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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

CCB 10/5/00

Collection: BAKER, JAMES: Files

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File Folder: Communications [1/4] ~~Box 10513~~ *Kx 3*

Date: 5/6/97

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. Memo	Gergen to Deaver, re: State of the Union (3 pp.)	12/5/83	P5
2. Memo	Gergen to Darman, re: Signing Statement on Civil Rights (2 pp.)	7/16/81	P5
3. Memo	Gergen to Deaver, re: follow-up on Grenada (4 pp.)	11/1/83	P5
4. Memo	Roussel to File, re: Les Janka (2 pp.)	10/31/83	P5 <i>B6</i>
5. Memo	Roussel to Baker & Deaver, Lebanon affecting travel (1 pg.)	10/24/83	P5
6. Memo	Gergen to Dolan & Elliot, re: Heritage Foundation	9/27/83	P5
7. Memo	Gergen to Baker, re: follow-up on Korean airliner disaster (5 pp.)	9/8/83	P5

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA].
- P-2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].
- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA].
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA].
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA].
- C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- F-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA].
- F-2 Release could disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA].
- F-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA].
- F-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA].
- F-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA].
- F-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA].
- F-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].
- F-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Jim Baker
from Bob Sims

December 21, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR: BUD McFARLANE
FROM: BOB SIMS
SUBJECT: TIME Interview

Attached is the edited text of Time's interview with the President. Larry Barrett has asked that we review it and return it to him by noon Wednesday.

In one place, Larry has edited out a Q and A in which the President clarifies the answer on "focus of evil", by indicating he would not use that term again because he has already made his point to the Soviets. Should we ask them to put that back in?

Otherwise, the interview looks very good to me. Would appreciate receiving from you and changes you believe are necessary.

Attachment

12/21
OK to Sims
JMS

See * proposed
edits.

yes

QWQWETX
TIMEINC NYK
TIMEINC WSH

①

PAGE -1-
R10004

TIMEINC WSH

TIMEINC NYK

STM: /RP/
TO: WASHINGTON

MSG: PLA

FOR: WWSH

FROM: WORLD

BY:

IN:

SLUG: INTERVIEW

CLOSE: 12/23/83

TK:

LINES:

DUE:

EOH:

THE FOLLOWING STORY, SENIOR EDITED BUT UNCHECKED,
IS SENT TO YOU FOR COMMENTS AND CORRECTIONS

SENT FROM ATEX AT 19:43:32 19-DEC-83, SN: T7664.

(FILE: CONGREGNV-BIGBOY-TME, FMT: ,

HNJ: Y 0381 LINES.)

CONFRONTATION: REAGAN INTERVIEW (BARRETT)ALF LINE COUNT: 371

→ HM/RCC AN INTERVIEW WITH PRESIDENT REAGAN @@THERE IS
LESS OF A DANGER TODAY THAN THERE WAS A FEW YEARS AGO''

THE MORNING'S BULLETIN FROM VIENNA REPORTED ANOTHER CHILL
OF SILENCE IN THE DIMINISHING DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE U.S. AND
THE SOVIET UNION. NEGOTIATIONS ON REDUCING CONVENTIONAL
FORCES HAD GONE INTO RECESS WITH THE WARSAW PACT NATIONS
REFUSING TO SET A DATE FOR RESUMPTION OF THE TALKS. BUT THAT
AFTERNOON IN THE OVAL OFFICE RONALD REAGAN'S MOOD WAS
SANGUINE, HIS BEARING CONFIDENT, AS HE DISCUSSED SOVIET-
AMERICAN RELATIONS WITH THREE VISITORS FROM : EDITOR-
IN-CHIEF HENRY GRUNWALD, MANAGING EDITOR RAY CAVE AND WHITE
HOUSE CORRESPONDENT LAURENCE I. BARRETT. THE PRESIDENT WAS

QUERY

barrett

SMILE, BECAUSE @THERE ARE A GREAT MANY MISPERCEPTIONS OUT THERE ABOUT THE SITUATION NOW. AS A MATTER OF FACT, IF YOU CORRECT THE MISPERCEPTIONS, YOU'LL HAVE AN EXCLUSIVE SCOOP." HIGHLIGHTS OF THE INTERVIEW: #19 AFTER THREE YEARS OF EXPERIENCE WITH THE SOVIETS, HAVE YOU ENCOUNTERED ANYTHING THAT WAS DIFFERENT FROM YOUR EXPECTATIONS?

A) NO. I CAME HERE DETERMINED TO ATTEMPT TO BRING ABOUT A REDUCTION IN ARMS, AN END TO THE ARMS RACE. WELL, IT REALLY HADN'T BEEN AN ARMS RACE. THERE HAD ONLY BEEN A BUILDUP ON ONE SIDE. I ALSO WANTED TO SEE IF WE COULDN'T GET THE WORLD ON A PRACTICAL ROAD TO PEACE. AND I'M STILL DEDICATED TO THAT. I THINK THAT, CONTRARY TO SOME OF THE CRIES OF DESPAIR OUT THERE, THE WORLD SITUATION IS BETTER THAN IT WAS WHEN WE CAME HERE.

THERE IS ONE NEW DEVELOPMENT THAT I HAVE WORRIED ABOUT FOR SOME TIME. THAT IS THE EXTENT, LATELY, TO WHICH MILITARY LEADERS IN THE SOVIET UNION ARE, APPARENTLY WITHOUT ANY COACHING OR BEING BRIEFED BY THE CIVILIAN PART OF GOVERNMENT-- AT LEAST THERE IS NO EVIDENCE OF THAT-- TAKING IT UPON THEMSELVES TO MAKE STATEMENTS, AND RATHER BELLICOSE STATEMENTS. THERE HAS NOT, IN THE PAST, BEEN EVIDENCE OF TOP MILITARY LEADERS GOING PUBLIC WITH ATTACKS ON THE U.S. AND SEEMING TO ENUNCIATE POLICY ON THEIR OWN. WE HAVE TO BE AWARE OF THIS AND PAY A LITTLE ATTENTION TO THIS, TO SEE IF THEY HAVE BECOME A POWER ON THEIR OWN. #2 HAVE YOU

FORMED ANY IMAGE IN YOUR OWN MIND OF YOUR COUNTERPARTS OVER THERE? DOES IT HELP TO TRY TO THINK OF THEM AS HUMAN BEINGS WITH STRENGTHS AND FAILINGS? #3 REALLY, YOU DEAL WITH THEM AS HUMAN BEINGS. BUT YOU WERE AWARE THAT, CERTAINLY, THEY ARE IDEOLOGUES DEDICATED TO THE PHILOSOPHY THAT BROUGHT THEM INTO POWER. AS A MATTER OF FACT, WE HAVE HAD SOME REPORTS FROM OTHER OBSERVERS THERE AND PEOPLE FROM OTHER

(brackets) COUNTRIES THAT [SOVIET LEADERS] SEEM TO FEEL THAT THEY CAN COMMUNICATE BETTER WITH US BECAUSE WE ARE MORE CONSISTENT.

Q BETTER THAN WITH JIMMY CARTER? A, WELL, I WON'T USE ANY OTHER NAMES. BUT PREVIOUSLY THEY DIDN'T KNOW, REALLY, WHAT THE POLICY OF AMERICA WAS AND WHAT WE WERE DOING. THIS HAS BEEN RELATED TO US, AS I SAY, BY THIRD PARTIES. AT LEAST THEY KNOW WHERE WE STAND. Q IT HAS BEEN SUGGESTED, ON THE BASIS OF A STATEMENT ISSUED IN MR. ANDROPOV'S NAME, THAT THEY HAVE GIVEN UP ON YOU, DECIDED

OF GETTING INVOLVED IN AN AMERICAN ELECTION AS THEY DID IN GERMANY. I WOULD HOPE, WITH THE SAME LACK OF SUCCESS.

3

LQ BUT YOU DO NOT FEEL IT HAS BECOME IMPOSSIBLE TO DO BUSINESS WITH THEM? LA. NO, I DO NOT, BECAUSE THEY HAVE TO LOOK REALISTICALLY AT THE ALTERNATIVE. IT WAS SUMMED UP IN A CARTOON THAT I LOVE TO CITE, WHEN BREZHNEV WAS PORTRAYED AS SAYING TO A SOVIET GENERAL, "I LIKED THE ARMS RACE BETTER WHEN WE WERE THE ONLY ONES IN IT." WELL, THEY HAVE TO KNOW THAT WE ARE NOT GOING BACK TO OUR WINDOW OF VULNERABILITY THAT EXISTED BEFORE WE DID OUR MILITARY REFURBISHING. THEY HAVE TO KNOW THAT WHATEVER THEY DO IS GOING TO DICTATE OUR COURSE IN THAT REGARD. AND THEY ALSO HAVE TO KNOW THAT INDUSTRIALLY THEY CANNOT COMPETE.

LQ. CAN YOU TELL US ANYTHING ABOUT YOUR CORRESPONDENCE WITH ANDROPOV? LA. NO. AND I WOULDN'T USE THE WORD "CORRESPONDENCE," ALTHOUGH WE HAVE CHANNELS OPEN. THIS, AGAIN, IS PART OF THE MISPERCEPTION OUT THERE-- THAT, SOMEHOW, WE ARE INCOMMUNICADO, WE ARE NOT SPEAKING TO EACH OTHER. WE HAVE BEEN IN COMMUNICATION WITH THEM, AND INTEND TO CONTINUE. (REAGAN AT THIS POINT RECALLED HIS FIRST LETTER TO BREZHNEV, WRITTEN IN APRIL 1981, WHILE CONVALESCING FROM THE ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT.) I WROTE THAT LETTER TO BREZHNEV IN LONGHAND AND IT WAS SENT TO HIM IN LONGHAND. I SAID TO HIM THAT I HAVE LONG BELIEVED THAT HIS PEOPLE AND OUR PEOPLE WANTED THE SAME THINGS: THAT THOSE PEOPLE OUT THERE ON THE STREET, IN THEIR HOMES, WANT TO RAISE THEIR FAMILIES IN PEACE. THEY WANT TO EDUCATE THEIR CHILDREN. I SAID THAT ONLY GOVERNMENTS SEEM TO CAUSE WARS, WARS DO NOT COME FROM PEOPLE. NOW, WHETHER HE READ THAT LETTER OR NOT, I DON'T KNOW, AND WILL NEVER HAVE ANY WAY OF KNOWING. AFTER QUITE A LONG DELAY, THE ANSWER THAT CAME TO ME WAS NOT HANDWRITTEN, NOR WAS IT PERSONAL. IT WAS THE USUAL RHETORIC THAT IS PUBLICLY EXCHANGED BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. LQ WOULD YOU SEND THE SAME KIND OF LETTER TO MR. ANDROPOV?

LA. WE HAVE TRIED TO GET THIS KIND OF CORRESPONDENCE, BUT IT HAS BEEN DIFFICULT. I UNDERSTAND THE SITUATION WITH THE NEW REGIME COMING IN AFTER THE DEATH OF BREZHNEV. [AND NOW IF THERE ARE HEALTH PROBLEMS OR WHATEVER.] LQ BUT YOU DO NOT FEEL SUCH A LETTER WOULD BE APPROPRIATE AT THIS TIME?

LA. I FEEL A LITTLE HARD PUT BECAUSE OF THE LACK OF *stands* INFORMATION AND KNOWLEDGE THAT WE HAVE ABOUT WHERE HE *[IS]* IT

*

*

YOU KNEW WHERE HE WAS AND FELT YOU KNEW HOW TO REACH HIM. BUT WE DO HAVE CONTACTS, WE CAN GET OUR VIEWS THERE AND SOLICIT THEIRS. WE HAVE DISCUSSED SPECIFIC ISSUES BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES AND HAD SOME RESULT FROM THEM.

Q WHEN YOU SAY, @@WHERE HE ^{stands} WAS, YOU MEAN IN THE SOVIET HIERARCHY?

A YES, IN THE HIERARCHY. Q IN OTHER WORDS, YOU ARE NOT ABSOLUTELY SURE THAT HE HAS YET TOTALLY TAKEN

CONTROL OF THINGS? A I HAD A FEW MONTHS' ADVANCE WARNING TO GET A GOVERNMENT ORGANIZED, SO I KNOW WHAT SOME OF THOSE PROBLEMS ARE. Q YOU HAVE BASED YOUR NUCLEAR NEGOTIATING STRATEGY ON THE CONVICTION THAT ONCE MOSCOW WAS PERSUADED THAT DEPLOYMENT OF THE PERSHING II AND CRUISE MISSILES IN EUROPE WOULD GO AHEAD, THE SOVIETS WOULD THEN BARGAIN SERIOUSLY. NOW THOSE CONDITIONS HAVE BEEN MET. YET THE SOVIETS ARE NOT NEGOTIATING SERIOUSLY. HOW DO YOU PROPOSE TO DEAL WITH THAT? A ISN'T IT POSSIBLE THAT THEY HAD EMBARKED ON A KIND OF NEGOTIATING PROCEDURE THAT DID NOT RESULT IN NEGOTIATING DIRECTLY WITH US, BUT WAS TRYING TO BRING SOME WEAKENING OF THE NATO

ALLIANCE IN ORDER TO PREVENT THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE INTERMEDIATE-RANGE WEAPONS THAT NATO HAD ASKED US FOR IN 1979? NOW I OFFERED WHAT I THINK WAS A VERY REASONABLE AND COMMON-SENSE PROPOSAL: THE ONE WAY THERE ~~WOULD BE~~ ^(TO PREVENT THE) DEPLOYMENT WAS IF THEY WOULD DESTROY THEIR WEAPONS ~~AND~~ ^(THEN WE) WOULD HAVE ZERO-ZERO, NO INTERMEDIATE-RANGE WEAPONS IN THE EUROPEAN THEATER.

THIS THEY REJECTED OUT OF HAND, AND SO I SAID, @@ALL RIGHT. IF THEY ARE UNWILLING TO GO THAT FAR, THEN WE WILL MAKE A PROPOSAL FOR A REDUCTION TO FAIR AND EQUAL AMOUNTS ON BOTH SIDES AND LET THEM COME IN AND NEGOTIATE OUT. WHAT IS A NUMBER THAT THEY WOULD BE AGREEABLE TO? AND, SO FAR, THEY HAVE STILL KEPT TO THEIR PROGRAM: @@NO, WE MUST STOP THE (NATO) DEPLOYMENT. IN OTHER WORDS, THEY BOUGHT OUR ZERO-ZERO PROPOSAL-- 50PCT. OF IT. ZERO FOR US. AND THEY HAD OVER 1,000 WARHEADS ALREADY TARGETED ON WESTERN EUROPE.

NOW THEY HAVE LEFT THE NEGOTIATIONS. I HAVE TO BELIEVE THAT ONCE THOSE MISSILES OF OURS ARE PUT IN PLACE AND THEY SEE THAT WE HAVE THE WILL TO GO FORWARD WITH THIS-- THAT THEY HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO SEPARATE THE ALLIANCE-- THEN, I THINK, THEY WILL RETURN TO THE TABLE. AND WE ARE WAITING FOR ANY PROPOSALS THAT THEY WANT TO MAKE. Q SO YOU THINK THE

(5)

Q YOU THINK IT WILL LEAD TO A REASONABLE DEAL WHEN? IN THE NEXT YEAR OR SO? **A** I DON'T KNOW WHAT THE TIME PERIOD WILL BE. BUT I DO KNOW THIS: WHEN WE CAME HERE-- YOU ASKED ABOUT SURPRISES-- WE WERE ALL SURPRISED. WE THOUGHT WE KNEW SOMETHING DURING THE CAMPAIGN OF THE SITUATION, BUT WE WERE STILL SURPRISED TO FIND HOW DESPERATE THE U.S. POSITION WAS MILITARILY. BUT WE HAVE BEEN VERY SUCCESSFUL IN WHAT WE HAVE DONE. AND I THINK THIS IS WHAT BROUGHT THE SOVIETS TO THE TABLE IN THE FIRST PLACE. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN YEARS THEY HAVE SEEN THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE THE WILL TO PROVIDE A DETERRENT FORCE. **Q** IN DEALING WITH THE SOVIETS, HAVE YOU FOUND THE WEST EUROPEAN ALLIES A HELP OR A HINDRANCE? **A** THEY HAVE BEEN VERY MUCH A HELP. THIS IS EVIDENT IN THE INF DEPLOYMENT, THEY HAVE HELD UP UNDER ALL THIS PROPAGANDA, ALL THESE DEMONSTRATIONS. YES, THE ALLIANCE IS STRONGER AND BETTER THAN IT HAS EVER BEEN.

