the spiritual.

Here you have the problem, which the pope certainly is addressing when he says in his statement, "The class struggle as a road toward a classless society is a myth which slows reform and aggravates poverty and injustice."

In their despair, they turned to theories close to Marxist analysis, believing they could embrace Marxism economically while remaining Christians.

The ostensible mix of Christianity in Marxism cannot, simply, ever work. It is no longer a question of experimenting without knowing the outcome. We already have a plethora of examples now — Cuba, for instance, where there is basically no longer any Christianity.

But even worse than that old idea that Christianity and Marxism can lie down together like the lamb and the lion is believing that Marxism is some kind of "scientific" method, when it has been palpably unable to create wealth anywhere on earth.

The liberationist Christians are denying the proof of history when they say, in effect, that, "Nothing in history applies to us."

Even more serious, these intoxications cut out the real solutions — and there are real solutions. But they are not utopian and they are not all-encompassing and they are not fanatically ideological. We have examples in the well-balanced and democratic Christian Democratic parties and programs in Latin America, as well as in the countries thriving around the rim of the Pacific. These are totally workable ways to development.

The final irony in the liberation theology that started with Camilo these 20 years ago, therefore, is that even their dreams cannot work. The hope, as the pope gets into the fascinating fray, is that they can learn that other dreams can come true.

Georgie Anne Geyer is a nationally syndicated columnist.

NBC NIGHTLY NEWS
7:00 PM

NBC TV
OCTOBER 17

Chernenko Conciliatory

TOM BROKAW: Soviet President Konstantin Chernenko was speaking to the White House today indirectly. And President Reagan responded in which the same fashion. Chernenko told a Washington Post reporter the Soviets are waiting for some practical steps by the White House to break the arms control deadlock between the two countries.

Steve Mallory reports from Moscow tonight that statement and others came from Chernenko during a highly unusual appearance.

STEVE MALLORY: Tonight, Soviet television showed a picture of The Washington Post Washington Post Moscow Bureau chief, Dusko Doder, during his interview with Konstantin Chernenko. The highlights of the interview were read during the evening news and on Radio Moscow's English language broadcasts.

NEWSCASTER: The Soviet leader, Konstantin Chernenko, has announced that the Soviet Union is prepared to better relations with the United States if the American side displays a sincere desire to do the same.

MALLORY: Chernenko said that he noted similar statements by the American government, but added that the U. S. readiness for negotiations has not been backed by action. Chernenko called for agreements to prevent the militarization of outer space, a mutual freeze on nuclear weapons, ratification of two underground test ban treaties, and a pledge by the U. S. not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

NEWSCASTER: If at least one of these proposals materialized,

there would be a real turn for the better in Soviet-American relations and the international situation in general.

MALLORY: Dusko Doder, who conducted the interview yesterday, said that he met with the Soviet leader for twenty minutes, that he answered questions that had been submitted earlier in writing and responded directly to questions during their meeting at the Kremlin. Doder, commenting on Chernenko's health, said the Soviet leader's complexion was ruddy, his handshake extraordinarily firm, and his gait steady. Political observers here suggest that it's no coincidence Chernenko chose this particular time to be interviewed by an American correspondent. Not only does he want to dispel rumors about his ill-health, but it is believed that Chernenko timed the interview to influence the debate on foreign affairs between President Reagan and Walter Mondale.

Steve Mallory, NBC News, Moscow.

BROKAW: From the White House and other parts of the Reagan administration tonight, there is a cautious reaction to the Chernenko interview. Marvin Kalb reports tonight they can't very well ignore it in the middle of a presidential campaign, but neither do they find anything particularly encouraging.

MARVIN KALB: The official reaction did not come from the President. It came from his top aides, and it was carefully crafted. For the cameras with domestic politics foremost in mind, the tone was conciliatory. VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: Where it leads, the new signs out of Chernenko and the discussions that I was privileged to sit in on with Gromyko, I don't know. But there is a new tone, and I think it's a very positive thing.

KALB: Privately, officials describe the Chernenko interview

as nothing new, just well-timed propaganda aimed at influencing Sunday's debate, an attitude that peeked through the spokesman's well chosen words.

- LARRY SPEAKES: President Chernenko has stated that improvement in the U. S.-Soviet relationship depends on deeds, not words. We agree.

When the Soviet Union is prepared to move from public exchanges to private negotiations and concrete agreements, they will find us ready.

KALB: The Chernenko interview with The Washington Post is remarkably similar to an Andropov interview last January 24th with Pravda, an almost word-for-word recitation of Soviet policy.

And what's interesting, Tom, is that it produced an almost word-for-word administration response, indicating that there's been really no progress on arms control from January until now.

BROKAW: But Marvin, if they had nothing new to offer, why did the Soviets go to all of this obvious trouble?

KALB: Politics on both sides. The Russians really wanted to make sure, as one official here told me, that they got their agenda, their question in in the Sunday debate, and the White House really could not dismiss what Chernenko said without giving Walter Mondale some additional political ammunition.

BROKAW: The Soviets are keeping the pressure on President Reagan by continually raising the prospects of talks or no talks.

KALB: Well, they're keeping the pressure on, and what they're really doing, I think, is setting the agenda, the framework for arms control negotiating once the election is out of the way. And we are doing the same thing on our side. Both superpowers are setting the framework, hoping that their priority items are on the top of the list.

1
BROKAW: Thanks. Marvin Kalb at the State Department tonight.

Commentary by John Chancellor

BROKAW: John Chancellor is here tonight, and, in his commentary, he's talking about what a Nobel prize means to a country.

John?

JOHN CHANCELLOR: Twenty years ago, the Soviets were saying that communism would bury capitalism in an avalanche of Marxist productivity. If you made that argument today, you'd be laughed off the stage.

These days the Kremlin is saying we are as strong as you in nuclear weapons; why don't you treat us as equals? So the argument has gone from we will outproduce you to we can kill you even though you can kill us. Not much progress and not much reason to demand equal international footing with the United States.

Weapons can make a country strong, but it takes more than that to make a country great. Which brings us to the Nobel prizes for science which are being awarded this week.

Over the last ten years, the United States has outperformed the Soviet Union by a ratio of 40 to one in these science prizes: 40 prizes since 1975 to American scientists; one prize to a Soviet scientist. And he was Pytor Kapitsa, a critic of Marxism, which was tolerated because he was famous. So much for equality between the United States and the Soviet Union.

And this stunning record of American science raises another question. Americans are becoming more nationalistic these days. The invasion of Grenada and the Olympics produced patriotic cheers. But Grenada was a small operation, and some of the toughest competitors didn't compete in the Olympics. Maybe

MEET THE PRESS (cont.)

On Northern Ireland:

Ferraro: I think what the Mondale-Ferraro administration would do is seek to work within the Irish forum with their -- right now they're attempting to negotiate a peaceful solution to that region, again, of the world....That's another place where a special envoy could be important. Again, this Administration has done absolutely nothing. It's walked away. In fact, if you take a look --

→ Kalb: You are proposing a special envoy for Ireland?

Ferraro: Let me suggest this -- Yeah, I think it's a good idea, someone to go in there and attempt to assist in negotiations. What's happened is -- currently is we have throughout the world 13 hotspots....This Administration has done virtually nothing to exert a little bit of influence in any of these regions....We've done nothing as a superpower to ward off the problems that are being faced throughout the world. I think we have to move in and start. Pick our places....

Mudd: Are you prepared, Ms. Ferraro, to accept as fact that the American college students on the island of Grenada were in danger, and that was justification for the invasion or rescue operation?

Ferraro: Well, Fritz Mondale and I do not agree about this. He is ready to because he has some information with reference to those students' lives that I do not have.

Mudd: He didn't share that with you?

Ferraro: Well, I never bothered to go and find out, because it is a fact that is completed. Let me suggest here --

Mudd: If they were in danger shouldn't you have found out?

Ferraro: Well, if they were in danger I would have, you know, and if it were a place where I would be making a decision I assume that I would have been privy to the information, as president or vice president. I was not privy to that information as a member of Congress. I came out against the invasion when it occurred. I have not gone further and pursued with --

Mudd: But he's left you hanging, hasn't he, Ms. Ferraro?

Ferraro: No, no, no, no, not at all, and that's not a fact. Let me say this, that for two years this Administration had had the government of Grenada attempting to come in and speak with our Administration. They were looking for help. They were looking for assistance. The Administration turned around and did nothing. All of a sudden in and invade....That's my problem with what went on. This Administration moves militarily first and then says, well, we were justified in doing it....The invasion is over. It's a fait accompli....Would I have done the same thing? No. I would have moved ahead and tried to speak with the government during those two years to see what could have been done, instead of moving in with force first. That should be our last resort, and

MEET THE PRESS (cont.)

→ Kalb: Why did you vote for the MX, which you say you don't like, in 1980, then voted against it in '81?

Ferraro: Because in 1980 there was a different basing mode for it. It was a basing mode that was survivable -- at least more survivable than the basing mode that President Reagan has suggested....

→ Kalb: So it's just the basing mode? You don't object to the missile itself?

Ferraro: ...The basing mode particularly bothers me because it is vulnerable....If it's vulnerable, why build it instead of something like that -- you know, the Midgetman is a much more survivable missile. And that's what we support.

Mudd: ...What do you think the effect has been on the Bush campaign of the repeated comments about you, most of which rhyme with witch?

Ferraro: Oh, I don't know....

Mudd: What's your opinion?

Ferraro: ...My reaction is that perhaps they're beginning to get a little worried when they see the polls moving. That's the type of thing that is occurring out of the Bush campaign or out of the Reagan campaign whenever we start seeing the movement in the polls which you referred to. The other thing I think it might be is a bit of a statement on, you know, my candidacy. Who am I to challenge this man?

###

Review -
file

Arms Control Violations

BROKAW: The White House sent to Congress late today a report on alleged violation of arms control agreements between the United States and the Soviet Union. And Marvin Kalb is in our Washington studio tonight with late details.

MARVIN KALB: Tom, the report had to be released today. It was demanded by a small group of conservatives on Capitol Hill.

The report says that the Russians have been in violation of existing arms control agreements between the two superpowers since 1961, for the past 23 years. Among the examples cited, 17 in all, were these: an illegal ICBM test, the dispatching of nuclear-powered submarines to Cuba, and the setting up of massive radars in Central Asia.

The Russians, according to this report, and I quote, show material breaches, violations, probable violations or circumventions of contractual obligations.

Secretary of State Shultz last month confirmed one violation.

SECY. SHULTZ: They are in the process of constructing a radar that we believe is a violation, if it is put into being, of the ABM treaty.

KALB: A senior official describes this report as a turkey, implying that there's nothing really substantive in it. It was supposed to have been released last month, actually, but it was held up by the White House until after the visit of Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko.

BROKAW: If we can presume that the State Department let the Soviets know about this today, or earlier than that, will this in any way derail the

Administration's efforts to try to get some kind of an arms control agreement?

KALB: Not really, Tom, because the Russians yesterday attacked the United States for violating arms control agreements. Both sides are exchanging propaganda at this point, but nobody really feels that it will affect the efforts of the two superpowers to get a deal.

ABC WORLD NEWS TONIGHT ABC-TV
7:00 PM OCTOBER 10

El Salvador Peace Process

PETER JENNINGS: Secretary of State Shultz has arrived in El Salvador for discussions with President Jose Napoleon Duarte. Topic A is the peace conference which President Duarte has proposed for next week, to which El Salvador's anti-government guerrillas have said they will send representatives. ABC's John McWethy is in San Salvador.

JOHN MCWETHY: El Salvador's President Duarte returned home from the United States last night saying he would meet with his brothers, the guerrillas, in the mountains. The crowd went wild.

Today the excitement and praise continued, as Secretary of State Shultz arrived in El Salvador reading a message from President Reagan.

SECY SHULTZ: I applaud his leadership and support his decision.

MCWETHY: But there was more than just praise. Shultz turned the Duarte peace initiative in El Salvador into a challenge aimed at El Salvador's neighbor, Nicaragua.

SECY SHULTZ: If only the commandantes in Nicaragua would

NETWORK NEWS SUMMARY FOR SUNDAY EVENING, September 30, 1984

GROMYKO MEETINGS (continued)

Donaldson: Henry Kissinger did make a prediction of sorts today on when serious negotiations might occur -- late this year or sometime next year, he said. Then Kissinger revealed a secret -- his true feelings about FM Gromyko. Said Kissinger: "God may punish me for this -- but I rather like Gromyko."

NBC's John Palmer: While one Reagan Administration official was predicting that talks with Gromyko would lead to arms control negotiations within a few months, Secretary Shultz would say only that the opportunity for negotiations have been approved. As Gromyko arrived in Moscow today, it was reported that plans for his meetings with President Reagan were kept secret from some Administration hardliners, for fear they might try to scuttle the meeting.

NBC's Marvin Kalb: FM Gromyko returned to Moscow tonight to brief the Politburo about his talks with President Reagan and Secretary Shultz. The Minister's line, as reflected in the Soviet press, is that the Russians want to see deeds. Back here, the high-level meetings have quickly become part of the presidential campaign. Vice President Bush, in Cleveland, put a most positive spin on the President's exchange with the Soviet diplomat -- (TV coverage: Vice President at news conference: "FM Gromyko returned to Moscow with the feeling that President Reagan is determined -- really determined -- to achieve a negotiated settlement with the Soviets that would bring about nuclear arms reductions.") But Walter Mondale said there was, apparently, no progress towards arms control, then drew a broad conclusion -- (TV coverage: Mondale coming out of church: "We have a President who's not really in charge. He's not mastering the details, he's not leading in crucial questions, albeit arms control -- ") But assuming for a moment that this week's meetings with Gromyko do lead to serious and sustained talks, when might they begin? Henry Kissinger -- (TV coverage: Kissinger on "Face the Nation": "I think we will begin serious negotiations, which I expect will happen by the end of this year or early next year -- but the process will be going on all the time.") Some senior officials worry about the U.S. appearing to be too eager. (TV coverage: Shultz on "This Week...": "You have to be relaxed about the need for an agreement if you're going to get a good one. The only agreement worth getting -- from our standpoint -- is one that serves our interest.") But before any deal can be struck, President Reagan must first come to grips with the differences still raging within his Administration over the value of arms control -- with Secretary Shultz favoring the effort and Secretary Weinberger very skeptical.

MONDALE

Donaldson: Mondale pressed his attack on President Reagan's foreign policy leadership today, charging that the Reagan-Gromyko meeting was apparently a failure, and Vice President Bush, just as forcefully responded, that it is Mondale's reading of the situation that is a failure.

NBC -- MEET THE PRESS

Correspondents: Marvin Kalb, Roger Mudd

Guests: Sen. Gary Hart, Rep. Jack Kemp

Mudd: Which Ronald Reagan are we supposed to believe?

Kemp: I think the American people recognize they have in President Reagan both firmness and flexibility, and I would suggest that that is probably what the Soviet Union is seeing, and that's why Gromyko came to the United States and to visit with the President.

Mudd: Do you see some genuine chance for an arms agreement?

Hart: I haven't seen that flexibility, nor have the American people, and there is no reason to believe we'll see that kind of flexibility that represents mainstream American foreign policy with the Soviets and others in a second Reagan term. I think the American people are going to turn their back on that. We're not seeing firmness, either; we're seeing confrontation, and that is not a healthy foreign policy in an age of nuclear weapons.

Mudd: Do you think the U.S. is incapable of protecting its embassies against terrorists?

Kemp: We have to protect those foreign service officers and our embassy personnel, and we have to do a better job of it, but that shows the fragility with which a democracy has to approach its involvement in the global affairs. Terrorists are always attacking democratic governments, and never, ever attack Soviet Union embassies or those personnel that are involved with the Soviet Union.

Hart: I'm waiting for this President to stand up one time and say it was my fault. He hasn't done that in four years. I think the responsibility is his.

Kalb: Are you certain this Administration has a united policy on arms control?

Kemp: In terms of first-strike capability, we're not seeking superiority, but when it comes to defending freedom and democracy and our own interests, we want to have the capability to deter war and to assure the survival of the interests of the U.S.

Kalb: Just before the Gromyko meeting, the President -- or many in the Administration -- wanted Soviet violations of existing arms control agreements to be made public. The White House sat on that. What does that suggest about the Administration?

Kemp: I think they want to recognize that there is a chance now to see the prospects of a better atmosphere and environment between ourselves and the Soviet Union to go forward. I think in order to have a realistic relationship with the Soviet Union, candor and the truth must be known, and I think it's important that the American people know there have been violations by the Soviets.

NBC -- MEET THE PRESS (continued)

Kemp continues: The President has talked about it, he brings it up in his meetings, and he certainly discusses the linkage between our talks with the Soviet Union and their behavior in previous agreements as well as their behavior with regard to Poland, Afghanistan, the Third World, and other parts of the world.

Hart: I think this President is held hostage by the far right -- the extreme right elements of his own party -- on U.S.-Soviet relations, particularly arms control. I think they've let him off the reservation for this 6- or 8-week period so that he can get reelected, and we're going to see more of the confrontational cold war attitude in a second Reagan term. This President has been less involved in the overall policy and the details of that policy having to do with arms control than any President since the nuclear age, and I think it's fundamentally because he doesn't understand the issues.

Mudd: Why is Mondale so far behind?

Hart: He's running against an incumbent President. Second, any time you have to put the Party together after a contested nomination, that takes some time. Finally, I think this President is skillfully using the photo opportunity type campaign, and I think that bubble is beginning to burst.

Kalb: Why do you think Mondale can win?

Hart: He represents the mainstream of domestic and foreign policy in this country for the past 25-30 or more years.

Kalb: Should the President be leading the effort on the latest Civil Rights bill before Congress?

Kemp: The President should be leading the effort, particularly to meet some of the objections that have been legitimately raised, but in terms of the commitment to civil rights, I think it is a very important statement that needs to be made by all of us on both sides of the political aisle.

Hart: I think we've seen an abdication of Presidential leadership on the question of civil rights.

Mudd: Will you be a candidate for President in 1988?

Kemp: I'm going to spend 1984 talking about the Reagan-Bush record and the opportunity to reelect them -- and then when 1985 starts, we'll begin to talk about 1988.

Kalb: Sounded like a yes to me.

Kemp: Well, it may be a yes.

Mudd: Will you be a candidate in '88?

Hart: Not if Walter Mondale is the President, and I believe he will be.

NBC -- MEET THE PRESS (continued)

Kalb: Why does the U.S. seem to be pulling back from its full support of the Contadora peace process in Central America at this particular time?

Kemp: I think Nicaragua is in trouble economically, diplomatically, and within the hemisphere, and it's obvious things that are not going well for Nicaragua are also causing problems for the rebels in El Salvador. I think the Administration is right to raise these issues of fundamental importance to the security of the U.S. in this hemisphere, which is to make sure that Cuba removes its troops from Nicaragua before there is any acceptance of a so-called peace process with the Contadora countries.

Mudd: The campaign really comes to a stop this week, going into the debates. Walter Mondale is no slouch as a debater. People have made a profession, however, of underestimating Ronald Reagan as a debater. He's a terrific debater if he's prepared. But this, coming up in one week, is the central act, and Walter Mondale, given the polls that we see, really has to do well if he's going to get any momentum going. It's a critical, critical day in the life of Walter Mondale. He has to score well, and Ronald Reagan has got to make a serious mistake.

###

himself up and come back fighting with more energy and determination than before. What has he been fighting for? He has been notoriously unable to "articulate a vision," in the columnists' stock phrase. But there is a vision implicit in his whole public career, a vision of a secure and compassionate society in which liberty is guaranteed and opportunity and education are open to all. In the end that's why he stands up again when they knock him down, and in the end that's why we're for him.

Realignment this time?

THE BIG SWING

FOR YEARS NOW, political scientists and politicians have been eagerly awaiting a great realignment of America's political parties—an event such as occurred in 1828, 1860, 1896, and 1932, when popular loyalty swung decisively from one party to another, making it dominant for a generation or more. The wait for a surge from Democratic to Republican rule has been going on so long that some of the foremost prophets of realignment have decided it isn't going to happen after all, that de-alignment—the breakup of both parties—is the destiny of American politics. But this year realignment talk is in the air again, produced by anticipation of another landslide victory by President Reagan. Is it finally going to happen? Well, this time the Republicans have a real chance, but as in the past they may blow it.

The situation is complicated by misunderstanding about the nature of realignment and de-alignment. Journalists, especially, tend to expect realignment to arrive like a tornado on the first Tuesday in November in a Presidential election year, and by the next morning to have left the political landscape unmistakably altered. In fact, only one of the nation's four previous realignments took place suddenly and completely—William McKinley's Republican triumph of 1896, which was brought on by the Panic of 1893 and the capture of the Democratic Party by William Jennings Bryan and the easy-money populists who scared the wits out of the business community. All the other realignments have occurred gradually and fitfully, as political scientists have established in the vast literature on the subject written in anticipation of the newest coming. The Democratic Party dominance established by Andrew Jackson began breaking up over slavery a decade before Abraham Lincoln won the Presidency in 1860. The seeds of the New Deal realignment could be seen in Al Smith's losing campaign in 1928, and F.D.R. didn't put the Democrats fully in charge of the country until 1936, after he had endorsed the Wagner Act and brought working people decisively to his side.

The New Deal coalition, as everybody knows, has been

decaying for twenty years now. The Solid South left first, going over to Barry Goldwater in 1964 after John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson committed the Democratic Party to racial integration. L.B.J. calculated that the Democrats could make up in newly enfranchised blacks what they lost in southern whites, but it hasn't worked out that way. The only Democrat to carry the South in the last five Presidential elections was Georgia's Jimmy Carter in 1976, and Jesse Jackson's voter registration efforts this year are not likely to change the tide of history for Walter Mondale.