Q DO YOU FEEL THAT THE SOVIETS ABIDE BY THEIR TREATIES AND COMMITMENTS? **A** THEY THEMSELVES HAVE DECLARED THAT PIE CRUSTS ARE MEANT TO BE BROKEN AND SO ARE TREATIES. NOW, I THINK THAT THIS IS ONE OF THE REASONS WHY, IF WE ARE TO HAVE REALLY GOOD WILL AND A TREATY OF ANY KIND, THEN THE ONLY WAY IS TO AVOID ANY POSSIBILITY OF SUSPICION ~~AND THAT~~ IS TO HAVE LEGITIMATE VERIFICATION. **Q** WHEN YOU MADE THE REMARK CONTAINING THE PHRASE @@FOCUS OF EVIL," WHICH CERTAINLY NETTLED THE SOVIETS, DID YOU FEEL THAT IT WAS APPROPRIATE? WOULD YOU MAKE THAT KIND OF REMARK AGAIN?

A I THOUGHT AT THE TIME THAT THEY REALLY HAD TO KNOW AND UNDERSTAND HOW WE FELT, WHAT OUR VIEWS WERE AND WHY WE THOUGHT IT NECESSARY TO BUILD UP OUR MILITARY DEFENSES. NO, I WOULD NOT SAY THINGS LIKE THAT AGAIN, EVEN AFTER SOME OF THE THINGS THAT HAVE BEEN DONE RECENTLY.

IN ADDITION TO THEIR AGGRESSIVE POLICY OF WANTING TO SPREAD THEIR DOCTRINE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, I BELIEVE ALSO THAT THERE IS A GREAT FEAR ON THEIR PART THAT THEY MUST BE CONSTANTLY ON GUARD AND DEFENSIVE. THIS WAS CHARACTERISTIC OF RUSSIA BEFORE IT WAS COMMUNIST, A SUSPICION OF NEIGHBORS. MAYBE IT GOES BACK TO NAPOLEON AND HIS MARCH ON MOSCOW, MAYBE IT GOES BACK TO OTHER THINGS OF THAT KIND. I WOULD LIKE TO FIND WAYS TO CONVINCE THEM THAT THERE IS NOT ANYONE IN THE WORLD THAT HAS AGGRESSIVE INTENT WHERE THEY ARE CONCERNED. CERTAINLY WE DON'T. AND WE HAVE PROOF OVER 50

ONLY POWER WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS? DID WE THREATEN THE WORLD?
DID WE SAY TO EVERYONE, @@LAY DOWN YOUR ARMS''?

I WOULD LIKE TO MAKE THEM SEE THAT IT IS TO THEIR BEST INTEREST TO JOIN US IN REDUCING ARMS. WHAT MORE OF AN INTERNATIONAL SUPERPOWER THEY COULD BE IF IT WAS NOT JUST IN THE MILITARY THAT THEY WERE SUPER, BUT IF THEY COULD JOIN THE FAMILY OF NATIONS AS TRADING PARTNERS, WORKING TOGETHER, AS ALL OF US ARE, FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THEIR OWN PEOPLE'S STANDARD OF LIVING. I DON'T KNOW WHETHER THAT'S POSSIBLE FOR THEM TO SEE, BUT I THINK IT'S WORTH A TRY. Q SPEAKING

OF THEIR JOINING THE @@FAMILY OF NATIONS, '' DO YOU THINK THEY HAVE ANY USEFUL ROLE TO PLAY JOINTLY WITH US IN THE MIDDLE EAST? A WELL, RIGHT NOW THEY ARE IN THE MIDDLE EAST IN ONE PLACE, AND THAT IS WHERE THERE IS TROUBLE. THAT HAS BEEN A TACTIC OF THEIRS: THEY DO NOT NECESSARILY START THE TROUBLE, BUT THEY GET IN AND STIR THE POT. THEY COULD BE HELPFUL IF THEY WOULD USE THEIR INFLUENCE TO PERSUADE SYRIA TO WITHDRAW FROM LEBANON AND LET THE LEBANESE REGAIN CONTROL OF THEIR COUNTRY. Q YOU HAVE VERY CONSISTENTLY SAID

THAT A SUMMIT MEETING NEEDS AN AGENDA, AND THAT IT SHOULD NOT BE EMBARKED UPON UNLESS A RESULT IS VISIBLE. BUT AS CONCERNS CONTINUE TO RISE ABOUT THE STRAIN BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THE SOVIETS, DO YOU CONCEIVE OF ANY FORM OF SUMMITRY IN THE NEAR TERM THAT COULD BE LESS FORMALIZED? A I HAVE NEVER THOUGHT OF IT SO MUCH AS BEING FORMALIZED. BUT WHEN ONE OF THESE THINGS TAKES PLACE, WE KNOW FROM THE PAST, THE HOPES OF PEOPLE WORLDWIDE ARE BROUGHT TO A HIGH LEVEL. AND THEN IF THERE IS NOTHING ACCOMPLISHED EXCEPT THAT YOU HAVE HAD A MEETING, AND NEITHER ONE OF YOU HAS ANYTHING TO SAY WHEN YOU LEAVE THAT MEETING, THERE IS A LETDOWN. THE LETDOWN, THE DISAPPOINTMENT-- I JUST DON'T THINK THAT IS HEALTHY OR GOOD. BUT YOU MENTIONED ALL THE @@STRAIN. '' I HAVE TO SAY THAT I THINK THERE IS LESS OF A RISK AND LESS OF A DANGER TODAY THAN THERE WAS A FEW YEARS AGO. I THINK THAT THE WORLD IS SAFER AND FARTHER REMOVED FROM A POSSIBLE WAR THAN IT WAS SEVERAL YEARS AGO. Q WOULD YOU TELL US

WHY? A BECAUSE THERE WAS MORE RISK OF SOMEONE GAMBLING IF IT DID NOT LOOK AS IF WE COULD RETALIATE IN ANY EXTREMELY DAMAGING WAY. I THINK THE SOVIETS NOW UNDERSTAND THAT WE HAVE THE WILLPOWER TO PRESERVE THE DETERRENT, SO THERE IS LOGIC IN OUR TALKING. IF BOTH OF US WOULD SAY,

ITSELF COULD BE DESTROYED. AS LONG AS WE MAINTAIN THINGS SO
THAT NEITHER SIDE IS ABLE TO START A WAR WITH THE OTHER, WHY
DON'T WE REDUCE OUR ARSENALS?'' AND IF WE START DOWN THAT
ROAD OF REDUCING, FOR HEAVEN'S SAKE, WHY DON'T WE RID THE
WORLD OF THESE WEAPONS? WHY DO WE KEEP THEM? HERE'S A WORLD
TODAY WHOSE PRINCIPAL ARMAMENTS WOULD WIPE OUT CIVILIANS IN
THE TENS AND HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS. LET'S GET BACK TO BEING
CIVILIZED.

ETX:

EOT:

QWQWETX

TIMEINC NYK

TIMEINC WSH

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 21, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR MIKE DEEVER

FROM: DAVE GERGEN *JD*
SUBJECT: Outstanding Scheduling Items

Over the past several days, we have received a number of requests -- verbal and written -- from groups seeking Presidential interviews. There are also several items with press groups that have been outstanding items for a while. It would be helpful if we could address all of these soon in a group setting.

TELEVISION

(1) ABC - Two interview requests have recently come in:

-- Request for Peter Jennings to have a 1-on-1 around the time of the State of the Union, preferably before. Would run on World News Tonight. Could be spread over a couple of nights.

-- Request for GMA interview with David Hartman around time of announcement. We "owe" one to GMA after the last interview; as you recall, that was never aired because of the Beirut bombing and they handled it in a classy way. Incidentally, RR told Hartman in a receiving line recently that he wanted to sit down with him again.

(2) CBS - Has only one request; came in recently:

-- "Face the Nation." They would like only an interview with Leslie Stahl; have said it's unlikely since RR not doing Sunday shows.

(3) NBC - Has recently come in with two requests:

-- "Today Show" interview with Bryant Gumbal around time of SOTU or later. Would run as 22 minute segment.

-- "Nightly News" interview with Tom Brokaw, 1-on-1, around time of SOTU. Would be broken into two segments of 3-4 minutes apiece shown on successive nights.

-- There is one other NBC request brewing, but it hasn't come to head yet.

(4) CNN - Two ideas floating:

-- Larry has proposed a CNN interview for January since we haven't done anything with them so far.

-- "The Freeman Report" (hostess Sandi Freeman, one of biggest audiences on CNN) has requested a 1-on-1 interview with RR sometime during year. Their twist is that during the show RR could take live calls from around the country.

PRINT INTERVIEW REQUESTS

We have several items that need attention:

-- Sperling Breakfast: We have agreed to do this; need to work out a date.

-- Knight Ridder Editors: We have agreed to do a lunch or major sit-down; need to work out date.

-- Publishers Lunch: (Kohler group) Same as Knight Ridder.

-- Business Editors Lunch: Have not resolved in scheduling meetings. Recommend we do. Very successful last year. First time these editors had been since Truman.

I have asked Karna Small to review other groups so that we can begin to do something very desirable -- lay out a plan of interviews over the course of the year.

Thanks.

cc: Jim Baker ✓
Mike McManus
Larry Speakes

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 5, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR MIKE DEEVER

FROM: DAVE GERGEN 
SUBJECT: 1984 State of the Union

The primary message, in my view, ought to be very simple: the state of the union is getting better and under RR's continued leadership, will get better still.

A good thematic vehicle for that message is to separate the decade of the 70s from that of the 80s. In the 70s, we accumulated an enormous burden of problems as the result of failed policies that dated way back into the past. The economy was a mess, as inflation soared to peacetime highs, interest rates went through the roof, and recession followed upon recession with deepening intensity. Families were sent reeling. At the same time, American authority overseas was steadily declining as the Soviets and their surrogates expanded their influence from Afghanistan to the Caribbean, and as the Western alliances were weakened. In short, the 70s left us a bitter legacy.

In the 1980s, by sharp contrast, we are no longer creating problems but solving them step-by-step. We are reversing the downward spiral. We set to work three years ago on the economy as our first and foremost priority. Today, as the result of bipartisan successes in cutting taxes and reigning in runaway spending, we see inflation cut by two thirds and interest rates cut in half. We are bouncing out of recession and men and women are finding jobs at near record rates. Families are sticking together more and there is a renewed belief in traditional family values. Just as importantly, America's adversaries now see renewed strength and determination in the West. The deterioration in our military preparedness has been halted, and we are better able to keep the peace today than only three years ago. From Central America to the Middle East, we have successfully demonstrated a new resolve. In the face of Soviet intimidation, we have moved forward as an alliance with deployment of new weapons that will strengthen European security. Today, America is not only closer to prosperity but we have greatly enhanced the prospects for long-term peace and freedom.

Sure, many daunting problems remain. Too many still need work, deficits loom large, arms talks are difficult, etc. But America can now face its future with renewed confidence that it can overcome the challenges before it. We have not just endured the difficulties of the past; we have prevailed. Our greatest need now is to stay on course, gradually, calmly, clearing away the rest of the debris of the 70s and building a much better world for our children the rest of this century.

As we have over the past three years, we must build not just for today but for the long-term. This Congress in 1984 has an opportunity -- and yes, a responsibility -- to act on measures that will carry us far into the future. (Succinct discussion follows, avoiding a long laundry list of measures but hitting the high spots).

-- To sustain the recovery: we need to curtail spending growth, enact the line item veto, pass a balanced budget amendment, move toward simplified taxation, etc.

-- To improve the quality of life: we need to pass legislation for strengthening the family, for enterprise zones, tuition tax credits, the environment (and education), etc., and we need to chart out new frontiers in space.

-- To strengthen prospects for peace: we need X, Y, and Z.

Our agenda is still long, our tasks still enormous. But (returning to a central theme) we have already shown in these past few years that we now have the capacity and the will to make the 80s one of the most creative and memorable decades of the century. The pessimists are still among us, but they are in retreat, their numbers dwindling.

In every difficult age, the times call forth new leadership, new vision, new action. In this age, we see those new leaders stepping forward in towns and cities across the nation -- the heroes that RR spoke of in his inaugural address who are transforming the American economy and restoring the American spirit. (RR might cite three - four examples). It is their spirit that we celebrate as the new year begins, and it is to them that we must dedicate our efforts in Washington in the weeks and months ahead.

Notes:

-- If RR were to cite a few stories of authentic heroes that he likes to talk about -- say, a volunteer leader, an outstanding black principal, an unusual blue collar worker (ethnic), a senior citizen, etc. -- that would not only make it a more interesting, Reaganesque speech but would also draw press attention to the people. They would be good offsets to the Democratic attacks that are sure to come.

-- We all agree that this speech should lift a piece of the curtain on the second term. I don't know what the 5-year project group is producing, but it might be helpful to see if they have any particular thoughts at this time.

-- Now that the announcement speech seems so closely tied in time to the State of the Union, we obviously need to resolve how the speeches would fit together.

-- Oh, yes, the State of the Union Address should be oral.

cc: Baker
Darman
Duberstein
Fuller
McManus
Svahn
Elliott
Kimmatt
Oglesby
Rollins

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
December 3, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR JIM BAKER
MIKE DEEVER
ED MEESE

FROM: DAVE GERGEN 
SUBJECT: AEI Dinner this Thursday

There is an obvious personal interest here... but I still would like to make one final appeal for the President to drop by the annual AEI dinner this Thursday when he returns from Indianapolis.

Here are the arguments:

-- RR has not attended a single one of the annual AEI dinners since he became President (he did attend in 1980 as President-elect but has only sent a tape since then). In the meantime, he has attended several Heritage and Hoover events.

-- This dinner marks AEI's 40th birthday.

-- AEI has apparently contributed more people to this administration than any other "think tank". Among the 19 professionals from AEI are Jeane Kirkpatrick, Arthur Burns, John Rogers, Jim Miller (a list is attached).

-- There has been some speculation that AEI made money off its involvement with the private sector initiative study. I checked that out and found that the institute lost between a half million and million dollars, according to its records, because of the way it restructured its programs to accommodate the study that year. Admittedly, that episode left some bad feelings on each side, but I would think that now we ought to put that controversy behind us and concentrate on the good that can come from a warm relationship.

Many thanks.

Departures related to the Reagan Administration

Professionals: Arthur Burns
Murray Weidenbaum
David Gergen
Jim Miller
Richard Erb
John Rogers
Roger Fontaine
Jeff Eisenach
Bob Helms
Jeane Kirkpatrick
Wayne Valis
Pedro San Juan
Larry Korb
Dale Tahtinen
Sid Moore
Hunter Harrison
Dodie Kazanjian
Sid Jones
Bud Brown

Staff: Jean Balestrieri
Pat Gleason
James Waldron
Scott Herring
Debbie Rundell
Anne Young
Linda Perryman
Winnie Peterson
Jackie Tillman
Lane Farrokhnia
Victoria Bezanilla
Ann Anderson

✓

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
December 1, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR JIM BAKER
MIKE DEEVER
LARRY SPEAKES

FROM: DAVE GERGEN *DS*

SUBJECT: Q & A with the White House Press Corps

In order to maintain our commitment to an open administration and to maintain the good press relations that have generally characterized the last three years, it is essential in my opinion to have a regularized process for the President to answer questions of the White House press corps. We all agree that he did that in California with great success, and he has repeatedly demonstrated his effectiveness in these "mini" press availabilities and other forums while here.

Unfortunately, we have been slipping in recent months. A check of the records over the past 22 weeks (since July 1), shows the following:

Number of RR press "opportunities" over past 22 weeks

full-scale press conferences with WH press corps	2
"mini" press availabilities with WH press corps	2*
interviews with regional, specified press groups	4
special interviews with individuals or press organizations (e.g., NY POST)	11

(Note: This list does not include the times when RR has answered a couple of questions in impromptu settings).

As these numbers indicate, we are doing pretty well with scheduling outside groups and individual interviews. But I would urge that we return to our previous agreement to have regularized, frequent exposures to the general White House press corps. There are a variety of ways to do this, of course, and I would recommend we discuss them before the Christmas break.

Many thanks.

* The numbers of "minis" will increase to 3 if we do one in the next few days.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
November 29, 1983

R.F.
✓

MEMORANDUM FOR BOB SNOW

FROM: Larry Speakes 

In reviewing the press coverage of the sand-filled trucks here, it occurs to me that we could have done a better job in sharing information.

My staff and I had difficulty getting timely and accurate information, due to the fact that not everyone is familiar with each other. I'm attaching a list of those who are our regular spokesmen. They are authorized to give and receive information.

We could have avoided delays and confusion had our office been given a heads-up in advance of the security steps that were taken.