Another wave of defections has occurred among northern whites—especially ethnics and Catholics—over race, social issues, and foreign policy. It was on the basis of this shift, plus that of the South, that Kevin Phillips argued after the 1968 election that Richard Nixon's vote (43.4 percent) plus George Wallace's (13.5 percent) represented the makings of *The Emerging Republican Majority*. The majority hasn't yet emerged—Phillips now thinks it won't—but the 1968 results contain a cautionary reminder for Democrats in 1984. Those who think that Walter Mondale will be doing well to pull "a Hubert Humphrey" and roar back into contention this year forget that Humphrey only polled 42.7 percent of the popular vote; had Wallace not been in the race, the chances are that Nixon would have collected most of his vote and trounced Humphrey.

IN SPITE OF the Vietnam protest movement, social chaos, and the 1972 McGovern debacle, the Republicans failed to forge a new conservative governing coalition for three reasons: Watergate, the 1974-75 recession, and the Democrats' nomination of a moderate southerner in 1976. According to public opinion analyst William Schneider of the American Enterprise Institute, working-class voters stuck with their old party primarily because it continued promising to protect them from economic adversity. But by 1980 Carter had failed them in that, and they defected to Ronald Reagan. They wavered during the 1982 recession, but with the current recovery they have returned to Reagan in force. This may only be out of personal attachment to Reagan, or it may be more lasting. For the first time since it began asking the question in 1951, the Gallup poll this month found that 50 percent of the American people believe that the Republican Party does a better job of maintaining prosperity. The Democrats, consistently viewed for decades as the nation's prosperity party, now is seen in that light by only 33 percent of the electorate.

To some this only suggests that the 1980 election represented a return to the historical trend begun in 1964 and 1968, but interrupted in 1976, and that another smashing Reagan victory this year will seal realignment. However, members of the de-alignment school point to several contrary indicators. Polls over the past thirty years show no grand shift from Democratic loyalty to Republican, but rather a gradual drain from both parties to "independent." In 1952, according to University of Michigan researchers, 47 percent of voters called themselves Democrats, compared to 27 percent Republicans and 22 percent independent; in 1982 the figures were 44, 24, and

30. Even the latest *Washington Post*-ABC poll shows 39 percent Democrats, 26 percent Republicans, and independents up to 34 percent.

In the classic realignment pattern, President Reagan carried in a Republican Senate with him in 1980. Contrary to the pattern, he failed to carry the House and lost twenty-six seats there in 1982. At the state level, there has been no Republican trend at all. Democrats control thirty-five governorships and seventy-one of the nation's ninety-nine state legislative houses. The de-alignment school believes that television, direct mail, and other modern campaign techniques have made party loyalty a secondary factor in determining how people vote, and have put primary importance either on candidate charisma or ideology.

AND YET something new may be stirring in the electorate this year—the startling inclination of young people to favor not only Ronald Reagan, but possibly the Republican Party as well. Classically, realignments occur not only because voter groups switch party allegiance, but because huge numbers of new voters—in 1932 it was immigrants and workers—join the electorate for the first time, swelling overall turnout from its meager level of the preceding de-alignment period. This year there is a possibility that the baby boom generation will be out in force, all 75 million souls of it, or one-third of the electorate. Up to now voters under 40 have been turning out in numbers far below their proportion of the population (only 35 percent of all 18- to 24-year-olds turned out in 1980, for example). Republicans hope, and Democrats fear, that this year may be different.

According to a new Yankelovich survey in *Time* magazine, 18- to 24-year-olds represent Reagan's strongest age group: 63 percent say they support him, compared to 18 percent who support Walter Mondale. The survey showed that 25- to 34-year-olds favor Reagan by 56 percent to 24 percent. A survey conducted this summer by Peter Hart, Mondale's pollster, indicated that a plurality of voters over 25 years old consider themselves Democrats; but under 25, Republicans outnumber Democrats 46 percent to 30 percent. CBS-*New York Times* polling over the course of this year suggests that among 25- to 29-year-olds, Democrats outnumber Republicans by only 36 percent to 30 percent, whereas four years ago the margin was 44 percent to 19 percent.

The Reagan campaign is making an all-out effort to attract young voters and disaffected Democrats, but aides say they will not decide until mid-October whether to have the President openly appeal for a Republican Congress to help him push through his program. Except at party events, the President practically never utters the word "Republican." He refers so often to Democrats—F.D.R., Harry Truman, John F. Kennedy, and Hubert Humphrey especially—that one might think he'd never left his former party.

Campaign strategists admit that Reagan is not running a programmatic campaign of the type that appeals to columnists and the League of Women Voters. "It's pure puffery,

yes," one aide admitted, "but it's important puffery. A society's sense of its own well-being—its morale—ultimately is more important than the specific programs that a candidate puts forward." The kind of puffery that the 73-year-old Reagan dishes up to young people is marvelously concocted. It's future-oriented, progressive, idealistic, and even irreverent. Whereas Walter Mondale often comes off as a scolding school marm, Reagan recites his accomplishments and declares, "You ain't seen nothing yet." Like the yuppie hero, Gary Hart, Reagan is forever representing his ideas as "new" and Mondale's as "old" and "tired." He promises "high tech, not high taxes," "confidence instead of malaise . . . excellence instead of failure." One aide claims, "we are not appealing to youth on the basis of materialism, but through the Olympic spirit—'go for the gold!' doesn't mean money; it means, 'you tell me the standard and I'll beat it.' It's the spirit of pioneers and immigrants. It's optimistic, youthful—adolescent, in fact."

Reagan campaign officials figure that whether or not the President makes a bid for a Republican House of Representatives, the best he can expect is to gain back the twenty-six seats lost in 1982. This would again give him the working ideological majority he used to push through his tax and spending cuts in 1981. Some other Republican strategists say they now expect a pickup of twenty to twenty-five seats, but that if Reagan can clobber Mondale by a margin of 16 to 20 points, they might win thirty-five or forty seats. Democratic Congressional campaign officials say the worst they expect to do is lose ten seats, although a few Democratic strategists privately assert that a Mondale collapse could result in a fifty-five-seat loss and deliver political control of the House to the Republicans for the first time since 1954. The Senate now seems certain to remain comfortably in Republican hands, so it's remotely possible that this time we could really have realignment.

Or could we? Real realignment necessitates more than a partisan wipeout in one or two elections. It requires that a party attain more or less stable control over the government for a generation. For this to happen, two things must transpire. First, Reaganomics has to succeed in providing long-term prosperity. If it instead produces another deep recession next year, voters are likely to turn with a vengeance on the President and his party in 1986. Second, the Republican Party must express the values of the baby boom generation. Polls indicate that both halves of the baby boom group—college-educated yuppies and working-class kids—are economically conservative right now. On social issues, though, they tend to be permissive if not libertarian. The President might hold young people if he appointed a moderate—say, Howard Baker—to be Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, but it's hard to see how a Republican Party under the influence of Jerry Falwell and the anti-abortion lobby could do so. If the Republicans fail once again to take advantage of their opportunity, perhaps the Democrats can bounce back.

MORTON KONDRACKÉ

seems expedient to do so. It's been an open secret for years among New York lawyers that judges routinely save the best-paying conservatorships and other court-appointed jobs for their friends, relatives, and campaign contributors. According to a story by Sam Roberts and Marcia Chambers in the September 11 *New York Times*, New York judges awarded \$6.8 million in fees to officials they appointed over the last nineteen months; the bulk of the money went to former colleagues on the bench, law partners, and political cronies. It's the sort of thing one would expect from any ordinary Queens politician and her family under the circumstances. But not from an extraordinary one.

□ BUSHISM OF THE WEEK: from the September 11 *Wall Street Journal*: "I believe in unions and I believe in non-unions," the Vice President said yesterday in a tour of a non-union furniture plant in Archdale, N.C." The man has convictions, but he's not a nut about it.

□ THE HOUSE HAS ALREADY PASSED, and the Senate is fixing to pass, a bill extending the antitrust immunity already enjoyed by the federal and state governments to local governments as well. Moreover, the bill in its present form would have the effect of making the immunity retroactive—apply it to pending cases, in other words—thereby giving proved local government miscreants an easy way off the hook. The best example is the case of *Unity Ventures v. Grayslake*. In 1972 a developer named William Alter obtained the rights to develop six hundred acres of Lake County, Illinois. He planned a residential, commercial, and light industrial project that would have benefited lower-income people in the area. But he needed access to sewage facilities—and this he was systematically denied by local officials who, to put it bluntly, wanted to keep poor people and black people out. In January, after years of costly litigation, a jury found that officials of the governments of the wealthy village of Grayslake and of Lake County had indeed been guilty of egregious violations of both antitrust and civil rights laws. In accordance with the antitrust laws, the jury's award to Mr. Alter of \$9.8 million was trebled. While the successful jury verdict is still moving through the courts (where it should remain), the defendants have decided to take their case elsewhere—to Congress. Arguing that this award will bankrupt their county (not true—it's one of the richest counties in the country), the defendants have appealed to Congress to overrule the jury's decision. If Congress does not eliminate (or at least limit) retroactivity from the antitrust bill, it will simply be inviting others whom the lower courts have found guilty of violating the law to skip the judicial process and have Congress bail them out.

□ FIFTY YEARS AGO IN THE NEW REPUBLIC: "It has long been evident that there is a growing dissatisfaction with the quality of the material offered to American radio listeners. Not only is a large proportion of all time on the air devoted to blatant advertising, but even the so-called entertain-

ment aspects of the programs are frequently such that no civilized person can listen to them without acute nausea. This is often the result of a deliberate policy on the part of the advertiser, who finds that people of low intelligence respond most readily to his commercial appeal, and therefore baits his trap with material intentionally designed to reach only those who are not quite bright." ("For Better Broadcasting," *The Editors*, October 3, 1934.)

The candidates battle for the Jews.

SCARING UP VOTES

IT WOULD BE hard to think of two potential 1984 Presidential candidates with more consistent records of support for Israel or friendship for Jews than Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale. Yet Jewish voters are being told that a Mondale Administration might well be infected with anti-Semitism, and that Reagan in a second term might promote the isolation—if not the persecution—of Jews in American society. A nasty campaign is under way for the Jewish vote this year, partly because Jews are pulling loose from their traditional Democratic moorings and are becoming a key swing constituency in eight of the country's largest states. For the first time in sixty years, it's not clear which party will receive a majority of the Jewish vote.

In 1980, in fact, neither party won a majority, but that was a three-way race. A CBS exit poll indicated that Jimmy Carter won a small plurality of 45 percent to 39 percent for Reagan and 15 for John Anderson. Two different ABC polls put Carter just above 40 percent, Reagan just under 40, and Anderson at about 20. A recent poll by the American Jewish Committee indicates that Carter got 43.9 percent; Reagan, 38.7, and Anderson, 14.7. Whichever figure is accurate, historically speaking it was a disastrous showing for the Democratic candidate. Carter himself had polled 75 percent of the Jewish vote in 1976, and since 1928 Democrats had fallen under 70 percent only three times—in 1952 and 1956, when Adlai Stevenson received 64 percent and 60 percent, respectively, against Dwight Eisenhower, and in 1972, when George McGovern polled 65 percent against Richard Nixon. John F. Kennedy polled 82 percent of the Jewish vote in 1960 and Hubert Humphrey got 81 percent in 1968.

This year Mondale almost certainly will attract less support than his first mentor, Humphrey, but more than his second, Carter. The crucial question is, by how much? There are only about 4.5 million Jewish voters in the United States—5 to 6 percent of the usual Presidential turnout—but they are concentrated in the biggest electoral vote states. Ten percent of the Jewish vote in New York State represents about 160,000 votes, which happens to be just about the margin by which Reagan beat Carter there

in 1980. In Massachusetts, 10 percent represents just 2,200 votes, but that's also close to Reagan's victory margin. If Mondale can't carry New York or Massachusetts, he hasn't much chance of avoiding a Carteresque wipeout.

Jewish political observers agree practically unanimously that Reagan's elevation of the religious issue in Dallas damaged his chance to build support toward a majority. What isn't clear is whether the damage was temporary or permanent. Mondale's chief staff strategist on Jewish issues, David Ifshin, says confidently that Mondale will poll 65 percent in November. The White House's chief liaison man to the Jewish community, Marshall Breger, says that the Reagan campaign's goal is to hold Mondale to 60 percent and garner 40 percent for the President, which would equal Eisenhower's modern record. "But we'd like to reach 50 percent," he said, "to establish that this is now a two-party situation." Some Democrats say it could happen.

Pre-election polling of Jews is notoriously unreliable because samples are so small, but for what it is worth, the one poll to surface thus far—a Reagan survey conducted just before the Dallas convention—showed Mondale at 50 percent, Reagan at 37, and 13 percent undecided. The hunch of most observers is that Dallas dropped Reagan back to the low 30s and pushed Mondale close to 60, but the battle is just commencing.

THE BATTLE for Jewish support is being fought on four issues: the two traditional ones of support for Israel and domestic social-economic policy, and the two new and raucous ones of anti-Semitism and separation of church and state.

The Reagan campaign wants it thought that Mondale, despite his strong record of support for Israel as a Senator and his close personal and political association with the American Jewish community, will cave in through weakness of character to Jesse Jackson and confirmed *Arabisants* from the Carter State Department. The Reagan campaign has budgeted a record \$2 million to spread this word and the positive message that Reagan has been building "a strong America" that can help "a strong Israel." Instead of treating Jews as one of many ethnic "heritage groups," the Republican Party and the Reagan-Bush campaign have organized a permanent National Jewish Coalition, headed by Richard Fox, Reagan's 1980 Pennsylvania campaign chairman. The group has paid staff in eight states with its own headquarters, direct-mail operations, and phone banks that are supposed to contact 600,000 households before the election.

Meanwhile, despite warm praise of Reagan by Israel's former Prime Minister, Yitzhak Shamir, and Defense Minister, Moshe Arens, that could easily be mistaken for a Likud endorsement of the President, the Mondale campaign will try to convince Jews that Middle East policy in a second Reagan term will fall into the pro-Arab hands of Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger. Despite a total absence of anti-Jewish behavior in Reagan's past, Mondale will also charge that the "real Reagan" will go all-out in his second term to reintroduce prayer in schools, to ban abor-

tions, and to otherwise assist fundamentalist sects in the "Christianizing of America."

Mondale launched his attack on September 6 by charging before a B'nai B'rith audience in Washington that right-wing allies of the President "are reaching for government power to impose their own beliefs on other people." Mondale is scheduled to attack Reagan's Middle East policies in a radio broadcast on September 16, the sixth anniversary of the Camp David summit agreement, and before his newly organized National Leadership Group on September 17. The Democrats will spend about a quarter of the Republicans' total in wooing the Jewish community.

Just how negative this campaign may get before it's over was suggested when a Reagan-Bush campaign aide leaked word to the *New York Post* and several other publications that David Ifshin, as the 21-year-old President of the National Student Association, visited Hanoi in 1970 and urged American troops in Vietnam to quit fighting. The leak produced an exposé in the *Post* that now has White House aides worried about a potential backlash against Reaganite "dirty tricks." Ironically, Ifshin has metamorphosed into one of the least dovish of Mondale's advisers, especially on the Middle East and defense preparedness.

Another target of Reagan attack is Mondale's close foreign policy adviser, David Aaron, who served as deputy to Jimmy Carter's national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski. The Mondale campaign was sufficiently concerned about Aaron's vulnerability to send him off to Israel in the company of Ifshin and Morris Amitay, former executive director of the American Israel Public Affairs Commission, to assure officials there that he did not share Brzezinski's views on the Middle East, which are widely regarded in the Jewish community as anti-Israel. According to one prominent American Jewish leader, a Democrat, "anyone who served in the Carter White House will give the Jewish community great concern" because of the former Administration's perceived tilt toward the Palestinians. This extends even to Mondale himself, of whom this Jewish leader said, "Mondale was a team player. He may have argued privately for greater balance, as he claims, but he was their messenger to us, not our messenger to them."

That expresses Mondale's fundamental problem with Jews, as with millions of other Americans: he is not perceived as being strong enough to make his own good principles prevail when they are opposed by other forces. That is the nub of the anti-Semitism issue that the Reaganites are using against Mondale to such effect. "Jesse Jackson is not the issue," said Ben Waldman, executive director of the National Jewish Coalition for Reagan-Bush. "Jackson has always been anti-Semitic. What startled everybody was that Walter Mondale watched him express his anti-Semitism, and said nothing."

PRIVATELY, Jewish leaders say, Mondale has frequently given assurances that Jackson would have no influence in his campaign or Administration. He did so at one especially important three-hour meeting at his home in North Oaks, Minnesota, on August 12 that was attend-

ed by Lawrence Weinberg and Thomas Dine, the president and executive director of AIPAC; Kenneth Bialkin, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations in America; and Theodore Mann, president of the American Jewish Congress. "Less than a month later," said one of the participants, "what do I see in the paper but that Mondale is meeting privately with Jackson and then assigning him a major role in his voter registration strategy."

Mondale aides say that their man silenced the Jewish leaders with the argument that if he were to denounce Jackson, the effect would be to drive more blacks into the arms of extremists and anti-Semites. Yet Mondale has seemingly compromised his principles so much that nothing short of an outright break with Jackson will satisfy the Jewish community.

ONE WIDELY discussed incident occurred at the Democratic National Convention when top Mondale aides promised that a resolution condemning "hatred, bigotry, racism, and anti-Semitism" would be adopted by formal vote of the Democratic National Committee after the convention, rather than being voted on the convention floor, where Jackson supporters might have fought it. The resolution was not voted on by the committee, however. Mondale aides claim that an error in communications occurred, but it's widely believed in the Jewish community that Mondale again was afraid to confront Jackson.

As a Reagan strategy memo puts it, "Republicans should remind voters that support for Mondale and Ferraro entails some kind of accommodation of the concerns of Jesse Jackson, and they should press the Democrats to say what it would be. It is a scandal that Democrats include people hostile to Jews in their coalition, and they shouldn't be allowed to slip away from this dilemma."

Because black votes are so essential to Mondale's election hopes and because Jackson is deemed by the Mondale campaign to be so central to winning black votes, the "anti-Semitism" issue ought to cut deeper against Mondale than the "Christianizing" issue cuts against Reagan, especially since Reagan needs Jerry Falwell's support less than Mondale needs Jackson's. Still, the issue cuts. It brings back memories of Jews being pressured as children to say Christian prayers in school and raises fears that their children might have to do the same, even if Reagan says school prayers under his proposed constitutional amendment would be nondenominational and voluntary. A Jewish political expert who works in Washington but lives in rural Virginia says that "there are directories around, and TV commercials saying 'buy in these Christian stores.' What does that mean about stores that aren't 'Christian'? Paul Laxalt writes a letter addressed 'Dear Christian leader,' not, 'Dear religious leader.' I've got people coming by my house asking me to change my faith. The feeling among Jews is that they've lived most comfortably in societies that are open and free. Fundamentalism is actually a worse threat than anti-Semitism. Everybody agrees that that's out of bounds. We have plenty of allies

on that issue. This Christianizing business goes much deeper into the Jewish soul. It's a survival issue."

"What this conjures up among Jews," said Bernard Aronson, a Mondale adviser, "is: 'You're an outsider. You're a target. You don't belong.' Historically, when someone's decided Jews don't fit, they've tried to kill them or drive them out. It's happened enough times in the name of Christianity that Jews are very sensitive about it." According to Mark Siegel, former executive director of the Democratic National Committee, "In historical memory, what we're talking about here is Cossacks and the Inquisition. In the Inquisition, they didn't kill you for being a Jew. They asked you to convert, and if you didn't, then they killed you. Practically every one of our grandparents or parents fled some sort of persecution. Jews became furriers and jewelers precisely because they had skills they could take to another place when they were driven out. One of my relatives told me as a kid in New York not to put money in the bank, but buy some diamonds so that when I had to flee, I could. Not if, mind you—when."

It's widely felt in the Jewish community that Reagan had an opportunity to tranquilize the fundamentalist issue in his speech on September 6 to B'nai B'rith, but that he failed to do so adequately. White House strategists say he did not want to give added attention to a Mondale issue, so he merely affirmed his dedication to the principle of separation of church and state and went on to recount at length what he's done for U.S.-Israeli relations.

The Reagan record on the Middle East is mixed, in fact, much as the Carter-Mondale Administration's was. Carter produced the Camp David settlement, but he also hectored the Israelis about West Bank settlements, toyed with the ideas of an independent Palestinian state and a Geneva Conference on the Arab-Israeli dispute, and appointed two United Nations ambassadors who sympathized with the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Reagan has the advantage of having made his mistakes early—selling AWACS to Saudi Arabia, allowing aides to criticize Israel's destruction of Iraq's nuclear reactor and invasion of Lebanon, and promoting a peace plan that Israel rejected. In the last two years, though, Reagan has tilted strongly toward Israel on strategic cooperation and aid.

Reagan also has a not-so-secret weapon in U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick. When Israel's departing U.N. ambassador, Yehuda Blum, spoke to an American audience not long ago and was asked to compare U.S. policy at the U.N. under Carter and Reagan, he said, "We went from the worst relations we've ever had, which couldn't get worse, to the best relations that couldn't be better." If the Reagan campaign can get Jews to identify the Administration with Kirkpatrick and Mondale with Jesse Jackson and Andrew Young, then Reagan can win a Jewish majority for the Republicans for the first time since 1920. Walter Mondale, meanwhile, has got to remind Jews that he was a part of Camp David and to identify Reagan with the radical right.

MORTON KONDRACKÉ

20

decide whether it will remain autonomous or under civil power. It must establish the rights of trade unions. And it must consider guarantees of habeas corpus and mechanisms to protect citizens' rights.

Pressure exerted by the United States was decisive in bringing about the elections and in reducing the violations of human rights, and that pressure must continue if backsliding is to be prevented. Congress can do this by sending Guatemala the economic aid the Administration has requested, while holding off approving the proposed \$10 million in military assistance until after a constitution is adopted and a democratically elected government takes power. That would be a judicious way for the United States to give the government of Guatemala the praise it deserves for having taken a long first step, while making it clear that more such steps ought to be taken.

NOTEBOOK

□ IN THE COURSE OF LISTING Republican convention speakers in last week's editorial ("The Big Tune-Out," September 3), we mentioned the chairman of the National Black Republican Council, LeGree Daniels, and asked parenthetically, "can that really be his name?" The answer is still yes (our question was rhetorical), but we got one thing wrong. It really is *her* name.

□ TWENTY YEARS AGO IN THE NEW REPUBLIC: "The most notorious case in what is being called the 'harassment of the arts' in New York is that of Lenny Bruce. His present trial for obscenity climaxes a six-month lockout of Lower East Side art activities. Theaters have been padlocked, coffee shops driven out of business, summonses served, arrests made. In less than a decade, the *avant-garde* has transformed itself from a secret brotherhood of hipsters living dangerously in the deep shadows of hatred and fear of authority, to a band of beat 'saints' welcoming a show-down in the courts—where they expect to triumph either legally or morally through martyrdom. Lenny Bruce, who turned up in court looking like a bearded rabbi in the garb of the concentration camp, was once an impeccably groomed, stylishly accoutred Broadway entertainer who projected his satiric images of American society with typical professional aplomb. But when he found that his audiences were kissing the rod with which he flailed them, he insisted on drawing blood instead of pocketing his \$5,000 a week and going on with the show. He demanded, 'How many niggers we got here tonight?' or threatened to urinate on the audience. Eventually, he punched through the mask of the funny man and the satirist and emerged as a furious and sometimes frightening shaman, struggling, with the aid of lights, drums, chants and surreal fantasy, to exorcise the demons of the national conscience." ("The Trial Of Lenny Bruce," by Albert Goldman, September 12, 1964.)

WHITE HOUSE WATCH BEYOND REAGAN

Dallas

ACCORDING TO officials at the White House and the Reagan-Bush reelection committee, the takeover of the 1984 Republican platform by conservative firebrands is of little consequence. These officials say that they were too busy assuring that women got nearly half the seats at the convention (final count: 48.9 percent) to concern themselves with the makeup of the platform committee. Had they wanted to fight over taxes and Fed-bashing, the President's people say, they could have beaten the conservatives, but they preferred to avoid a bloodletting.

"Who reads platforms, anyway?" was a line repeated over and over by Reagan aides and Republican moderates who lost out on issue after platform issue to a coalition of supply-side true believers and social-issue conservatives the week before the Republican convention began in Dallas. Reagan aides said that, in spite of the platform's absolute ruling out of any tax increases, advocacy of still further massive tax cuts, and veiled threats to the independence of the Federal Reserve Board, the President was not bound by the document and would do what he thought was necessary in a second term.

This version of reality is sound as far as it goes, but it may well conceal a deeper message about the future of the Republican Party, both in a second Reagan term if there is one and in the race for the 1988 Presidential nomination. The fact is that the platform takeover was the product of a well-planned and executed year-long campaign by a committed group, led by Representative Jack Kemp of New York, which has specific policy goals to press upon the Reagan Administration and Congress during the next four years. More important, its members have the energy, conviction, and charisma—and the courage to challenge the establishment—that could make it the dominant force in the Republican Party in four years.

Right now, according to the conventional wisdom, Vice President George Bush is the front-runner for the 1988 Republican nomination. A poll by the *Dallas Morning News* showed Bush the favorite of 48 percent of 1984 delegates to 26 percent for Kemp, 16 percent for Senator Howard Baker, 5-plus percent each for Transportation Secretary Elizabeth Dole and her husband, Senator Robert Dole. Bush has obvious advantages for 1988 by being Vice President, but he has the disadvantage of being a moderate-conservative in a field crowded with the breed. Kemp, a mere Congressman from New York, is already running second, and he is the lone supply-sider among the top contenders.

"The future depends entirely on the model," says Jude Wanniski, the former *Wall Street Journal* editorial writer who is one of the key theologians in the Kemp-led "opportunity society" movement. Wanniski is talking about the

economic model of tax cuts (or, "economic freedom," as the movement puts it) which is supposed to stimulate such a burst of enterprise and investment as to pay off budget deficits, employ the jobless, and launch a new golden age of prosperity for both America and the rest of the world.

A second part of the model, which is not yet well understood by the public, is that prosperity would be guaranteed by a return to "sound money" whose value would be stabilized by being tied again to the price of gold. This glorious vision has obvious political appeal in the Republican Party because it begins by allowing rich people to keep more of their money. But it also contains a promise of hope—whether valid or empty—for non-rich younger people who are worried that the inflation-prone Democratic welfare state and recession-causing conventional Republican "austerity economics" offer them a future mired in stagnation.

The "supply-side" or "opportunity society" group thinks its model is working under President Reagan, but is constantly in danger of being torpedoed by conventional economic thinkers in the White House, the Treasury, the Congress, the Federal Reserve, and the press, who are so transfixed by the specters of inflation and budget deficits that they will raise taxes and/or cut down on money supply and choke off growth. So last August, according to Wanniski, some of the leading lights of the opportunity movement gathered beside Kemp's pool in Bethesda, Maryland, for a strategy session aimed at the 1984 Republican platform and the Congressional agenda for 1985-88.

REPORTEDLY THERE WAS some disagreement at the session over whether Kemp should introduce his own proposal for tax reform or join in a bipartisan campaign with Democratic Senator Bill Bradley and Representative Richard Gephardt, who are the authors of a plan to close tax loopholes and lower tax rates. Neoconservative philosopher Irving Kristol reportedly advocated the bipartisan course and also urged Kemp not to make a major issue of the gold standard on the grounds that the public would never understand it. Kristol was opposed by Wanniski and by Lewis Lehrman, the former New York gubernatorial candidate who may also run for President in 1988. Wanniski says he argued that monetary policy could be and should be made a popular, indeed "populist" issue.

Kemp followed that advice and introduced, with Senator Robert Kasten of Wisconsin, a "modified flat tax" proposal that is more regressive than Bradley-Gephardt, and also a gold-standard-resumption bill. These proposals formed the rally points for action on the platform and will be the focus of "opportunity society" agitation in 1985 and beyond.

Politically, the supply-siders joined with their sometime allies, the New Right conservatives, to see to it that their friends in various states were appointed to the platform committee. The chairmanship of the committee went to

Kemp's best friend in Congress, Representative Trent Lott of Mississippi, who conceivably could become a supply-side Presidential candidate. Lott picked Kasten to head the economic subcommittee. Kasten remained to be persuaded on the gold issue; this was accomplished in part by Kasten's Senate aide, Elise Paylin, and clinched by Representative Newt Gingrich of Georgia at another dinner at Kemp's home.

It is not true to say that the White House was unaware of what was happening. As reported by James McCartney of Knight-Ridder newspapers, Lott was a kind of double agent in the affair. He was in league with the Kemp forces to get the platform written their way, but he was also keeping the White House informed about what was happening. By the time the platform committee met, however, there was little that the White House could do to prevent supply-side-ism from dominating the proceedings. The best that Presidential representative Drew Lewis could do was to soften wording here and there.

THE PLATFORM completely rejects any tax increases, and calls for new tax cuts primarily targeted to the well-off, including expanded I.R.A.s, lower tax rates on interest income, indexation of capital assets, and elimination of double taxation of corporate dividends. It does not specifically endorse the gold standard, but mentions it—which the supply-siders count as a victory. It offers lower-income persons a higher personal exemption and a larger earned-income exclusion, but it also declares that the party "pledges to continue our efforts . . . to eliminate the incentive-destroying effects of graduated tax rates." President Reagan has been trying to hide the fact that his tax rates are regressive; the supply-siders exult in the fact. According to Gingrich, this is part of "the model." He admits that supply-side-ism is based on providing rewards for the rich. "There is no equitable model that works," he says. "But if the inequitable model can really provide jobs and an opportunity for the economy to grow and poor people to get out of poverty, will you be against it?"

Those are big "ifs," on which depend the future of supply-side Republicanism. Conventional economists believe the model can't work and will lead to disaster even in its limited Reaganite form. The next move for the supply-siders, assuming that Reagan is elected, is to get recalcitrant conventional thinkers out of the Reagan Administration, starting with Beryl Sprinkel, the Undersecretary of the Treasury for monetary affairs, whom the supply-siders accuse of pushing austerity measures both on the Administration and foreign countries.

Supply-siders claim they have few quarrels with top officials of the Administration, including those nemeses of the New Right, White House Chief of Staff James Baker and his deputy, Richard Darman. Baker and Darman are moderate to liberal on the social issues—abortion and the E.R.A.—that form the top of the New Right's agenda, but they are deemed educable by many supply-siders.

One leader of the movement said, "Baker and Darman

are comparatively young. They want to be influential in the party for years to come. If we are the wave of the future, they are not going to stand in our way." Some supply-siders note with pleasure that it was principally Darman who made life difficult for conventional economist Martin Feldstein, who as the President's chief economic adviser urged a program of tax increases.

The agenda of the opportunity gang after the election includes getting some of their own appointed to Feldstein's old job and to some other key subcabinet posts, and pressuring the Administration to adopt their policy prescriptions. If necessary, the group is prepared to lead resistance against any attempt by the Administration to increase taxes in violation of the platform.

AND WHAT ABOUT 1988? Kemp told me in an interview that he is not thinking about 1988. They all say that, of course, but there is something a little different about Kemp. Besides being ambitious for himself, he is ambitious for his idea. "My old football coach, Sid Gilman, used to tell me, 'You, as a quarterback, are supposed to go for first downs. If you do that, the touchdowns will take care of themselves.' That's what I try to do, rather than throwing bombs and getting into trouble." If this is any more than just a football story for Rotarians and reporters from the former star of the San Diego Chargers and Buffalo Bills, it means that the step-by-step fulfillment of Kemp's policy agenda is the best formula for getting Kemp to the Presidency, in contrast to the conventional politicians' approach of climbing from job to job.

George Bush and Walter Mondale are the quintessential ladder-climbers, and as one key Bush supporter noted, Bush does not have the Mondale advantage of being backed by institutions with the power of organized labor. Nor, this friend noted, does Bush have Kemp's charisma or the time to spend over the next four years personally meeting every third voter in New Hampshire.

Howard Baker, who does have the time now that he is retiring from the Senate, apparently does not plan to spend four straight years campaigning, but will work for the party and for 1986 Congressional candidates and then begin a Presidential effort—if he isn't appointed Secretary of State first—two years from now. Baker is the refreshing sort of politician who would like to be President and is better qualified than anyone, but doesn't live and die for it.

The prospects of both Baker and Senator Robert Dole seem to rest, like Kemp's, on the success of the supply-side model. If Reaganomics succeeds, a Baker adviser admitted, "Kemp will end up being the mainstream of the Republican Party. If it fails, you've tossed the ball in the air and it's anybody's chance." Baker and Dole, as the party's primary defenders of traditional Republican economics and doubters of supply-side-ism, presumably would be in the best position to catch the ball. Dole, though, may yet decide not to run, opening the way for his wife, who is also a moderate. Poor George Bush, with

all of his positional advantages, would seem to lose out either way—to Baker-Dole if Reaganism fails, to Kemp if it succeeds.

Kemp, too, says that "my future is linked to the ideas I've been talking about. . . . The person who's got the best chance for 1988 is not just the person who's closest to the center of gravity of the party, but to the truth, who can communicate these ideas and arouse support for them. Leadership is not telling people what you're against, but what you're for, the way Reagan did in 1980."

While George Bush has seniority going for him—and Republicans are an orderly group that tends to observe the rule of waiting in line—my guess is that the heart, gut, and pocketbook of the Republican Party is with Kemp.

MORTON KONDRACKÉ

Bias in the South African courts.

APARTHEID JUSTICE

LAST YEAR the State Department went out of its way to praise the South African judiciary for a ruling that appeared to advance the civil rights of that country's oppressed black majority. The official statement spoke of the values shared by South Africa and the United States, as exemplified by South Africa's system of an independent judiciary operating under the rule of law. This description summons up a splendid image of South African judges heroically enforcing justice despite prevailing attitudes, as U.S. federal judges did in the South during the 1950s and 1960s. To anyone familiar with South African courts that is a preposterous notion. Beyond the fact that the judges wear black robes, there is little resemblance to a system of justice as we know it.

Consider the following cases, which occurred during the last fifteen months. A white youth who battered a black man to death with karate sticks was ordered to serve 1,200 hours in prison on weekends. According to trial testimony, 20-year-old Ronnie Johannes Van Der Merwe was walking down the street with his girlfriend and bragged that he felt like killing a "houtkop" (blockhead)—a derogatory term some Afrikaners apply to blacks. He brutally beat to death the next black man he encountered. The judge said Van Der Merwe could be partially excused for his actions because he was upset that his parents were considering a divorce. The case received little notice in the press. "This is totally demeaning to us," a black journalist complained privately. "They treated the case as if someone had wantonly killed a dog."

In another case three young white men were tried for kicking a black man to death because they thought he might have been tampering with their car. They were

which are obliged to employ shills to press game show tickets on reluctant tourists, ought to understand.

Still, the "media event" theme was one the networks harped on in San Francisco, constantly noting as news the party's effort to manipulate them. On the third night of the Democratic convention, for example, NBC's Roger Mudd reported that the party had asked the networks to move up their coverage by a half-hour, but that the networks had refused. Mr. Mudd reported why the request had been made—so that George McGovern's speech, Gary Hart's address, and Walter Mondale's nomination could all occur during "prime time"—but not why it had been turned down, which was the other half of the story. There were no badgering interviews with network executives to get the answer to that one.

AN ABC PRODUCER named Jeff Gralnick, perhaps by way of justifying his network's disgraceful performance, has been going around saying that the conventions are "dinosaurs." Leave aside the fact that the dinosaur, due to its great size and extreme rarity, is a most interesting beast. Is it really the conventions that are stumbling toward extinction? Or is it the networks? The network executives' inability to understand that the conventions are interesting is a confession of massive stupidity and lack of imagination. A network that can interrupt a political convention to show a rerun of an old detective serial thereby announces that it is ready for the boneyard. The networks are begging to be replaced—by videocassette recorders for entertainment, and, for news, by smaller, more maneuverable, less cynical, less star-choked cable operations.

No story? With all due respect, and not much is due, that is not for network executives to decide. The convention of a major American political party is not just another news item to be covered or not as some executive sees fit. Like it or not, the televised political convention has become part of the unwritten Constitution of the United States. Do "only" half the people watch conventions? Well, only half the people vote in elections. No doubt both institutions have their problems, but abolition is not the answer for either of them.

No story? But that is a journalistic judgment. Somehow we suspect that the decision to miniaturize convention coverage is being made on other grounds. Cutting back will allow the networks to make a good deal more money; but that has always been the case. Why do the networks suddenly feel free to indulge themselves? Might it not have something to do with the *zeitgeist*—with the I've-got-mine moral atmosphere that has coincided with the rule of the Reagan Administration? We have a government that has glorified the market, sanctified greed, devalued social goods, and legitimized contempt for public life. Is it any wonder the networks are insolent? There is a rumor that ABC has decided to reduce its coverage of the Republicans to an hour a night. Perhaps the other networks will follow suit. If it happens, a wee chicken will have come home to roost.

NOTEBOOK

□ 'BIG BROTHER BLUES,' a collection of the very sharp and funny editorial cartoons of Ben Sargent, has been published by Texas Monthly Press. Mr. Sargent's cartoons appear in *The Austin American-Statesman*, and he also draws regularly for *TNR*. (See, for instance, page 15.) The book may be ordered direct from the publisher, for \$7.95 plus \$2 postage and handling, from P.O. Box 1569, Austin, Texas 78767.

□ FIFTEEN YEARS AGO IN THE NEW REPUBLIC: "Benares: Millions of Hindus come to this holy city to wash away their sins in the Ganges, where bodies of babies and ashes of adults are tossed into the waters as an act of final redemption. Now on the banks of the holy river, near the flickering pyres of the dead, a billboard intrudes upon the ancient rites: TWO OR THREE CHILDREN—THAT'S ENOUGH! The message at Benares is the battle cry of the heavily U.S.-backed birth-control program in India. Buses, matchboxes, trains, calendars, rickshaws, cinemas, shopping bags, carnival banners, and post offices give Orwellian repetition to the slogan. But in an underdeveloped country where religion and family traditions emphasize reproduction, where many girls marry at 14 and have two or three children by the age of 20, implementing birth control is more difficult than convincing the Pope." ("The Ford Condom In India's Future," by Zalin B. Grant, September 6&13, 1969.)

WHITE HOUSE WATCH

SMUG IN DALLAS

THE REAGANITES are heading for Dallas supremely confident of their ability to defeat Walter Mondale and Geraldine Ferraro. One might even say they are brash and overconfident, except that they have a lot to be confident about. Both public and private polls show the President leading Mondale by 14 or 15 points nationally, wiping out gains the Democrats made with their successful convention. State-by-state polling suggests that Reagan enjoys an overwhelming electoral vote advantage; one top Presidential adviser said it was "insurmountable." The Reaganites think Mondale has few issues going for him to begin with, and that he is botching his game strategically as well. They now think that, regardless of the outcome of the current controversy over Ferraro's finances, her selection will ultimately work to Reagan's advantage, gaining him more votes among traditionalist men than it helps the Democrats among women. Totting up all of Reagan's advantages, some of his aides are thinking not just about win-

ning the 270 electoral votes it takes to get elected, but of going for 400-plus—a "mandate."

Such cockiness has a few Republicans worried. A respected young moderate-conservative member of Congress said, for example, "When you look at the fundamental situation—how liberal Mondale and Ferraro are in relation to the country, how much strain there is between the South and the other elements of the Democratic coalition, how hard it is for Mondale to get to 270 even if he carries the North—you think that the Democratic ticket ought to be sinking like a rock. But then you look at Santa Barbara, and you think, 'Jesus, this thing is not right.' " The reference, of course, is to the vacation White House in California, where Reagan and Vice President George Bush seemed not to be able to tell the same story on whether there will be a tax increase in a second Reagan term, where the President had to be prodded by his wife into remembering that he was doing all he can to negotiate with Russia, and where Reagan made a joke about starting a nuclear war in the voice test for his weekly radio broadcast.

WHITE HOUSE aides have lots of comforting explanations about Santa Barbara. "It's August," was one line. "We always make our mistakes in August." A corollary explanation is that when he's on vacation, Reagan gets away from his top advisers, they also go on vacation, and White House communications break down, leading to "goofs." One White House aide said, "the public expects small mistakes from us. The only way Mondale is going to win is if there is a big mistake, a really big one."

This official does not think that Reagan has made any such mistake in the sparring with Mondale over deficits and taxes. To the contrary, the President's staff thinks that Mondale's vow to raise taxes next year works to Reagan's overall advantage. "All of our tactical bumbling can't undo his strategic mistake," one aide told me. "Instead of playing to our weakness, which is on the war-peace issue, Mondale tried to attack our strengths, which are that we have cut taxes and have produced an economic recovery and that we have a President who is believable. Mondale obviously is trying to raise the deficit issue, but deficits are an abstraction to people, while tax cuts and growth are realities."

Moreover, according to Reagan campaign aides, Republican polls indicate that 69 percent of American voters believe that Mondale would not use increased tax revenues to narrow the deficit, but to fund his promises to Democratic constituent groups. "Every time Mondale talks about taxes," one campaign official said, "it's a free ad for us." The Reagan plan is to use convention speeches and the Republican platform to make the point that Mondale favors higher taxes as a "first resort," while for Reagan they are a desperately to-be-avoided "last resort."

The Reagan campaign is convinced that Mondale has made a grave error in promising to write a plan to reduce the deficit by two-thirds by fiscal year 1989. Reagan advisers say that Mondale is almost duty-bound to base his plan

on the pessimistic deficit estimate of the Congressional Budget Office—\$265 billion—which means that he will have to come up with spending cuts and tax increases totaling nearly \$180 billion. How can he do so, and at the same time keep his promises not to touch entitlement programs, not to cut the defense budget deeply, not to increase corporate taxes, and not to raise taxes for the middle class? The Reaganites are certain he can't, and they already have worked out budget tables to show why not.

In addition to offering an opportunity to bash Mondale on fiscal policy, the Republican convention is designed to be a celebration of Reagan's claimed success in economics and foreign policy and an appeal to constituencies—notably, women and Hispanics—where the Reaganites think their man needs shoring up. The convention keynoter, U.S. Treasurer Katherine Ortega, is supposed to appeal to both constituencies at once and in very personal terms to make the larger point that hard work and individual effort pay off. United Nations Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, a registered Democrat, is supposed to demonstrate that women have been given more than token jobs in the Reagan Administration and to assert that Reagan foreign policy has made the world safer. The Reaganites hope that Kirkpatrick also will advance their strategy of attracting disaffected conservative Democrats and Jews.

Reagan convention planners have created other side-shows, such as a patriotic extravaganza borrowed from the Olympics and "1988 night" on Tuesday, when various future Presidential possibilities—Representative Jack Kemp, Senator Bob Dole, and Transportation Secretary Elizabeth Dole, his wife—will address the gathering. The high points of the convention, however, are to be President Reagan's acceptance speech and the eighteen-minute movie that introduces it, which was written by Phil Dusenberry, the advertising executive who created the "Pepsi Generation" campaign and who wrote the screenplay for the movie, *The Natural*. Both movie and speech are supposed to bring tears to the eyes of the audience—the Reagan-Bush campaign is fighting with the TV networks to get them to carry the film, as they did Senator Edward Kennedy's introduction of Walter Mondale—and to "make you proud to be an American," as one campaign official put it.