While we refer all questions concerning security to the Secret Service Public Affairs Office, it is always helpful for us to be knowledgeable with the facts at hand before steps of this type are taken.

cc: John Simpson
Robert DeProspero
James Baker ✓

Larry Speakes

Peter Roussel

Marlin Fitzwater

Bob Sims

Mark Weinberg

Anson Franklin

Kim Hoggard

Robin Gray

Sheila Dixon

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 29, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD G. DARMAN

FROM:

DAVE GERGEN 

SUBJECT:

Signing Statement on Civil Rights

While concurring that the President ought to sign the enrolled bill, I seriously question the wisdom of this signing statement as drafted.

Essentially, any statement we issue now ought to be positive in nature, putting us firmly on the side of the angels but with no bending on principle. We ought to be four-square for a civil rights commission (which is consistent with the President's long-held position) and we ought to be four-square for equal opportunity (also consistent).

The current draft is very negative in tone and conveys the impression that we want to curtail the powers of the commission. There are two primary defects in my view:

(1) Paragraphs 2 and 3 of page 1 revive the whole controversy over the President's original nominees and raises arguments that we did not make publicly at the time (we argued that our commissioners were excellent and that the President had the power of appointment; this draft in a convoluted way puts the controversy into the context of equal opportunity versus affirmative action). I would drop these two paragraphs altogether.

If something need be said about the future course of the commission, I would draw from the language in Dave Stockman's memorandum to the President -- namely that the commission ought to serve as a forum for civil rights matters on terms "which do not automatically assume that quotas, busing, higher social welfare expenditures, etc., advance the interests of minorities." This is much firmer and more understandable than the language in the current draft, which can easily be construed to be anti-affirmative action.

(2) The last paragraph on page 2 is also very negative and certainly leaves the impression that we believe the powers of the commission are curtailed. In fact, the Stockman memo says: "The basic purpose of the Commission -- to investigate,

study, appraise and report on discrimination -- would be maintained under the enrolled bill, and most of its current authorities would remain intact." I would have the signing statement say just that.

In short, I believe that this signing statement ought to be an opportunity to put this controversy behind us and take a positive step forward in the President's commitment to civil rights and equal opportunity. The current draft, in my judgment, does not meet that goal.

cc: ✓ Jim Baker
Ed Meese
Jack Svahn

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 21, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DAVID R. GERGEN 
SUBJECT: Activities Relating to "The Day After"

Our administration spokesmen (and women) have done a first rate job over the past few days in promoting your policies during the renewed debate over nuclear arms. With Secretary Shultz in the lead, they have been particularly effective in framing the issue (how do we prevent a nuclear holocaust?) and in providing the answer (support your policies of deterrence and arms reduction).

Karna Small has pulled together a list of the activities we have undertaken with White House and NSC coordination. It shows that over the past 48 hours, administration spokesmen have:

- Appeared on 12 television shows (half national, half major media markets);

- Appeared on 15 radio talk shows; and,

- Written 6 op-ed pieces (including the Vice President's article in the NY TIMES on Monday).

Among those who have been especially helpful, in addition to Secretary Shultz, have been Ken Adelman, Richard Perle and two women appointees -- Kathy Troia of DOD and Karna here at the White House.

For background, some items you may wish to review:

Tab A -- Description of activities by administration;

Tab B -- Op-eds that have appeared so far;

Tab C -- Talking Points for administration spokesmen
and briefing book for public and surrogate
use.

As you know, preliminary estimates indicate as many as 100 million saw the movie and about two-thirds of them stayed on to watch Secretary Shultz and Viewpoint.

cc: Jim Baker
Mike Deaver
Ed Meese
Bud McFarlane

ACTIVITIES REGARDING "THE DAY AFTER"

- o Talking points were developed for all Administration spokesmen regarding the President's policies of deterrence and arms control. Talking points were sent to several hundred Administration appointees and were distributed at a special briefing session for spokesmen. Talking points were also shared with a small number of conservative columnists.
- o A White House Digest was prepared for distribution to spokesmen and members of the press outlining the President's views on arms control, current negotiations with the Soviets and a series of quotes of the President on these issues over the last three years. Digest also sent to public calling in for information.
- o Guidance, Qs and As were developed and sent to all Base Commanders, defense agencies and Public Affairs Officers world-wide indicating the best ways to respond to the film or questions raised by the public or media.
- o FEMA prepared letters and a new booklet to be available to the public requesting information on Civil Defense.
- o Twenty volunteer telephone operators were brought in to answer questions from the public after the film Sunday night. (Results showed a majority favored the President's programs to reduce arms).
- o A rotary hot-line was set up for Mid-level specialists at the Department of Defense to answer requests from local radio and TV talk shows after the film Sunday evening.
- o Op-ed pieces were written, signed and placed: (see attachments)
 - New York Times, November 21 - the Vice President
 - USA Today, November 21 - Ken Adelman
 - Washington Times, November 21 - Kevin Hopkins
 - Washington Post, November 22 - Secretary Weinberger
 - Chicago Tribune, November 22 - Edward Derwinski
 - New York Post, November - George Keyworth
(note: the same piece was sent to approximately 100 other smaller dailies across the country.)
- o Discussions were held with ABC-TV about the "Viewpoint" program following the film and it was arranged for Secretary Shultz to appear on the program by remote hook-up from his home.

- o Administration spokesmen were placed on Radio and TV programs in answer to requests:
 - NBC's MEET THE PRESS - Ken Adelman
 - ABC's THIS WEEK - Richard Perle
 - CNN EVANS & NOVAK - Richard Perle
 - CBS Sunday night network news - Richard Perle
 - CBS Morning News Monday - Richard Perle
 - CNN CROSSFIRE with Braden & Buchanan - Richard Burt
 - WRC Radio - Franklin Miller (DOD)
 - National Public Radio - Franklin Miller (DOD)
 - National Public Radio - Karna Small
 - KABC-Radio, Los Angeles - Richard Perle and John Kelley (State)
 - WHDH-Radio, Boston - Ken Adelman
 - WABC-TV, New York - Katheryn Troia (DOD)
 - KMOX-Radio, St. Louis - Katheryn Troia (DOD)
 - KTSA-Radio, San Antonio - Katheryn Troia (DOD)
 - WBBM-TV, Chicago - Richard Perle
 - WLS-TV, Chicago - Richard Perle
 - WGY-Radio, Schenectady - Katheryn Troia (DOD)
 - CNN FREEMAN REPORTS - Katheryn Troia (DOD)
 - CNN News - Karna Small
 - KSTP-Radio, Minneapolis - John Tefft (State)
 - KGNR-Radio, Sacramento - Katheryn Troia (DOD)
 - WNWS-Radio, Miami - Bernard Halloran (ACDA)
 - KABC-TV, Los Angeles - hook-up with Richard Perle in Chicago
 - KKBK, Minnesota - Bernard Halloran (ACDA)
 - KFBK-Radio, Sacramento - Karna Small
 - KZZB-Radio, Beaumont, Texas - Karna Small
 - WHO-Radio, Des Moines - Ken Adelman

- o Columnists given Administration position:
 - Patrick Buchanan
 - Rowland Evans
 - Morton Kondracke
 - Allan Ryskind
 - William Safire
 - Nicholas Thimmesch
- o Outside groups had numerous activities in connection with the film:
 - Citizens for America sent packets of talking points and position papers on the Administration's arms control efforts and deterrence strategy to their Chairmen in each Congressional District where 110 press conferences were held Monday morning.
 - High Frontier offered its own documentary to ABC affiliates in rebuttal to the premise of the film -- at least 40 TV stations had scheduled their film.
 - American Security Council alerted members about the film, members appeared on talk shows throughout the country.
 - RNC sent out two mailings to State Chairmen and VIP list with talking points regarding the Administration's positions on deterrence and arms control; Chairmen encouraged to respond to invitations to talk shows and speaking appearances to support the President's policies.

KEVIN HOPKINS

Now, the day after 'The Day After'

Nothing else matters," ran a line from a popular song last year. Such is the feeling that envelops one upon viewing "The Day After," ABC's film of the world's nuclear Gotterdammerung: "Nothing else matters" but knowing that last, tragic moment of nuclear madness.

But the possibility of success in its enterprise is seen, *per force*, as slim, and the price of failure as final, that the viewer is quickly numbed by an air of utter hopelessness. This is the way the world ends, the film seems to say; one need only wonder when.

If it is despair and desperation at the movie engenders, however, that is not the ultimate objective of the film's promoters, particularly those in the nuclear-freeze movement. They hope, quite simply, to use the movie to do what no amount of political sloganeering has been able to accomplish in four decades: to so terrify the public that they demand an immediate, unilateral shift to the U.S. nuclear defenses.

"The Day After" is well chosen for this purpose, for it is terrifying. One scene epitomizes this terror more effectively than one midway

through the film, in which a middle-aged farm family Mom is calmly making her bed while atomic missiles streak across the Midwestern sky. As her husband literally carries her downstairs toward the basement, she screams out in piercing, breathless sobs that "this can't be happening." Anyone who has confronted the import of his or her own death will recognize this unparalleled fear.

What a relief it is for the viewer, then, to wake up the next morning after seeing this program and discover that the radio disc jockey is telling funny stories with the same verve he had the week before, that the toaster still works, and that cars are still traveling down the freeway. But this relief is edged with a new, clinging caution. Nuclear war is no longer a faraway prospect or a grim statistical accounting of millions of deaths; it is a starkly human horror that ends forever the ambivalence with which one might look upon the weapons of mass destruction.

This is the first lesson proponents of a strong defense must be prepared to learn in the days ahead. "The Day After" will deeply affect many millions of viewers both here and abroad. Few will be able to watch unmoved as a beautiful young woman on the eve of her wedding is transformed into a grotesque parody of life, or as an innocent baby is born into a Dantean inferno.

The challenge for those who oppose the implicit message of this film — that we should disarm, unilaterally and at once — is not to deny these horrific visages, but to use them to further the cause of real, permanent and livable world peace. In particular, "strong defense" advocates should avoid several tempting but inevitably counterproductive rhetoric traps:

1. Do not rely on the film's cinematic weaknesses to undermine its credibility.

Granted, some of the dialogue in the first 40 minutes is bad enough to make even soap opera fans cringe, and the plot is occasionally disjointed, but that is mere quibbling. The characters are generally well-realized, the acting is almost uniformly good, and the special effects are first-rate. Most important, the movie had *impact*, probably more so than "Fail-Safe" and "The China Syndrome," which are better films from a technical standpoint.

2. Do not criticize ABC for showing the film.

It is true that the movie, airing as it does just before the deployment of the Pershing IIs in Europe, comes at an awkward time, and its effect, if not intent, is blatantly political. But ABC actually does the nation a service by bringing the nuclear bogeyman out of the closet. This is the evil monster we have been hearing so much about, and it is just as hideous as we expected. So what? If ABC suddenly decided not to show the film, would that make nuclear war any more acceptable? Better to know the nature of the beast so we can more effectively and more determinedly ward

3. Do not bemoan the movie's political bias.

Yes, "The Day After" does tilt leftward, and even portrays the United States as exploding the first nuclear device. It is also morally neutral between the free United States of America and the totalitarian U.S.S.R.

But after a few seconds of watching human beings flash-fried into skeletons and then vaporized, the viewer finds the movie's political ornamentation irrelevant. The script could have included an unnerved American president on TV informing the country that the Soviet Union had launched an unprovoked nuclear first-strike on the United States, and it would have diminished little the central point of the film: that nuclear war would be almost unbelievably horrible.

4. Do not deny the possibility of nuclear war.

Nuclear war remains extremely unlikely as long as the first-strike button is also the self-destruct button. But with large stockpiles of nuclear weapons extant in this world, one would only undermine his credibility — especially in the aftermath of this graphic film — by claiming that there is no possibility whatsoever of such a conflict.

Finally, do not waste time debating the magnitude of a nuclear war's effects.

Dr. Carl Sagan has made headlines recently by claiming that even a small nuclear exchange could destroy the earth's atmosphere. Reputable scientists rose to dispute his findings, and others may quarrel with specific meteorological and social extrapolations in "The Day After." But that is only thumb-twiddling. A full scale nuclear war would effectively end civilization as we know it. Period.

Does all this mean that the "strong defense" advocate's situation is hopeless? Fortunately, it does not. In fact, a second lesson of "The Day After" is that it is a remarkable opportunity for those interested in the security of the United States.

Once and for all, we can put behind us the question of whether a nuclear war is winnable. As the film poignantly illustrates, in any meaningful sense it is not. We must therefore move beyond this concern, and focus the debate not on the horrors of nuclear war, but on the means to prevent such a catastrophe while preserving our freedom and that of generations to come. Only then will the American people profit from last night's emotionally unsettling evening of TV entertainment.

There is, finally, a third lesson in this film, one for those who see "The Day After" as a two-hour political advertisement for the nuclear freeze. Let us assume that the freeze proponents get exactly what they want: President Reagan immediately declares a unilateral nuclear freeze (following upon the U.S. removal of all of its warheads from Europe during the 1970s while the Soviets were doubling their own theater missile deployment) and promises not to deploy the Pershing IIs under any circumstance. The Soviets, thereby emboldened, close off West Berlin (as they do in the film). The Western forces try to break the blockade (as in the film), and the Soviets respond by overrunning West Ger-

many. The NATO countries, frightened by this onslaught and wholly unable to stop it by conventional means, detonate a nuclear device over the advancing Soviet troops. Soviet leaders (who proved their paranoia, if nothing else, in the Korean airliner massacre) retaliate (again, as in the film) by destroying NATO headquarters with an atomic warhead, and then by launching a nuclear first-strike against the United States. Mutual annihilation follows. And it does so *because of*, rather than in spite of, a nuclear freeze.

The ABC script could have been written just as credibly that way. Or any number of ways. This very fact points up perhaps the most important lesson of "The Day After:" Peace is not an easy process; it cannot be evoked by mere protestations of "Peace!" or the incantation of the shibboleth *du jour*, but must be produced through long, hard negotiation and a willingness to stand firm in its pursuit. Most important, it must have as its goal the reduction, and ultimate elimination, of nuclear weapons, not the mere "freezing" of their numbers into place.

President Reagan has demonstrated that he recognizes this reality. In November 1981, he offered to stop the 1983 deployment of Pershing and cruise missiles,

provided the Soviets agreed to move back their intermediate nuclear forces. In May 1982, he offered to destroy 2,200 strategic warheads — nearly a third of the U.S. total — if the Soviets would do likewise. And in October 1982 he proposed an interim series of "nuclear build-down" proposals for Europe, in which existing missiles would be destroyed for each new one deployed.

Unfortunately, the Soviets have so far rejected each of these initia-

tives, making it clear that they, and not the American people, have been the stumbling block to mutual and verifiable disarmament.

But this must not lead Americans to become either fatalistic or starry-eyed, no matter how depressing the freeze movement's latest instrumentality, nor how seductive the campaign's simplistic promise. For it is only through forthright arms *reduction* proposals, carried to fruition by diligent and hard-nosed diplomacy, that the world can be made truly safe from the "day after."

Would that those who so vociferously agitate for "peace" began to realize this fact of political life.

KENNETH L. ADELMAN

Guest columnist

Only a strong defense will deter nuclear war

WASHINGTON — Last night millions of TV viewers saw a powerful portrayal of the horrors of nuclear war. Two weeks ago a distinguished scientific panel again confirmed that nuclear war would have horrible, far-reaching consequences.

These are piercing reminders of the need to eliminate the chances of nuclear war from ever occurring.

That issue concerns President Reagan more deeply and personally than any other. As he has said so often: "A nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. . . . There are no winners in a nuclear war — only losers."

Avoiding war, while preserving freedom, is a tough business. It requires not just a commitment to a strong defense but also serious negotiations and our best moral, intellectual and emotional resources.

The recent dramatizations show the problem and the horrors, but not the solution. Given the unimaginable tragedy if we fail and the demands to prevent nuclear war, simple formulas gain popularity. The impulse to "freeze" nuclear weapons or to unilaterally disarm are understandable approaches — they appear easy and are deceptively alluring.

But a freeze or unilateral disarmament will not reduce the chances of war. They run a high risk, in fact, of inviting just the opposite result.

Paradoxical as it may seem, history has taught us that we must be prepared for war in order to avoid it. Strength can

Kenneth L. Adelman is director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

and does deter aggression. Weakness is provocative. Nuclear deterrence and strategic balance are essential to keeping the peace.