SOME Republicans worry that the party and the Administration are coasting along too much on style, symbolism, and the Reagan record, are avoiding substance and ideas, and are getting so complacent that it will seem that Reagan is not willing to fight for people's votes. My Congressional friend says, for example, that the President and the platform should flatly rule out any tax increase, even though Congress may force one on the President next year. "Too many of the President's advisers are worrying about policy in the next term," he said. "They forget that there's an election to be won first."

In fact, most of the Reagan people do think the election is all but won. "I can think of 27 different ways that we can win this election," said one top campaign official. "There

is not a single state that it's absolutely necessary for us to win. I don't see any way that Mondale can do it without carrying Illinois and Texas, and we're ahead in both places." In Texas, both Republican and Democratic polls reportedly show Reagan with a lead of 20 points.

Reagan campaign officials think that Mondale and Ferraro are committing strategic blunders by campaigning so intensively in the South and in California, violating the supposedly iron rule that candidates should shore up their own base first—in the Democrats' case, that would be the Northeast and Midwest—and then try to make gains elsewhere. At the moment, the "Sunbelt" states of the South and West seem far out of reach for Mondale and Ferraro. Reagan is leading in California by 17 points, according to Democratic polls, and Reagan's surveys showed Reagan leading in the South (including liberal Maryland) by a margin of 54 percent to 38 even after intensive campaign tours by Mondale and Ferraro. The CBS-*New York Times* poll showed Reagan leading in the South by 49 to 32 and in the West by 54 to 31.

The Reaganites also scoff at the idea that black registration drives and appearances by Jesse Jackson can win the South for Mondale. "The bottom line," one campaign official said, "is that we are pulling 69 percent of the white vote in the South and what you need to win is 63 or 64. Jesse Jackson has already registered almost all the blacks in the South that he's going to. His efforts to register more will only help us with whites. Last year Democrats were out-registering us 4 to 1 in the South, but this year we are out-registering them by 3 to 1 and even 7 to 1 in some states."

THE REAGANITES are so supremely confident, in the end, because of this electoral mathematics: if they carry California, Florida, and Texas; the rest of the West minus Oregon and Washington; the rest of the South minus West Virginia and Arkansas; and add the normally Republican states of Indiana, New Hampshire, Kansas, and Nebraska, they have 263 electoral votes. To go over the top, they have to carry only one of the five remaining large states—Michigan, Ohio, Illinois, Pennsylvania, New York—or even a smaller state like Missouri or New Jersey. Reagan is leading so handily all over the country—by 49 to 35 in the Midwest and 45 to 39 in the Northeast, according to CBS—that it's only natural for campaign officials to think about going for a "blow out" of 1980 proportions. So far, however, the dominant inclination in the campaign is to work on 270 first and see later in the campaign if bigger things are possible.

Besides the electoral math, the Reagan people are confident that Mondale-Ferraro can be portrayed as super-liberals based on their Congressional voting records, that Ferraro will strike working-class men as overly brassy even in her own home region, and that Ferraro's refusal to release her husband's income tax returns will damage the Democratic ticket's ability to reclaim the "traditional values" issue. They are also pleased to note that the President runs strongest with the youngest group of voters, the

18-to-30 cohort, suggesting that 1984 may start a long-term Republican era.

"We have two enemies," one of Reagan's top campaign aides said on his way to Dallas. "One is apathy and the other is complacency. There is always a banana peel out there, and there are more Democrats in this country than Republicans. We could have another 1948. We're conscious of it." Actually, the Reaganites seem conscious of overconfidence only when their euphoria is rudely interrupted by a question about overconfidence. In spite of all of Reagan's enormous advantages, he might be better off if he and his campaign were a little scared. Republican hubris may be the Democrats' best hope this year.

MORTON KONDRACKÉ

POST CARD

HYPE CITY

Dallas

TO GET to Fred Meyer's office at the top of the brand-new San Jacinto Tower, you take an Otis Elevonic 401 elevator with a digital message board (WHEN WAS DISNEYLAND OPENED? 29 YEARS AGO TODAY.) and a computerized voice system that tells you what floor you're on, and get off on the twenty-ninth floor. Then you turn a corner and take the penthouse elevator (sans voice and messages) to the thirty-second floor. You ascend to the thirty-third floor by a winding, blue-carpeted, green marble staircase set off by a mammoth crystal chandelier. From there through the windows you can see sundry new office towers sprouting like urban stalagmites around you. If Dorothy had taken a meeting with the Wizard in Dallas instead of Oz, this is how she would have arrived.

Meyer, president of the Tyler Corporation, is a skinny, intense, red-haired dynamo who serves as chairman of the Dallas County Republican Party and heads the Republican Host Committee for the Republican Convention. On the day we meet, Walter Mondale, Sister Boom Boom, and the rest are cavorting in San Francisco, and Meyer is reveling in the contrast with Dallas. "This is a great environment, a great milieu in which to display the values of President Reagan and the Republican Party," he says. "We are free-enterprise oriented. We are private-sector oriented. We are entrepreneurial oriented. The economy of the future is right here."

He takes a call about an upcoming fund-raiser, and goes on without missing a beat. "We're not going to be able to spend \$20-\$25 for unskilled and semi-skilled labor when there are a lot of people around the world who are willing to do those jobs for \$3, \$4, and \$5. This is economic reality.

MORTON KONDRACK

The Bush performance: show-stopper or sideshow?

He can lead cheers, nothing more

The polls and a majority of pundits have declared George Bush the winner of last week's vice presidential debate, but I sat through his performance cringing.

At times, Mr. Bush was frenetic, almost out of control. At other times his behavior was just weirdly inappropriate. And throughout, he was so sycophantic toward his boss, the president, as to be laughable.

Geraldine Ferraro's performance was far from perfect. She got unnecessarily testy when asked about her lack of experience with military matters and she distracted her audience by constantly looking down at her notes.

More important, the substance of her answers on Central America and U.S.-Soviet relations suggested that she has thoughtlessly adopted the reflexive "blame-America" bias that prevails among many House Democrats.

But, what are we to make of George Bush?

Besides having been a member of Congress, as Rep. Ferraro now is, he has been vice president, CIA director, and ambassador to the United Nations and China, and yet he utterly lacks gravitas, the seriousness of spirit that it takes to lead a great nation.

Instead of a world leader, Mr. Bush comes across like a Boy Scout, a cheerleader, or a water boy — someone who jumps to salute when someone else commands.

He seemed so unsure of his own inner strength in the debate that he

M488

kept hammering at points long after they had been made. His high-pitched voice and blurting-out of strange interjections ("Whine on, harvest moon!") made him sound frantic.

His patronizing condescension toward Rep. Ferraro and constant fawning praise for President Reagan made Mr. Bush seem, in the end, pathetic.

And it was also pathetic to see Mr. Bush, the Brahminic preppy from Yale, try to be one of the boys with a Longshoreman's union official on the day after the debate by joshing, "We tried to kick a little ass last night."

Aides to Rep. Ferraro suspect that Mr. Bush's remark was no accident, but the extension of a pattern begun when Mr. Bush's press secretary called Rep. Ferraro "bitchy" and Mr. Bush's wife called her an "I can't say it, but it rhymes with rich."

The Ferraro aides charge that Mr. Bush either is reacting to Rep. Ferraro's being a woman, to her being an Italian-American, or to her being of less lofty socioeconomic origins than Mr. Bush. "In any event," one aide said, "the Bush attitude is 'How dare she oppose us?'"

Another theory is that Mr. Bush is indulging in displays of macho to build up his image for the 1988 Republican presidential race against Rep. Jack Kemp, a former professional football quarterback.

Whichever is correct, Mr. Bush does not come out of all this as inspiring confidence or demonstrating the self-confidence it takes to lead.

In the debate, too, he seemed so lacking in confidence in his ability to make points forcefully that he began attributing false motives to the Democrats.

One example was the allegation that Walter Mondale somehow had slurred the Secret Service, the people who "saved the life of the president," when in fact, Mr. Mondale only said that Mr. Bush pays a lower tax rate than Mr. Bush's chauffeur, who is a Secret Service man.

An even more Nixonian trick was Mr. Bush's statement that "for

somebody to suggest, as our two opponents have, that these men (the 265 servicemen killed in Lebanon) died in shame, they better not tell the parents of those Marines."

Rep. Ferraro responded by giving Mr. Bush the spanking he deserved.

"No one has ever said that those young men who were killed through the negligence of this administration ... died in shame," she said. "No one who has a child, a son, who's 19 or 20, would ever say that about the loss of anybody else's child."

Mr. Bush also accused Rep. Ferraro of opposing all covert CIA operations, though in fact she opposes (mistakenly, I think) only aid to anti-government guerrillas in Nicaragua.

These low blows and the rest of Mr. Bush's performance suggest that he rattles under pressure.

He couldn't calmly praise Mr. Reagan's record. Instead, he heaped it on, as in the statement on Lebanon: "I don't think you can go assigning blame. The president, of course, is the best I've ever seen at accepting that. He's been wonderful about it in absolutely everything that happens."

And then there was Mr. Bush talking about the president meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko: "I wish everybody could have seen that one ... excellent, right on top of that subject matter and I'll bet Gromyko went back to the Soviet Union saying, 'Hey, listen, this president is calling the shots, we'd better move.'"

The conventional wisdom about Mr. Bush's performance is that it means nothing important for 1984, but only for 1988. I disagree. In the presidential debate with Walter Mondale, Mr. Reagan showed signs of age, intimations of mortality.

Ghoulish though it may be to think about, the fact is that Mr. Bush has to be looked at as someone who might be president before 1988.

Since the polls indicate that the Republicans still are likely to win the election, Mr. Bush's debate performance makes me want to pray for President Reagan's continued good health.

Social Security realities

It's nice to have the Democrats back in the presidential race, but why do they have to start their comeback by scaring old people over Social Security?

Walter Mondale beat the socks off President Reagan in their TV debate by demonstrating personal strength and forward-looking vision.

But the very next day, he and other Democrats reverted to that tired charge that Mr. Reagan was going to cut Social Security benefits to balance the budget.

Mr. Reagan promised unequivocally that he would not cut benefits for any current recipients, but this wasn't enough for the Democrats.

What about future recipients, they demanded to know? And the White House, having been burned before over Social Security, immediately caved under pressure, issuing a statement that future benefits would not be cut either.

The Reagan administration deserved the battering it got over Social Security in the 1982 congressional elections, for repealing minimum benefits for those with short work histories, trying to eliminate benefits for orphans and foster families, and for abruptly springing on the public a plan to reduce early-retirement benefits.

Democrats like to foster the myth that old people in America are poor.

But the Democrats know full well that the president and congressional leaders reached a fair compromise in 1983 to keep the Social Security system solvent, and that Mr. Reagan did not push for reduction of benefits to current recipients.

But now, if federal deficits are ever going to be brought under control, some adjustment of middle-class entitlement programs is going to have to be made, and Social Security is going to be affected.

Contrary to assertions by the Democrats, present old-age recipients are not going to be cut under anybody's proposal, but future benefits do need to be altered.

If they are not, then cuts will have to be imposed on so-called "means-test programs" — which are aimed at the poor. This has been done both by President Reagan and Democrats in Congress during the past four years.

The two sides also collaborated in keeping middle-class programs basically intact.

Democrats like to foster the myth that old people in America are poor, but the fact is that their average income is equal to that of the rest of society.

Older people represent about 13 percent of the population, but payments to them and programs for them account for 27 percent of the federal budget. And because of their political clout, their programs grow even faster than inflation.

The fiction also persists that old people are merely getting out of Social Security what they put into it, but the truth is that the average single worker gets back 2.5 times his input, and a married couple gets back even more.

Middle-class entitlements, including Social Security, Medicare, federal retirement, and farm programs, have been growing far faster than any part of the federal budget over the last 20 years.

In 1970, these programs accounted for a third of all federal spending. In 1980, they were half, and Social Security and Medicare alone accounted for a quarter of the total.

Food stamps and Aid to Families with Dependent Children accounted for about 2.5 percent of federal spending, yet those poor-people's programs bore the brunt of Reagan-era cuts.

So, what kind of changes should there be in entitlements? The Brookings Institution, in its book *Economic Choices 1984*, recommends a one-year freeze on cost-of-living adjustments as long as the inflation rate is below 5 percent, and a similar freeze on Medicare physicians' fees.

This would save \$15 billion in 1985, and would create a lower base for determining future benefit levels, saving increasing amounts as years went on.

As part of the bipartisan 1983 compromise, the full-benefit retirement level will be gradually raised from 65 to 67, beginning in the year 2000.

More money could be saved either by speeding up the transition process, or by extending the retirement age to 68 or 69 in years beyond 2000, when life expectancy and the ability to be productive will be even greater than they are today.

Medicare can be made cheaper by making it more like major-medical private insurance programs, and by requiring wealthier patients to pay a greater share of their own initial medical expenses than do poor people.

Social Security should never become a "welfare" program limited to the poor — it would lose its political support if that happened — but it should be possible to make the Social Security tax system more progressive than it is now, and to raise more money with it.

Social Security deserves to be an issue in the 1984 campaign, with both parties offering plans to revise it for the good of the country. Instead, it has become a political football, and the public interest is getting kicked.

10-11-84

To get to the bottom line right at the top, I thought Walter Mondale won the presidential debate by a mile, but he's still got a long way to go to win the election.

To change the sports image, Mr. Mondale scored no knockout, to be sure, but if you count each of the panelists' series of questions as a round, and add the candidates' closing statements as another, I give Mr. Mondale seven rounds, President Reagan one, and call one round a tie.

The round Mr. Reagan won was the fourth, during which the president said he promised four years ago to control inflation, increase employment and foster excellence in education.

"All I said I'd do, I've done," he said. Polls show that whopping majorities of Americans agree.

Mr. Reagan tried to use his closing statement to remind people about his record, his reputation as a leader and the good feelings Americans have about their country. But he blew it.

The president seemed unable to remember his lines, and for the first time in his presidency he made people think there might be something to the "age issue."

Mr. Mondale, by contrast, was eloquent, good-humored, trenchant and forward-looking. He said that the big issue of the campaign is not only "Are you better off?" but "Will we be better off? Will our children be better off?"

The round Mr. Reagan won was the fourth, during which the president said he promised four years ago to control inflation, increase employment, and foster excellence in education.

Mr. Mondale, by contrast, was

Morton Kondracke is executive editor of The New Republic and a nationally syndicated columnist.

Who is the Great Communicator now?

eloquent, good-humored, trenchant, and forward-looking. He said that the big issue of the campaign is not only "Are you better off?" but "Will we be better off? Will our children be better off?"



was on top of facts and figures, but appeared ill at ease with the data, as though reciting badly memorized lines from 3-by-5 cards he wasn't allowed to bring with him.

By contrast, Mr. Mondale avoided his old problem of getting bogged down in facts and missing over-arching themes.

Mr. Mondale operated Sunday night on the level of values that people can understand — for example, by referring to budget deficits not as an accountant's problem, but as "a fantastic burden of debt we've loaded on our children."

I give Mr. Mondale seven rounds, President Reagan one, and call one round a tie.

It was Mr. Mondale, not Mr. Reagan, who talked to the country about the future. Mr. Reagan seemed mired in the past, repeatedly flogging that dead horse, "Carter-Mondale," instead of presenting his own hopes and plans for the future.

When Mr. Reagan retreated to the tried-and-true "there you go again" gambit that worked in the 1980 debate, Mr. Mondale was ready for him.

Breaking the debate ground rules, Mr. Mondale turned to speak directly to Mr. Reagan and demanded to know if he remembered that he'd promised in 1980 not to cut Medicare — and then proceeded to do so.

Mr. Reagan looked like a guilty hound, and compounded his problem by suggesting in his response that to solve Medicare's continuing financial problems, he might cut benefits some more.



Advance advice to Mr. Mondale was that he not challenge Mr. Reagan on his strong point — "leadership" — but Mr. Mondale did so anyway, and effectively.

He broke the rules again by bringing up a foreign-policy topic — the three bombings of U.S. facili-

ties in Lebanon — to show that Mr. Reagan wasn't on top of his job.

Mr. Reagan didn't rebut Mr. Mondale's point on Lebanon — he hardly could — but lamely claimed he believed in appointing good people and letting them do their jobs. That's not leadership.

Mr. Mondale showed remarkable ability to impose his frame of reference on the debate, even on the sticky issues of abortion and religion.

He made it seem that abortions are only performed in cases of rape and incest. He made it seem that politicians would be writing school prayers and that Jerry Falwell would appoint Supreme Court justices in a Reagan second term.

Mr. Reagan, on the defensive, retreated into vagueness, which couldn't satisfy either libertarian young voters or the religious right.

Polls taken after the debate indicate that the public thought Mr. Mondale had won, but there's no sign a majority is about to vote for him on the basis of one performance.

My guess, though, is that Mr. Mondale surprised people with his deftness and strength, and that they may be prepared to give him a second listen.

It's vital now that Mr. Mondale apply the lessons of his successful debate performance to the campaign.

He's got to talk about values, growth and the future. He stole the "Olympic spirit" theme from Mr. Reagan by showing how civil-rights laws had enhanced opportunities for black and women athletes.

The more Mr. Mondale can appropriate the Reagan campaign's optimism and sense of uplift, the closer this race will become.

Can Mr. Mondale win this thing, coming from so far behind? It will be hard, but then, whoever thought that he could clobber the Great Communicator on television?

I'm convinced that politics is an extension of the schoolyard. If you don't believe it, look at the 1984 presidential campaign.

Walter Mondale is a preacher's son, and every time his family moved to a new town, he had to prove he wasn't a sissy.

He fought, he played football, but still the voters whisper to each other that he's a "wimp," and it's one of the major reasons he's far behind Ronald Reagan.

President Reagan comes across as self-possessed, sure enough of his strength and masculinity that he doesn't have to prove anything to anybody.

He's the kid the boys picked first for baseball, the girls giggled about, and everybody elected class president.

The schoolyard is a cruel, unfair place, where people get judged far too much on looks and athletic ability, but it's also where character gets formed and tested. Some kids become bullies; others become cowards, goody-goody, cheats, or clowns. Others become leaders.

Mr. Reagan is winning this election above all because he's perceived as a leader and Mr. Mondale isn't. Polls show that both men and women believe this, but boys more so than girls.

Even in this age of sexual equality, leadership is involved with masculinity, both in politics and the schoolyard.

What kids and grown-ups expect of a leader is that he stand up to bullies and be able to fight for "what's right." If he can get bad boys to back off without a scrap, so much the better.

Mr. Reagan comes across as somebody who will "stand up" — for America, against the Russians and Qaddafi, and also to Congress and our allies. Mr. Mondale doesn't.

Morton Kondracke is executive editor of The New Republic and a nationally syndicated columnist.

Schoolyard view of the campaign



Mr. Mondale, despite his real-life schoolyard experience, comes off as a kid who can only talk, never administer a punch in the nose.

That quality just might keep him and us from getting killed if Mr. Mondale becomes president, but it also condemns Mr. Mondale to be seen as forever giving in to somebody — the Soviets, the labor unions, Jesse Jackson, the women's movement, homosexuals.

Nominating Geraldine Ferraro, though attention-getting, may prove to have been a big political mistake for Mr. Mondale.

There is no reason — in grown-up reality — why a woman can't be an effective national leader, and Rep. Ferraro's nomination is a first step toward a woman being president.

The sad reality this year, however, is that Rep. Ferraro is not seen as "tough enough" for the job, and Mr. Mondale is widely believed to



have picked her under duress.

Another problem for Mr. Mondale is that he epitomizes the current confusion about the roles men are supposed to play vis-a-vis women in this society. Mr. Reagan, even if he is old-fashioned about it, seems confident in his role.

Women also don't seem sure about what they want modern men to be. Brutish macho clearly is out, but what's in? Alan Alda expresses one model — that of the sensitive gentleman who is as willing to be led by women as to lead.

Harrison Ford (Indiana Jones) is an alternative — the "fox" who leads, protects women from danger, and also makes their lives exciting.

Mr. Mondale comes across as an Alda type. In his filmed biography shown at the Democratic National Convention, Mr. Mondale was pictured in an apron cooking fish and

taking it for approval to his daughter.

Mr. Reagan, in the movie shown at the Republican convention, was pictured riding a horse, wielding a chain saw, and basking in his wife's wide-eyed adoration.

As a candidate for president, Mr. Reagan is better than a Harrison Ford, who's a bit reckless. Mr. Reagan is an aged fox. He knows all the tricks, but now is courtly toward women — protective, safe, reassuring.

If women aren't sure what they want men to be, modern men are even more confused, and I think they are angry about the conflicting messages society is sending. Mr. Mondale is the victim and Mr. Reagan has become the role model.

Probably sex appeal and subliminal symbolism shouldn't be part of politics. Ideally, we should decide rationally who to elect — on the basis of the candidates' records and policy proposals.

To the extent that subconscious memories of the schoolyard remain a vital part of politics, however, the whole Democratic Party is at a disadvantage right now.

It stands for feminism and also "feminine" political virtues — compassion and conciliation — at a time when the country seems to favor competition and combativeness, male characteristics that are the stock-in-trade of the Republicans.

But people and political fashions change. There is a mean and macho streak in the GOP — exemplified by Jesse Helms — and a strong and self-assured core in the Democratic Party, exemplified by Franklin D. Roosevelt and Mario Cuomo.

It could happen one of these days that the Republicans could nominate a bully and the Democrats, a leader. It could also happen that adults could grow up and out of their schoolyard mentality. That, however, I doubt.

MORTON KONDRACKÉ

Qaddafi and the Beirut bombing

The scene is the People's Hall, Tripoli, Libya. The date is March 2, 1984. The occasion is the seventh anniversary of the Libyan revolution.

The speaker is (who else) Col. Muammar Qaddafi, ruler of Libya and a linchpin of the world terrorist network. His words that day, as broadcast by Radio Tripoli, are important reading for those who think the latest bombing of a U.S. Embassy was "senseless violence."

War has been declared on the United States, and bombings of our Marine barracks and embassy buildings are a part of it.

SSSI
SS68

as a Reagan administration spokesman put it.

Before getting to his plans for America, Col. Qaddafi has some words for his own people, specifically about popular resistance to his plans to draft women into the army.

This, he says, is the work of "reactionary forces in Libya. This group (the reactionaries) is very dirty. There is no point in it living on earth. It drinks, it eats, and does not produce. It is an agent for America. It constitutes a fifth column for America and for the Israelis."

The resistance to military service for women is the only concrete internal trouble that Col. Qaddafi refers to, but it's known now

Morton Kondracke is executive editor of The New Republic and a nationally syndicated columnist.

that there also has been violent resistance to his rule, which has been put down ruthlessly.

"It is the task of the revolutionary forces," he says, "to settle accounts with the reactionary class." In Libya, this is accomplished by public hangings. Abroad, Col. Qaddafi's opponents are assassinated.

Col. Qaddafi makes it clear in this speech that he is bent on the destruction of other than Libyan "reactionaries," specifically Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and President Gaafar Nimeiri of the Sudan.

"They are the agents of America. The ones who enter Camp David and those who welcome Mubarak, who is head-to-toe sinking in treason. They entered the list of (Anwar) Sadat, the camp of shame, which must be liquidated either individually or in the form of a revolution against their regime," Col. Qaddafi says.

Most of the terrorist leaders of the world profess to believe in peace; Col. Qaddafi, possibly because he burns with such intense fanaticism, comes right out and says what he's up to. We should listen closely to him.

In this remarkable speech, he goes on to talk about Lebanon, where he says the "revolutionary forces" have won a great victory.

"The defeat which the Americans suffered in Lebanon," he says, "is not less than its defeat in Vietnam."

"The (battleship) New Jersey, the most powerful vessel in the world, was used. The Marines, who can land and occupy any place in the world — they were dealt a powerful blow by the blowing up of the U.S. and French headquarters, and were forced to leave."

Col. Qaddafi goes on to gloat over the imminent abrogation (which occurred three days later) of the Lebanese government's May 17, 1983, disengagement agreement with Israel and looks forward to more victories.

"If we are able — we the revolutionary forces, the Libyans, the steadfast Syrians, and the Palestinian resistance — to overthrow the May 17 agreement, it would mean that we have the power to overthrow the Camp David agreement," by the "liberation" of Egypt.

And beyond that, he says, the transcript suggesting he has put himself and his audience into a kind of frenzy, "we must force America to fight on 100 fronts all over the earth. We must force it to fight in Lebanon, in Chad, in Sudan, and to fight in El Salvador."

"We must escalate the people's liberation war in Somalia so that we may force America to fight there," and he says the same should happen in Namibia, Latin America and South Africa.

"We must wage a people's war of liberation which America cannot face up to and thus make the United States realize that it is proceeding along a road harmful to America itself so that reason will return to this maniac power."

"I say this so that Reagan, the chief, may hear." He is stopped by applause. "We have defeated him in Lebanon and we are celebrating our victory over him. We have forced him to flee," he declares, and his crowd bursts into chants.

The clear message in all this is that war has been declared on the United States, and bombings of our Marine barracks and embassy buildings are a part of it.

We would be foolish to take up Col. Qaddafi's challenge and commit troops to fronts, but we do have to rally our allies to help resist the advance of Col. Qaddafi-style barbarism in the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America.

If we want to avoid committing our own soldiers, we are going to have to spend money, provide military assistance, maneuver politically and use covert action very skillfully. We haven't been doing that up to now.

....

I erroneously reported in a recent column that copies of the New Testament were included in packets of materials provided to delegates of the Republican National Convention, setting off allegations in the Jewish community that the Republican Party was bent on the "Christianizing of America."

In fact, GOP officials stopped an attempt to put the books into the packets. News stories written about the attempt, plus other events at the convention, however, have weakened President Reagan's strength among Jewish voters, as I reported. I regret the error, but stand by the main points of the column.

MORTON KONDRACKÉ

SSS1

Beirut bombing culpability

If the term "executive responsibility" means anything at all any more, Ronald Reagan is to blame for letting terrorists bomb us in Beirut for a third time.

Mr. Reagan, as everyone knows, is not a detail-man president like Jimmy Carter was. He's a board-chairman president who makes high policy and lets others administer the details.

But after the American Embassy in Beirut got car-bombed in April 1983, even a board chairman should have commanded his underlings to see to it that U.S. installations were secure.

After 241 U.S. servicemen were killed in their sleep at a woefully insecure barracks last October, any executive worth his salary would have made it his business to see that this never happened again.

Last week's bombing of the new embassy makes three, and President Reagan and his people simply can't toss it off with a shrug or a joke.

This is one time, when Mr. Reagan's Teflon coating has taken a deep scratch, and his political opposition, including Walter Mondale and Democrats in Congress, has every right to raise the roof and demand investigations of possible nonfeasance.

All the criticism that Mr. Carter sustained for the Iran hostage crisis, Mr. Reagan deserves at least in triplicate for his Beirut botching.

The Reagan record is worse than Mr. Carter's not only because Mr. Reagan let this happen three times, but because American vulnerability to attack is better understood than it was in 1979 and because the Reagan administration has talked so tough about combating terrorism.

This June, in one of its periodic verbal binges on the subject, the administration vowed to mobilize the allies against terrorist nations and Secretary of State George Shultz indicated that the United States might make pre-emptive strikes at terrorist groups.

In fact, it seems like talk only. The United States did a little naval shelling and aerial strafing after the Marine barracks bombing, but there has been no further punishment.

There is a problem of whom to hit. The administration acted very certain that Iran and Syria were responsible for killing the Marines — though nothing was ever done to either country — but now the administration is acting as though no one knows anything about the

group claiming credit for the latest embassy bombing, the Islamic Jihad.

I find it difficult to recommend that the United States adopt a policy of all-out war against the world's terrorist network (which would involve assassinations and bombings) or even the Israeli policy of reprisals against any group claiming credit for terrorist attacks and against countries that offer sanctuary to terrorists.

But, if the United States is not going to retaliate violently, we ought to stop blustering about how we might. In Beirut, our bluff has been called.

What should we do? Well, it seems too obvious to say, but experience makes it necessary: security has got to be improved.

The president and his subordinates are correct in saying that it's hard to prevent attacks by people who are willing to give their own lives in an attack, but we certainly can make things more difficult for them.

We protect the White House adequately — or, at least, I hope we do — and we can use the same steel doors, concrete blocks, electronic sensors and (if necessary) air-to-ground missiles for U.S. embassies located in war zones.

The American Embassy in Beirut was hit this time before more adequate security devices could be installed, but in the period before the White House and the U.S. Capitol got their full complement of barriers, cement trucks were used to provide protection. No such effort was made in Beirut.

If necessary, U.S. embassies could be constructed underground

— in whole or in part — and it could be made all but impossible to drive within a certain distance of them.

Second, we need a beef-up of our human intelligence-gathering — that is, spy — capability so that we know what terror groups are up to.

It may be impossible to penetrate the Islamic Jihad, but it oughtn't be impossible to penetrate the Syrian, Libyan, and Iranian intelligence services by bribing or otherwise "turning" key officials.

To recruit such spies, our CIA agents can't operate under thin U.S. diplomatic cover, as they often do. They may have to pretend not even to be American.

If we presently don't have enough CIA personnel who are up to the task, there are wily, daring undercover people now at work fighting narcotics trafficking. Why shouldn't we get some of them into the anti-terrorist effort?

And third, the United States ought to really organize a campaign of political isolation against countries which encourage terrorism.

Libya is the obvious prime candidate, Col. Muammar Qaddafi having bragged defiantly in a recent speech about how the U.S. Marines had been forced out of Lebanon by the combined strength of his country, Iran, Syria, the Palestine Liberation Organization, and various Lebanese militias.

Col. Qaddafi, whose regime is a major headquarters for terrorism and instability in the Middle East, ought to be cut off from trade and diplomatic contact with all civilized countries and ought to be denounced by them routinely in all international forums.

It's time, in short, for the Reagan administration to stop just talking about terrorism and begin doing something about it.

MORTON M400
KONDRACKE

The first debate of '88 race

The first debate of the 1988 Democratic primaries has been held, long-distance. The subject was religion and the winner, by a hair, was New York Gov. Mario Cuomo.

Mr. Cuomo and Sen. Edward Kennedy deserve equal points for urgency and eloquence in their separate speeches last week, but I thought Mr. Cuomo won out in the category of intellectual sophistication.

Mr. Kennedy argued that churches can speak out on any subject, but should attempt to "harness government" behind their views only on public questions such as nuclear and economic policy. On private matters such as abortion, he said, churches should stick to personal persuasion.

That seems to me a flawed argument, since the government constantly deals with private behavior, as in the case of laws against wife-beating and murder. Churches surely have a right to influence such policies.

Mr. Cuomo's case was more compelling — that a public official has responsibilities to enforce the law and defend the Constitution that transcend his responsibilities as a church member.

There's little doubt that the Cuomo and Kennedy staffs feel a sense of rivalry about 1988 already.

For some time, some bright theorists about practical politics in both parties — especially Patrick Cadell for the Democrats and Lee Atwater and Bob Teeter for the Republicans — have been prophesying that the main focus of the 1988 presidential contest was likely to be on social issues rather than on traditional questions of economics or foreign policy.

Instead of being a race between liberals and conservatives, they've said, the 1988 contest might be between "libertarians" and "pop-

ulists" — those who believe that people should "do their own thing" in the areas of morality and religion, and those who want government to tell people what to do.

Possibly because the 1984 race seems all but over already, or possibly because everything in this society becomes a reality the minute somebody can conceive of it, it seems that the 1988 issues are becoming central already.

This year's election was supposed to be about fairness, arms control, Central America, and taxes, but the subject that's got everyone's attention is religion.

And even though they started making religion the hot issue of 1984, the 1984 candidates — Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale — aren't nearly as interesting to listen to on the subject as the 1988 candidates, Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Cuomo.

Rep. Geraldine Ferraro, a long-shot for 1988, is on the libertarian Democrat side of this issue, too, but she has yet to issue a major rhetorical statement on the subject.

One reason that the 1988 candidates are so much more interesting than the 1984 ones is that they are Catholics and are faced with the necessity of juggling their obligations as children of the church with their politics.

The 1984 candidates, Mr. Mondale and Mr. Reagan, are both Protestants. Their religious tradition allows them to think and say whatever they want, independent of any hierarchy. That's part of what Protestantism is all about.

In a way they can't acknowledge, Mr. Cuomo, Mr. Kennedy, and Mrs. Ferraro are actually acting like Protestants, too — saying that they will follow the teachings of their church so far, but no farther.

Mrs. Ferraro stated the point quite simply in the letter she co-signed for the group "Catholics for Free Choice" in 1982.

"The Catholic position on abortion is not monolithic," the letter said. "There can be a range of personal and political responses to the issue."

Archbishop John J. O'Connor of New York made it quite clear that the "Catholic position" is not open to interpretation because it is what the church says it is, not what a lay Catholic may wish it were.

Lay Catholics have been privately ignoring the hierarchy on birth control for years — acting like Protestants, while still going to church. Now Catholic political leaders, the Democrats anyway, are going public with their apostasy.

All of the Roman Catholic libertarians have a terrible logical problem with the abortion issue that none of them has yet faced, and perhaps none will be able to face.

It is that the church holds abortion to be the equivalent of murder, and they as public officials are not only condoning it, but subsidizing it. How can they do so?

The probable truth is that they do not really believe abortion has the same moral gravity as murder. Mr. Cuomo acts as governor in a very different way about the death penalty than about abortion — speaking against it, vetoing it, and taking political risks to oppose it.

Fascinating as the 1988 debate has been so far — more so than the 1984 campaign, by miles — there's something missing. It's time to hear from the Republicans — George Bush for the libertarians, Jack Kemp for the populists.

There's a 'Reagan Doctrine' Awaiting Only His Imprimatur

Running ahead of Walter Mondale by 20 points or more, and with the Soviet Union suddenly willing to talk to him, President Reagan doesn't need any political advice from me, but I have some anyway.

If Mr. Reagan is trying just to win this election, perhaps he is going about it in the right way—playing safe, waving the flag and saying nothing more interesting and challenging than that the sunshine is very merry.

However, if he intends to try for a mandate—the kind of substantial victory that

get them. And he says he does not intend to use U.S. troops in Central America, but we need to know how it's possible to stop the spread of communism without them.

For advice on a Reagan Doctrine speech, the president might well consult his United Nations ambassador, Jeane Kirkpatrick, who has been thinking about the subject. She says she might write a book about it when she goes back to academia, but the nation would be better off if the president appropriated her ideas first.

The essence of this proposed doctrine is that the U.S. should be willing to use all its power short of direct U.S. military intervention in order to make such interventions unnecessary.

Mrs. Kirkpatrick would not publicly rule out the use of force—she believes in the deterrent value of never saying "never." But she wants Americans and people in other countries to stop expecting—some fearing, others hoping—that the U.S. will take responsibility for solving everyone's security problems.

In an interview the other day, she said she thinks it is misleading for people to think that this is a bipolar world divided between two symmetrical "superpowers."

"This conception," she said, "encourages other countries to imagine that if they are the target of insurgent forces sponsored by the Soviet Union, it's our responsibility to respond, as opposed to they themselves."

"The concept can lead other countries to escapist thinking about their own problems."

The proper way to think about the Soviets, she says, is as an empire that devotes all the resources of itself and its subject peoples to the task of expanding the empire. In a recent speech, she said: "We have seen this process so often, watched its success so often, that anyone who is interested can understand their methods if they choose: cultivation of insurgency,

provocation of repression, denial of complicity, suggestion always that their own violence is purely internal in its origin, merciless criticism of the victim, a concerted attack on anyone who seeks to aid the victim, Soviet weapons, Libyan planes, Cuban advisers, Palestinian international terrorists, dead civilians, disrupted economies, disinformation and intimidation."

The U.S. is "not an empire locked in a death struggle with them. We are not two scorpions in a bottle," she said in the interview. The key difference is that the U.S. has allies that decide voluntarily whether they want us to cooperate with them.

Some of these allies, and also some American officials, she said, believe it's America's responsibility to dominate the alliances and friendship pacts of which we're a part.

"That's out of date and inappropriate," she said. "Strategic cooperation should mean just that—that we're willing to help, but not dominate."

"Anytime we seem to dominate the response to aggression in any region, we demoralize our allies and confuse the situation. It's their freedom and independence that's at stake. It's their problem and we should not make it our problem in the ultimate sense."

She said that not only may American allies become overly dependent on the U.S., but some adversaries already think they see an opportunity to take advantage of a U.S. strategy of global interventionism.

She cited the example of Libya's Muammar Qadhafi, who declared in a speech March 2 marking the seventh anniversary of his revolution: "We must force America to fight on 100 fronts all over the earth . . . in Lebanon, in Chad, in Sudan, in El Salvador. . . . We must wage a people's war of liberation which America cannot face up to, and thus make the United

States realize that it is proceeding along a road harmful to America itself so that reason will return to its maniac power."

According to Mrs. Kirkpatrick, "it's perfectly correct for Qadhafi to believe it would lead to our destruction if we tried to fight on 100 fronts. It would. That's not a practical strategy for us. It's not desirable or thinkable."

So, she said, the U.S. should help countries that are targets of Soviet Bloc aggression—with political support, economic and trade assistance, military aid, sales and training, and covert action.

"There's a misconception in this country about the nature of power," she said. "There's a tendency to confuse power with force, which is only one form of power."

"It's the widespread liberal view that if we dare to use power, we'll end up in war, that it's a slippery slope."

"I'm bothered by the fact that the Democrats in Congress who are most alarmist about Ronald Reagan leading the nation to war are also against adequate economic assistance to Central America."

She said that because of its proximity to the U.S., Central America "is the one area where if we permit the Soviets to establish military bases, we would be most likely to become involved in conflict. But that will happen only if we don't do the things we should do."

"But the things we should do are not to commit American combat troops. I don't think that's necessary or desirable."

Mrs. Kirkpatrick says that all of this is not any "Kirkpatrick Doctrine," but is in fact Reagan administration policy. If so, it would reassure a lot of people to have Mr. Reagan articulate it.

Mr. Kondracke is executive editor of *The New Republic*.

Viewpoint

by Morton M. Kondracke

means something programmatically and carries in a Congress that will support him—then the president has got to start talking about what he intends to do during the next four years.

This article is mainly about what he might say on foreign policy, but the president also ought to come out with an outline of the budget and the tax-reform plan he intends to submit next year if reelected.

If he wants a line-item veto, he ought to tell us which budget lines he wants to use it on. If he wants a balanced-budget amendment to the Constitution, he ought to say first how he'd get the budget balanced.

Republicans have been merrily bashing at Walter Mondale for wanting to raise taxes, but at least we know where Mr. Mondale is coming from. Where is Mr. Reagan going?

As to foreign policy, what we need, frankly, is a Reagan Doctrine—a definition of what this administration hopes to accomplish in the world, and how.

Mr. Reagan says he wants arms reductions. Let him tell us how he proposes to

McLAUGHLIN GROUP

Host: John McLaughlin

Panelists: Fred Barnes, Robert Novak, Jack Germond, Morton Kondracke

Barnes: I think Bush won. He was more animated. Ferraro was a little brittle. She was a little weak on foreign policy, and the fallout is that, whereas the Reagan campaign could be hemorrhaging, now it's just bleeding a little bit.

Novak: ...Bush was probably a marginal winner, but the effect of the debate is to carry on to the next presidential debate. It's meaningless otherwise.

Germond: I don't think the debate has any importance at all....I think this thing will be quickly forgotten....

Kondracke: ...Ferraro I thought was calm and controlled and steady, and Bush was rambling and frenetic and he overstated points and he accused her of saying that the Marines had died in shame in Beirut....I mean, he was out of control....That was no leadership performance....

McLaughlin: Who won the Ferraro-Bush debate?

Barnes, Novak, Germond, McLaughlin: Bush. Kondracke: Ferraro.

On the presidential debate:

Germond: ...There is no question that, beginning the morning after the Louisville debate, talking to people all around the country, Republican and Democrat alike, you were getting strong feedback on the question of the President's age. Whether the hesitations and the falterings were the sign of some kind of fatigue or slippage on his part....The immediate impact of this is to make the debate in Kansas City extremely important and to put Reagan under a great deal of pressure....

Barnes: I thought his performance -- the President's -- was a disaster! Mondale was better than I've ever seen him at any time, anyplace, anywhere....

McLaughlin: What we see evidenced is a pack mentality at work. David Broder, on the day after the debate ..., said, unlike Nixon (in 1960)...., Reagan remained in command of himself and the situation throughout the evening. The next day, Broder reversed himself somewhat. He said that Reagan did very poorly with a pastiche, a compilation of useless facts in his conclusion.

Novak: I called it a debacle from the very beginning, which it was. Fred Barnes called it a disaster, which it was. Let me tell you something. The villain in this thing is not David Broder, it's David Stockman....Stockman is somebody who is interested in crunching Social Security instead of cutting taxes, and when the President comes out with that pain and deep root canal economics, he looks bad.

-more-

McLAUGHLIN GROUP (cont.)

McLaughlin: ...How much is the age issue going to cost Ronald Reagan in percentage points in the November election?

Barnes, McLaughlin: Zero.

Novak: Maybe one or two points.

Kondracke: Four or five points.

Predictions:

Barnes: Walter Mondale will have another very strong performance in the second debate. But it won't be enough because Ronald Reagan will show up, speak well, appear a little bit younger than 73, wipe out the age factor and lock up the election.

Novak: Everybody on both sides agree the Republicans will keep the Senate in '84. The worry is '86, and the Republicans are already trying to find some good candidates. And, holy Moses, they have got Charlton Heston coming up in California to run against Sen. Alan Cranston.

Germond: The Republicans may give up on a seat in Connecticut next time that wasn't anticipated. Lowell Weicker is talking about running for governor of Connecticut.

Kondracke: As a means of trying to get the Soviets back to the negotiating table, the Reagan Administration will reverse course on the issue of selling oil and gas drilling equipment to the Soviets.

McLaughlin: The Republicans will lose two Senate seats, and the Republicans will not lose the Senate. But there are signs of some deterioration in some of these races. This has nothing, however, to do with the debate in which Ronald Reagan was involved.

###

MCLAUGHLIN GROUP

Host: John McLaughlin

Panelists: Pat Buchanan, Robert Novak, Eleanor Cliff, Morton Kondracke

Buchanan: If I were Mondale's adviser, I would tell him...be presidential for once all the way through the debate and don't start talking about kids eating poison at toxic waste dumps.

Novak: The first thing he has to do is get out of his mind the notion that somehow this debate is going to turn the election around. It's not....I think he has to cool off, try to present himself in a positive light and not expect this debate to do much good for him.

Cliff: ...Mondale has to reach out of the format, challenge the President with questions. He's got to go into foreign policy, which is Reagan's biggest weakness, even though the debate is supposed to be only domestic policy....

Kondracke: I think what Mondale's got to do is to challenge Reagan on the level of values, not walk him around from interest group to interest group and say, "What did you do for this one, what did you do to that one?"...

Buchanan: ...What Walter Mondale and the Democrats have got to realize is that the problem is not Ronald Reagan, the problem is themselves....

McLaughlin: Who's going to win the debate?

Buchanan: Reagan will win it because Mondale will be carping.

Novak: On the points, Mondale will be given an edge, but in the real world of politics, Reagan will be the winner.

Cliff: I go for Reagan too, but I think his polls are going to go down anyway.

Kondracke: I think Mondale is going to perform very well, and people are going to see him as a potential president.

McLaughlin: Four Reagans, one Mondale.

On the campaign:

Cliff: It was a terrible campaign week for Ronald Reagan. If this went on for another three months, maybe Walter Mondale would have a chance....