Weakness not only diminishes deterrence but also undercuts arms control. The Soviets are not unlike any tough negotiator. If we give them strategic superiority by neglecting our force modernization, we cannot hope to regain parity through arms control. If we pursue necessary modernization programs, however, the Soviets will have strong incentives to negotiate for genuine reductions. We may still not succeed, but it will not be for lack of trying.

President Reagan has led one of the most ambitious arms reductions agendas ever developed. We are seeking deep reductions of at least one-third in strategic nuclear weapons and the lowest possible level of intermediate-range, land-based nuclear forces. We are trying to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and reduce the chances of war arising from error or miscalculation.

Effective arms control promises to be a long, hard road. It is complicated by the unabated Soviet military buildup, by differences between the two nations' force structures that are difficult to bridge, and by American impatience.

But if we are patient and persevere, arms negotiations can make a key contribution to the better world we all seek.

Preserving Peace Through Deterrence

By George Bush

WASHINGTON — Since taking office, I have traveled to 48 states, 3 United States territories and 47 foreign countries. Everywhere I have gone, leaders and ordinary citizens alike have voiced one concern above all others: the need to avoid nuclear war. Our Government has set policies in place that, if adhered to, will keep such a war from ever taking place.

For nearly 40 years — years spanning Republican and Democratic Presidencies — the United States has pursued a consistent, twofold program to maintain nuclear peace.

Our first aim has been effective deterrence. We have made certain that our adversaries understand that a nuclear strike against us or our allies would result in retaliation. That sounds chilling, but by keeping our deterrent forces strong enough to be credible, we have avoided the need to use them. In Europe, where our deterrent efforts have been focused, there has been peace since 1945. In the rest of the world, more than 100 wars have taken place.

Our second aim has been genuine arms control — a persistent, dedicated effort to reach agreements with other nuclear powers that would control the production and testing of weapons. Such agreements include the Test Ban Treaty, signed by John F. Kennedy in 1963, and the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, signed by Richard M. Nixon in 1972.

Throughout these almost four decades, this program has placed burdens on our nation. We have had to spend large amounts of money on defense, station thousands of troops far from home and learn to live with the pressures involved in maintaining our freedoms in the nuclear age. As protesters march and rally in the days and months ahead, we would do well to remember that despite its costs, this program has succeeded in keeping the peace.

The gravest threat to this peace emerged in the 1970's. It was then that the Soviet Union embarked on an arms buildup so vast it lacked any parallel in history — a buildup that continues today. In many categories of conventional and nuclear forces, the Russians have achieved superiority. One such category much in the news is that of intermediate-range nuclear forces in Europe. The Russians began to deploy new and threatening missiles in 1977, and today they have more than 1,000 warheads aimed at targets throughout Western Europe. Our European allies were alarmed by the creation of a Soviet nuclear monopoly in this category of weapons. The deployments we are

carrying out today, the first in many years, respond to a request from our NATO allies, to which we agreed in 1979.

The Russians have threatened to walk out of the talks on intermediate-range nuclear forces, in Geneva, and this they may do. We would remain at the table, ready and willing to negotiate seriously; and we are certain that the Russians eventually would return. They know as well as we that nuclear arms reduction talks must succeed for the sake of us all, Russians and Americans alike.

In addition, we are engaged in three other arms negotiations with the Soviet Union. These cover nuclear, chemical and conventional weapons. These are all serious negotiations, to which the United States is committed.

President Reagan has directed the Defense Department to study the feasibility of developing a strategic nuclear defense — one that would destroy hostile strategic nuclear missiles in space. If this defense could be perfected, it could help lift the shadow of nuclear war from everyone.

The President's leadership in each of these initiatives is a reflection of his commitment to arms reductions. Some have voiced doubts about the President's commitment. I, who see him daily, know that it is deep, sincere and abiding. To this end, in 1981 we removed 1,000 nuclear weapons from Europe. We have recently decided to remove 1,400 more tactical weapons from Europe in the near future.

I believe President Reagan has the best chance of any recent President to achieve genuine arms reductions.

My own view of war and its horrors first came in the pre-nuclear era. At the age of 19, as a torpedo-bomber pilot, I was shot down in the Pacific and was the only survivor of my plane's crew. That experience, vivid in my memory, has been a constant incentive for me to do all in my power to see that my children and grandchildren can grow up and not have to face the dangers of war — either as combatants or innocent victims.

I am convinced, from all I have seen here and abroad, that our policy of strength, deterrence and serious negotiation holds open the door to lasting peace. There are no "quick fixes" available to us. The price of peace and freedom includes courage and determination and patience. The American people have these qualities in abundance, and I urge you to join us in pursuing the policies of peace and deterrence that have worked so well for so long.

✓

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 19, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR: Dave Gergen

FROM:

Mark Goode



Following our conversation prior to your departure for Japan, I became curious about how much unnecessary money was being spent for the documentary crew employed for the trip. The figures are significant enough that I felt you would be interested.

Had I been called upon to select and negotiate for a crew fully experienced in the type of work to be done, the cost would have been approximately \$21,200. As you are aware, the contract agreed upon for the assignment calls for payment of \$125,000. (Incidentally, the estimate is based upon employing an East Coast crew, and includes the increased air fares to the Orient).

In addition to the cost difference of more than \$103,000, the production, identity and post-production factors previously discussed are important. I am aware that the organization of this project was not left to you, but the result provides strong evidence of how costly it is to have inexperienced amateurs attempting to do the work of professionals.

cc: James A. Baker III

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
November 1, 1983

*Need some:
"Happy Canadians"*

MEMORANDUM FOR MIKE DEAVER

FROM: DAVE GERGEN *VG.*
SUBJECT: Follow-up on Grenada

Since I will be out of the city on Wednesday, I wanted to give you a summary of ideas -- some already on the table, some not -- concerning our follow-up to last week:

I. MILITARY/STUDENT EVENTS

yes
①. Staged Withdrawals of Forces: Most of us agree with Teddy White's observation this week: "If Reagan has the troops out of there in six weeks, he'll be a hero. If not, you will see the support fade." Clearly, we need a set of phased withdrawals, well publicized, the bigger the groups the better. When units of the fleet leave, that also ought to be done with fanfare. *1st Brig would - last Am. soldiers to leave.*

yes
②. Students Meet with Liberating Forces: Everyone sees this as a key event, and it needs to be done before RR leaves for the Far East. Monday is probably the best day. Speakers ought to include the military commander (Admiral Metcalf), perhaps one or two of the enlisted, one or two students, and the President. I see nothing wrong with this being arranged as an event at the Pentagon with the students being invited to come and letting them pay (a private group could help to sponsor those who couldn't get here on their own).

no
3. Students Visit the Wounded: Many of the wounded would probably welcome a thank you visit from a student delegation. DOD could tell us where the wounded are, and appropriate visit(s) can then be set up.

4. Student Messages to RR: Apparently some of these letters and wires have been stirring. We should consider their publication (with the permission of the senders, of course) in a major publication, e.g., "People" might be interested in publishing photos of some of the students alongside a letter and possibly some memories of the events.

5. 60 Minutes Piece: Given all the mystery that has surrounded the initial landing, the strategy, etc., we might propose to Mike Wallace that we work with him in laying out the full details on the landing and securing of the island, making key players available, reconstructing events, possibly revealing some new information, etc.

6. The Documents: Bob Sims says they may be available for public release by the end of the week. They will be important in bolstering the case that "we got there just in time". Recommend they be released with major briefings, etc. (could have 1-2 selected leaks to increase impact).

7. The Weapons Cache: Someone familiar with the captured weapons should determine whether they should be put on public display. Could be a major plus. Show could start in Miami -- the Cubans there would love it -- and then come to D.C.

8. Metcalf and the Congress: If Metcalf comes to D.C. for anything with the students, he also ought to brief Congressional leaders about the operation. Conceivably could address the Senate, though that seems an outside possibility.

II. POLITICAL RECONSTRUCTION

As Dick Darman made clear on Monday, the progress we make here will be terribly important. But we also have to recognize this must essentially be a Grenadan effort and that Governor General Scoon is a man of independent mind. Some possibilities we might explore:

1. Scoon to U.S. Mainland: There is talk of Scoon coming to the U.N. If so, it would be helpful to have him speak at the General Assembly, come to Washington to see the President, speak at the Press Club, and do some major interviews. He can be convincing on the question of restoring democracy.

2. O.E.C.S. Leaders to Grenada: It would be good if all the leaders of the community went there together,

No

State
Do in
Grenada
[Sims has
action]

No

No

Principles
will work
negotiating
seaga up
here.

you

very risky
No

good →

NO →
Looks hooky
Photo's have already
been on TV & magazines

examined things, and met with Scoon and others on the future of democratic institutions in the region. It would be even better if their sessions there coincided with the departure of our troops -- in effect, they would be thanking us for our military help and making it clear that now the process of building democracy is in the hands of the people in the region.

3. Restoration of the Judicial System: We are now holding some of the radicals such as Austin. It would be reassuring to everyone if they were given demonstrably fair trials. *Yes -
Prindles*

I don't know where things stand on a Congressional visit this weekend, but the designated leader of the group, Tom Foley, is an honorable man, and if he goes, we should work with him carefully before and after the trip. (I assume the Eastern Caribbean falls outside the scope of the Kissinger Commission, so there will be no visits from that group.)

III. ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION

Progress on this front will also help to dramatize the worthy intent of the mission. Once again, the nations of the area will need to be prominently involved, and there is the difficulty that Grenada is poor for some good reasons. Nonetheless, these thoughts:

 1. A Seabees Project: Secretary Shultz has raised the possibility of the Army Construction Battalion going in soon to clean up the rubble, rebuild at least one bridge, etc. Tony Motley favors this idea, and I recommend we give it strong support. Shows a different, positive side of our military. *Not now -
Defense is looking at.*

✓ 2. Economic Assistance: Peter McPherson at 11:00 a.m. Wednesday is holding a press conference to announce a \$3 million package of reconstruction relief that should help to tide over the island for 3-6 months. Money comes from his contingency funds. Peter is also considering the possibility of a trip there. His efforts can be helpful, but I hope we can get the private sector even more out front.

3. Business Initiatives: We should explore ways to get the private business involved through a variety of channels: Private Sector Initiatives, the Latin American branch of the U.S. Chamber, expansive application of the Caribbean Basin Initiative, etc. *CF
(w/ Doc
+ Coyne)
Prindles - get
CF team
down there*

4. Latin American Business Help: Since some of the countries on the mainland are much closer by and should be pleased with events, they could be very helpful if delegations of their businessmen came to the general area to see what can be done for economic reconstruction.

State
David Rockefeller

* * *

Other points:

Delegation to Europe: Some of our worst opposition is coming from there, and it could strengthen efforts to block missile deployment in the next few weeks. State/USIA ought to explore ways to get a delegation(s) of highly credible people to visit Europe and tell the story of Grenada (e.g., some of the students, a leader or two from the general area, someone off the island such as Scoon, etc.).

Dan going on Sunday will meet w/ European press

x *////*
Do nothing here now.
Military-Press Dialogue: It would take some of the sting out of current bitterness if someone like Secretary Weinberger were to call in the heads of major press organizations such as ASNE for a major dialogue with him and military leaders on the proper role of the press in modern military operations. If we approached it with an open mind and were serious about it, the press would be less concerned about the future. Right now, there is a fear within the press that Grenada will serve as the model for the future, and some of their strong public demonstrations are designed to head that off. We would be a lot better off to channel that frustration and bitterness into constructive dialogue.

To talk to heads of state about Grenada

cc: Jim Baker
Robert McFarlane
Richard Darman
Craig Fuller
Mike McManus
Bob Sims
Larry Speakes

RONALD W. REAGAN LIBRARY

THIS FORM MARKS THE FILE LOCATION OF ITEM NUMBER 4 LISTED ON THE
WITHDRAWAL SHEET AT THE FRONT OF THIS FOLDER.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
October 24, 1983



MEMORANDUM FOR:

JAMES A. BAKER, III
MICHAEL K. DEEVER

FROM:

PETER ROUSSEL 

We are getting numerous questions regarding how the Lebanon situation will affect travel plans later this week. The tenor of some of the questions is: "You mean he'd go to a partisan political fundraiser at the same time these dead Marines are being brought home?"

It strikes me that as a possible alternative to any cancellation of these events, while maintaining continuing Presidential involvement in the matter -- and demonstrating his (a) commitment to the Marines; (b) commitment to our presence in Lebanon; and (c) deep personal sympathy and gratitude to the families of the dead -- why not have him stop at Camp Lejeune or Dover (or wherever the bodies are being returned) en route to Dallas.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 24, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES BAKER
MICHAEL DEEVER

FROM: Larry Speakes >

Larry Barrett has asked for another interview. Time is doing a cover on Lebanon this week and he and Brew would like to interview the President at the end of the week for 15 minutes.

May immediate judgement is not to do it, but we should take a look at it Wednesday before giving him a final answer.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
October 22, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED FIELDING

FROM: DAVE GERGEN 
SUBJECT: Radio Speeches and Equal Time

I would like to request again that we get a letter out ASAP to all the network executives, radio and TV, about our interpretation of the equal time provisions. Several major networks such as NBC and ABC have indicated to us that they agree with our interpretation, but it is clear from the attached that not everyone has such good legal talent as we enjoy here. It is very important, as you know, that we keep as many stations on the line as possible while the radio series continues.

bcc: Jim Baker ✓

Los Angeles Times

UPI, AP Won't Offer Reagan Broadcasts

WASHINGTON (UPI) — United Press International and the Associated Press radio networks announced Friday that they will stop offering live broadcasts of President Reagan's weekly radio speeches because he is a legal candidate for reelection.

Spokesmen for ABC, NBC and Mutual Broadcasting System Inc. said, however, that their networks will continue to offer the speeches to radio stations for live broadcast. CBS has not been doing so.

UPI and AP executives said they will drop both the Saturday presidential addresses and Democratic responses that have been broadcast an hour later, but will cover both as news events on a delayed basis.

Reagan has been giving the five-minute addresses for more than a year on such diverse topics as sanctions against Poland, his reappointment of Federal Reserve Chairman Paul A. Volcker, budget fights with the Democrats and a search for a liver donor.

The White House said it has not been informed officially of the UPI and AP decisions, but one aide said, "We would regret it of course."

The radio networks have been offering the speeches to their affiliates and subscribers as Reagan and the Democrats delivered them. The decision on whether to broadcast the speeches is then up to the individual stations.

UPI serves approximately 1,100

subscribers and the AP about 1,130.

White House spokesman Larry Speakes said a number of radio stations have already dropped the speech because of Reagan's status as a legal candidate.

Reagan has not yet said whether he will run for a second term. But he authorized formation of a campaign committee Monday, legally making him a candidate.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 18, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR: JIM BAKER ✓
MIKE DEEVER

FROM: DAVE GERGEN 

SUBJECT: Speechwriter Meetings with the President

When Aram Bakshian left, we stopped having the Friday meetings of the speechwriters with the President. Now that Ben Elliott has taken charge of that shop, I would like to request that we re-institute them on as many Fridays as possible. They made a good deal of difference in the quality of the writing (not to mention the morale of the shop) and the President seemed to enjoy them.

Many thanks.

cc: Fred Ryan

✓

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 13, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID GERGEN

FROM: Larry Speakes *S*

I was surprised to learn that you had assigned the preparation of schedule proposals for pre-Asian trip foreign interviews to Karna. I would like to tactfully reassign this to Les Janka since he, as Mort Allin's successor, has been working with foreign press and, consistent with past practices, would be the logical person to set up these interviews.

Let's talk and work together on this.

cc: James Baker ✓
Les Janka

/

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 12, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: JIM BAKER ✓
JOHN ROGERS

FROM: DAVE GERGEN *DP*

SUBJECT: Landon Parvin

In our discussions about Landon Parvin, I thought
the attached should be helpful.

cc: Dick Darman

Production:

Since January, 1983, Parvin has:

- o written 85 speeches, drop-by remarks, talking points, etc. for the PRESIDENT
- o written 37 speeches for the FIRST LADY
- o this total of 122 to date for 1983 is considerably higher than the average per writer of 80 (a total of 485 speeches, talking points, etc. written by the speechwriters from January, 1983 divided by six--the number of writers); additionally, Landon is the only speechwriter doing work for the First Lady

Outstanding Writing

Bundestag: "if there were medals for speechwriting, one would be due for presentation now."
--West German TV

"...rhetorically powerful--rich and sensitive, defiant but also reassuring"
--The New Republic

NAACP CONVENTION "eloquent in its castigation of the evils of racism, sharp and clean in its delineation of the Reagan position on combatting those evils."
--The Washington Post

"eloquent and committed"
--The New York Times

ARMS CONTROL "...a tour de force. It is difficult to imagine a more effective presentation...(Reagan) demonstrated something like perfect pitch in fine tuning his appeal for support..."
--Time

JOINT SESSION
ON CENTRAL AMERICA "It was one of the best of this presidency, forceful yet temperate"
--Time

"a great speech"
--Morton Kondracke

UN SPEECH "...some may argue (this speech) will be the most impressive address ever given at the U.N. by a President . . ."
--Dan Rather

BOB HOPE TRIBUTE

"The commander-in-chief . . . got more laughs than Hope."