Novak: You're really laboring under the inside the Beltway mentality because, believe me, it wasn't a bad week in the eyes of the ordinary voters....

On Vice President Bush's taxes:

Cliff: I think it's zero (political impact) on Ronald Reagan, like most everything else in the campaign. On George Bush, it reinforces his image as an upper-class person, which I think is a problem for him....

McLAUGHLIN GROUP (continued)

Novak: What I think this shows is that George Bush is nice man. He's a good public servant. And he is a terrible politician, because he has messed up this thing from beginning to end....

Buchanan: I don't think the problem is serious and enduring, but I do think it was badly handled....

McLaughlin: He's on the horns of a dilemma. On the one hand, he wants to insulate himself from any charge that he's using his public office for private gains. So he uses a blind trust, over which he has no control. And on the other hand, he's bound to a disclosure requirement by reason of the current culture....What (negative) impact on George Bush?

Buchanan, McLaughlin: Zero. Novak, Cliff, Kondracke: Little.

On Secretary Donovan:

Novak: ...Of course the timing (of the indictment) is political. The other question you have to ask is: What is Ray Donovan doing at the Labor Department?...I have no idea whether he's guilty or innocent, but there's no doubt that any prudent politician would have said, 'we've got to get this guy out of here,' long before the election....

Cliff: There has been so much sleaze on both sides that it cancels itself out. We may have to get a visit from the Roto-Rooter man before the campaign is over.

McLaughlin: Will the Democrats raise this as a sleaze issue...?

Buchanan: No, the sleaze factor won't be raised because I know that John Zaccaro was back before a grand jury this week.

Novak: They'll raise it but nobody will pay any attention.

Cliff: I think either side raises it at their own peril.

Kondracke: The trial's not till after the election.

On the government shutdown because of no funding resolution:

Kondracke: ...This was a \$20 million campaign ad for Ronald Reagan that the taxpayers paid for, this shutting down the government....

Cliff: What a political show for Reagan. He arm wrestled Tip O'Neill and he won, and he made a statement that he still is Ronald Reagan and he's defying the government.

McLaughlin: ...Was this session a plus or minus for Ronald Reagan?

Buchanan, Cliff, Kondracke, McLaughlin: Plus.

McLAUGHLIN GROUP (continued)

Predictions:

Buchanan: ... (The Israeli prime minister) is going to be asking for a tremendous amount of economic aid, and for the first time -- coming up in the next Congress -- you're going to have a real fight over increased economic aid to bail out the Israeli economy, which is just about bankrupt.

Novak: In the closing days in the Senate, Senator Dole undercut the Republican leadership and some of his close allies by sabotaging an adjournment. It has hurt him badly on the race to become majority leader next year. Right now, the co-favorites for the majority leadership are Senator McClure and Senator Lugar.

Cliff: In a domestic equivalent to his trip to China, Reagan will visit the University of California at Berkeley before this campaign is over. This is a personal victory for President Reagan. When he was governor out there, that campus was a hotbed of student unrest. He hardly dare set foot on it. It's now not only safe, but he is actually a revered figure there and on other college campuses.

Kondracke: After the debate, if Ronald Reagan maintains his lead, he's going around the country to campaign for realignment -- asking for a Republican House.

McLaughlin: Shimon Peres will be told by Ronald Reagan that a \$16 billion program over five years will be forthcoming for Israel.

###

THE MCLAUGHLIN GROUP

Moderator: John McLaughlin. Panel: Morton Kondracke, Pat Buchanan, Jack Germond, Robert Novak.

Buchanan: This overproduced extravaganza has wiped Mondale out of the news for the week. It has further mooted his argument that Reagan can't meet with the Russians. But the President has paid a price for this. He's adopted Mondale's tight rhetoric at the U.N., and he's accepted Mondale's heirarchy of concerns, namely that arms control is the primary concern and objective of American policy.

Novak: This is very good for Ronald Reagan. Gromyko and his colleagues still want Mondale to win the election.

Kondracke: Ronald Reagan, looking to a second term, wants to be some sort of man of peace. I don't know whether the Administration is organized to pull off any kind of arms control agreement. If The Russians can take advantage of our electoral politics season and the stupidity, they think, of the electorate who will fall for this -- it's a positive thing for them and for us to have the meetings at all.

Novak: The Soviet Union wants arms control on their terms. They got it from Nixon, Carter -- and I don't think -- despite the rhetoric in the U.N. speech, they're going to get it from Reagan.

Buchanan: I think the Russians want a second detente. They want to stop "Star Wars." They want the credit, the trade, the technology. I think the Administration may be ready to deal.

Q: Is this a plus or minus for Reagan? All but Germond: Plus.

Q: Are we on the start of a Detente II? All but Buchanan and McLaughlin: No.

Q: Is Mondale's new offensive going to work?

Kondracke: Mondale had a good week because Reagan is now moving over and playing ball on Mondale's turf, which is arms control. And that is a mistake for Mr. Reagan, and he's going to pay for it.

Germond: His only chance with this kind of a message is to keep repeating it and hope he firms up the Democratic base enough to close the polls.

Buchanan: This (speech at GW) was probably the best campaign speech he's given, and that just shows you how bad his campaign is.

Q: Is Mondale playing the Gromyko meeting right?

Kondracke: He's got himself -- being some sort of an intermediary, some sort of a neutral in the battle between Gromyko and the President. That's not what he's supposed to be. He's supposed to be an American; he's supposed to say, "I stand with the President until this issue gets resolved."

THE MCLAUGHLIN GROUP

Host: John McLaughlin

Panel: Robert Novak, Jack Germond, Pat Buchanan, Morton Kondracke

On the Beirut bombing:

Buchanan: The U.S. must become a country you don't trifle with.

Novak: As long as the U.S. carries on its present Middle East policy, no embassy or ambassador will be safe.

Germond: I don't think you can properly blame the President for this.

Kondracke: The President is responsible for embassy security ultimately. The Administration is claiming it does not know what the Islamic Jihad was all about. A year ago, Weinberger said it was the Syrians. We did nothing about it. We talked, we bluffed, we encourage these people. We are pictured throughout Islam as the enemy of the Arab world and the enemy of Islam. We open ourselves up to this.

Buchanan: The Soviet Union diplomats are not taken hostage. Their embassies are not invaded, because, if you do, you pay a terrible price.

Germond. We spend a lot of money on intelligence. Why don't we ever know anything?

McLaughlin: It's inexcusable after what happened to the Marines. Reagan's policy is a failed miserable policy in Lebanon.

Q. Will Ronald Reagan take retaliatory action? All: No.

On politics: Is Mondale inching his way back?

Germond: Not that I've noticed. The debate is important, but Mondale is in such dire straits. He does have some coherence in what he says now.

Novak: I don't think Mondale has hit bottom yet. The Democratic candidates are really running for the hills. Mondale is typhoid Mary.

McLaughlin: Tony Coelho said the Democratic Party is not at fault. It's the ticket that's at fault. They're cutting Mondale and Ferrare off.

Kondracke: It's very ironic that these are the guys who nominated Mondale and now they're ratting out on him. Debates do tend to equalize candidates. If Mondale handles himself well, people are not going to think as ill of him as they do. There is a sympathy factor. The Reagan-Bush campaign in California is pulling Segretti-style dirty tricks every stop along the way. They've got these little Nazis, called "Fritz-busters."

Buchanan: I don't think they ought to be shouting down Mondale. I think Reagan should speak to the subject. We are seeing the McGovernization of the Mondale campaign. He's becoming whiney and shrill. He says Ronald Reagan is more interested in prevailing in a nuclear war than preventing one. Nobody believes that about Reagan.

-more-

White House News Summary
THE MCLAUGHLIN GROUP (continued)

Monday, September 24, 1984 -- B-17

Novak: This is the first time we have serious Democratic politicians saying we could take a bath on November 6th on the House races.

McLaughlin: Will there be a realignment in the House in 1984?

Buchanan: No. Novak: For the first time, I think it's possible.

Germond: It may be more than 20 seats. Kondracke: No. McLaughlin: No.

On Meese: Is the way now cleared for Meese to become Attorney General?

Kondracke: I would guess it is. There were ethical questions raised about him. He's cleared. Howard Metzenbaum's job is to oppose the Reagan Administration in the Senate.

Novak: The opposition to Ed Meese initially had nothing whatsoever to do with criminal impropriety or any impropriety. They opposed him because of his views on criminal justice, which were the working man's views and against the elite's views. There are some people who are saying the special prosecutor did not actually clear him. Of course he cleared him.

Germond: He did clear him, and Meese is entitled to the clean bill.

Buchanan: There is no reason to oppose Meese, except ideology.

McLaughlin: Will Edwin Meese become Attorney General?

Buchanan: All Yes but Germond.

Comments on the Ray Shamie primary win in Massachusetts.

Novak: Republicans voted for Richardson, independents and blue-collar voters went for Shamie.

Germond: These were people attracted to Shamie the way they are attracted to Ronald Reagan. It is what's happening all over the country.

Buchanan: Shamie represents the future of the Republican Party; Richardson represents the past.

Kondracke: There are no liberal Republicans left.

Will Shamie win?

Buchanan: Yes. Novak: Probably not. Germond: Probably not.

Kondracke: No. McLaughlin: No.

Predictions: Buchanan: The bank's next big problem -- Peru.

Novak: Jesse Helms will win if Reagan wins big.

Germond: Carl Levin in Michigan will win.

Kondracke: Mondale is doing his debate preparation this weekend with Michael Soveran, President of Columbia University.

McLaughlin: Mulroney and Reagan will cut deals on cooperation on acid rain; eliminating dumping of potatoes and other food crops and fisheries. In exchange, Mulroney, will come to aid of Reagan in Central America and on arms negotiations.

###

MCLAUGHLIN GROUP

Moderator: John McLaughlin. Panel: Pat Buchanan, Jack Germond, Morton Kondracke, Robert Novak.

McLaughlin: Why did Gromyko accept Ronald Reagan's invitation?

Buchanan: Ronald Reagan and the White House are playing politics. Gromyko has a strategic objective, I'm speculating. What they want primarily is an interruption or cancellation of a strategic defense by the United States. I think he's going to try to get a concession on the ASAT testing.

Novak: I think it's less a matter of substance than Pat does. The Administration is putting out the line that this shows the Russians know they can't be intransigent. That's a lot of bunk. I think there are two reasons (Gromyko decided to come.) One is that they decided Mondale is a loser and the second thing is I think they feel that if Reagan wins that he should win without a totally hard line against the Soviet Union.

Germond: The White House is demonstrating once again that it can be totally shameless politically, do the most obvious, crude, stupid things and get away with it. I don't think it means a thing; perhaps marginally it softens Reagan's image.

Kondracke: It's clearly political. Why didn't they invite him a long time ago? I think the Soviets have tried to beat up on Reagan; that didn't work. Reagan is way ahead in the polls and they figure they'll get the best arrangement they can out of him. I don't think anything is going to come out of this.

Novak: If it's a friendly meeting, Reagan wins. If Gromyko says this man is a warmonger, the people will gather around the President. The interesting thing, I believe, is that this is a very strong effort by George Shultz and the other people at the State Department who want a soft line to avoid winning the election without some contact at the upper levels of the Soviet Union.

Kondracke: It may just be we're going to get some negotiations going in the second term.

McLaughlin: Gromyko consented to come because he's under pressure from the Eastern bloc nations who are fed up with the Cold War. He said to Honecker, "I will do the detente business, you stay home."

PREDICTIONS -- The group's electoral predictions for November election:

Buchanan -- Reagan 511, Mondale 27
 Novak -- Reagan 488, Mondale 50
 Germond -- Reagan 405, Mondale 133
 Kondracke -- Reagan 450, Mondale 88
 McLaughlin -- Reagan 515, Mondale 23

-more-

MCLAUGHLIN GROUP (continued)

Predictions -- Popular vote percentage:

Buchanan -- Reagan 57, Mondale 43
 Novak -- Reagan 55, Mondale 45
 Germond -- Reagan 54, Mondale 46
 Kondracke -- Reagan 56, Mondale 44
 McLaughlin -- Reagan 60, Mondale 40

Barring a calamitous event, can Mondale win?

Buchanan: If I were part of Mondale's Secret Service detail, I'd take away his belt and shoelaces at night; barring a calamitous event, he can't win.
Novak: He needs something really uproarious. Germond: I do think it is possible if there were a pseudo-dramatic event. There are seven weeks to go. Kondracke: Yes, but it's very hard. McLaughlin: No.

McLaughlin: Mondale's campaign this week was a political horror show. First, his deficit reduction plan bombed. Secondly, the polls. Third, Ferraro. And fourth, the Gromyko visit. Did Mondale get any political mileage out of his deficit reduction plan.

Germond: We don't know whether his deficit plan bombed or not. There's no way of telling until we see how it goes with people and how Reagan reacts, whether or not Mondale is effective at all in forcing the President to rebut him on specifics, which he has not been. Secondly, the polls are devastating for Mondale, but it is essentially no change since the convention.

Novak: You may not know whether it bombed, but I know, and so do Democratic politicians. Sen. Dole is exactly correct, that the Democratic politicians are running away from this thing as fast as they can. A guy like Paul Simon in Illinois wants nothing to do with it. The trouble is a lot of people like you think the American people want tax increases. Believe me, they don't.

Kondracke: A lot of people like Jack and me think the American people might want to know what the next four years is going to be like. Here's Ronald Reagan sitting there with his book closed, not telling us anything. He's calling for a line item veto? Okay, Mr. President, you've got your line-item veto, what are you going to veto?

Buchanan: I don't know any Democrats running around saying this is a terrific plan. The thing is dead and Mondale's saddled with \$85B in taxes.

Novak: I was out with Reagan this last week. He is not doing a good job of attacking this plan, in my opinion, because he's got all the cautious managers saying not to say anything.

Is the deficit plan a plus or a minus for Mondale?

Buchanan: Big minus. Novak: Massive minus. Germond: We don't know. Kondracke: Politically, it's probably a minus, but it shouldn't be. McLaughlin: Minus.

MCLAUGHLIN GROUP (continued)

McLaughlin: Who is winning the battle between the Catholic hierarchy and Geraldine Ferraro?

Kondracke: I don't think the Catholic hierarchy is winning at all because the Catholic politicians are doing what Catholic lay people have been doing for years. When they want to, they are ignoring what the hierarchy said.

Buchanan: Ferraro is being hurt. What's being peeled away from Ferraro, Cuomo and Kennedy is the solid, ethnic, socially conservative Catholic support they've got.

Novak: Ferraro is losing on this issue because she's in the terrible position of not merely seeming to be pro-choice, but seeming to be pro-abortion. The only thing that mitigated in her favor was that George Bush had a very bad week on abortion. He was skating all over the place.

Germond: The one bit of research that's been done on this issue earlier when O'Connor and Cuomo got into it showed that overwhelmingly the voters in New York, including Roman Catholics, supported Cuomo's position rather than the archbishops'.

Who's winning on the overall religious question?

Buchanan: Reagan. Novak: Reagan, because it's pinned down the South.

Germond: Reagan. Kondracke: I think it's turning against Reagan.

McLaughlin: I think it's a wash.

PREDICTIONS

Buchanan: I think the Russians are going to pull an October surprise somewhere. I think there's going to be a challenge before the election.

Novak: In their lovey-dovey with the Russians mood, the White House isn't talking about it, but the Russians have eight super-nuclear carriers under construction and there's going to be trouble when they break out.

Germond: Some Republican prominents are urging some of the leading Catholic clergy to back off. I expect them to do that in the next few weeks. Kondracke: This weekend is the anniversary of "Camp David."

Mondale is going to clobber President Reagan for not having advanced the peace process in the Middle East. McLaughlin: The prime rate will drop to 11.5% by December 31 and 9.5% by June 30, 1985. Ronald Reagan will capture the majority of the Jewish vote come November 6.

###

MCLAUGHLIN GROUP

Moderator: John McLaughlin. Panel: Pat Buchanan, Eleanor Clift, Jack Germond, Morton Kondracke.

McLaughlin: Did Ronald Reagan violate the Constitution with his remarks on religion and government?

Buchanan: There are elements of cynicism and humor in Walter Mondale talking about the wall of separation between Church and State before a group of black pastors, bishops and ministers who are busy turning their churches into Mondale-Ferraro store fronts. This is an exercise by the media and by Mondale to keep out of politics the Christian evangelicals and fundamentalists who have the same rights as the black bishops.

Clift: I don't think he's gone over any line.

Germond: There's a difference between the use by Democratic politicians of the black Church structure and the use by right-wing politicians which have very specific moral goals they're trying to establish.

Kondracke: I don't think there's any constitutional violation, but Ronald Reagan is putting the power of the presidency not behind religion in general, not behind Judeo-Christian values, but behind very specific religious cults which have very specific goals. To get behind a specific Church's specific agenda, I think, is wrong.

How long is this issue going to last?

Buchanan: It depends on whether Mondale quits. Clift: I agree. I think Reagan is the winner. Germond: Oh, about 12 minutes. Kondracke: Mondale may try to flog it a little while longer. I hope it's over now. McLaughlin: Three days.

McLaughlin: What's the status of Mondale's campaign?

Clift: To overtake a popular incumbent President who's riding a wave of patriotism the way Ronald Reagan is, Mondale really has a job cut out for him and so far, he has not shown he is up to the task. People think he needs to get back to the "fightin' Fritz" of the primaries, but I don't see how he does that. Where are the issues? How do you get through the personal charm?

Germond: Mondale's campaign is in very bad shape and getting worse all the time. Mondale needs to have something to say; he needs to decide what his themes are going to be and get off these extraneous issues.

Kondracke: It would be good if all the Democratic constituency groups stopped beating up on Mondale and started helping Mondale beat up on Ronald Reagan. There really are issues; there's the war-and-peace issue, for example.

Buchanan: I think Mort's got a good point. These people ought not to be trashing their own guy. Mondale's got a real problem. The country does not want his liberalism and the country does not want Fritz. What he's got to do is find a way to tear down Ronald Reagan without being perceived as tearing down the country. It's a horribly tough job.

MCLAUGHLIN GROUP (continued)

Kondracke: Ronald Reagan is coasting along on a lead. We know nothing about what the second term is going to be like.

McLaughlin: If he decides he's going to put on the table his vision of the future, then Mondale will put his vision on the table, then we'll compare those visions. Big deal. Bad politics. Ronald Reagan should run on his record and make Mondale run on his Mondale-Carter record.

Buchanan: I would like to see Reagan, even with his big lead, lay out what he's going to do in a second term just so he can win the kind of mandate he needs.

How do you call a Bush-Ferraro debate?

Kondracke: I don't know; she's pretty tough. Buchanan: Bush will beat her on substance. Clift: I almost think it's in the eye of the beholder. Germond: Ferraro. McLaughlin: Bush.

Is the election of Mulroney in Canada an indication of planetary conservatism?

Clift: No. Germond: Mulroney is not a Reagan-type conservative. Buchanan: There's a Western-world gradual repudiation of the ideals of socialism. Kondracke: The pendulum swings all the time. Believe me, the liberals will be back.

PREDICTIONS

Buchanan: If there's a perceived whitewash of the financial disclosure investigation in the House Ethics Committee of Ferraro, there will be Republican resignations. Clift: No matter what Ronald Reagan says now, if he's reelected he will be dragged kicking and screaming toward a tax increase or he will go down in history as another Herbert Hoover. Germond: In Tulsa, Oklahoma, the Republicans have nominated Frank Keating, a former prosecutor, a very strong candidate, against Jim Jones. Given the Reagan strength in Tulsa, that is now a no better than even race for Jones. Kondracke: The Republicans are trying to maneuver Mondale into choosing between a second debate between Reagan and Mondale and the Ferraro-Bush debate. If they succeed, there may not be a Ferraro-Bush debate. McLaughlin: Mondale this week will reveal his budget-cutting package, and it will bomb. The Administration will successfully ridicule it.

###

s electoral debates

...at "Chicago will never
 ..." that while stifling Mr.
 he would deal with other
 see that the city gets
 erves.

...t reflex of an outsider
 ...at the senator also was
 ...making his charge of rac-
 ...the black mayor. It gave
 ...e to the assertions of the
 ...mmercial, which had not
 ...by everybody. And it
 ...ention to other Washing-
 ...ercials, which say Mr.
 ...he No. 1 Reagan cheer-
 ...o supports administration
 ...at "have ravaged our

...in previous campaigns
 ...has done better than most
 ...dates among blacks, this
 ...y being on the ballot with
 ...a will reduce his appeal

...same association opens
 ...for him to get a potential-
 ...piece of the Chicago-area
 ...that was aroused against
 ...gton in the mayoral race
 ...in the Chicago political
 ...confront the mayor along
 ...only help the senator
 ...e solidly Democratic

...ivity of the subject af-
 ...tential politics, too. For
 ...en Geraldine A. Ferraro
 ...st week, she had a press
 ...nd spoke to two spirited
 ...allies. Neither of those
 ...in the city limits.
 ...in Hinsdale, in the heav-
 ...in western suburbs, and

the other was a Polish-flavored
 meeting in the northwest, organized
 by one of Mr. Washington's more re-
 strained rivals, Alderman Roman
 Pucinski. The national campaign
 does not even try to deal with both
 factions on the same trip.

But Mr. Percy particularly feels
 the need to cut into the ethnic vote
 because he is being squeezed from
 both directions — by hard-right op-
 position as well as by his Democratic
 challenger.

The day before he assailed the
 mayor, an anti-abortion political ac-
 tion committee started a campaign
 here with the slogan, "No mercy for
 Percy." It said it would spend
 \$50,000 to paint the senator as "anti-
 family," although Mr. Simon also
 has opposed federal restrictions on
 abortion.