--Washington Post

"Mr. Reagan was not to be outdone when it came to humor."

--The New York Times

GRIDIRON

"a self-mocking speech unmatched since the days of President Kennedy."

--The New York Times

"his prepared one-liners a big cut above those of other Presidents"

--The National Review

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
October 11, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR JIM BAKER

FROM: DAVE GERGEN *DG*
SUBJECT: Inland Press Association

FYI: Remembering last year's flaps thought you might like to see that we got it done this time, largely due to Debbie Hutton in speaker's office.

INLAND DAILY PRESS ASSOCIATION

840 NORTH LAKE SHORE DRIVE, SUITE 802-WEST, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, 60611

312-440-1230

OLDEST AND LARGEST REGIONAL ASSOCIATION OF DAILY NEWSPAPERS

October 6, 1983

Mr. David Gergen
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Gergen:

Just before I left the city a week ago I received a call from the office of Secretary of Defense Weinberger telling me that the Secretary would accept the invitation of the Inland Daily Press Association to speak at our October convention. As we talked about the Secretary's visit, it was immediately clear that he had accepted our invitation because of the efforts of you, your office and your associate Debbie Hutton.

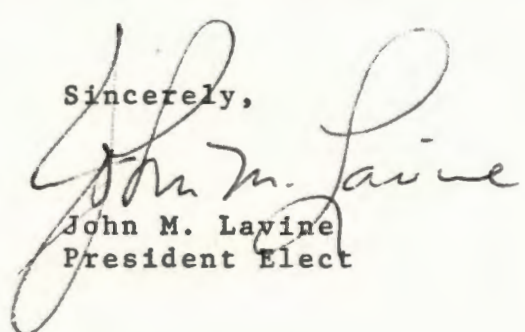
On behalf of all of my colleagues at the Inland I want to thank you and Debbie for making this possible.

I should also tell you that I have written a letter to my good friend Mel Laird telling him about the Inland's pleasure at Secretary Weinberger's time with us in Chicago and thanking him, not only for his efforts, but for what I noted were the very substantial efforts of you and Debbie to make this possible.

The Inland Daily Press is the largest and oldest regional association of daily newspapers in the country. All of us are appreciative to you and Miss Hutton for putting forth so much time and effort to make it possible for Secretary Weinberger to be with us.

Thank you again.

Sincerely,


John M. Lavine
President Elect

JML:el

cc: Debra Hutton

PRESIDENT JAMES E. BURGESS, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT LEE ENTERPRISES INC., DAVENPORT IOWA / FIRST VICE PRESIDENT JOHN M. LAVINE, PUBLISHER AND EDITOR, LAVINE NEWSPAPER GROUP, CHIPPEWA FALLS, WISCONSIN / SECOND VICE PRESIDENT PAUL McCUE, GENERAL MANAGER, LINCOLN (NEBRASKA) JOURNAL AND STAR / EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR WILLIAM G. BOYKIN / ASSISTANT EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR PAUL G. BJORNEBERG / BOARD OF DIRECTORS / CHAIRMAN JOHN R. NIXON, PRESIDENT, NIXON NEWSPAPERS INC., WABASH INDIANA / VICE CHAIRMAN THE PRESIDENT, JAMES E. BURGESS / SECRETARY SCOTT C. SCHURZ, PUBLISHER AND EDITOR IN CHIEF, BLOOMINGTON (INDIANA) HERALD-TELEPHONE / JOHN M. LAVINE, FIRST VICE PRESIDENT OF INLAND / PAUL McCUE, SECOND VICE PRESIDENT OF INLAND / JOHN H. STAUFFER, SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT, STAUFFER COMMUNICATIONS INC., TOPEKA, KANSAS / BYRON C. CAMPBELL, PRESIDENT, NEWS AND SUN-SENTINEL CO., FT. LAUDERDALE, FLORIDA / MILTON B. CHILCOTT, PUBLISHER, SHERIDAN (WYOMING) PRESS / J. ROGER GRIER, VICE PRESIDENT, THE HEARST CORPORATION, ALBANY, NEW YORK / NORMAN J. CHRISTIANSEN, PUBLISHER, WICHITA (KANSAS) EAGLE AND BEACON / THOMAS W. REEVES, GENERAL MANAGER, CAPITAL NEWSPAPERS, ALBANY, NEW YORK / GEORGE J. LOCKWOOD, ASSISTANT MANAGING EDITOR, MILWAUKEE (WISCONSIN) JOURNAL / RUTH G. LEHMAN, VICE PRESIDENT, LEHMAN NEWSPAPERS, LONGMONT, COLORADO

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 11, 1983

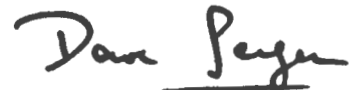
Dear Mr. Levine:

Thank you for your very generous letter of October 6. Like you, we are delighted that Secretary Weinberger plans to join you at your coming convention.

I continue to regret the difficulty we encountered last time and hope that with the help of strong staff members such as Debbie Hutton, we can continue to provide leading members of the administration as spokesmen for your events. Please let us know if we can do anything else to be helpful.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Dave Gergen", written in a cursive style.

David R. Gergen
Assistant to the President
for Communications

Mr. John M. Levine
President-elect
Inland Daily Press Association
840 North Lake Shore Drive
Suite 802 West
Chicago, Illinois 60611

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
September 27, 1983

R.F.
✓

MEMORANDUM FOR: TONY DOLAN
BEN ELLIOTT

FROM: DAVE GERGEN *DR*

SUBJECT: Heritage Foundation

You asked for thoughts or guidance on the Heritage Foundation speech. In checking here (Meese, Baker, Deaver), I found a consensus and strong recommendation that he speak to them about the campaign promises of 1980 and his record of living up to them. It's a remarkably good story and one that if used in this speech should get more attention. We should not be at all defensive in this speech.

It was also suggested that RR praise the contributions that Heritage has made, including the work during the transition and the follow-up report at mid-term (be careful on the specifics). Heritage has given the administration a great deal of help and support. As its 10th anniversary arrives, it has also become a sparkplug of the conservative movement, able to translate conservative theory into conservative practice. It is also action oriented, providing assistance to receptive members of Congress as well as members of the administration. Yet, as Ed Meese points out, there is much to be done: have to continue the conservative "revolution" both in thought and action. Still necessary to motivate both houses of Congress as well as the general public, and Heritage should have a clear, continuing role of leadership.

Ed Meese also suggests exploring the notion that arms reduction is a conservative idea. We're not at the bargaining table to do the Soviets any favors. We're there because we're trying to serve our own interests -- to make America and the world more secure, etc. This could be fleshed out with NSC help.

Ed's office is also looking to see if we can come up with an initiative or announcement for the evening that would be helpful with the conservative community.

We definitely ought to ask for their help in getting the message out about the President's record and accomplishments.

cc: Jim Baker ✓
Mike Deaver
Ed Meese

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

R.F.

Date: September 13, 1983

TO: Jim Baker

FROM: *DAVID R. GERGEN*

FYI: ☒

LET'S DISCUSS: ☐

COMMENT:

Subject: Briefing for Hispanic,
Labor, and Religious Press

Here's a roundup of speakers for the 100 Hispanic, labor and religious editors coming in Wednesday for a full round of briefings. The briefing was originally set up to explain Central America policies; it has since been expanded some by Karna, who has organized things working with Faith's office.

✓

PROGRAM FOR SPECIAL BRIEFING OF HISPANIC, LABOR AND RELITIOUS
PRESS: 10:00 - 12:00 450 EOB. Wednesday, September 14, 1983

Ed Meese - Domestic issues, economic recovery,
family values.

Langhorne (Tony) Motley - Central America.

Richard (Rick) Burt - KAL 007.

The President - Remarks, brief Q & A (10 min. total).

Karna Small - Wrap-up before lunch.

Otto Reich - Central America.

Peter McPherson - Economic Development in
Central America..

Elliott Abrams - Human rights and refugees.

Reception at State Department. (John Hughes)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
September 12, 1983

R.F.

MEMORANDUM FOR JIM BAKER

FROM: DAVE GERGEN

SUBJECT: Lebanon

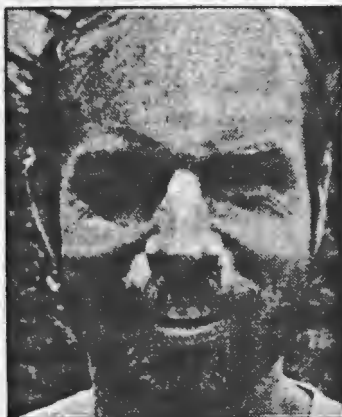
FYI - These random comments in USA Today (Sept. 12) are worth reading. While unscientific, they say a lot about current attitudes and understandings of our efforts in Lebanon.

VOICES FROM ACROSS THE USA/How long do you think U.S. Marines should remain in Lebanon?



MICHAEL STAPLES, 39
Guidance counselor
Paducah, Ky.

If the Marines remain in Lebanon, their role needs to be much more clearly defined. They should have the right to retaliate and defend themselves from attack, rather than make themselves sitting ducks. We can't remain neutral in Lebanon forever. If we remain, the Marines must be allowed to fight back.



KENNEBEC KIOUS, 33
Engineering supervisor
Davis, Calif.

I'm nervous about keeping the Marines in Lebanon, but we don't really have another alternative. A withdrawal now would put Lebanon in an even worse situation. Keeping the Syrians from moving further into Lebanon should be our first priority. If we pulled out now, the other nations would probably do the same.



BARB MATHEWS, 28
Secretary
Columbus, Ohio

The more Marines that are killed, the more chance there is of getting directly involved in a full-scale war. We should pull them out now before more are killed, and there is certainly no doubt in my mind that there will be more casualties. I'm not at all satisfied with how Reagan is handling the Mideast conflict.



BURTON ROE, 50
Service station attendant
Port Charlotte, Fla.

I see a strong parallel between the Mideast situation and Vietnam. We went to Vietnam initially to keep the peace, and before we knew it, half of our boys were over there buried or unaccounted for. We should leave it to Reagan to decide. He's handled the Mideast conflict well so far. He's doing the best he can.



ALGIANON JEFFERO, 28
Student
Nashville, Tenn.

U.S. Marines should come home now, while they still can. I remember people being so upset and shocked when the first Marine was killed in Lebanon. Well, now they're not reacting to it anymore. We're getting used to it, and that's dangerous. Sending them over there in the first place was a mistake.



ESTELLA CARDENAS, 51
Assistant manager
Detroit, Mich.

The Marines shouldn't have gone into Lebanon in the first place. It's time for them to come home. I have a son, and I worry that he might be sent over there. What's the advantage of our staying over there? I don't see how it's helping us. I don't want to see any of our boys get killed. Enough lives have been wasted already.



CAROL MALLET, 23
Student
White Plains, N.Y.

I realize our military presence is needed in the Mideast, but we have to be extremely cautious. I'd rather see more meaningful negotiations than for us to send more troops over there. The ones who are there already should try to hold their own until the violence dies down. After that, they should come home.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 12, 1983

R.F.
✓

MEMORANDUM FOR JIM BAKER
MIKE DEEVER
KEN DUBERSTEIN
DICK DARMAN
CRAIG FULLER

FROM: DAVE GERGEN *DF*
SUBJECT: Attached Memo

FYI - This memo from Doug Elmet\$ is a
followup to our conversation of last
Friday.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 12, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID GERGEN

FROM: DOUGLAS ELMETS *DE*

SUBJECT: News Coverage and its Relation to the President's Job Approval Rating

As you know, the public opinion polls have reflected a dip in the President's job approval rating for August. In light of the dip, the rise in percentages of news coverage devoting time or space to foreign policy verses economic policy appears directly related to the decline of the President's standing in the polls. Consistently, the major foreign policy issue in June, July and August was tension in Central America and the possibility of greater U.S. involvement.

It is worth noting that as the total percentage of coverage (measuring TV nets, major newspapers and magazines) went up for foreign policy/Central America, the President's rating went down — and vice versa.

	<u>GALLUP</u>			
	<u>Foreign Policy</u>	<u>Economic Policy</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Reagan Approval</u>
<u>JUNE</u>	34%	13%	53%	48%
<u>JULY</u>	27.8%	14.3%	57.9%	52%
<u>AUGUST</u>	45.5%	17.2%	37.3%	44%

Figures for September are unavailable at this point, but many experts feel that the Korean Air Lines disaster will be the biggest story of the year and will help the President's standing in job approval polls.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 8, 1983

*outreach by USIA
to implement*

MEMORANDUM FOR JIM BAKER

FROM: DAVE GERGEN *DG*
SUBJECT: Follow-up on Korean Airliner

You asked for an update of activities in the future that will help to support the President on the airline massacre. We have been working with NSC, State, USIA and others in developing events over the past week; the ideas here flow from these same joint efforts.

Aviation Measures

(1) Government Aviation Group -- The U.S. and many other nations belong to the International Civil Aviation Organization (IACO) that is having an emergency meeting in Montreal on Sept. 15. Key meeting. We are looking for a resolution of condemnation as well as adoption of proposed measures to make the skies safer. U.S. expects to be represented by high-level delegation, yet unnamed.

Recommendations:

-- Name the U.S. group ASAP, have them immediately draw up list of changes needed to protect airliners.
-- RR should meet with delegation in well-publicized meetings before and after Montreal meeting.

(2) Airline Pilots -- Potentially, they can impose some of the most important sanctions. In Europe this week, a group led by U.S., British and Canadian pilots called for 60-day boycott of flights going to Russia. They want to move quickly. SAS will begin boycott this Monday; British Airlines is polling its 5,000 pilots and looks like it may move soon, too. Others also moving.

This is a good, supportive story for RR -- witness its major treatment in the NY TIMES Wednesday -- but there is a strong feeling that our role in it ought to be very low key. If we push publicly, that could backfire.

(3) Airline Companies -- State says they are ambivalent, and little can be expected from them. Apparently, they are reluctant to take on Aeroflot.

Recommendation: Despite this ambivalence, recommend that someone high in Administration undertake quiet contacts to see what can be done.

(4) Aeroflot in U.S. -- State tonight is quietly giving the Soviets a protest note, a legal formality that leads to the formal notification on Thursday that Aeroflot must close down its office in the U.S. (offices are in NYC and Washington) and personnel must leave.

Recommendation: I have recommended to State that they give the Aeroflot people a date certain next week for closing down so that we can build press interest around a set event. We are also looking for ways to dramatize the order to close down.

(5) International Aeroflot Operations -- As you know, the President is sending private letters and making some calls to other leaders in an effort to isolate Aeroflot. The press will probably judge our international success to a major extent by how other national governments react; already, there is some sense that a few -- Canada and Australia -- may be tough, but that Europeans may shy away.

Recommendation: Important that this initiative be pushed hard between now and the 15th when ICAO meets in Montreal. Our success here will set the tenor and tone for Montreal.

Reparations

State is now preparing a consolidated claim on behalf of US families against the Soviet government. They have been in quiet touch with the families and may speak to some of them when they come to the memorial service in Washington on Friday. State was also planning to present the consolidated claim to the Soviet government on Friday.

Recommendations: It is paramount, in my view, that the U.S. government do everything it can to help these families -- that's consistent with RR's pledge and with the tradition of working with POW families and others like them. We ought to be thinking very creatively in this area. Some ideas I would recommend:

-- RR ought to be asked whether he would like to meet with the families when they are here this Friday.

-- If RR unavailable, we ought to have someone at very high level -- Clark or Eagleburger -- meet with them and pledge that we will do everything we can.

-- After meeting on Friday, recommend that the U.S. claim be presented to the Soviets next week (this is strictly a press consideration; we ought to separate out the stories).

-- We also ought to be seriously exploring question of having a very high level lawyer or jurist (e.g., Clark Clifford or Potter Stewart type) who can represent these families in various international tribunals. Could clearly be done pro bona, would help to provide them with the best counsel in the world, and would establish yet another voice to assert the case for justice.

I am concerned whether we are in fact doing enough on behalf of the families.