Three weeks ago a group of na-
 tional right-wing political action
 committees also came in to work
 against Mr. Percy. Their motivation
 may be the fact that if Mr. Percy
 loses and Senator Jesse Helms wins,
 it would put the conservative from
 North Carolina in line to chair the
 Senate Foreign Relations Commit-
 tee.

Against this kind of pressure, the
 senator needs all the help he can get,
 and if his "racism" charge improves
 chances of a backlash, that will help,
 too.

But in the long run, the country
 would be better off if he and Harold
 Washington — and the Rev. Jesse L.
 Jackson and Jesse Helms and every-
 body else — banished the word from
 the vocabulary of American politics.

presence of planets

the sun and at least 10
 uminous.

ear is the distance light
 year — approximately
 miles.)

n of solid particles near
 erved edge-on in the tel-
 re, was referred to as a
 r disk by NASA, "the
 nd to be seen clearly in
 photographs."

astronomers' attention
 o Beta Pictoris earlier
 data from the Infrared
 Satellite, which found
 "nearby" stars with an
 ured radiation.

mation suggested that
 by solid material may
 ome frequency in the
 y, the Milky Way.

team said Beta Pictoris and three
 other stars similar to it showed ab-
 normal amounts of infrared radia-
 tion, indicating the presence of sub-
 stantial material.

(Infrared refers to wavelengths
 of light on the scale of the electro-
 magnetic spectrum that are just out-
 side the band of red, blue, yellow and
 other colors that the human eye can
 see.)

NASA said the circumstellar disk
 around Beta Pictoris, which is in the
 constellation Equuleus Pictoris, is
 believed to be composed of countless
 particles ranging in size from 10 mi-
 crons (less than one-thousandth of an
 inch) to several miles across.

The most likely composition of
 the particles include ice, silicates
 and carbonaceous (organic) materi-

Rostow calls body tally topic of disagreement

By Henry Trehwhitt
 Sun Staff Correspondent

NEW YORK — Walt W. Rostow
 emerged from obscurity yesterday
 to report bitter debate about enemy
 strength, but no deliberate falsifica-
 tion, in the Vietnam War of the
 1960s.

Mr. Rostow, national security ad-
 viser to President Lyndon B. John-
 son, was the first witness in retired
 Army Gen. William C. Westmore-
 land's libel suit against CBS Televi-
 sion. He presented a picture of hon-
 est men disagreeing, not manipulat-
 ing figures in a way that may have
 cost American lives.

That in effect is what General
 Westmoreland, then the U.S. com-
 mander in Vietnam, says CBS ac-
 cused him of in a 90-minute 1982
 documentary, "The Uncounted
 Enemy: A Vietnam Deception." He
 has asked for \$120 million.

Mr. Rostow, 68, appearing for
 General Westmoreland, told of a
 vigorous debate during the period
 critical to the suit, 1967 and early
 1968. It was the time leading up to
 the Communist Tet offensive that
 began January 30, 1968. Many histo-
 rians record the offensive as a mili-
 tary defeat — but a psychological
 victory — for the communists.

Enemy force levels were being
 debated between the Central Intelli-
 gence Agency and military leaders.
 In early 1967, Mr. Rostow said, the
 CIA was revising upward figures
 that put enemy strength overall at
 280,000.

General Westmoreland among
 others argued with the increases.
 They included, Mr. Rostow testified,
 more than 100,000 indigenous South
 Vietnamese Special Defense Forces,
 including unarmed old men and chil-
 dren without weapons.

At least three high-level meetings
 were held to resolve the differences.
 Finally they were settled in favor of
 General Westmoreland's position in
 September, 1967. The irregular units
 were omitted from the accounting of
 main enemy forces.

It was not until late November,
 Mr. Rostow testified, that it became
 clear that a massive enemy buildup
 was under way. Even then, he said,
 there were two methods of account-
 ing — Mr. Johnson's and everyone
 else's. The president, he said, includ-
 ed estimates of enemy forces on the
 way south — but not yet in South
 Vietnam — over the so-called Ho Chi
 Minh Trail.

the numbers of enemy counted in the
 south by a variety of intelligence
 sources.

On the CBS program General
 Westmoreland said he rejected the
 higher figures, although some of his
 senior officers agreed with CIA ana-
 lysts. The public and some officials,
 he explained, were "not sophisticat-
 ed enough" to cope with the in-
 crease.

On the documentary, correspon-
 dent Mike Wallace concluded that
 there had been a deliberate attempt,
 "even a conspiracy," to mislead.
 General Westmoreland says CBS
 manipulated its interviews and pre-
 sentation in a way that libeled him.

Mr. Rostow, who was national se-
 curity adviser from 1966 until 1969,
 has been seen little in public since
 Mr. Johnson left office in 1969. High-
 ly controversial within the academic
 community because of his support
 for the war, he was unable to return
 to his teaching post at the Massachu-
 setts Institute of Technology. Instead
 he was accepted at the University of
 Texas, in Mr. Johnson's home state,
 where he still teaches.

During the war years Mr. Rostow
 was known as one of the most ardent
 spokesmen for the U.S. campaign in
 Vietnam. He said he made recom-
 mendations to the president about
 how to handle public-relations impli-
 cations of the intelligence argument
 but never actually discussed the re-
 vised estimates with him.

"But I knew him well enough to
 know that he would have been furi-
 ous," Mr. Rostow declared, "if he
 thought that a political element had
 been injected into the making of the
 estimate itself."

He never doubted, he said, the
 goodwill of the participants on both
 sides of the debate.

He refused to be drawn by David
 E. Boies, the CBS attorney, into an
 assessment of whether the estimates
 were a factor in the course of the Tet
 offensive.

In the aftermath, he said, he be-
 lieved with others that some of the
 indigenous enemy, uncounted in the
 official estimate, had a material
 role in the battle. But now, he said,
 additional study had left him "not
 sure of that."

Judge Pierre N. Leval said re-
 peatedly yesterday that he would not
 allow the trial to review the entire
 internal conflict over Vietnam. But
 it was clear that the scope of the evi-
 dence, in a trial expected to last
 three months, would cover some at

PART II -- MAIN EDITION -- 15 OCTOBER 1984

BALTIMORE SUN 14 October 1984 (15) Pg. 13

Aid cutoff won't end U.S. support for Nicaraguan insurgency

By Henry Arewalt

Washington Bureau of The Sun

WASHINGTON — Although Congress shut off U.S. aid for Nicaraguan insurgents, everyone concerned agrees that their campaign will continue — with at least indirect support from the administration.

"There are a lot of ways to skin that cat without violating the law," a U.S. official said of support for Nicaragua's anti-government "contras." Yes, agreed a congressional aide who helped draft the law that halted the aid, "about all we can really do is cut off the money."

As Congress stumbled toward adjournment last week, it shelved an administration request for more aid to the contras. Under the law finally approved, the administration can return to Congress in March and ask it to free \$14 million to back the 10,000 rebels harassing Nicaragua's leftist government.

As Congress is now composed, no one thinks it would change its mind. Walter F. Mondale, President Reagan's Democratic opponent, has called the CIA-sponsored program illegal meddling in another country. What conceivably might unlock the money would be Mr. Reagan's reelection and an increase in conservative strength in Congress.

Meanwhile, a U.S. diplomat says, some money is still available from the \$24 million approved earlier for this year. U.S. officials were reportedly studying whether the new legis-

lation forbids spending it.

More important have been the actions of other governments and some private organizations — American officials will not identify them — to fill the gap. The administration openly applauds them, saying that it will comply with the law but that it does not have to change its views about the merits of backing the rebel undertaking.

The administration sees support for the contras as a corollary to support for the government of El Salvador. It has accused Nicaragua, which it says is fronting for Cuba and the Soviet Union, of sustaining leftist rebels in El Salvador. But it has had far greater success recently in getting money for El Salvador from Congress.

Aid legislation approved last week provided \$128 million in military aid and \$195 million in economic support for El Salvador. The amounts are only slightly less than the administration requested. The explanation, a congressional aide said, "can be summed up in one word, Duarte."

President Jose Napoleon Duarte of El Salvador, elected in May, has impressed Congress with efforts to reduce human rights violations and to negotiate with insurgents.

The administration did not do as well in Congress with its broader plan for the economic and democratic development of Central America

and the Caribbean. Congress put a cap of \$225 million on economic development for the region, a little more than half what the administration had requested.

The aid legislation also included all the \$500 million requested for subsidized military sales to Central America. Congress reduced the total aid request for Turkey from \$934 million to \$875 million.

Both countries are strengthening their military forces, which the administration encourages because of their position on the flank of Europe. But relative levels of aid are prickly because of their hostility with each other.

U.S. tells Israel to act firmly on economy

By Henry Trehwitt

Washington Bureau of The Sun

WASHINGTON — Israel's new leaders, exploring the possibility of a U.S. rescue of a tottering economy, were told yesterday to get their own house in order first.

President Reagan promised Prime Minister Shimon Peres and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir that the United States would help "in the best way we can." But he and other U.S. officials focused on economic reform and development measures that Mr. Peres agreed were necessary.

One U.S. official suggested that apart from the need for reform in Israel, Washington is not eager to talk about specific aid figures before the presidential election. "We're stalling," he said.

In public remarks at the White House, Mr. Reagan also said the United States will help negotiate the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon — as Israel wishes — only if all "the parties concerned" agree. Recent soundings failed to produce agreement from Syria.

In a day of intense discussions, the two governments agreed to create a free trade zone — a long-pending plan — within 30 days. For the longer term, they decided to establish a joint commission to work on an Israeli economic development program.

American specialists said the \$1.2 billion in economic aid already approved by Congress for the new budget year will finance necessary steps in Israel for now. If more is required and can be used productively, a senior diplomat said, the administration will ask Congress for it next year.

In fact, another diplomat said, it is all but certain that the bill for Is-

rael next year will be more than the \$1.2 billion in economic support and \$1.4 billion in military aid already approved. But first, he said, reform of the shattered Israeli economy is essential, and "the Israelis are finding that painful to contemplate."

Israel's Labor-Likud coalition has been in office three weeks. There had been hope here that the coalition could deal ruthlessly with an economy burdened by a 400 percent inflation rate and a foreign debt of \$9 billion.

Instead, a U.S. specialist reported, "the Israelis came to Washington without their act in order." The coalition is finding decision-making difficult, he said, with ministers jockeying for power as "Peres does the best he can with it."

Israeli leaders, another official said, "hoped to find a magic formula in Washington." But the administration, especially Secretary of State George P. Shultz, was resolved that "just throwing money at the problem would not solve anything," the source said.

Yet Mr. Peres, speaking to reporters at the State Department, insisted that "on practically all issues we saw eye to eye." He knew, he said, "there are some very difficult measures we have to take. We are determined to do so."

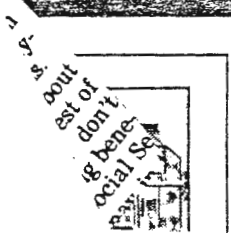
The meetings were unusually intense. Mr. Peres and Mr. Shamir held two working sessions with Mr. Shultz, conferred and had lunch with Mr. Reagan, and visited congressional leaders and Vice President Bush. Officials repeatedly reaffirmed what Mr. Reagan called "our fundamental commitment to Israel's national security."

But Mr. Reagan also pointedly affirmed his Mideast initiative of two years ago, in which he proposed association between Jordan and disputed territory now held by Israel. The previous Israeli government rejected that approach.

Mr. Peres said the new government is divided on the question but will make a decision when that becomes necessary. Asked if Mr. Reagan made future U.S. support contingent upon Israeli concessions on such broader issues, Mr. Peres answered with a firm no.

Was he sensitive, a questioner asked, to the point that U.S. aid now totals more than \$1,000 a year for every Israeli? "We are aware of it," Mr. Peres said. "We are thankful."

But he went on to say that Israel used American aid for a secure strategic position, not for its standard of living. The money, he suggested, was a good security investment for the United States.



LEADER...Continued

["President Duarte's offer to meet with the guerrilla military leaders is a major forward step in the process of national reconciliation based on democratic elections and a clear advance in the search for peace in Central America. We applaud this speech and these actions and fully support them," the U.S. Embassy said in a statement read over the telephone by a spokesman.

[In Washington, State Department spokesman Joe Reap said Duarte's offer "is a clear advance in the search for peace in Central America."]

La Palma is on a main highway on the edge of the guerrilla zone. It is a village of artisans known for their pottery, and is one of the few places in the country where a visitor can drive from government to guerrilla territory and back without encountering difficulties.

The date set for the meeting is the fifth anniversary of the overthrow of a right-wing junta by a group of reform-minded junior officers.

It is also the deadline set by the Contadora group—Mexico, Panama, Colombia and Venezuela—for responses from the five Central American nations to the text the group has proposed as the basis for a regional peace. The four-nation group, which first met on Panama's Contadora Island, has been trying to negotiate a Central American peace agreement for 2½ years.

In his speech, Duarte announced that El Salvador would seek changes in the text "for the verification and control of everything that has been agreed to." He explained to reporters later that the text does not provide El Salvador with assurances against destabilization.

"We fear," he said, "that we will be left helpless against support for the guerrillas from other countries, including Nicaragua," unless broader guarantees are provided. Duarte proposed that the next step be direct negotiations among the five Central American countries—Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador—"to try to correct all these difficulties of the Contadora act."

The initial reaction to Duarte's offer from Nicaraguan sources was that his announcement was intended

to distract attention from El Salvador's reservations about the Contadora plan, and to drive a wedge between Salvadoran guerrilla leaders and their civilian allies. Nicaragua supports the Contadora proposal.

For Duarte, it was a reversal of the stand he had held since taking office June 1, when he said no dialogue with rebel representatives could be undertaken until a "climate of security" has been established in the country. This was interpreted to mean the securing of his own authority against threats from far right politicians and death squads allied with them.

Before his election, Duarte had spoken of dialogue to end the civil war but had warned that talks were not possible with the civilian opposition leaders until they established control over the guerrilla armies. He had never before suggested direct talks with the rebel military commanders of the five armies in the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front. While the rebels have charged that Duarte cannot get rid of the groups within the armed forces that cooperate with the death squads, the president has said that the leftist politicians cannot control the guerrillas.

The left—both civilian and military—repeatedly has proposed a dialogue, and has criticized Duarte for renegeing on his earlier promise of one. But the rebels have rejected government insistence that the agenda be limited to the terms under which they could participate in legislative elections next March.

Today's statement by Duarte left the content of the talks wide open. He announced that "in due course I shall propose to our legislative assembly [a] general amnesty for political crimes." There have been four other amnesties in El Salvador since the 1979 coup. In the most recent, last year, several hundred political prisoners were released, but few guerrillas turned in their arms. It was not known if the amnesty proposed today would be different from the previous ones.

BALTIMORE SUN
9 OCTOBER 1984
Pg. 1

Salvador rebels get talks bid

Duarte invites guerrillas to parley

By Henry Trehwhitt
Washington Bureau of The Sun

WASHINGTON — To the applause of the U.S. administration, President Jose Napoleon Duarte of El Salvador proposed yesterday a meeting with guerrilla opponents to discuss "their incorporation in the process of democracy" as a step toward new elections.

Mr. Duarte's remarks to the United Nations General Assembly appeared to be his most conciliatory since he became president in May. He attached no political conditions, omitting a familiar one excluding rebels from a political role in advance of elections.

In Washington, officials welcomed what one called a significant step in Mr. Duarte's effort to stabilize El Salvador. At the United Nations, Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, the U.S. ambassador, applauded. Representatives of Nicaragua, which the United States says sustains the Salvadoran revolution, did not.

Mr. Duarte, committed against extremes of both left and right, made his offer in dramatic fashion. He proposed a meeting with leaders of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN), umbrella organization for five guerrilla groups, at 10 a.m. Monday in La Palma, a town near the Honduran border.

He would go without arms and without security, he said, just as the rebels must appear unarmed, to discuss "their incorporation in our democracy." He was offering "the safety and security of a political place in a pluralistic, democratic, constitutional system," he promised.

By going unprotected, he said, he was "placing my life as a guarantee to have this meeting attain peace." Representatives of the Salvadoran

BIDS...Continued

Catholic Church, the international press and "the population" would be invited.

Previous efforts to bring together the insurgents and the government have bogged down mainly on a critical point: the rebel insistence on a share of power from the beginning, and the government's refusal — with U.S. backing — to grant it unless gained through elections.

Mr. Duarte simply did not address the point. The assumption by U.S. officials was that negotiations about that would be difficult, and perhaps impossible, but that Mr. Duarte's position had opened up a new area for discussion.

Indeed, Mr. Duarte seemed to imply that the proposed meeting might cover more than just the terms for future voting. The goal, he said at one point, would be to bring the insurgents "into the process of democracy, and the preparation of an atmosphere of freedom so that we may have another popular election."

In a formal response later, the State Department called Mr. Duarte's offer a "major step" and a "clear advance in the search for peace in Central America." But it noted that he had also endorsed the 21 proposals of four mediating Latin American countries — the so-called Contadora group — for regional peace, along with guarantees of compliance with commitments.

In sum, a State Department official said, the specific new element in Mr. Duarte's offer was that of a time and place for a meeting, with elections as a goal. There was no indication, another emphasized, that the guerrillas — confronted by a stronger, democratic government — would be "allowed to shoot their way to power."

The strategic situation in El Salvador has changed in recent months.

Mr. Duarte, who has strong democratic credentials, was elected president last May over Roberto D'Aubuisson, a right-wing candidate. Political killings by the right have declined, and the army's performance is widely regarded as having improved, both on the battlefield and in its treatment of noncombatants.

Mr. Duarte said he was addressing his offer to the guerrillas of the FMLN because "they alone have the real power to negotiate peace." But he also pointed out at a news conference that the government will debate a leader of the Democratic Revolutionary Front, the political arm of the insurgents, Friday in Los Angeles.

While some revolutionary leaders hinted they would react favorably to a formal invitation from Mr. Duarte, their group response to the political offensive is uncertain — as is the reaction of Salvador's powerful right-wing leaders. Referring to the left, Mr. Duarte said, "I am ready. ... But I cannot guarantee what the other side will do."

There has been speculation for years that Salvadoran revolutionary leaders of widely differing views would fragment in the face of a genuinely conciliatory government offer.

U.S. administration officials, determined to block communism in Central America, have said they are encouraged by Mr. Duarte's demonstrable progress. For its part, the administration is assured of most of the military aid it has requested from Congress for El Salvador. There is still some prospect that Congress, despite House reluctance, will permit the administration to continue covert support for anti-government guerrillas in Nicaragua.

NEW YORK TIMES
9 OCTOBER 1984 Pg. 1

INSURGENTS WANT FORMAL INVITATION

Rebel Leaders in Mexico City Say They Would Be Willing to Confer With Duarte

By JAMES LeMOYNE
Special to The New York Times

MEXICO CITY, Oct. 8 — Salvadoran insurgent leaders said here today that they had been "completely surprised" by President José Napoleón Duarte's offer to meet with them. They said they were "open and attentive" to the prospect of a meeting if Mr. Duarte formally invited them to El Salvador.

"We are awaiting deeds in the coming hours," said Salvador Samayoa, a member of the political-diplomatic commission of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front. "If he sends us a communiqué or an emissary, our position would be undoubtedly positive."

Mr. Samayoa said the insurgents would not "accept a speech as an official proposal."

"We hope for a form of communication that is private and formal," he said. "As soon as we have it, we will be able to consider it."

Mr. Samayoa spoke in an interview, which was also attended by Mario Lopez, another commission member. They said their statements were a preliminary reply to Mr. Duarte's offer. The entire insurgent leadership will make an official response in few days, they added.

First Specific Offer of Talks

The rebel officials said it was the first time Mr. Duarte had specified a time and place for talks. The rebels have often said that they are willing to meet for "a dialogue without conditions."

Mr. Duarte said in a speech before the United Nations that he was willing to meet with rebel representatives next Monday in La Palma, a town near the Honduran border, 45 miles north of San Salvador. La Palma has often been occupied by insurgent forces.

Mr. Samayoa said the rebels would be willing to agree to a cease-fire as a condition for talks. He added that negotiations should focus on "peace and ending the war."

Mr. Duarte's offer appears to mark a shift from the policy he has followed since being elected President four months ago. While campaigning, he promised to pursue talks to end the five-year-old civil war.

But since taking office, he has appeared to back away from that position, saying that he would first work to create political conditions making talks possible.

He did, however, support a prisoner exchange and also agreed to send an aide to debate rebel leaders in Los Angeles in November.

Duarte Sought Army Support

Rebel leaders have dismissed such gestures as inadequate. In a news conference here on Friday, Rubén Zamora, a leading spokesman, accused Mr. Duarte of "playing with negotiations." He said two specific proposals by the rebels had yielded no reply.

According to Salvadoran Government officials, Mr. Duarte has tried to gain the support of the army before opening talks.

Death squads thought to be associated with the security forces have often threatened to kill those favoring negotiations. When President Alvaro Magaña pursued talks last year, the death squads reacted with a string of highly publicized murders.

It is not clear why Mr. Duarte believes that negotiations are now possible. But his thinking may have been influenced by developments in the so-called Contadora peace process aimed at bringing about a settlement in Central America.

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

3V

69.99

AT THE HUB®

Botany '500' Fall Suit Sale

One of the best-known names in men's clothes, on sale in season. Fall poly/wool suits in all the popular patterns and colors. Navy, gray, char-blue and brown.

Now \$169.99

Regularly \$250.00

the®
Men & Boys Stores
In Malls Near You.

WHITEMARSH AND HUNT VALLEY MALLS

Montgomery Mall, Doylestown Shopping Center, Oxford Valley Mall, J. Exton Square Mall, Coventry Mall, Berkshire Mall, Lebanon Valley Mall, Crest Plaza Shopping Center, Westgate Mall, Palmer Park Mall, Downing Valley Mall, Viewmont Mall, New Jersey—Deptford Mall, State Mall, Maryland—Hunt Valley Mall, Whitemarsh Mall.
OPENING SOON, Plymouth Meeting Mall.

Mideast not 'ripe' for U.S. mediation

By Henry Trehwitt
Washington Bureau of The Sun

WASHINGTON. — After careful exploration, the administration has made a decision about renewed Mideast mediation: Not now, maybe later.

The judgment, an informed official said yesterday, is that everyone concerned with Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon — the first objective — has fixed a price too high. And the United States, its influence diminished, is in no position to force compromise.

That does not mean the United States has been dealt out of the Middle East, the official said; far from it. In fact, he emphasized, it is once again clear that the principal players in the region still look to the United States for decisive diplomacy. But it does mean that the situation is not "ripe," as he put it, "for real arm-twisting."

While Richard W. Murphy, the assistant secretary of state for the region, was in the Mideast investigating the September 21 bombing of the U.S. Embassy annex in Beirut, he had another mission as well.

It was to evaluate the growing signals that the area would be receptive to U.S. mediation only six months after U.S. peacekeeping troops were driven, in effect, from Lebanon. The signals were even coming from the Lebanese government, which had accommodated to Syrian influence after American withdrawal, as well as, tentatively, from Syria itself.

Mr. Murphy visited Lebanon, Syria, Israel, Egypt and Jordan. In days of greater hope, that would have been called shuttle diplomacy for mediation. In this case the billing was more modest. Mr. Murphy, the administration said, was merely assessing the possibilities and "putting out ideas." He did not carry a peace plan or even more limited proposals, officials declared firmly.

It was clear, however, that an idea for one government is a plan to another. Mr. Murphy indeed was trying out in one place the ideas he heard in another. The upshot, a U.S. diplomat remarked, was that the gaps are too wide for early progress, at least before the U.S. election November 6.

Serious diplomacy, even indirect diplomacy, toward a broad Mideast settlement will not begin, everyone agrees, until the Israelis — bogged down after two years in Lebanon — are out.

ment agrees on the objective. But the Israelis will not leave in the absence of a security system in southern Lebanon that prevents a revival of terrorism in northern Israel.

Israel has quietly abandoned its position — as has the United States — that the Syrians must withdraw concurrently. Concurrent withdrawal was the goal when U.S. troops were committed to Lebanon last year as part of a multinational force, only to lose 255 men to terrorists. Now, U.S. diplomats say, a conciliatory gesture on Syria's part would ease Israeli withdrawal.

But Syria has not made it. President Hafez el Assad will not give even tacit approval for a minimum, residual Israeli presence for intelligence gathering in Lebanon.

"He may know that the Israelis would reenter Lebanon if sufficiently provoked," an administration official said, "but he will not acknowledge to the slightest degree their right to do so."

Until that, problem is resolved, there is little hope for reengaging the Mideast in long-term, chronic issues such as the future of Palestinians under Israeli control and a broader Mideast peace. That became clear to Mr. Murphy in Jordan.

King Hussein, still dependent on the United States, nonetheless has said that early peacemaking is impossible because the United States knuckles under to Israel. Yet he now has restored relations with Egypt, the only Arab country to make formal peace with Israel.

U.S. exploration will continue methodically. There will be talks here next week with Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres.

But the discussions are expected to be devoted equally to economic reforms necessary for Israel to justify expanded U.S. aid. But nothing conclusive is expected, U.S. officials say, on either security arrangements or aid.

"The Americans are not ready to stick their necks out," said a diplomat familiar with Israeli thinking. "They feel that since all this is going to be a long haul, why start it before the elections?"

In New York, where he is attending the U.N. General Assembly meeting, Lebanese Prime Minister Rashid Karami said yesterday that he had asked for a meeting with President Reagan, "because we want America to play a constructive role in our cause in Lebanon."

But a White House spokesman said there were no plans for such a

U.S. may join Cambodia conference

By Henry Trehitt

Washington Bureau of The Sun

WASHINGTON — The administration announced yesterday that if it were invited by Southeast Asian countries it would attend a conference including regional and global powers to seek a settlement in Cambodia.

In effect, the carefully drawn State Department language responded to Vietnam's tentative offers to negotiate a withdrawal of its troops from Cambodia. In the long run, a U.S. diplomat said, current maneuvering could open a new chapter in Southeast Asian politics, including the U.S. role.

The negotiating framework endorsed yesterday would be a throwback to 1954, when outside powers — including the United States, Britain, France, China and the Soviet Union — stumbled into temporary partition of Vietnam. How widely acceptable the new framework might be is not clear.

It is a long way, an American of-

ficial cautioned, from the present state of play to negotiations or even to agreement on the makeup of a conference. Another suggested that for the moment everyone involved, especially Vietnam and the United States, is seeking a propaganda advantage, or avoiding a disadvantage.

Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach, who was in Tokyo yesterday while en route to the U.N. General Assembly in New York, restated his government's interest in negotiations concerning Cambodia.

"If one is serious, one must sit down and negotiate quietly," he said. Asked whether the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), closely associated with the United States, would talk without making Vietnamese withdrawal a precondition, he replied: "I hope so."

Alan Romberg, a State Department spokesman, said Vietnamese readiness to negotiate a political settlement in Cambodia, based on troop withdrawal and free elections, "would be a welcome development." He noted that Mr. Thach is sched-

uled to meet the foreign ministers of Indonesia and Malaysia — members of ASEAN — in New York and said the United States would be interested in "the results of those discussions."

The current interplay is closely related to Vietnam's recent history, including relations with the United States. Communist North Vietnam overwhelmed the U.S.-supported forces of the south in 1975, two years after the withdrawal of the last American combat troops.

In 1977, the United States and Vietnam came close to reconciliation. But negotiations broke down over Vietnam's insistence on war reparations from America. A year later, Vietnam invaded Cambodia, crushing one Communist government, the brutal, Chinese-backed Khmer Rouge, and replacing it with another.

Ever since, the United States has made Vietnamese withdrawal, along with accounting for U.S. military men still missing in Vietnam, a condition for improved relations.

BS

10/4/84

p 13A

Wednesday 3 October

Soviets may want better ties, U.S. envoy says

By Henry Trehwilt
Washington Bureau of The Sun

WASHINGTON — Soviet leaders may be interested in renewed exchanges with Washington after the U.S. presidential election, the U.S. ambassador to Moscow said yesterday, but it still is unclear whether they are sufficiently united to act.

Ambassador Arthur A. Hartman was cautious about potential results from the visit of Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko to New York and Washington last week. The exchanges were "useful to clarify

American views and provide a sense of American policy," he said. "But we won't know until after the election."

He judged Konstantin U. Chernenko, the Soviet leader chosen after the death of Yuri V. Andropov earlier this year, to be an interim figure. Even many Soviets, he said, "would admit that Chernenko does not have the full backing of the apparatus."

Mr. Gromyko, the most enduring figure in the Soviet leadership, was relentless in his public criticism of U.S. foreign policy. In meetings with President Reagan and Secretary of State George P. Shultz, he was said to have been tough but non-polemical. Even after 40-odd years of dealing with Americans, Mr. Hartman said, he "still seems capable of misconceptions about us and about the outside world."

Mr. Reagan argued publicly and, officials said, privately for renewal of wide-ranging exchanges, including arms control negotiations, between Moscow and Washington. Mr. Gromyko insisted on U.S. concessions in advance, "deeds, not words," as he put it.

But Mr. Hartman said he was more interested in the tone of Tass, the Soviet news agency, after the exchanges than in the earlier polemics.

Tass calmly reported agreement to keep talking in language close to that of Mr. Shultz, Mr. Hartman noted.

The ambassador, at a luncheon meeting with reporters, was impatient with those who attributed frigid U.S.-Soviet relations of the past 3½ years to Mr. Reagan's anti-Soviet attitude. That period, he noted, covered the illness and death of two Soviet leaders and now the uncertain leadership of Mr. Chernenko.

With an authoritarian state, he said, "you need a strong leader if you are to accomplish anything" in negotiations. He freely remarked, "We don't know," to several questions about where the leadership goes next.

He cited three examples of recent confusion among present leaders. One was the unexplained ouster of Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov as chief of staff, who was removed while some of his supporters were away from Moscow.

The two others he listed were what are regarded widely in the west as public relations fiascos related to arms control. One was the Soviet Union's walkout late last year from negotiations over intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe. The other was its more recent

abandonment of its own offer to negotiate space weaponry after the United States insisted on bringing up other issues.

A senior U.S. diplomat suggested yesterday that Soviet foreign policy may remain erratic until new leadership emerges. That does not mean there will be no negotiations, he said, but it adds uncertainty to the outlook.

It is apparent, he said, that some Soviet officials would like to see a "non-fee first transition" next time, in other words an orderly one not necessarily based on death. But it is clear, in the U.S. judgment, that Moscow's power brokers have been unable to agree on a successor.

In keeping with public speculation, the private U.S. assessment is that the main rivals are Mikhail S. Gorbachev, 53, and Grigori V. Romanov, 61. Success for Mr. Gorbachev would be seen here as a step toward decentralization, more power to managers, and a pragmatic foreign policy in the pattern started by Mr. Andropov.

Victory for Mr. Romanov would be regarded as a victory for the central party bureaucracy and probably herald a more polemical foreign policy.

U.S. wants alterations in draft Latin treaty

By Henry Trehwitt
Washington Bureau of The Sun

WASHINGTON — Substantial changes in a draft treaty for Central America and delay in Nicaragua's elections are necessary, the administration said yesterday, if current negotiations are to bring stability to the region.

In fact, a senior official reported, Nicaragua's leftist government is the only one to support the draft as it now stands. Even its drafters — except possibly Mexico — were said to agree that further revisions are required.

The treaty draft completed last month, the second produced by the so-called Contadora group, is crafted to regulate arms levels, reduce foreign meddling, promote democracy, and encourage peaceful exchanges throughout Central America. It grew

out of concern, with the United States among those most concerned, about the rise of the Sandinista government of Nicaragua and the leftist insurgency in El Salvador.

The United States regards the document drafted by the Contadora group — Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela and Panama — as what one official called "a good next step" toward a solution. But it is short on specifics, such as ways to enforce compliance, he said.

Senior State Department officials conceded that Nicaragua had seized the propaganda initiative by endorsing the draft in its present form. One called it a "propaganda ploy" to divert attention from the Nicaraguan

elections.

Under terms now fixed for the voting, U.S. officials say, it can only

confirm the Sandinistas in power. Unless it is postponed, they argue, the Sandinistas will argue that they have held "free and fair" elections and be doubly reluctant to accept democratic reforms.

(The Associated Press reported from Managua yesterday that the Sandinista government and the leading political opposition have agreed to postpone the elections.

(The AP, quoting an opposition source who asked not to be identified, said the agreement was reached in Rio de Janeiro, where Sandinista political coordinator Bayardo Arce met yesterday with opposition leader Arturo Cruz. He said the meeting was arranged through the Socialist International, a worldwide organization of Socialist parties and affiliates meeting in Brazil.

(No new date was set for the elections, the source said.

(Meanwhile, Nicaragua's head of state, Daniel Ortega Saavedra, said in an interview with *The New York Times* that the Sandinistas were unwilling to accept any modifications in the treaty. "Any modifications that might be submitted would only destroy the document," he said.

("There is no time for modifications, no time for further discussions," Mr. Ortega added. "The only thing left right now is to make a decision whether, in fact, we are for peace, or if we support a continuation of a policy of war.")

The administration went public yesterday with its reservations about the Contadora draft in an effort to counter an impression that the Sandinistas are committed to arms control and democracy. A senior State Department official listed three areas of concern:

□ A "lack of simultaneity." What that meant, he said, was that the United States would have to limit or end activity in the area immediately while leaving arms limitations in Nicaragua for later negotiations.

□ Lack of "precise detail about verification" of compliance. The draft authorizes appointment of five "verifiers" by the Contadora governments, but makes no provision for staff, for operating funds, or for enforcement.

□ Vagueness about democratization. The weak language included at Sandinista insistence, one official said, could amount to nothing more than ratification of the Nicaraguan political system.

All the governments concerned except Nicaragua — that is, the Contadora governments as well as those of El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala and Costa Rica — have differing views about the treaty, administration spokesmen reported. All nine are scheduled to meet in Panama October 16, the day after a deadline for formal commentary on the language, to sort out the treaty's status.

The U.S. role in the process is that of the great power exercising influence on the sidelines. Nicaragua has demanded that the United States sign the document along with the countries of the region. U.S. officials say they of course would not accept worldwide restrictions of the sort to be applied to the region. But in fact, one said yesterday, "We've not decided exactly what our formal role will be."

By inviting comment, he added, the Contadora group indicated that its members did not judge their current draft to be a final one. They have not been specific on that point, however, and Mexico more than others has promoted the draft. Several countries in the region — including El Salvador — have issued contradictory statements about the draft's degree of acceptability.

"Some of the deficiencies are substantial," an administration official said yesterday.

Gromyko talks⁵⁰ weren't flashy, but important

ANALYSIS

By Henry Trewhitt

Washington Bureau of The Sun

WASHINGTON — Those watching the U.S.-Soviet exchanges last week for concessions toward detente were disappointed and unrealistic. What they saw is what they got, but it was no small thing.

What they got was political reengagement of the great powers after almost four years of long-distance snarling. President Reagan and Andrei A. Gromyko, the Soviet foreign minister, agreed to keep talking.

Of course, there have been many exchanges in recent years, and some are still under way. But they are minor by comparison with the hoop-la surrounding Mr. Gromyko and Mr. Reagan during their week in New York and Washington.

Both addressed the United Nations, with Mr. Reagan in the role of near-suppliant for peace. The president's tone seemed to complete a transition away from the days when he denounced the Soviet Union as an "evil empire" destined for "the ash heap of history."

Mr. Gromyko was the hard-liner, blaming the United States for all that is wrong with the world. He kept saying "show me" to Mr. Reagan's apparent conversion to peace-maker.

The same tone, from all informed accounts, dominated two private meetings between Mr. Gromyko and Secretary of State George P. Shultz, and the long Gromyko-Reagan ses-

See **GROMYKO**, 2A, Col. 1

Talks weren't flashy, but important

GROMYKO, from 1A

sion in Washington.

Each side heard what the other was saying. It was the meaning that was uncertain.

There was hypocrisy enough on both sides. Mr. Reagan called spheres of influence a thing of the past even as he invited the Russians to help settle regional problems around the world.

With tunnel vision, Mr. Gromyko blamed the United States even for the torment of Afghanistan, where a Soviet invasion force is having a difficult time of it.

The administration, while labeling the meetings useful, was careful

not to oversell their potential. The Soviets, in their own public evaluation, finally omitted their familiar skepticism to conclude that talking was a good thing.

The key to where the relationship goes from here probably is in understanding the motives. What drives the two governments in the current maneuvering?

Mr. Reagan's superficial motives are easy to understand. It is no accident that he invited Mr. Gromyko five weeks before American voters decide whether to reelect him.

But there is more to it than that. All the evidence suggests Mr. Reagan did not have to change to get reelected. Most presidents, however,

want to exit as peacemakers.

He had to shun his own right wing to start the process. It now seems clear that Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and some of his aides, those most skeptical about arms control, were excluded from decision-making.

Soviet leaders might reasonably think that Mr. Reagan has moved so far toward moderation that reversing course again in the absence of severe provocation is all but impossible. Nonetheless, it surely would be a mistake to think that Mr. Reagan has become a soft touch.

Indeed, the State Department, the primary influence for a change of tone, foresees very hard going if negotiations develop. But even more than the president, Mr. Shultz thinks that getting started is essential.

Mr. Gromyko doubtless knows all this. He has dealt with Americans for almost 40 years. Obviously he would not accept the premise that the United States can dictate terms.

But neither can he wish to provoke Mr. Reagan, who is apparently on the eve of reelection, without good cause. For that matter, he may see some real profit for Moscow in Mr. Reagan's yearning for talks.

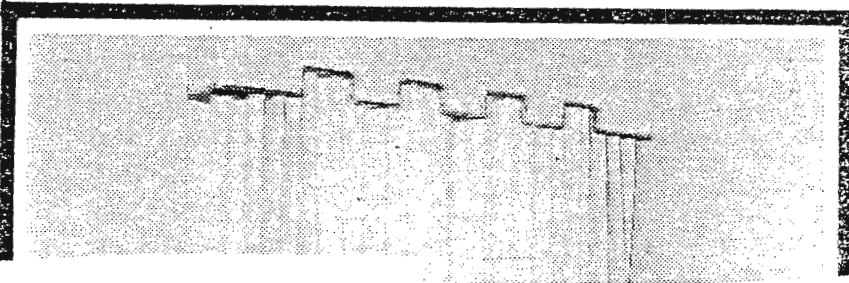
There is compelling evidence that Moscow needs relief in the superpower competition. The global reach of Soviet influence has been costly — in Afghanistan, Southeast Asia and Central America.

The domestic economy is staggering. Another bad harvest has increased dependence on U.S. grain.

Mr. Shultz probably came the closest to wisdom in the frantic week when he remarked that the meetings had established a necessary first milestone. It is up to the Soviets, he said, to decide where the relationship goes from here.

CUSTOM
SHOP-AT-HOME
PHONE
792-0891*

No charge, no obligation estimates



Gromyko says U.S. policies must change

Sunday Sep 30

By Henry Trehwitt

Washington Bureau of The Sun

WASHINGTON — The Soviet Union and the United States yesterday ended a week of intense diplomacy about how to negotiate critical issues with agreement only to keep talking — and without saying how or when.

President Reagan said that he had assured the Soviets of "a fair deal" if they would negotiate. But Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko remained publicly skeptical, saying that "a turn for the better is impossible" unless U.S. policies change.

Mr. Gromyko's remarks were issued before his closing session yesterday with Secretary of State George P. Shultz. But as the foreign minister left for Moscow in late afternoon, Soviet officials said that nothing had happened to change his mind.

The contrasting positions had been consistent throughout the week: Mr. Reagan appealed for efforts to improve relations; Mr. Gromyko called for American concessions in advance. There was no indication that either side had changed its posi-

tions on issues ranging from arms control to the Middle East.

The key result of the exchanges, including almost four hours of talks between Mr. Reagan and Mr. Gromyko Friday, one official said, "was the one right before your eyes." That, he argued, was "the political reengagement" of the superpowers after almost four years of estrangement during Mr. Reagan's presidency.

Mr. Shultz and Mr. Gromyko spoke with each other for more than two hours at the State Department yesterday. That meeting had not been scheduled formally until after Mr. Gromyko left the White House Friday. But U.S. officials, aware that the foreign minister had Saturday free, had assumed in advance that it would occur.

"Nothing more," Mr. Gromyko shouted to reporters as he left the State Department. Mr. Shultz was slightly more forthcoming. There had been "substantial discussions," he said, and "among other things we agreed . . . to keep in touch, and to do so, not casually, but carefully through diplomatic channels."

There was no hint of what the "other things" might be. One senior official said there had been "agreement on a process of follow-up conversations and . . . we hope that over time we'll see a more positive response from the Soviet Union."

Another official was even less optimistic about timing. Indeed a response is expected, he said, "but we don't expect anything in the short term." The Soviets, he speculated, will need time to assess a range of

See GROMYKO, 12A, Col. 1

GROMYKO VISIT

end talks, agree only to continue



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Secretary of State George P. Shultz (left) talks to Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko yesterday in Washington.

Reagan proposals extending from the resumption of specific arms control negotiations — which Moscow has suspended — to establishment of regular ministerial meetings.

In any case, no one here expects a concrete response until after November 6, when American voters will decide whether to give Mr. Reagan a second term. Mr. Gromyko conferred Thursday in New York with Walter F. Mondale, Mr. Reagan's Democratic opponent. Tass, the Soviet news agency, spoke encouragingly later about some of Mr. Mondale's ideas for arms control.

By and large, one U.S. diplomat said, Mr. Gromyko had earned high marks for even-handedness in listening to both Mr. Mondale and Mr. Reagan. But Mr. Reagan had come out ahead in that respect, the diplomat suggested, because he appeared as "the president in office seeking

peace against Russian intransigence."

Mr. Reagan, in his regular Saturday radio broadcast, said he had made no effort to "paper over" critical differences between Moscow and Washington. Now, he said, "the Soviets will return home to ponder our exchanges. And while they know they will not secure any advantages from inflexibility, they will get a fair deal if they seek the path of negotiations and peace."

The president was at Camp David in the Maryland mountains. Robert Sims, a deputy White House spokesman, said Mr. Shultz had called Mr. Reagan immediately after the closing session yesterday to report that "we have established a necessary milestone on the way to more stable relations."

But the primary diplomatic load, officials insisted, had been carried

by Mr. Reagan himself, first in a United Nations address Monday and then in his Friday exchanges with Mr. Gromyko. For his meeting with the Soviet foreign minister, one official reported, the president had prepared nine pages of notes about points he wanted to make.

Mr. Reagan specifically emphasized two points regarded as concerns of the Soviet leadership, the official said. First, he recognized the Soviet Union as a legitimate superpower and, second, he promised that, while he disagreed with the Soviet system, he would not try to change it.

For his part, Mr. Gromyko, a master diplomat, found time for banter with Mrs. Reagan. At one point, an official said, he proposed a toast to her and asked her to whisper the word "peace" over and over in her husband's ear.

Mr. Gromyko apparently was aware of reports that Mrs. Reagan sometimes prompts her husband. In reply, she said — with "good humor," the official reported — that she would be happy to whisper the word in Mr. Gromyko's ear as well.

Even after the personal exchanges, a White House official said, the Reagan and Gromyko speeches at the United Nations last week — Mr. Reagan's Monday, Mr. Gromyko's Thursday — remained the best guide to the tone and substance of the week. Mr. Reagan, discarding earlier criticism and intensifying overtures of recent months, said little critical of the Soviet Union. Mr. Gromyko blamed most of the world's problems on Washington.