International Diplomacy

In addition to the items above, here are some key markers for the weeks ahead:

Madrid: As expected, news attention has temporarily shifted there for Shultz-Gromyko talk today. Will be key story. Shultz is dropping hints that if unsatisfactory, he may drop meeting with Gromyko at U.N. this September. Other foreign ministers there may also condemn.

United Nations: The U.S. is now working out language for a resolution that will be introduced Thursday or Friday, vote expected Friday or over the weekend. Jeane has been working hard to fashion resolution that will win 9 votes, forcing a Soviet veto. (Aside from the diplomacy, she deserves high marks for her public presentations; both at the U.N. and on Nightline Wednesday, she was outstanding).

-- Following up the Security Council session, the U.S. will try to get the issue on the agenda in the General Assembly, which opens on Sept. 22. There is apparently a consensus at State that unlike the Security Council, we can win in the Assembly. Note that Shultz is going to be at the U.N. for a number of days in late September and will make a major speech there on Sept. 26th -- a big opportunity.

Other Forums: State has been surveying other international forums that are coming up. U.S. Representatives are to raise this issue front and center in almost every one from large to small (E.G., International Tourism Organization meeting in New Delhi in early October).

Evidence

There continues to be a great deal of press interest in intelligence reports on what actually happened. We have been trying to cool down all the debates in the White House and State briefing rooms. But in the meantime, I urge that someone be designated to comb thru all the evidence from a public affairs standpoint to assess how to handle from here on out (bits and pieces will continue to dribble out from unnamed sources, and we ought to have a plan for dealing with them).

Other International Activity

USIA under Charlie Wick has a very energetic program underway; have not tried to describe it here. We do want a Presidential radio speech bolstering VOA.

Other Domestic Steps

(1) Congress

-- Congress ought to be encouraged to act immediately on RR's call for a joint resolution of condemnation. Get it next week.

-- As preparation for that, recommend that high-level administration briefing be conducted for members this Monday, complete with playing of the tape (have asked USIA to prepare dubs of tape).

-- Would urge that hearings also be held there on question of international aviation safety, calling in pilots and others. Could be good preparation for Montreal meeting of International Civil Aviation Organization.

(2) Administration Spokesmen

-- We have a very active program underway to place key surrogates on TV shows, radio call-in shows. Shultz, Kirkpatrick, Eagleburger, Burt have all been highly effective. (Preparing a list for you of these appearances).

-- Talking points distributed to all surrogates.

-- Briefing of administration surrogates scheduled this Friday. We will try to place them in different forums.

-- Recommend that other "friends" of the administration -- key foreign policy and defense people like Don Rumsfeld -- be briefed by NSC/State. Can also be effective spokesmen.

(3) Other Press Activity

-- RR has a busy schedule of press activity in coming days. Can keep world informed.

-- Mike Deaver and others are working on getting out a definitive story on RR's leadership during this period.

-- We have some major press groups coming in from outside Washington this month (e.g., some 250 ethnic, minority and labor publications coming next week). Laying on special briefings for them on this subject.

-- Customary mailers also going out to press around country.

(4) Outside Efforts

-- Recommend that effort be made by Whittlesey shop to get outside groups to adopt resolutions, buy ads, etc. in support of President's efforts.

-- Recommend that a friendly group get out a film ASAP that can be distributed around the country to various groups, incorporating portions of RR's address, remarks, etc., the videotape of the pilots, etc. Can have a reverberation effect in many local communities. Rollins should be able to get this started.

-- The question has been raised whether Korea might not take out ads every day for 269 days, showing each day another victim with a little biographical material, saying "Remember" in headline and quoting RR from speech: "This is a crime against humanity we can never forget..." "Remember the Lusitania" -- that was deeply etched in the American psyche; memories need to be built here, too.

-- Recommend we also establish information center in administration on what private groups are doing in protest (e.g., cancelling visits to Soviet Union). Can then help to get word out to others.

It is clear that future interest in this subject will depend in very large measure on what steps are taken by others (e.g., foreign nations, pilots, etc.) and any additional policy steps by the U.S. Press interest will last so long as there continues to be some action and controversy. We need to be pressing on many fronts.

For quick reference, I am attaching a summary calendar of key events that are coming up.

September 7, 1983

Current News Calender on Airliner

Thursday, Sept. 8

- Shultz - Gromyko in Madrid
- U.S. orders Aeroflot to close offices, leave country.
- Resolution of condemnation debated in U.N.

Friday, Sept. 9

- RR attends memorial services
- U.S. representatives meet with families of victims in Washington (high-level participation)
- Debate continues in U.N. Security Council

Saturday, Sept 10

- Possible vote in U.N. Security Council

Monday, Sept. 12

- SAS begins 60-day boycott of its flights to USSR; others may join
- Briefing of Congress by Administration

Tuesday, Sept. 13 - Thursday, Sept. 15

- Aeroflot representatives kicked out of US
- US presents reparation claim to Soviets
- Congress passes resolution of condemnation
- RR meets with U.S. aviation delegation before it goes to Montreal
- Emergency meeting of ICAO in Montreal, begins on Thursday; considers condemnation and steps to improve international safety

Thursday, Sept. 22

- U.N. General Assembly convenes in NYC

Monday, Sept. 26

- Shultz addresses U.N. General Assembly

Tuesday, Sept. 27

- Shultz tentatively scheduled for another meeting with Gromyko

SUPPORT: Congressmen

Reagan Backed on Plane Stand

Public, Congress Strongly Support Moderate Policy

By JACK NELSON,
Times Washington Bureau Chief

WASHINGTON—President Reagan's firm but restrained reaction to the Soviet Union over its downing of a South Korean commercial airliner has apparently won him new political leverage in Congress—and with the American people as well.

New developments could change the situation, but thus far Democrats and Republicans alike are echoing the President's outrage and supporting his moderate response. And for at least the immediate future, that means Reagan is in a stronger position to push for approval of the MX missile and other elements in his defense buildup, as well as for congressional rejection of the nuclear freeze idea.

The destruction of an unarmed civilian airliner—which remains almost incomprehensible to most people in the West—coupled with Moscow's initial denials, lend weight to Reagan's contention that the Soviet Union remains a serious threat to

Please see **SUPPORT**, Page 6

Continued from First Page

American security, a threat that must be countered with increased U.S. military might.

And the President can be counted on to make that point when Congress renews its deliberations on defense spending later this month.

Reagan's advisers also believe that his moderate stance has helped ease a political problem that has plagued him since the 1980 presidential campaign: A perception at home and abroad that he is a saber-rattling anti-Communist who might lead the country into war.

If there is any down-side to the immediate political fallout over Reagan's handling of the incident, it comes from the Republican Party's right wing, which has bitterly criticized him for being too soft on the Soviets and denounced him for not imposing harsh sanctions against Moscow. But even that criticism works to Reagan's advantage to some extent, most political analysts believe, because it reassures moderate voters generally that Reagan, for all his harsh anti-Soviet rhetoric, will shun extremism in a crisis.

'Some Political Discomfort'

"The right wing won't be satisfied regardless of what he does short of harsh sanctions and that causes some political discomfort," said one Reagan adviser, who declined to be identified. "On the other hand," he said, "to the extent that the President is viewed as responding in a calm, reasoned but forceful manner, he will be helped politically because politics is still fought not on the extreme ends of the ideological spectrum but in the middle ground."

While observers in both parties generally agree that Reagan will reap short-term political benefits from the incident and his handling of it, some point out that the long-term impact is far from clear and could even present problems for the President.

Democratic pollster Peter Hart, for example, said, "The Soviet ac-

tion underscores that increasingly the world is a less safe place to live, with problems in Lebanon, in Central America and Asia. And the uncertainty and fear that breeds never works to the benefit of the incumbent.

"A second point to keep in mind is don't rush to judgment on this incident or any other," said Hart, who currently polls for former Vice President Walter F. Mondale, the leading candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination. "We will return one way or the other to the fundamentals of foreign policy: What must we do to protect our national interest, and what can we do to make the world a safer place to live—and Ronald Reagan will have to deal with those fundamentals in 1984."

The fact that some of the circumstances surrounding the Soviets' shooting of the Korean airliner are far from clear raises the possibility that the United States could yet be embarrassed by the incident.

Even Reagan's own pollster, Richard Wirthlin, who believes the President has helped himself with the handling of the situation, cautions that "a lot of things are not clear yet."

"We don't know what the eventual response of the Soviets will be or how the Europeans will interpret the action or counteraction we are suggesting," Wirthlin said. "But the President now has some political options and leverage that he didn't have before. How that works out next year is still open."

Democratic leaders in Congress, as well as Republicans, have praised Reagan for his restraint, although some of them actually think his response was too mild.

Senate Minority Leader Robert Byrd (D-W.Va.) said Reagan was "tough in tone but restrained in action." Byrd, who said he generally supported the President, added, "I would have hoped the President would have suspended the grain

Please see **SUPPORT**, Page 7

SUPPORT: Reagan

Continued from 6th Page

deal at least until the Soviets admitted shooting down the airliner and said they were willing to compensate the families of the victims."

A Democratic Party official, who declined to be identified, said, "Most people were pleasantly surprised that the President didn't rattle a saber. I think he did help himself politically by not embarrassing the country with measures that might be construed as extreme."

Reagan himself was reported to be extremely pleased with the public reaction to his speech Monday night, and the only sour note, from the White House perspective, came from the far right.

White House officials said Tuesday that they are being bombarded with critical calls, which they said appear to have been stimulated by conservative organizations. Nonetheless, most analysts here were inclined to discount criticism from the right as a political problem for Reagan.

The Philadelphia Inquirer

An Independent Newspaper

Published Every Morning by Philadelphia Newspapers, Inc.
400 N. Broad Street, P.O. Box 8263, Philadelphia, Pa. 19101

SAM S. McKEEL
President

EUGENE L. ROBERTS JR.
Executive Editor

EDWIN GUTHMAN
Editor

Wednesday, September 7, 1983

Page 12-A

Prudently, Reagan refuses to rise to Moscow's bait

The most important question, and the most frightening, is who was in charge?

• Was it a political decision? Did Yuri Andropov personally order that Korean Air Lines Flight 007 be shot down? Given 2½ hours' tracking, instant communications, a rigidly authoritarian state and the fact that the killing of 269 innocent men, women and children — including 61 Americans — inevitably would have major international political impact, that possibility cannot be discounted.

• Did high-level Soviet military commanders make the decision in conscious independence of Mr. Andropov and the political leadership of the Soviet Union? In defiance?

• Did middle-level Soviet military commanders, acting on the basis of an established procedure, secret but secure, order the liner shot down in confidence that they were unassailably protected from disapproval by bureaucratic policy?

If it was a case of middle-level routine, the same echelon of Soviet commanders then must appear capable of beginning World War III. If it was high-level military defiance of political authority, the Soviet Union's real, global life-or-death power is clearly in the hands of the military, not of those leaders, including Mr. Andropov, who are responsible — or appear to be responsible — for negotiating arms-control agreements and other matters of consequence to every living human.

If Mr. Andropov did it — whether to offset domestic opposition by hard-liners including military brass or as an act of exemplary barbarism — then the challenge of dealing with him and his emissaries on any international negotiation becomes a very different one from that which has recently emerged among American and European politicians and diplomats.

There is no indication and less reason for hope that the Soviet government has any interest in clarifying the details of what President Reagan branded Monday night as "the Korean airline massacre." It does not take

more than a moment's thought to conclude what would happen if the incident had been caused by any politically accountable nation. Inquiry would be swift. Responsibility would be made clear. Instead, daily the Soviet government digs itself deeper into a mire of incredibility and arrogance. The Soviet government's belated and tortuous concession yesterday that its plane had shot down Flight 007 did nothing more than deepen that mire.

As Moscow continues that course, prudent people, whether in Washington or Gdansk, Peking or Lisbon, Buenos Aires or, most important, Moscow, must more deeply conclude that at the level of actual control of Soviet policy there is no limit on the degree of barbarity that is acceptable if it has political usefulness or convenience.

Mr. Reagan's response Monday night was measured prudently. From the left and right, calls for retribution are sounding. Every significant additional sanction the United States could impose, as Mr. Reagan argued, could directly damage U.S. interests or the long-range hopes for a more peaceful and secure world. The hard-line anti-communist stayed his hand far short of the sanctions his predecessor ordered in response to the invasion of Afghanistan.

Mr. Reagan has been presented with a historic, grisly and unwanted opportunity to let the Soviet Union demonstrate its moral character to an attentive world. Its murderous act and its continuing incredible rationalization of it more persuasively makes the case against sentimentality about socialist totalitarianism than all possible oratory that could be brought to bear.

Whatever additional facts or insights may emerge from intelligence sources or from the Kremlin, it is clear that today the world seems a more perilous place than it did before Flight 007 took 269 innocents to their graves. Mr. Reagan's response could not subdue that sense of peril, but it very well could have increased it. Prudently, he did not rise to that dramatically inviting bait.

Does this have to happen?

Three neurosurgeons operated on Kiko Bejines last Friday afternoon at the Los Angeles County-USC Medical Center. They removed part of his brain

fighters have ended up with their brains addled, but studies have shown that more than half do. "The most predictable and permanent reward" of

"THE SO
FULL RE
OF INNOC
IN

Letters to

K

To the Editor:

As a graduate of the very obviously discredited decision to males to enter Central School.

My general objection to the construction of the gender the uniquely separate. The separation of the us a chance to "find in a very development our teenagerism. Ce male distraction c proven costly in th sense by shying away ies — a very possible of this decision. Als was the camaraderie closeness — without imposing female arc

Certainly, it seem disparate academic s ist between the s right path would be the standards of the! High School for Girls ble, co-equal levels Central.

DAVID R.
Philadelphia.

Shallow

To the Editor:

I am stunned by and rather pathetic Inquirer in regard to Girls High, as expressed editorial of Sept. 1. of Girls High and (ther taught at Central. The right, at cost, of a girl to att a boy to go to Central.

The Inquirer says tion of the sexes tory when it is th. that actually gave s freedom of choice and the freedom to the city's best hi

The New York Times

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From Lies to Remedies

The Soviet leaders have managed to turn one night of reckless aerial murder into a prolonged and ugly flight from responsibility. They are conceding facts that they have known for days only as the evidence shoots down their original lies. They will regret this destruction of their new leader's credibility even more than they undoubtedly regret their air force's stupidity. They should quit trying to justify the unjustifiable and purge their consciences instead by joining other nations in constructive remedial action.

And President Reagan, having shrewdly and moderately made his point, should quit while he's ahead. The Russians made a grievous mistake that they found too humiliating to confess. But they do not routinely massacre innocent travelers. They compounded the error with denials and countercharges that they have been unable to sustain. But if not browbeaten mercilessly they will recognize the importance of safe transit and of channels of reliable communication with American leaders.

There is obviously no moral symmetry in the present arguments of the two superpowers. But they do have to reach a reciprocal restraint in the evolving propaganda war.

The Soviet Union owes itself and the world a burst of candor that can lead to agreements that make its aerial security consistent with safe international aviation. To proclaim a "right" to shoot down suspicious planes does not make it right to do

so. The tragic consequences of a paranoid fear of border violations hardly justify making the Soviet people more paranoid. Surely, for the most self-interested reasons, the men in the Kremlin will eventually want to take measures that can prevent such cruel attacks in the future.

That is why Mr. Reagan is right to seek international rather than merely American protests and countermeasures. That is why he is right to confine his measures mostly to the realm of aviation.

The technology that exposed so much of the truth after the fact can be harnessed to prevent comparable tragedy in the future. New rules for handling off-course planes are obviously needed. So are new rules of engagement inside the Soviet Air Force.

But sanctions alone will not make the Russians change their rules. They need to be accompanied by intensive diplomacy in which other nations seek benefit rather than triumph.

The United States, having spearheaded the quest for truth, now owes itself and the world a mature digestion of the facts. This tragic episode does not prove the perfidy of every Soviet deed any more than it proves the validity of every American action or arms program.

What has been so admirable about President Reagan's performance so far is his insistence on arguing from the evidence and tailoring his actions to the problem at issue. He, too, commands awesome power that can be tragically misapplied. He, too, leads a fallible people, not a moral crusade.

The Citizen Astronauts

REVIEW & OUTLOOK

Mixed Message

A friend called Monday night to ask what President Reagan had said in his speech about the shooting down of Korean Air Lines Flight 007. We couldn't tell him. Sure, the familiar rhetoric was there—the Soviet “massacre” of “innocent men, women and children,” a “crime against humanity.” And, as we had been led to expect by administration officials over the long weekend, our immediate retaliatory actions would be moderate.

What stuck in our minds was the contrast between the president's remarks from the Oval Office and the piercing questions he raised Friday standing on an airport tarmac in front of Air Force One about to return from California. He had asked, “What can we think of a regime that so broadly trumpets its vision of peace and global disarmament and yet so callously and quickly commits a terrorist act to sacrifice the lives of innocent human beings?”

“What can be said,” Mr. Reagan asked, “about Soviet credibility when they so flagrantly lie about such a heinous act? What can be the scope of legitimate mutual discourse with a state whose values permit such atrocities? And what are we to make of a regime which establishes one set of standards for itself and another for the rest of humankind?”

Those certainly are the crucial questions raised by the downing of Flight 007, finally admitted by the Soviets yesterday after days of lies. They are also the same questions raised by the continued use of Soviet “yellow rain” in Asia and the gassing of Afghans. These crimes against humanity and cynical violations of international treaties and customs say all

we need to know about the character of Soviet leadership.

Somehow, in the president's formal speech, that lesson was lost. Listeners were left with a feeling of dissonance and confusion between the harsh rhetoric and modest actions. What other message can they get when the president concludes his speech by announcing that Paul Nitze is returning to Geneva to continue arms negotiations with the same Soviet leadership that thinks nothing of shooting down unarmed civilian aircraft?

This is not to say the president needed to announce a long list of immediate sanctions against the Kremlin; we have no sanctions that would bring back the lives of the passengers on Flight 007. The point is what the shooting of civilian aircraft says about the character of the Soviet leadership, and what this says about the prospects of dealing with them on arms control or any other issues. Curiously, the point seemed less clear to the president than to some normally more dovish Democratic senators. Sen. Christopher Dodd said the incident was a “grim reminder to the world of the kind of heinous and outrageous behavior of which the Soviets are capable.” Sen. Patrick Leahy said these actions “make it impossible to go forward with decent arms control.” Sen. Paul Sarbanes said the downing of the plane “will have a marked effect on the way one approaches the relationship.”

That is the point precisely, because the incident makes so clear the nature of Soviet values and Soviet duplicity. Its lesson is the need to reassess the entire range of our dealings with them.

Holding the Center

Heavy gunfire is scarring Beirut yet again, and two more U.S. Marines died Monday night in a barrage of rockets and mortar shells fired from a Shiite Moslem neighborhood. The American, French and British peace-keeping force is returning fire from leftist Syrian-backed militiamen. We think back to when the Israelis were camped at the outskirts of the city, hesitating to roll in and clean out the PLO. And we can see that the current mounting disorder could have been predicted, and indeed was foretold.

When the Israeli Defense Force made its strike into Lebanon last year, hawks in Israel argued that the IDF was going to have to go all the

way. The Israeli army, too, is under domestic pressure to withdraw from its positions near Beirut. A couple of days ago President Reagan asked Prime Minister Begin to delay a withdrawal of Israeli troops from the

area. The Israeli army, too, is under domestic pressure to withdraw from its positions near Beirut. A couple of days ago President Reagan asked Prime Minister Begin to delay a withdrawal of Israeli troops from the

Thin Thin Over

—By Vermont

Politics '84

It's an old story, so used it before. It's about up for reelection who the courthouse steps.

After inquiry about dren, the congressman on the support of his

“Don't know about farmer.

“What!” exclaims “Didn't I get your bo Didn't I get you that ment? Didn't I get y after the tornado blew

“Yep,” replies the have you done for me

This durable political mind as we pass Labor the 1984 presidential twelvemonth's time it v by then both parties w candidates. But alrea jockeying for position laying their bets.

The Republicans ar who will carry their co or other acts of God to will be Ronald Reagan all those “will he or w ter all, newspaper fol write about.

Mr. Reagan, like a reelection to vindicate doesn't a legend mak strongly in his view would hate to see it might well be under ar much less a Democrat gan enjoys the White tins. watch closely are

With the Democrats have neither a prograi give them one. Betwix they'll be fighting as n as with the Republic

Moreover, the Da more be playing und rules, not those that Govern or Jimmy C posed to concentrate between March and will be on a winner-ta gates, not proporti Party “pros,” such state officials, are more representation. ateurs is to be cut.

Naturally all this always with Democr balking. Iowa and Ne ample, object to th them for picking dele brewing on how man the convention “uncoi didate. And so it go

Personally, havin where '84 may be my I'd like to see one settled before the c Much more interest



Kremlin Gyration

The Soviet Union has at last admitted that one of its fighter-interceptor planes "stopped" (i.e., shot down) a Korean civilian airliner that had strayed over Soviet territory. Before the Kremlin could bring itself to acknowledge this heinous fact to its own people, it made itself ludicrous to a well-informed world through a series of lies, distortions, obfuscations and tendentious blame-pointing at Washington. But it has yet to apologize for the death of the 269 passengers aboard, contending instead that responsibility for the tragedy "rests wholly and fully" with the United States.

Last Thursday, Tass said only that its military aircraft "tried to give assistance" to an unidentified plane that "continued its flight in the direction of the Sea of Japan." The next day the Soviet news agency allowed that "warning shots and tracer shells" were fired as the plane "left the limits of Soviet airspace." By Saturday Tass was condemning White House allegations that the Soviet government was "guilty of loss of life," thus hinting that something terrible had happened to a missing South Korean airliner. On Sunday, a Soviet general implied that the ill-fated Boeing 747, despite its distinctive silhouette, could have been mistaken for a U.S. RC-135 reconnaissance plane. The next day Tass accused Washington of "Hitlerite" tactics by putting "the lives of numerous people... at

stake" in carrying out a military mission.

Then, yesterday, as the world listened to damning tapes of Soviet aircraft conversations, Tass came fairly clean: "Since... the intruder plane did not obey the demand to fly to a Soviet airfield and tried to evade pursuit, the interceptor-fighter plane of the anti-aircraft defenses fulfilled the order of the command post to stop the flight."

Although the Kremlin thus conceded that it destroyed rather than assisted the off-course airliner, it may find it hard to apologize. Anthony Barber, Jr., Moscow correspondent of *The Sun*, ascribes this to "the almost pathological inability of any Soviet leadership to admit error to the world." Instead, Soviet propagandists rely on the contradictory canards that the Korean plane was on a U.S. spy mission or was led to its demise by a Reagan regime intent on smearing the Soviet Union. The Kremlin wants the Soviet peoples to believe such fairy tales even though it knows the rest of the world will not.

President Reagan has presented the case against Moscow with skill and deliberation. He would be wise, for the moment, to let other nations sort out the facts, examine unanswered questions and then come to their own conclusions about the nature of the Soviet state. World opinion is of greater importance than punitive sanctions.

Worst Drought in Memory

It is the grimmest year in memory for many Maryland farmers as the drought wears on. This is the driest year since rainfall records began.

er paradox, the drought may cause meat prices to go down a bit at first — before they go up sharply. With feed prices rising, some farmers will sell off

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"First the blade, then the ear,  then the full grain in the ear."

The Monitor's view

A balanced response

White House reaction to the South Korean jetliner tragedy has unfolded largely with the balance of moral outrage and calculated countersteps to hold the incident in perspective.

President Reagan labeled the downing of the civilian aircraft by the Soviets "the Korean airline massacre" and an "act of barbarism" in his Monday night address. He set curbs on cultural, scientific, and diplomatic ties between the Soviet Union and the United States. The West's response carried over to the United Nations Tuesday, as the administration sought a coordinated outcry against the Soviet Union.

These are second-tier reactions by the West. None are confrontational. They fall well short of tampering with the first tier of security and arms control issues which are of paramount interest to East and West alike. They are rebukes, warnings.

Notably not done was cancellation of US-Soviet grain agreements, or any tainting of the American welcome to Soviet athletes for next summer's Olympic Games in Los Angeles. These would have been Jimmy Carter-like actions, and the Reagan team want to avoid any comparisons with the previous administration's futile efforts at modifying Soviet behavior.

Apart from the difference between the West's and the Soviets' apparent valuation of human life, the most disturbing revelation in the airliner tragedy is that the Soviet command structure may simply not be up to handling a crisis of this sort. Downing the aircraft was a serious mistake. At a time the Soviets are trying to sow discord among Western allies, it provokes a unified Western response. Combined with the willingness of the Soviet military to take actions that are blunt and inhumane, the dribs and drabs of Soviet official explanation have worsened the Soviets' position in the eyes of the world. The Soviets took five days to admit they had shot down the plane.

Unanswered questions remain. What is the use today of civilian aircraft overflights for military surveillance? How did hours pass with the South Korean aircraft heading over Soviet territory without notice or an immediate Western attempt to clarify its status? Was it a computer failure or some other cause that sent the aircraft on its fatal course? Answers must still be found.

The Reagan administration says the goal

in its response is to focus world and domestic attention on "the nature of the Soviet beast" — a point Reaganites have made all along. "Who are they?" one Reagan insider asks. "We really have to ask that before we focus on the details of the event."

At the same time, the administration assumes the Korean jetliner tragedy will have a relatively short life as a headline commanding event. Emotionally potent as it may be, it will lack the numbing endurance of, say, the year-long Iranian hostage incident. With arms negotiations proceeding, and a US presidential election race about to start, the shootdown will "remain a subject of continuing allusion," insiders say.

The administration clearly wants to avoid tying itself too closely to the jetliner incident, the way President Carter became embroiled in the Iranian hostage episode, and making any specific outcome a test of Reagan's competence. At the same time, the White House is using the event for other purposes, chiefly to press Congress for greater military spending to contain the Soviets.

Fortuitously, the jetliner incident enabled President Reagan to return from his August vacation in California on an urgent business note. Augusts have been awkward months for this administration. The White House has been preparing the stage for a Reagan reelection bid. Reagan's tough words about Soviet behavior in downing the defenseless aircraft should help him hold the support of his own right. The Democrats can do little but back the President in the affair.

The risks are that details of the overflight might eventually compromise the West's position, that a rhetorical escalation might jeopardize East-West security talks. But so far the line between calling the Soviets for their act and excuses, and safeguarding security issues, is apparently being kept in sight.

Looking afresh at Poland

It is time for the United States to rethink its policy toward Poland. At the moment it still does not have an ambassador in Warsaw, economic sanctions remain in place, and cultural exchanges are dormant. Yet a case can be made that more is to be gained by opening the door to an eventual normalization of rela-

tions than by merely reacting negatively to developments in that anguished country. A more forthcoming US approach now helps Poland as it gropes for a way out of its persisting national stalemate.

This may seem a strange course to take in the wake of the third anniversary of Solidarity, the now-banned labor movement. Indeed, the world can never forget the extraordinary events of August 1980 when independent Polish workers won the right to form a free trade union. Can the Polish people will never forget the week's mass demonstrations in Krakow, Wroclaw, and other Polish towns in commemoration of that anniversary bearing witness to a spirit of liberty that never die — no matter how often it is crushed?

But can US policy continue to be guided by the past?

Poland now begins the slow process of evolving something new. No one quite knows what this will be. But the realities are Jaruzelski regime has effectively put down Solidarity. It has also taken harsh action against Poland's intellectuals — journalists, artists. It apparently feels confident enough to tolerate a certain amount of dissent from the working class but it will not let dissent get out of control — with tear gas and clubs used against anti-

What others say

Higher ed: Getting the debate started

If Gov. Blanchard's new ad hoc commission on higher education gets bogged down in the old governance question, then its conclusions will — and for our money, probably should — go nowhere.

But if the [Michigan] citizens' commission looks beyond that question and builds a factual base and defines issues for the Legislature in dealing with higher education, then it can be useful.

Now, at a time when the universities and colleges are dealing with a shrinking pool of students, the Legislature needs some help in making the hard decisions about where to cut, where to preserve and where to build up. The answer is to develop for some of the schools

bled only for that purpose, might be able to arm the Legislature with the will to do whatever circumstances dictate.

In recent weeks, the Presidents Council of State Colleges and Universities in Michigan issued a doleful summary of the neglect of higher education by the state over these last 10 years or so. Indeed, the report paints a far more depressing picture than the facts justify. It does not, for instance, take much account of the turnaround that occurred this year. The record of financial support, though, has been far worse than Michigan's strong tradition dictates and worse than that in many other states.

If we are to get for higher education the



Our Opinions

Insufficient Response

Ronald Reagan should really begin to concentrate when his most dovish critics compliment his handling of the Soviets.

If the best this president can do is shout "barbarism" and order a few mild sanctions in the wake of Moscow's murderous attack on the South Korean airliner, there should be dancing tonight in the Kremlin.

Even Jimmy Carter did better than that.

Mr. Reagan should, of course, counter Soviet propaganda, which is attempting to blame the United States for the atrocity that took 269 lives. That requires a certain amount of heated rhetoric.

But Moscow understands actions better than words. And the president's actions — asking for an apology and financial compensation, canceling cultural and technical exchanges, suspending talks on the establishment of a new Soviet consulate in New York, and reaffirming the ban of Soviet airliners from American airports — are insufficient.

Surely, Mr. Reagan could order withdrawal from the Madrid talks on compliance with the Helsinki agreement. And he could refuse to sign the phony Madrid compromise statement that was negotiated to let the Kremlin off the hook on human rights.

What's the point of signing a meaningless document that legitimizes Soviet terror

when the thugs in question are willing to take pot-shots at unarmed civilian aircraft?

Washington might also consider buying up the outstanding loans to Soviet satellites and then demanding payment, thus putting increased pressure on Moscow to support the satellite economies.

Mr. Reagan says the 13 nations that had citizens killed in the Soviet air attack are to consult. Let's hope the other 12 persuade Mr. Reagan to exact a higher price than he now proposes.

Washington doesn't have the political courage to cut off the grain sales — the one act that might impose hardship on the aggressor. But if grain sales are sacrosanct, it becomes even more difficult to persuade friendly nations to withhold technology and other goods that might have military uses.

You may remember that the European governments gave the Kremlin the technology it needed to build the trans-Siberian pipeline after Russian troops entered Kabul. The pipeline technology became a reward for aggression and only invited further outrages.

The lesson is plain enough. Economic rewards won't civilize the Soviet leadership. Instead, the West must do everything it can to penalize Russian misbehavior.

The relative mildness of Mr. Reagan's nostrums is both surprising and disconcerting.

The Governor's Farm Problem

The dumping of Agriculture Director Dean Pridgeon was handled with amateurish clumsiness by Governor Blanchard.

Mr. Pridgeon was appointed in 1979 by former Republican Governor William Milliken in the wake of the PBB scandal. His quiet competence and expertise as a farmer and former Michigan Farm Bureau executive won immediate and lasting respect. His performance is not in question.

When the governor asked for Mr. Pridgeon's resignation to make room for Democrat John Hertel, however, Mr. Pridgeon resisted. When Mr. Blanchard insisted, Mr. Pridgeon gave it to the Agricul-

members of the Agriculture Commission and the director to his office to discuss the matter. Instead, he let the situation drag on interminably.

Nevertheless, the Pridgeon controversy does call into question the state's commission system.

Several state departments are governed by commissions and their directors answer to these boards rather than to the governor. This was done to depoliticize the major departments. But, as recent events show, depoliticization is a charade.

The question comes down to this: Should a new governor be able to put his imprint on every department when he takes office, or must he stumble along for months, even

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

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PAGE 10-A, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1983

Reagan response on the mark

Little by little, the Soviet Union unfolds its preposterous version of the cold-blooded murder of 269 passengers and crew aboard Korean Air Lines Flight 007. After days of infuriating bluster and blather, it finally has owned up to the fact that a Russian fighter did indeed blast an unarmed civilian jetliner out of the skies.

A cowed Soviet public may swallow whole the Kremlin's official justifications, but most of the rest of the world is not likely to — especially if the United States presents its case with care before the bar of global opinion.

President Reagan's restrained statement Monday night furthered that process by focusing on a limited set of objectives: demanding a Soviet admission of responsibility, reparations for survivors and guarantees against a repeat of this barbaric act.

With all the anger generated by what he correctly identified as a "massacre," it must have been tempting for the president to seize this hideous occasion to slap numerous punitive measures against Moscow.

This he resisted, as he should have — for a variety of good reasons.

Above all, this deliberate attack on an off-course jetliner is of paramount global concern involving every nation that plies the skies. For the United States to have obscured it by retaliating with a shotgun mix of embargoes and expulsions would have done a disservice to the cause of international civil aviation and to the memories of the KAL victims.

Americans need reflect back no further than the sanctions initiated by the United States after the Afghanistan invasion and the imposition of martial law in Poland to measure the effectiveness of such weapons. In truth, those measures did little more than slightly inconvenience the Soviets while penalizing our athletes and farmers and antagonizing our European allies.

For the president to have canceled today's scheduled meeting in Madrid between Secretary of State George Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko would have been a grave mistake. If nothing else, it offers an opportunity for us to begin to try to gauge whether Thursday's tragedy is indicative, as some have suggested, that the Soviet military machine is slipping out of the control of its Communist Party masters.

Likewise, any tampering with our arms-control negotiating posture in Geneva would have jeopardized our standing in Western Europe. By their swinish conduct, the Soviets have severely damaged their own so-called "peace offensive."

The president's statement would have been totally on the mark if only he had eschewed his calls for congressional support for the MX missile and other weapons programs now pending on Capitol Hill, an appeal entirely out of character with the specific human issues at hand.

The Soviets have dug themselves a deep, deep hole. Reagan must take care to avoid giving them — even inadvertently — some pegs with which to climb out.

Quit bugging Planned Parenthood

The Reagan administration's almost nutty harassment of Planned Parenthood continues apace with a second, almost surely futile and certainly improper attempt to kick the organization out of a federal employees' charity fund.

The decision is almost certain to be overturned by a federal court if it comes to that. Last year, when a panel stacked with right-wing ideologues attempted to keep the organization from receiving its fair share, a Reagan bureaucrat reluctantly restored the organization to the rolls, admitting that it met all the eligibility requirements for the federal workers' equivalent of the United Way and couldn't legally be excluded.

from the Reagan White House. First, Reagan ordered extraordinary audits to determine whether it used federal funds illegally to promote abortion (it did not). Later he named abortion foe Marjorie Mecklenburg to oversee federal family-planning programs, and pushed for a "squeal rule" that would have weakened the organization's effectiveness by putting off teens — most of them already sexually active — who need contraceptives.

Planned Parenthood, which neither supports nor opposes abortion, but does favor freedom of choice in intimate family matters, has survived each assault. But each time Devine, an outspoken abortion foe, and his hand-picked panel take aim at the organization, it is

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Editorial Page EditorEdward Sears
Managing EditorSoviets must be faced
with firm resolution

President Reagan's Monday night address effectively stated the American case for justice in what he called the "Korean airline massacre."

He demanded that the Russians give a full accounting of what happened, an apology for it, compensation for the families of victims, and assurances that such a thing will not happen again.

The problem remains: What will we do if the Russians continue to ignore the world outcry over their unprovoked, unjustified slaying of 269 people?

Many people are demanding stronger immediate action than the president has taken. But what options do we have?

The president has asked the nations of the world to do as the United States already does in refusing landing rights to the Soviet airline Aeroflot. That would be a very appropriate response to a nation that does not respect the decencies of commercial aviation. But it is up to the other nations whether or not they will do this.

Most of those demanding strong action seem to have in mind a cutoff of trade with the Soviet Union. But twice in recent years we have seen that when the United States acts alone with trade restrictions against the Soviet Union, they do not work: A U.S. grain embargo came in response to Soviet aggression in Afghanistan; other nations refused to cooperate and eventually U.S. public opinion turned against it. The same thing happened with other trade restrictions in response to oppression in Poland.

The trouble is that the American public, and even a great deal of world opinion, is capable of outrage against the Soviets in the short run but we do not seem capable of translating the moment's fury into pressures that last for any length of time.

The most effective thing we can do, as the president said in his address, is to make ourselves so strong that the Russians will think twice about what they do in the future. He is correct not to suspend arms control negotiations; a balanced, verifiable arms agreement would benefit us as much as it would the Soviets, and presumably the Reagan administration will not make an agreement that is not balanced and verifiable.

This latest outrage has renewed our awareness of the evil of the Soviet system. We must find a way to translate that into a firm resolution to support effective opposition to that system rather than falling into a fit of fury for a few days or weeks and then forgetting, as we did in the cases of Afghanistan and Poland, just what we were so angry about.

The high-tech future

The most recent "crisis" in education demonstrates a proverbial truth: Get away from the basics and quality suffers.

For every business or institution, there is an identifiable job to be done. And, in a society that's economically advanced and competitive, somebody most assuredly has discovered a way to do the job successfully. People who, for whatever reason, venture from the path of demonstrated success risk failing miserably.

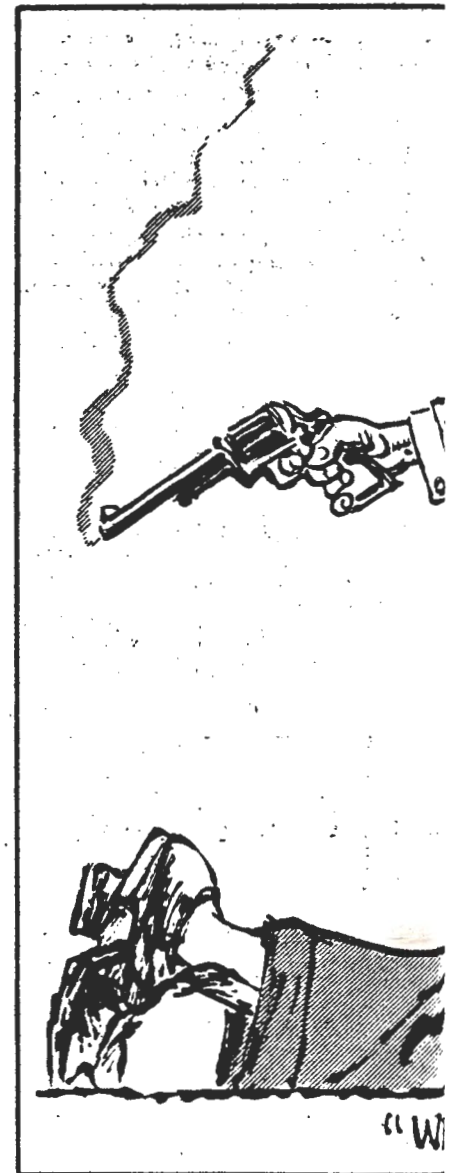
Durwood McAlister
Judge O'Kel

More often than not in recent years viewed federal judges with a jaundice too many cases their decisions seem drawn from neither law nor logic but from the pages of Alice in Wonderland.

One case does not make a trend and one judge cannot atone for the sins of the entire judiciary; but it is refreshing to note that Judge William O'Kelley has, in at least one case, revived the rule of reason and common sense.

His handling of the Lakeside High situation in DeKalb County has been a remarkable occurrence — all of the involved, plaintiffs and defendants, are pleased.

Judge O'Kelley, while ordering the board to admit more black students, handed down an open-ended decision which will allow time for common

James J. Kilpatrick
Kuhn mixes

(James J. Kilpatrick's column is "The writer's art.")

WASHINGTON — Bowie Kuhn, his departing statement recently a sioner of baseball, and Hugh Scott, a lancer in King City, Ore., kindly sen

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EDITORIALS

Mr. Reagan's Response

President Reagan's restrained, realistic response Monday night to the Korean airliner incident was in the nation's best interests.

But his trading on the passions raised by the Soviet Union's destruction of the aircraft to gather support for his defense spending program detracts from an otherwise credible, praiseworthy performance.

Perhaps Mr. Reagan will emerge from this tragedy as the only winner in a political sense. The Soviets certainly are losers, their efforts to appear as the peace-loving superpower shot down in flames with Korean Air Lines Flight 007. The nuclear freeze movement undoubtedly will suffer because of heightened doubts about Soviet intentions, as could the fortunes of Mr. Reagan's political opponents at home.

Still, Mr. Reagan faced risks in handling the crisis, and there is little doubt that the White House calculated the risks before the president responded. The administration chose a course that outrages the right, Mr. Reagan's core constituency but one he will not lose over this one issue, and denies to moderates and the left the opportunity to brand his action overreactive.

Domestic political considerations aside, Mr. Reagan took the correct course. In using tough language, he gave some emotional release to people who are horrified and frustrated by the Soviets' violent behavior. In prescribing mild and limited sanctions, however, Mr. Reagan was mindful of larger concerns. His response acknowledges that the United States would not benefit from turning the incident into a narrow Moscow-Washing-

ton battle, or from burning all the bridges of cooperation.

Any remaining hopes for nuclear sanity would be hurt if Mr. Reagan broke off arms control talks. American farmers, workers and companies would be hurt if he suspended trade agreements already signed. The Western alliance would be hurt if the United States took unilateral actions against the Soviets with which its allies did not agree. Mr. Reagan avoided making those mistakes.

What he did do was to characterize, probably with great success, the Soviet Union as an outlaw country with selective regard for truth and human life. Moscow's admission on Tuesday that its pilots shot down the unarmed jumbo jet while continuing to call it a spy plane and clumsily blaming the United States for the incident, plays right into Mr. Reagan's hands.

The president's lobbying for the MX missile and other military budget requests in his speech to the nation unfortunately lessens the credibility of his response.

Opposition to the MX missile, for example, is not based on a misreading of Soviet intentions, but on the sound argument that it is a prohibitively expensive, provocative and already obsolete weapons system that the United States would be better off without.

The destruction of Korean Air Lines Flight 007 does not suddenly make the MX a necessary part of America's arsenal. Mr. Reagan is wrong to use the incident as a means to sell the MX. The tactic cheapens the sacrifices of the victims of what the president calls a "massacre," and gives his response the unwanted taint of political propaganda.

Another Tandem Battle Lost

Connecticut faces almost impossible odds in its battle to keep tandem trailer trucks off the state's highways.

That became even more apparent last week when a three-judge panel of the 2nd U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals upheld, without comment, a federal district court decision voiding the state anti-tandem law.

Appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court seems pointless, as well as expensive, considering the well-established precedent giving the federal government power to regulate interstate commerce. The wisdom of appealing U.S. District Judge Jose A. Cabranes' ruling in a case brought by the U.S. government should have been in doubt from the beginning.

says legislation limiting tandem truck travel is stalled in a committee whose chairman is unsympathetic to the bill.

Getting Congress to abrogate its pact with the trucking industry — in which the truckers swallowed a gasoline tax hike last December in return for authority for big trucks to travel on permitted routes on the federal highway system in all states — was a dicey bet at any rate.

The compromise with federal highway officials which reduced the mileage of Connecticut highways open to tandem trailers may be as much as the state can win.

Unless Congress or the courts pull off a surprising change of direction, it looks as if Connecticut will be left with a

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Frank EVERS

OF THE PEOPLE

Even tougher red-light law

by the Daily News and other media. And that only continued pressure from the public and the media will finally give us a law which will require judges to suspend the driver's licenses of hard-core red-light runners.

I introduced legislation on March 26 of this year to that effect, providing for the mandatory suspension of a driver's license for 60 days upon conviction of a second traffic signal violation committed within an 18-month period. I will continue to fight for the passage of such legislation and hope that with your continued support it becomes law.

Sen. Martin J. Knorr

disregarding the melting pot theory are the racists.

Robert Schauder

Clean out rats, PA

Paterson, N.J.: I drive the No. 161 bus to the Port Authority for the New Jersey Transit system five nights a week. Lately, I've been seeing a large number of rats in the terminal. They scamper around platform 53 where my bus leaves from, and I've also seen a few behind the counter on the second level where I go for coffee. I'm sure the PA is taking in enough money to hire the best exterminator in the world.

Norman F. Reinbaugh

(Please include name and address with letter. We will withhold both on request.)

BEG PARDON

A story in The News on Sept. 3 on the shooting death of Manuel Gonzales, 23, allegedly by an off-duty police officer, erroneously indicated that the incident occurred near the Suspenders bar at Stein-

EDITORIALS

Moscow retreats on KAL 007

WELL, NOW THEY'VE admitted it. After five days of lies and stonewalling, the Soviets said yesterday that their fighters "stopped" the Korean airliner. The Soviet pilot was more candid: He told ground control, "Target destroyed."

They came to this admission gradually and grudgingly, as they discovered that no one in the world believed them. Even now, they haven't come clean. Their statement repeated that the 747 carried no lights, when the tapes show the fighter pilot saw its wing lights and the strobe flashing on its roof. Spy planes do not carry strobe lights. They put all the blame on the U.S., and offer tepid regret for the loss of life.

Soviet officials are used to lying, but on this occasion it's no good. Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko will meet Secretary of State Shultz in Madrid this week, and it would be a fine opportunity to make a clean breast of it and begin making reparations.

It's not likely he will, and the question remains what to do. President Reagan is now learning the limits to American power, just as Jimmy Carter learned them during the hostage crisis. Reagan attacked Carter for weakness then. He will have to put up with the same criticism now.

The sanctions he announced Monday are trivial. Real sanctions would harm the U.S. equally or disrupt the Western alliance. All the same, the President got it mostly right. He said: "This attack was not just against ourselves or the Republic of Korea. This was the Soviet Union against the world and the moral precepts which guide human relations among people everywhere."

It's the whole world's reaction, not just ours, that counts, and for once the Soviets are feeling the full weight of it. We may lead world opinion, in the United Nations and elsewhere, but we mustn't get ahead of it. Sanctions are ineffective unless universally applied, and this time there's a chance of a genuine condemnation of the USSR.

A deadline for 'peace'

Christians and Moslems are at each other's throats again in Lebanon, and two more United States Marines of the so-called peacekeeping force have been added to the long list of those who have been killed in that strife-torn country. It was almost an exact replay of what happened a week ago when two other Marines died in an artillery barrage fired at United States positions around Beirut airport.

The truth of the matter is that the Marines are not peacekeepers. They are caught between warring factions, and there is no way, short of a costly offensive, that the 1,200 Americans can end the fighting, particularly now that the Israelis have begun their long-awaited withdrawal to more secure areas in southern Lebanon. The Marines are sitting ducks in a civil war that the Lebanese army cannot quell.

If the Reagan administration is prepared to intervene to end the bloodshed, it should say so and let Congress have a voice in the decision. A wiser course would be to set a date for the fighting to stop and for all parties to come to their senses. If it is ignored, then the Americans should be withdrawn. It is a ridiculous policy for brave Marines to be left at the mercy of people who care so little for human life.

How not to discipline teachers

The Board of Education's system for handling teachers and other employees who are brought up on disciplinary charges is a joke. It takes an average of two years to resolve a case, and one procedure has lasted eight years with no end in sight. The teachers, meanwhile, are "suspended" but draw full pay and perform clerical duties. Since they're still on salary, they have little incentive to push their cases before the three member panels that...

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

Brazening It Out

HAVING SHOT DOWN a Korean airliner, the Soviet Union appears determined to meet international protests by trying to shift the burden of fault to the United States. Its statement yesterday bristled with an evident intent to brazen it out. Some parts of the statement—that the airliner was flying without navigation lights, for instance—are directly contradicted by tapes of the Soviet pilots. The potentially most telling allegation—that the airliner emitted coded radio signals of a sort “usually used in transmitting intelligence information”—was vague and undocumented. The personal abuse directed at Mr. Reagan suggests that the Kremlin is reeling under the hard evidence made public, promptly, by the president and that it lacks confidence in its own case.

Why are the Soviets not seeking to cut their losses by admitting error and moving on with other business? Why are they acting in a self-indulgent, emotional and nationalistic way, one seeming to undercut the presumed Soviet interest in improving relations with the United States and Europe in particular?

Some part of the explanation rests on dim considerations of the Russian national psyche. The main part would seem to flow from a calculated political judgment. It is as though Mr. Andropov, once he realized an innocent airliner had been destroyed, took the course of least internal resistance: he de-

cided to stand with the Soviet military and KGB against any other tendency to give priority to ties with Washington and the world at large.

In doing the easy political thing, the Kremlin has failed to act on the obligation of a great power to do in small matters what must be done to maintain an atmosphere conducive to working on the big matters: reducing the dangers of nuclear war and moderating political disputes. Thus has it taken upon itself the responsibility for whatever degree of greater freeze in Soviet-American relations may now ensue.

The president's television presentation Monday was at once firm and restrained. He supplied the details and analysis to bulwark the nation's collective outrage, but he did his part—even if Mr. Andropov has not done his—to keep this country on the important arms control negotiating track. That he confined the action items to civil aviation measures within the political range of many different countries was sensible and not a little courageous, given the bitter disappointment felt by so many of his political supporters.

We thought he stretched awkwardly and unnecessarily by making a pitch for the MX: the shock of Soviet conduct and his own measured handling of the crisis are likely to firm up support for his defense projects anyway. Meanwhile he is right to keep leaning on Moscow, with facts, for a fuller and more forthcoming response.

This Week's Commission

HERE'S A novel idea. How about a high-level, bipartisan commission on the budget deficit? We hear you saying, “Oh, please—not another commission.” But before you dismiss the idea out of

deficit projections. Even if all the remaining proposals for cuts were accepted—which, given the harshness of some of them, might not be to the administration's political advantage—the total savings would hardly make a dent in projected deficits.

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